

White Resistance, White Complacency: The Absent-Presence of Race in the
Development of Dual Enrollment Programs

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the origins of dual enrollment (DE) writing courses that give students the opportunity to receive college credit for writing in high school. While no previous research dates DE programs to before the 1970s, this dissertation analyzes the development of the self-proclaimed “longest-running” DE program that began at the University of Connecticut in 1955. In this work, I contend that the University of Connecticut’s DE program began as a complacent act that further advanced already privileged (white affluent) students and further marginalized students of color, which extends marginalizing aspects of the origins of the first-year writing requirement.

I first establish the historical, social, and political context for the development of DE programs at the University of Connecticut with an overview *Brown v. Board of Education*, whites’ resistance to integration, and the white complacency of citizens in Connecticut in the 1950s. Using whiteness theory and feminist research methods, archival research conducted at the University of Connecticut focused on the development of DE programs shows an institutional absent presence, that is, there is an absence of reference to *Brown*, integration, or race of students where it concerns the construction, inception, and operation of the first DE writing courses. And finally, an attempt at a disparate impact analysis of current assessment practices that determine enrollment in DE writing courses highlights access and assessment as a connection between the history and the present state of DE programs and DE composition courses. With the inclusion of DE composition, my dissertation project fills at least some of the identified gap in historical research in Rhetoric and Composition Studies during the 1950s and extends arguments of how white complacency has and continues to influence the field and first-year writing.

DEDICATION

For B, of course, my partner and very best friend.

And for Myla. Thank you for reading me your stories and giving me inspiration throughout this process. I cannot wait to hear more.

Together, you are my dreams come true.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A surprisingly small number of previous scholars have studied dual enrollment (DE) from the 1970s onward—and without reference to social and racial upheavals and trends. In this dissertation, I trace the origins of DE to Connecticut in the 1950s. I argue that establishing DE served the purpose of advancing already academically and socially privileged students (white affluent students), which further marginalized students of color. I argue that DE composition courses continue to do so.

John Brereton, Robert Connors, and Nan Johnson explain that scholars treat the history of Rhetoric and Composition Studies before 1955 and after 1970, but not the period in-between. This period overlaps with movements focused on the social and political civil rights of African Americans in the U.S. during the 50s and 60s. As Deborah Brandt, Susan Miller, Carmen Kynard, Catherine Prendergast, and others point out, the history of composition seems void of how significant social and cultural moments, such as civil rights movements, have influenced literacy and therefore composition history. For instance, Susan Miller argues that despite James Berlin’s Marxist-leaning progressivism, he and other historians unaccountably and lamentably erase racial minorities and the “cultural history of literacy studies” from their histories of American composition (45). Brandt posits that “From all angles—policy to pedagogy—literacy needs to be addressed from a civil rights context” in order to be more inclusive in Rhetoric and Composition history (189). This is especially important to this project—a history of dual enrollment writing’s origins in the 1950s.

While African Americans and other marginalized communities fought for social,

political, and personal freedoms during the civil rights movements of the 1950s—dual enrollment courses as we now know them were in their infancy. In order to better understand these program origins, I conducted archival research at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center at the University of Connecticut (UConn). There, I found crucial documents pertaining to the historical origins of UConn’s self-proclaimed “longest-running” dual enrollment program in the United States. The provost of UConn during the development of dual enrollment courses—Albert E. Waugh—kept a daily journal that contained details that led to an unearthing of meeting minutes, program details, promotional press releases, and rosters and grades for the first dual enrollment courses that developed and eventually began in 1955. Archived legal and additional documents from the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights detail racial tensions and injustices in the same communities that participated in the original dual enrollment courses.

In this dissertation, I follow Brandt and Miller’s advice by writing specifically about important developments taking place during the African American civil rights movements of the 50s. My project will piece together the history of the origins of DE programs paying close attention to whites’ resistance to African American civil rights movements in the 1950s to fill at least some of the identified gap in historical research in Rhetoric and Composition Studies.

Brief History of Dual Enrollment Origins

In at least the last sixty years, DE courses have become an increasingly popular way for students to earn college credit. Students who participate in these courses do so dually—as high school students that upon access, placement, and admission, enroll and obtain credit for their high school and college course(s) simultaneously. Since the advent

of DE courses¹ in the 1950s (Estes; Radcliffe and Hatch), enrollment has grown rapidly. The most recent data records at least 2 million students enrolled in the United States in 2010-11 (Thomas et al. 8). The number of students enrolled in college-level first-year writing (FYW) courses as well as the number of FYW DE programs in the U.S. is not known. However, it is recorded that college-level first-year writing was one of the first courses to be offered to high school students for dual credit. “College-level English” (described as a course in composition and literature) (Estes 332) has been available at the University of Connecticut’s Cooperative Program for Superior Students (“rebranded” the UConn Early College Experience in 2005) since the program began in 1955 (“About”).

There are multiple reasons that college-level first-year writing was one of the first courses offered in this setting, all of which seem to have been a response to the instillation of the first-year writing requirement at Harvard—and Charles W. Eliot’s role in that creation—in 1885. At this point Harvard, other colleges and high schools, and national organizations began seeking ways to better prepare high school students for college. In 1885, Eliot approved the first-year writing requirement. Shortly thereafter, many institutions also developed required first-year college-level writing classes. The same year that Eliot approved the first-year writing requirement, in response to what Robert J. Connors refers to as the creation of the “first literacy crisis” in American colleges (“Rhetoric in the Modern University” 66), Eliot suggested a national board to develop and administer college entrance examinations (Schudson 43).

In 1892, Eliot was appointed chairman of the National Education Association’s Committee of Ten, a committee “charged with formulating a better curricular mesh between school and college” (Schudson 43). In 1900, chief publicist of the report of the

Committee of Ten, Nicholas Murray Butler, (with the support of Eliot) went on to create the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB).² English was one of the nine subject areas included on the first CEEB examination given in 1901 (Schudson 45).

In 1952, the General Education in School and College committee released a report of the 1951 graduating class of Harvard that aided in further development of college-level writing courses prior to college. In the report, it was found that many students were repeating courses in college that were required in high school. Therefore, according to Joseph Jones, the committee recommended particular courses of study for high school to be followed by achievement tests to “enable qualified students to enter college with sophomore standing” (49). English language and literature were two of the eight separate curricular areas for testing proposed by the committee. Although a writing sample was not a part of the CEEB exams prior to 1959 (Valentine 88), English language and writing exams had long been a way for institutions to determine if students were “qualified” for college admission.

In 1952, the Ford Foundation’s Fund for the Advancement of Education sponsored an experimental “Advanced Standing” program known as the “Kenyon Plan” at Kenyon College in Ohio. This program allowed select high school students to take courses that upon completion and examination would give them partial or full credit for college-level courses (Jones 59; Radcliffe and Hatch 9). With the help of the Educational Testing Service (ETS) the first tests—that were based on the course subjects—were administered in 1954 (Jones). Two separate exams were given for English—one in literature and one in composition. The pilot courses and subsequent exams and scores led to the interest and adoption of the Kenyon Program by the CEEB in 1955. Once the

CEEB assumed responsibility, they renamed the program the Advanced Placement Program (Radcliffe and Hatch 9).

As institutions began participating in AP programs, other institutions developed individual “Advanced Standing” programs that were completely detached from AP “to meet the needs of their particular communities” (Radcliffe and Hatch 19). The earliest recorded advanced standing dual enrollment program began in 1955 as the University of Connecticut’s Cooperative Program for Superior Students. At least one of the original seven high schools to participate in this program, Manchester High School, offered “a ‘College Level English’ course since the inception of the program” (Estes 332).

In 1976, California was the first state to adopt dual enrollment policy in the form of a state mandate that allows the governing board of a school district to determine which students would benefit most from dual enrollment courses in order to “ensure a smoother transition from high school to college for pupils by providing them with greater exposure to the collegiate atmosphere” (Mokher and McClendon; Friedman et al.; California Education Code “Advanced Education”). This has led some sources, such as Mokher and McClendon to refer to DE’s origins as the 1970s. This is supported with the creation of the long-standing Syracuse University Project Advance (SUPA), which began in 1972. According to other sources, such as Karp et al. and the U.S. Department of Education DE programs originated in 1985 in Minnesota, as this was the first state to develop legislative policies for DE programs (*Dual Enrollment: Accelerating the Transition to College*). What is now the only national accreditation agency for dual enrollment programs, the National Alliance of Concurrent Enrollment Partnerships (NACEP), was founded in 1997. Patricia A. Moody and Margaret D. Bonesteel note that the creation of NACEP

was “spearheaded” by Syracuse University on the basis of their SUPA program. Because a history of DE has yet to be written, prominent scholars of DE build upon what has been published and reference the programs as originating the 1970s (Hansen, “Composition Marketplace”; Farris et al.; Hansen et al.; Moody and Bonesteel; Moreland and Miller)³.

The history that has been reported is almost identical to how those institutions offering the courses have marketed them. Specifically, up until this point, it has been assumed and reported that the programs were created to give *all students* a way to advance more quickly and more cheaply through college and the first-year writing requirement. However, there are now multiple recorded accounts of current disparities in enrollment in dual enrollment courses for students of color, which counters proponent’s claims of DE as being a way to grant college access for “all” (Hugo; Palaich et al; Moreland and Miller). My main goal of the work in this dissertation will be to historicize and racialize what has been too generally tied to college access, as access is now a large stated goal of DE. This is especially important as enrollment in dual enrollment composition courses continues to grow at alarming rates.

Statement of the Problem

Scholars have explained how the race and class of the influx of students because of open enrollment are a large reason for the development of the “literacy crisis” of the 70s and therefore basic writing courses (Lamos “Literacy Crisis and Color-Blindness”; Shaughnessy; Thomas P. Miller). However, desegregation is not a continual part of composition’s historical treatment of open enrollment and basic writing at the college level. As Connors and Berlin explain, historical narratives are important to Rhetoric and Composition Studies because they help us understand where we have been and where we

want to go. The erasure of significant cultural moments of the 50s and 60s in composition's history might help explain the underdeveloped history and important narrative that was developing during that time—that of DE writing courses. Now, Rhetoric and Composition Studies faces these institutionally mandated programs with little knowledge of how, where, or why they started.

A historical investigation into the origins of DE programs, which developed in the context of civil rights movements of the 50s and 60s, can further develop an understanding of how these programs have operated historically, which will enhance future research.

One of the main tenets of the civil rights movements of the 50s and 60s was access to education and literacy, which has historically been denied to African Americans and other people of color. In 1896, the “separate but equal” doctrine derived from the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* allowed state-sponsored segregation. The Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board I* and *II* rulings of 1954 and 1955 mandated integration in school systems, which undoubtedly influenced literacy in all educational systems, including higher education. This is especially the case where it concerns DE students as they are simultaneously students in secondary and postsecondary institutions.

UConn began their DE program at 7 original high school locations surrounding Hartford, Connecticut one year after the 1954 *Brown v. Board* ruling. One year later, whites' resistance to *Brown v. Board I* across the United States prompted the *Brown v. Board II* ruling which required integration “with all deliberate speed.” And while segregation was illegal in Connecticut for years leading up to *Brown*, the original school districts that participated in DE programs at UConn would eventually become a part of

the 1989 lawsuit and 1996 Supreme Court ruling of *Sheff v. O'Neill*. In *Sheff v. O'Neill*, it was found that the public schools in the Hartford area never fully integrated. As such, Hartford schools were racially and ethnically isolated and deprived students of equal education opportunities and access to higher education. Legal scholars, such as Mary Jane Lee and Alicia L. Mioli, argue that *Sheff v. O'Neill* is an almost exact replica of *Brown v. Board I and II*. The *Sheff v. O'Neill* case is significant because it shows that Waugh avoided Hartford schools to participate in the original DE programs. The schools in Hartford would operate for years without the same access to higher education as schools surrounding Hartford—where the majority of students were white.

My dissertation will broaden the context of DE and of college access as I interrogate the nature of DE practices at their core during creation, and the circumstances under which they evolved, the same year as the 1955 *Brown v. Board II* ruling. I also show the connection between the program origins to current DE program practices with a disparate impact analysis of testing genres that determine student access. My analysis shows how students of color are not accessing the programs at the same rate of white students, which is reflective of the program origins.

To do this work, I look to scholarship that focuses on dual enrollment in higher education, dual enrollment composition, the African American civil rights movements in the United States, and Rhetoric and Composition Studies history and theory. I also rely largely on the collection and analysis of archived documents that shed light on the construction, inception, and operation of the first dual enrollment composition courses that began at the University of Connecticut's Connecticut Cooperative Program for Superior Students. Finally, I attempted to conduct a validity study—a disparate impact

analysis—of testing practices that determine student access and enrollment in DE writing courses at a large, local, community college.

Chapter Organization

In Chapter 2, I contextualize how racial “progress,” especially where it concerns literacy and education of people and students of color in the United States, has historically been met with whites’ resistance. I extend what is known about how *Brown v. Board* was met with whites’ fear and resistance to integration—particularly in the form of white flight. White flight led to further segregation in educational institutions in the North as well as the South despite legislation and perceived progress of *Brown*. While white resistance to court-mandated integration is well-known and highly documented in the South, that resistance is less documented in the North. This is, I argue, due to white complacency in the North that masked ongoing discrimination against African Americans and people of color.

As I explain in this chapter, in contrast to outward resistance in the South, there was a level of white complacency in the North, especially in Connecticut. Both white resistance in the South and white complacency in the North resisted integration and the advancement of people of color. However, white resistance in the South was more visibly apparent—whites worked and rallied against the advancement of people of color in overtly racist ways, such as protest and physical and verbal violence. White complacency, on the other hand, was more incidental and often concealed. I found that many whites in the North, specifically in Connecticut, were complacent in that while they might have had laws against segregation, they did not encourage it or go out of their way to improve the lives of people of color socially, educationally, or professionally.

Understanding this white complacency in Connecticut will contextualize the social climate in Connecticut surrounding the creation of UConn's DE program and the first DE composition courses that did not account for students of color.

In Chapter 3, I detail my archival research and findings pertaining to the creation of the University of Connecticut's Cooperative Program for Superior Students. The Connecticut Cooperative Program for Superior Students (now the UConn Early College Experience) began in 1955 and prides itself as the "longest running concurrent enrollment program in the country" ("About"). To the best of my knowledge, the history of this program has not been investigated or reported in any previous DE scholarship.

I begin this chapter with an overview of the theories I used to conduct research and analyze my findings. For the most part, I largely base my research and methods on aspects of whiteness theory. Using whiteness theory as an interpretive lens and analytical tool allowed me to reflect on my subjectivity as a white, English speaking, cisgender female. It also helped me to avoid reproducing whiteness in my approaches while also critically analyzing the possible racial implications of the development of DE programs. To conduct research and analyze my findings I also use aspects of critical race feminist theory as well as Omi and Winant's discussions of racial formation theory.

In all, I approached my research and analysis using a racial methodology that is situated within the frame of whiteness theory to avoid what Prendergast and Inoue call "absent presence." Inoue argues that the field needs "racial methodologies for our research in composition studies An attention to the ways race functions in and is produced by our research methods is absent in most of the published research" (125). He explains that "In 1998, Catherine Prendergast argued that composition studies has lacked

any consistent treatment of race or investigations of racism. She calls this lack of treatment of race an ‘absent presence’ in the literature, making the study of racism an ‘absent *absence*’” (127). Therefore, my project is “absent *absence*” in that I approached my research in a way to seek information specific to how the race of students may have influenced the creation of the first DE programs at UConn.

In the next section of Chapter 3, I explain my methodological approach to preliminary research and findings. Pertinent to my preliminary research was conversations I had with the university archivist that led me to the journal Albert E. Waugh. Because of the large amount of information in Waugh’s journals regarding the program’s creation and non-existent references to African American civil rights movements, and the civil rights era had started with the *Brown* decision, I was able to develop my research questions and tentative hypothesis. I wanted to know more about the administrative aspects of the program development. I also wanted to know how and if the programs’ creation accounted for students of color and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds or if the programs were developed with the intention of giving white affluent students an educational advantage as schools began to integrate after the *Brown v. Board I* ruling. In order to understand these aspects of the program, I sought to answer the following questions in my archival research: How were the original purposes of the programs articulated? What events and circumstances developed institutionally that influenced the choice to begin the programs? Who was responsible for the decisions that were made that led to the program’s creation—who were the stakeholders, or as Brandt would call “sponsors”? How were the courses marketed to students, parents, instructors, and high school administrators? What students were eligible to take the courses? How

was eligibility determined? How did students pay for the courses? What were the sources of funding? Who would be responsible for teaching the courses? How was student work assessed and graded? And what institutions were going to accept the credits? Are there racial implications to the development of UConn's DE program?

In the next section of the chapter, I narrate the historical origins of this program based on findings from archival research conducted at the UConn's Thomas J. Dodd Research Center. In this section I provide information about program development, implementation, articulation, stakeholders, how the students were assessed in the courses, and details about the curriculum, among other things.

Finally, drawing from scholarship and what I found during my archival research, I then expand upon the implications of the creation of The Connecticut Cooperative Program for Superior Students in the context of *Brown v. Board*. I explain how while I was able to answer some of my research questions, I did not find that the programs were started with the specific intent of separating students of color from white affluent students. However, I also found that the programs were not created to account for student of color either, which I argue was an institutional absent presence. The first participating schools in UConn's DE program surrounded Hartford, Connecticut. These communities that would later be court-ordered to desegregate their schools because of the lack of educational opportunities for students of color in the Hartford area. There was no reference to integration, African American civil rights, or *Brown* in any of the documentation regarding DE's development—while there were numerous references to the Cold War and influx of students after WWII. I argue that like the majority of whites in Connecticut, Waugh and other stakeholders of the DE program's creation were

complacent—they were enacting white complacency, a form of white resistance to integration and the advancement of people and students of color.

In Chapter 4, I connect the past to the present as I explain how the lack of historical knowledge in DE has led inconclusive reports of how DE programs operate to carry out the goals of first-year writing in Rhetoric and Composition Studies scholarship with a specific focus on access and assessment. Despite the intended (and marketed) purposes of DE programs today, Keith D. Miller and I found that while students of color are the majority in Texas, white students make up the majority of students enrolled in DE programs. And, in my archival research, I found that DE programs were created with white complacency. In this chapter, I build upon this previous research focused on DE enrollment to interrogate fairness issues surrounding student DE admission and placement assessment practices, to focus on the implications of practices that determine student eligibility and access of DE programs. While previous research about access was based on data from Texas, for the work in this chapter I chose a more localized system. This institution, which I will refer to as Arizona College (AC), is one of the largest community college systems in the U.S. with DE course offerings at local high schools. As I illustrate in this chapter, DE enrollment data at this institution was not reported or available. Therefore, there is not transparency of the scores that are necessary to determine the fairness, reliability, and validity of the institution's pre-college assessment for students seeking to be enrolled in courses that allow students to gain high school and college credit simultaneously. The findings in this chapter highlight the marginalizing aspects of DE writing, which is reflective of the creation of the first-year writing requirement and placement exams that determine student access in these courses. This

chapter exemplifies how the marginalizing aspects of DE's origins at UConn are present in DE access and assessment in these courses today.

In Chapter 5 I discuss how the absent presence, white complacency, and white resistance in the development of DE program requires more research and more of a focus from those in the field of Rhetoric and Composition Studies. I pose questions that arose for me throughout this project—questions I hope can act as a starting point for eventual changes that will work to the advantage of students of color seeking to gain FYW credit in DE courses or otherwise.

In this concluding chapter, I also detail what I learned about seeking to narrate a history based on archival research. I explain how this history is far from complete, but, hopefully, encourages more historical research about DE and developments in the field during African American civil rights movements.

My ultimate hope for this dissertation is that the history presented problematizes many aspects of DE programs and complicates current knowledge of Rhetoric and Composition Studies in ways that expand interest and understanding of how white complacency has influenced writing programs, the damaging impact of absent presence, and how white complacency has and continues to influence DE composition courses.

CHAPTER TWO

WHITES' RESISTANCE TO INTEGRATION

“When you're accustomed to privilege,
equality feels like oppression” –Anonymous

In the United States, there is evidence that whites have feared how educated and literate people of color would change whites' way of life, social status, power, and privilege. Whites' resistance is well documented in the South; however, my research—the origins of dual enrollment—takes place in the North. It is a common misconception that the North was free of prejudice to African Americans during and after slavery. In his speech, “The Ballot or the Bullet,” Malcolm X said, “If you are black, you were born in jail, in the North as well as the South. Stop talking about the South. As long as you are South of the Canadian border, you are South.” Building upon the words of Malcolm X, Joy M. Leighton writes that the myth of the North is like that of “American innocence and the ‘New World,’ that has been passed on and kept alive in the metanarrative of America; it is another promised land that is always beyond reach” (69). I argue that this “myth” extends to the intent versus the reality of the *Brown v. Board I* and *II* rulings.

The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education I* ruling struck down the “separate but equal” doctrine outlined by the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. Derrick Bell explains that “noble image” of *Brown* was “dulled by resistance to any but minimal steps toward compliance (*Silent Covenants* 4). *Brown v. Board* was a blow to white resistance and was met with variations of white opposition to the ruling. The *Brown* ruling was met with well-documented massive white resistance, white flight, white complacency, and what I argue later in this dissertation can be considered institutional absent presence as exemplified at the University of Connecticut.

This chapter extends what is known about whites' resistance to integration and literacy development of people of color in the North with a focus on Connecticut—the site of the “longest-running” DE program in the United States. In Connecticut, the site of my historical research, white resistance was more subversive and subtle, nuanced, and discrete than in the South—and came in the form of white complacency. I look specifically at the historical context of the development of DE programs with a focus on how whites' opposition to the social and political rise of people of color—via housing and education among other things—was heightened with the *Brown v. Board* ruling.

In this chapter I explain how whites have hindered literacy and education for people of color before and after *Brown*, in the South as well as the North through resistance, flight, and complacency. I do so in order to contextualize the historical origins of DE courses that began in 1955. I first detail court rulings and white resistance to advancements of people of color prior to the *Brown v. Board* proceedings. Next, I detail the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court case and 1954 Supreme Court ruling with a 9-0 vote. I then explain the resistance to the ruling that led to the *Brown v. Board II* ruling in 1955. I detail how *Brown v. Board* impacted communities and education, including post-secondary education. I do this by emphasizing whites' resistance to these court-ordered changes outwardly in the South and more ambivalently in the North. Finally, I briefly emphasize the significance of whites' resistance and ambivalence towards the educational and literacy advancements of people of color in Connecticut—the site the first DE composition courses.

Events Leading Up to *Brown v. Board*

Prior to the Civil War, there were various ideas about how and to what extent people of color and enslaved persons should be educated. In the South, laws against slave literacy were very clear. In 1740, slave literacy was banned in South Carolina. By 1834, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama had similar laws that made literacy for slaves illegal (Fox 120). In “The Laws of Ignorance,” Ralph Erickson explains that in the North, the “inconsistent education laws” were reflective of the “ambivalent feelings of Northern whites toward free Blacks and slaves” (208). Erickson gives the example of Ohio, where “whites burned black schools as fast as they could be built” (208). Carmen Kynard emphasizes how by the end of the nineteenth century “most Northern states had legislation that forbid racial segregation in public schools. These laws, however, were always openly defied” (156).

At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the United States government established The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (known as the Freedmen’s Bureau). Among other things, the Bureau provided legal services to help formerly enslaved persons avoid being exploited for labor; the Bureau was also in charge of developing a system of education for freed slaves. The Freedmen’s Bureau schools did have some success. One notable “outgrowth” of the Freedmen’s Bureau was Howard University.⁴ The successes of schools, such as Howard, did not come without prolonged struggle and opposition from Southern government officials and Southern whites.

The Freedmen’s Bureau was created, in part, because the United States assumed “charge of the emancipated Negro as ward of the nation” (DuBois, “The Freedmen’s Bureau” 357). This created a kind of moral obligation for the government to aid freed

slaves. Derrick Bell explains that whites who “sought an end to desegregation” did so on “moral grounds” or for “pragmatic reasons” (“Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma” 525). Sharissa Staples explains that black leaders “pushed for education for newly freed slaves because they believed that educated blacks would appeal to white America’s morals” (46). However, more prominent than morality was whites’ “desire to maintain white supremacy by any means necessary” (Staples 46).

In “The Freedmen’s Bureau,” W.E.B. DuBois explains that whites in the South were “bitter” about the education of ex-slaves as “the South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro” (361). DuBois adds to this statement that “the South was not wholly wrong; for education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent” (361). Fox explains that “the act of writing itself, for a slave, challenged the very ideological structure of slavery” (122). Therefore, persons forced into slavery were often punished for developing their literacies because literacy was empowering.

In some cases the Freedmen’s schools were productive; in other cases, as the Freedmen’s Bureau developed and took charge of schools for recently emancipated students, the instruction at the schools reflected less and less of what would best serve the students. Over time instruction in the Freedman’s Schools “switched from literacy for liberation to literacy for social control” (Fox 125). In some cases, the instructors began teaching students vocational trades as well as “manners” and “individual industry,” while other schools with religion-based curriculum focused on teaching “temperance” “piety,” “domesticity” (Fox 125). Solomon K. Smith details how in other cases, such as reported in Louisiana, the “mere presence of the schools and the enfranchisement of blacks

elicited a strong white backlash” (446). Some instructors were assaulted and threatened with death by whites who saw the literacy advancement and education of freed slaves as a “threat to their traditional way of life” (Smith 438). In Shreveport, multiple freedmen were murdered—one right outside of the Bureau office (Smith 462). Because of violence and insufficient funds for military reinforcements, the Freedman’s Bureau in Shreveport closed in 1868— a mere three years after it opened.

Soon, Southern whites and their government officials found a way to put an end to the Bureau entirely—claiming that it was originally intended to act as only temporary relief for the displaced citizens. Du Bois explains the decline: “the South, nursing its own deep prejudices, came easily to ignore all the good deeds of the Bureau, and hate its very name with perfect hatred” (“The Freedmen’s Bureau” 364). Southern government officials, specifically Senator [Garrett] Davis of Kentucky, argued that it is unconstitutional to “stand guardian over its helpful guards” (Dubois “The Freedmen’s Bureau” 364). While Davis’ intent was not to advance the right to vote to men of color, that was the result. DuBois explains that “the Freedmen’s Bureau died and its child was the Fifteenth Amendment” (“The Freedmen’s Bureau” 364).

The educational work of the Bureau continued until 1872 and with its end came the closing of many of the schools. Freedmen Bureau offices and schools eventually disbanded across the country for similar reasons—lack of funding, lack of support, and intense white opposition that was supported by political leaders in the South. According to DuBois, the Freedmen’s schools had the potential to form “a great school of prospective citizenship” to empower African Americans (“The Freedmen’s Bureau” 364). However, as Fox points out years later, the rise and fall of Freedmen’s Schools show

“with historical depth the ways that literacy education has for the most part failed to generate social or political power for African Americans” (127). The events surrounding the Freedmen’s Bureau schools exemplify how the majority of whites in the United States have historically viewed the literacy development of African Americans and people of color as a potential threat to their structural and social privilege.

“Separate but Equal”

The 1896 Supreme Court ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson* substantiated existing segregation in education and created a plethora of new segregation laws at the state level. In 1892, Homer Plessy sat in a car reserved for whites on a train in Louisiana, which was a violation of Louisiana’s Separate Car Act. Acting on Plessy’s appeal, the Supreme Court held that state-sponsored segregation did not violate the fourteenth amendment, which upheld the Louisiana statute, and therefore the validity of the “separate but equal” doctrine nationwide. Derrick Bell explains that segregation gained momentum and potency with the *Plessy* ruling:

Segregation laws were widespread in the dozen or so years before the *Plessy* decision. Now, with the Court’s implicit approval, the decade of the twentieth century witnessed the enactment of a wide variety of segregation statutes. No detail seemed too small as laws required segregation at work, at play, and at home. Public schools were always separate and almost always vastly unequal. (*Silent Covenants* 12)

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling reinforced and intensified racial segregation that was prominent during the Jim Crow Era.

The Jim Crow Era lasted roughly from 1877-1968.⁵ Jim Crow is the name of a popular minstrel character played by Thomas Dartmouth Rice. David Pilgrim explains:

Rice and his imitators, by their stereotypical depictions of blacks, helped to popularize the belief that blacks were lazy, stupid, inherently less human, and unworthy of integration. During the years that blacks were being victimized by lynch mobs, they were also victimized by the racist caricatures propagated through novels, sheet music, theatrical plays, and minstrel shows. Ironically, years later when blacks replaced white minstrels, the blacks also ‘blackened’ their faces, thereby pretending to be whites pretending to be blacks. . . . which [also] dehumanized blacks and helped establish the desirability of racial segregation.

(“Who was Jim Crow?”)

By dehumanizing black people, Jim Crow laws promoted whites’ lack of concern for the literacy development of people of color. Tom Fox writes that “literacy in the Western world has been associated with humanity, the very quality of being a human. The racists beliefs that allowed slavery to exist defined slaves as subhuman incapable of or unsuited to many intellectual tasks, not the least of which was literacy, and especially writing” (122).

The Jim Crow era, then, in conjunction with the outcome of *Plessy v. Ferguson* resulted in the increase of laws supporting the segregation of black and white schools, drinking fountains, seating sections on buses and trains, and laws against interracial marriage, among many others. With the *Plessy* ruling, whites were free to have innumerable laws that separated whites and blacks socially, educationally, and

occupationally. As long as people of color were provided separate facilities, and those spaces were deemed “equal” by whites, then segregation in all venues of daily life were legal according to the “separate but equal” doctrine derived from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. For schools to legally integrate, *Plessy v. Ferguson* would have to be overturned.

Segregation in Post-Secondary Institutions

Court cases involving segregation in post-secondary institutions set the foundation for the *Brown v. Board* arguments and rulings. In the case of higher education, *Plessy v. Ferguson* should have made it so that facilities, albeit segregated, were provided for students of color where previously there had been none. However, this was not carried out in many institutions. Largely white infrastructures based on whiteness ideologies, what Omi and Winant would call a racial formation, made it extremely difficult for students of color to access higher education and, once there, even more difficult to have resources that were available to white students.

Prior to 1950 there were few post-secondary institutions that allowed students of color admittance. There were even fewer graduate programs available to students of color. Prior to 1950, some states refused to develop graduate programs for black students offered out-of-state tuition vouchers instead (Edward A. Hatfield). Between 1936 and 1950 this practice was eventually ruled unconstitutional—and the federal judiciary “ordered recalcitrant state governments to create ‘substantially equal’ black graduate schools or admit black students to state-supported white universities” (Hatfield). Students of color, then, were admitted to higher education institutions on a case-by-case basis and usually relied on a court-imposed ruling.

One example of a court-ordered admittance is the 1938 ruling of *Gaines v. Canada*. In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that Lloyd Gaines “should be admitted to the University of Missouri Law School because he could not find equal facilities anywhere else in the state” (“The Supreme Court: The Fading Line” 16). Instead of admitting Gaines to the University of Missouri Law School, the Missouri legislature set up a law school that was *supposedly equal* to that of the University of Missouri’s Law School. The Lincoln University law school was built in an old beauty academy and was “ultimately short-lived” (Stout). Gaines never attended the Lincoln University Law school as one night in 1939 he went to buy postage stamps and was never seen again (Stout).

The resistance of many post-secondary institutions to admitting students of color or provide them with access to graduate programs resulted in multiple legal cases, some of which were funded by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. This fund was established by Thurgood Marshall in 1940 and was extremely beneficial after World War II because of the influx of students, specifically black students, seeking to use their GI benefits but blocked by segregation. The influx of students after WWII has a significant role in the history of Composition Studies. However, the influx of students was not a fluid process like some of the historical narratives in our field imply. There was, in many cases, a large amount of resistance from largely white institutions to enroll veterans of color (Bell *Silent Covenants*).

Black students were no more allowed to access predominantly white colleges after WWII than they were prior to the war—because the colleges were not legally required to integrate. The resistance of white colleges to integrate after the war is

reflective of the military, which was still segregated until 1948 when President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9981. The G.I. Bill did result in a gain in enrollment in historically black colleges—an increase so large students were often in overcrowded classrooms, such as the case in places like Mississippi where white colleges outnumbered black colleges 5 to 1 (Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White*). In all, returning black veterans were still subject to “separate but equal facilities” after WWII, which, as history tells us, were hardly equal to the facilities of white students.

The *Sweatt v. Painter* case is another significant post-secondary legal case. In 1950, Thurgood Marshall represented Hermon Marian Sweatt, who had been denied admittance to the then segregated University of Texas Law School. Derrick Bell explains that while the Supreme Court ruling granted Sweatt admittance to the University of Texas Law School, there was little progress for integration as the Court “granted relief to the plaintiff without reaching the issue of the constitutionality of separate but equal education facilities” (*Silent Covenants* 16).

Gaines v. Canada, *Sweatt v. Painter*, and other cases that focused on integration and access in higher education created an opportunity for a focus on the legality of segregation in all educational institutions. Post-secondary cases provide numerous examples of how separate facilities provided by whites for students of color, were inherently unequal to those of white students. This is significant because DE students would bridge the gap between high school and college—students of color seeking to enroll in these courses would face white resistance on both fronts.

Segregation in Secondary Schools

In public school systems, many of the disparities in resources for students of color were due to how segregation resulted in the unequal allocation of funds for schools and per-pupil expenditures. According to the 14th amendment, funds in a school district should have been equally distributed to black and white schools. That was rarely the case. In 1926, it was reported in NAACP's magazine *The Crisis* that in Georgia there was "an average per-pupil expenditure of \$36.29 for whites and \$4.59 for blacks, and average teachers' salaries of \$97.88 per month for whites and \$49.41 for blacks" (Bell, *Silent Covenants* 15). Black students attended schools with inadequate facilities, no buses to get to and from school, the textbooks were outdated (in the case that textbooks are available at all). In some cases, the schools did not have enough desks for the students in attendance, students had to use the restroom outside or in buckets because there were no restrooms inside. Some black teachers were paid up to two-thirds less than white teachers in the same school district. Some schools for black students did not operate during the harvest seasons so students could work—while the white schools in the same district would remain open.

White policymakers manipulated how funds would be allocated in many communities. Funding for public education has historically been dependent on local property taxes in a school district. The more the properties are worth, the higher the taxes, and the more funds are available for a school district—this is still the case today. Prior to *Brown v. Board*, many people of color did not own property and were unable to vote because of local ordinances imposed by whites. Because of this, an overabundance of white local and state government officials were responsible for the allocation of funds.

The result was serious negligence of students, teachers, and facilities of schools designated for students of color. Denying black citizens the right to vote, coupled with Jim Crow laws and the “separate but equal” doctrine of *Plessy*, there was a vicious cycle of systemic racism, oppression, and illiteracy for African Americans in the United States.

Brown exemplifies how property and voting rights for African Americans in this era are tied to rights in higher education and attention to literacy development. Carmen Kynard explains that for years black citizens “financed public higher education for whites” (48) as black colleges “had no endowments” while “blacks’ taxes were endowing the funds of white colleges” (49). However, even where black citizens owned property and paid taxes, without the opportunity to vote there was little to no resources for black colleges because white citizens were those that determined where and how funds were allocated for secondary and postsecondary institutions; therefore, in the majority of cases white colleges and students were given the money and reaped the benefits. While black students and citizens protested and continuously influenced literacy practices in higher education (Kynard 66), whites worked against them (structurally, systemically, and otherwise) to best serve the interest of white students.

In *Literacy and Racial Justice*, Catherine Prendergast argues that during this era, there was a “conception of literacy as White property” (11). Prendergast explains that the “ideology of literacy has been sustained primarily as a response to perceived threats to White property interests, White privilege, the maintenance of “White” identity, or the conception of America as a White nation” (7). Throughout the *Brown* case, many whites sought ways to privilege white students where it concerned literacy and higher education—whiteness was property and access to literacy was capital.

The cases that led to *Brown* at the primary and secondary level are closely linked to higher education and are pertinent to this project because of the connection that dual enrollment courses would go on to forge between secondary and post-secondary institutions. The development of dual enrollment programs in the 1950s, in the context of *Brown*, is significant in that it provided a means for whites students to get ahead in higher education more quickly—while still in high school. Dual enrollment links secondary and post-secondary education in multiple ways—primarily in how it provides “qualifying” high school students an opportunity to advance more quickly (and cheaply) through higher education than their peers.

Brown v. Board

The power each state was given with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling justified segregation. However, integration was not the original goal of *Brown v. Board*; rather, black citizens, students, and teachers were simply seeking educational facilities equal to those of white schools.

The case of *Brown v. Board of Education* as heard before the Supreme Court was a combination of five cases: *Briggs v. Elliot* filed in South Carolina in 1950; *Brown v. Board* filed in Topeka, Kansas in 1951; *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* filed in Virginia in 1951; *Gebhart v. Belton* filed in Delaware in 1951, and *Bolling v. Sharpe* filed in Washington D.C. in 1951. I detail these cases to some length since they represent a push for integration in primary and secondary schools systems. A focus on DE in the 1950s would be incomplete without a focus on the high schools—as high school students would become the mainstay of DE programs.

The eventual *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court case began with a request for school buses in Clarendon County, South Carolina. This denied request would lead to the *Briggs v. Elliot* case. Evidence from this case that would be crucial in the *Brown v. Board* ruling.

In 1950, 35 percent of African Americans in Clarendon County over the age of ten were illiterate (Kluger 6). In 1949-50 the per-pupil expenditure for white students in the county was \$179 and \$43 for each black student (Kluger 7). Kluger explains how per-pupil funding worked on a local level to privilege whites and neglect black students:

In heavily black counties like Clarendon, the white officials took pains to count every single colored youngster. . . . But once the all-white county board of education had its hands on the state money, it could divide it up among the schools any way it liked; the way it liked was that black children got a fraction of what they were entitled to on a per-capita basis and white children got a good deal more than they were entitled to. (333)

The schoolhouses were run-down, there were no funds for supplies, and black teachers were paid one-third of what white teachers were paid. Many schools did not have restroom facilities or enough desks for students. Textbooks were out of date and in bad condition—usually given to the black schools after being used and discarded by the white schools. There were thirty school buses for white children and none for black students. Because buses were not available, some students had to walk ten miles to get to school. Harry Briggs Sr., whose 8 eight-year-old son had to walk ten miles to school, was the lead plaintiff in *Briggs v. Elliot*.

Reverend Joseph Albert (J.A.) DeLaine, a teacher at the black school in Clarendon County, was appointed to a committee to seek relief from officials. DeLaine

sought counsel from the NAACP. NAACP strategists agreed that requesting buses “would be the least inflammatory step, and the hardest request for whites to deny” (Kluger 13). Upon request, however, DeLaine was told by white officials that “blacks did not pay much in taxes and it was not fair to expect the white citizens to shoulder a yet heavier economic burden by providing bus transportation for the colored” (Kluger 14). Upon requests sent to the state superintendent and the Attorney General of the United States, DeLaine was directed to local officials. Nathan Margold of the NAACP explained to DeLaine and others in the community that the best way to approach this in the courts, would be to find a way to prove how “separate but equal” was never carried out in public education and on the “least risky terrain possible” (Kluger 135).

As *Briggs v. Elliot* prepared for trial James Francis Byrnes, a white politician, was elected governor of South Carolina. One of his campaign promises was to increase sales tax to fund a 75-million-dollar program to build schools, buy buses, and pay black and white teachers equally. However, there was a catch: Byrnes’ goal was to maintain segregation by providing evidence of the states’ work to equalize black and white schools. On the first day of the *Briggs v. Elliot* trial the white defense attorney, Bob Figg, made a surprising opening argument—that the black schools *were* poorer than those of the whites and needed attention, to which he then championed the new school-building program. This was a rhetorical approach to secure the current system of segregation and unequal allocation of funds for black schools.

The most influential evidence presented in *Briggs* that would later prove crucial to *Brown* was the “doll test” performed by psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark.⁶ This test and results would show the psychological damage that segregation inflicted on black students.

However, in 1952, the court ruled in favor of Elliot. In the decision by the all-white three-judge panel it was determined that the school “must be equalized but not integrated” (*Briggs v. Elliot*. 98 F. Supp. 529). Judge Walter Warring, the only dissenter, did so by referencing higher education. Warring states: “segregation is per se inequality. As heretofore shown, the courts of this land have stricken down discrimination in higher education and have declared unequivocally that segregation is not equality” (*Briggs et al. v. Elliot et al.*). Despite this knowledge, in the final opinion, the judges explain that they believe that the “segregation of the races in the public schools, so long as equality of rights is preserved, is a matter of legislative policy for the several states, with which the federal courts are powerless to interfere” (*Briggs et al. v. Elliot et al.*). Kluger explains the importance of this case as he writes that “what the courts said about the legality of segregation there [in Clarendon County] would affect the fate of all 11.5 million school-age children in the segregating states [in *Brown v. Board*]” (327).

Another case leading up to *Brown* is that of *Dorothy E. Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia*. The situation in Prince Edward County, Virginia was representative of many other communities across the United States. In 1902, Virginia redrew their state constitution. In the new version, anyone that was legally eligible to vote must take a literacy test and pay a 1 to 2 dollar poll tax. This not only disenfranchised blacks, but poor whites as well. Poor whites complied because they were advised that “the preservation of white supremacy required that certain measures be taken to prevent the black voter from gaining political leverage” (Kluger 458). This is noteworthy because white resistance in these communities came in the form of self-

deprivation—as paying the poll tax was a monetary hardship and many poor whites were not literate, therefore making it impossible for them to vote.

In 1939, the first black high school opened in Prince Edward County. By 1950, there was not only a lack of space for students, but also no cafeteria, no gymnasium, unequal pay for teachers, and not enough funds for supplies for the students. Led by 16-year-old student Barbara Johns, the students walked out of the school in protest and continued to strike. Johns and the student body president then sent a letter to the NAACP in Richmond to request help. On May 23, 1951 on behalf of students and their parents, an NAACP lawyer filed suit in Richmond requesting that the state law requiring segregated schools in Virginia be struck down. The first plaintiff listed was Dorothy E. Davis, a 14-year old ninth grader. In 1952, the court decided in favor of the school board and upheld segregation. On appeal, the case joined others for the Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board*.

Bolling v. Sharpe was filed Washington D.C. in 1951. The major claim of the plaintiffs was like the other cases presented in *Brown*—the black schools were “vastly inferior” to a new all-white school that was to be opened in the Anacostia neighborhood in the District of Columbia in 1949 (*Bolling v. Sharpe*).

There were two identical yet separate cases in Delaware that joined together for *Brown v. Board*—*Belton v. Gebhart* and *Bulah v. Gebhart*. In both cases, parents of students sought admittance for their children to all white schools that were closer to their homes and equipped with better facilities and space for students. In both cases, students were denied access. In both actions, plaintiffs argued that denials to white public schools were a violation of their students’ rights under the Equal Protection Clause of the

Fourteenth Amendment. In the end, the court ruled in favor of Bulah and Belton. This ruling allowed the plaintiffs' individual children—Shirley Barbara Bulah and Ethel Louise Belton—as well as nine other black children admittance to the white schools immediately. While the ruling did not impact integration within these communities or on a large scale, the ruling was important in because it pointed to segregation as violation to the “separate but equal” doctrine. Judge Seitz explained in the ruling: “I believe the ‘separate but equal’ doctrine in education should be rejected, but I also believe its rejection must come from that [the Supreme] Court” (*Belton (Bulah) v. Gebhart*).

Public schools in Kansas were largely integrated until after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. After *Plessy*, school districts had justification for segregation. In 1948, a white woman living in a suburb outside of Kansas City, Esther Brown, raised money for a lawsuit against a local school calling for integration; the suit was successful. She then headed to Wichita with the same plea—it was denied. She then went to Topeka and urged the NAACP to push for integration. Many black citizens in the community were hesitant to participate because integration meant they might be out of work if their services were not necessary in predominantly white communities—black lawyers, retailers, teachers, and health care providers, among others, had similar concerns (Kluger 393). In 1903 and again in 1951 parents of black children in Topeka sought to enroll them in all-white schools. The case in 1903 was refused on the basis of *Plessy*. The man picked to head the plaintiff roster in the 1951 case was Oliver Brown, a 32-year-old veteran whose daughter, Linda, had been denied access to a white school. In the end, Judge Huxman found that in Topeka, segregation was supported by *Plessy*. However, it was also found that segregation in public schools had a detrimental effect upon the students.

Brown v. Board I Ruling

For segregation to be deemed illegal nationwide, the Supreme Court would have to strike down the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. NAACP lawyers decided that the best way to do this work would be to consolidate all five previously described cases to appeal to the Supreme Court. Thurgood Marshall, Robert Carter, and Jack Greenburg of the NAACP represented the plaintiffs. In the formal appeal, *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka* was listed as the main case.⁷

The Supreme Court convened to hear the arguments in December of 1952. After 3 days of engagement a day the plaintiffs rested. The panel of all-white justices deliberated for almost six months and could not come to an agreement on a ruling. In June of 1953 the Supreme Court announced that a decision required re-argument and unanimously restored all five cases to the docket for re-argument in October of 1953.

For re-argument, the Supreme Court requested the parties discuss questions specific to the 14th amendment as it pertained to segregation. The approach by the NAACP was to focus on the evolution of the fourteenth amendment and how it perpetuated racism in society. The NAACP lawyers explain:

Segregation was designed to insure inequality—to discriminate on the account of race and color—and the separate but equal doctrine accommodated the Constitution to that purpose. *Separate but equal is a legal fiction* [emphasis mine]. There never was and never will be any separate equality. Our Constitution cannot be used to sustain ideologies and practices which we as a people abhor. (“Brief for Appellants in the cases of *Brown v. Board of Education*”)

Here, the NAACP argues that racism and inequality is “abhor[ed]” by “we” as a people. Not all whites, however, rejected the racist practices that *Plessy* legally enabled. Kluger explains that during the era of Reconstruction “Once the Redeemers of white supremacy took over in the South [a group whites seeking to establish white supremacy in the South at the end of the Civil War] they brought massive peonage, disenfranchisement, segregation, and terror to the colored masses, the brief argued, and *Plessy* legitimized that caste system” (649). Rather than arguing for what white people wanted, the NAACP situated their argument in terms of equality and what was best for “all” in society with intent to improve the lives of people of color. The result and aftermath of *Brown* would exemplify how whites at large were not in favor of equality for people of color as that reality had the potential to strip them of their white privilege.

In December of 1953 the Court adjourned the second arguments. Because of the complexity of the case, Chief Justice Warren wanted to secure all nine justices. In the end, the Supreme Court decision on *Brown* would be unanimous with a 9-0 vote. On Monday, May 17th 1954—over two years since the court had heard the first arguments—the newly appointed Chief Justice Warren read the opinion of the court. Warren first referenced the work of Dr. Kenneth and Mamie Clark’s doll tests and then announced that *Plessy* must be overturned. The Supreme Court, Warren announced, “conclude[d] unanimously that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (*Brown v. Board of Education I*).

Brown v. Board II and “all deliberate speed”

With *Plessy* overturned, the *Brown I* ruling should have ended segregation in

schools. However, there was no deadline for compliance in the ruling—which allowed whites to legally avoid integrating schools. And they did avoid it. Derrick Bell explains how courts side-stepped implementation under the guise of justice as he writes that landmark decisions, such as *Brown*, “are framed in a language that provides at least the appearance of doing justice without unduly upsetting large groups” (*Silent Covenants* 8-9). Bell expands in this way: “Traditional statements of freedom and justice for all, the usual fare on celebratory occasions, serve to mask continuing manifestations of inequality that beset and divide people along lines of color and class” (9). As I explain throughout this dissertation, dual enrollment courses are framed as providing access for “all,” which masks inequalities in the programs.

Because whites did not comply with integration the Supreme Court composed a decree to the *Brown* decision one year after the official ruling. This decree, known as the *Brown v. Board II* ruling, stated that integration should happen with “all deliberate speed.” All deliberate speed was hardly more of a timeframe than none at all. Bell explains:

Our highest court reasoned that its 1954 decision in the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* did not seek to identify and punish wrongdoers, and the implementation order in *Brown II* a year later did not require immediate enforcement. Rather, *Brown II* asserted that delay was required, not only to permit time for the major changes required in Southern school policies, but also—and this is important—to enable accommodation to school integration which ran counter to the views and strong emotions of most Southern whites. (*Faces at the Bottom of the Well*

Brown v. Board II implied a necessity for delay while the nation negotiated how to implement integration in public schools. The ambiguity of *Brown II* led to a similar scene of whites resistance. White resistance—or whitelash—was carried out publicly through massive resistance and more privately through white flight. Both forms of whitelash were intended to maintain a system of white supremacy and privilege in all realms of society—including that of education.

Massive Resistance

Candace Epps-Robertson writes that “*Brown* stoked a fire of fear” (109). The fear ignited immediate resistance from most white Americans. Whites’ fears were based on the unknown; white citizens, law and policymakers were confused about how integration could work and feared how integration would infringe on whites’ privileges. Derrick Bell likens the events following *Brown* to a second reconstruction period as he writes:

the *Brown* decision recreated the nineteenth century’s post-Civil War Reconstruction/Redemption pattern of progress followed by retrogression. It stirred confusion and conflict into the always-vexing question of race in a society that, despite denials and a frustratingly flexible amnesia, owes much of its growth, development, and success to the ability of those dominant members of society who use race to both control and exploit most people, whatever their race. (*Silent Covenants* 5)

The “confusion and conflict” is what legislators would use in support of their opposition to *Brown*. What is known as the Massive Resistance was carried out by citizens through

localized acts of often violent opposition and was supported by a Congressional statement and by subsequent resistance, legislation and inaction that legally halted *Brown*.

In 1956, Southern congressmen and representatives delivered a letter to congress that gave reasons for opposition to integration in educational systems. This letter titled the “Declaration of Constitutional Principles” would become known as the “Southern Manifesto.” The manifesto, signed by 81 representatives and 19 senators from the South points to the *Brown* ruling as an attack on states’ rights that had created “chaos and confusion” (“Declaration of Constitutional Principles”). The short document concludes to pledge that those that had signed will “use all lawful means” to reverse the decision (“Declaration of Constitutional Principles”).

In 1956, one of the Southern Manifesto’s signatories, Virginia’s Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. passed a group of laws known as the Massive Resistance package—with the intent of preventing integration (“Massive Resistance”).

In analyzing the Massive Resistance in Virginia, Epps-Robertson finds that the rhetoric was “paternalistic” and “relied heavily on creating an audience who would understand it as their (white) civic duty to uphold segregation” to maintain a “safe (white) society” (111). Additionally, Epps-Robertson explains that the language of the Massive Resistance was “entrenched in a belief that to be a good citizen one had to uphold the racial hierarchy” (117). The white citizens in Virginia, then, were given the impression that there was nothing wrong with resisting integration in that they were acting as “good” citizens upholding their “civic duty.” Ultimately, some schools in Virginia closed for up to a year to avoid integration—schools stayed segregated rather than open despite what this meant for not only black students, but white students as well.

Resistance was not confined to Virginia. The Southern Manifesto gave what Gerard Robinson calls the “ideological green light” for massive resistance across the country (“The Southern Manifesto”). In the South, there are innumerable accounts of outward resistance and opposition to integration. In 1956 Autherine Lucy was the first African American student admitted to the University of Alabama; she was expelled three days later for her “own safety” because of the backlash/whitelash from students on campus who protested her admittance. In 1957, nine black students were to formally integrate Central High School in Little Rock Arkansas, but were turned away by the National Guard as ordered by the governor of Arkansas for the “students’ own protection.” These students, known as the Little Rock Nine, did eventually attend the school despite of protests from individuals and organized groups such as the Mother’s League—a group of white women from a local Baptist Church who opposed integration. In 1960, 6-year-old Ruby Bridges was the first African American student to attend an all-white elementary school in New Orleans. Escorted by federal marshals, Ruby was confronted by white protestors holding signs, shouting, and throwing objects at her. Every parent withdrew their student/s from the school and only one teacher, Barbara Henry, agreed to teach Ruby. Bridges completed first grade as the only student in Henry’s class the entire year.

Kevin M. Kruse explains that “conventional wisdom has held that they [segregationists] were only fighting *against* the rights of others. But, in their own minds, segregationists were instead fighting *for* rights of their own—such as the ‘right’ to select their neighbors, their employees, and their children’s classmates” (9). White citizens’ initial reaction was to integration in the South was physical violence and protest. Despite

these protests, however, laws would not allow them to keep schools closed or reverse the *Brown* decision. Some whites thought that private school would be the answer, but in some communities this was not economically plausible. Some schools decided to not order integration at all because the state would shut them down (such as promised by the then governor of Georgia, Herman Talmadge) (Kruse 131). Therefore, whites found other ways to avoid integration. In North and South, resistance was possible through housing.

Discriminatory housing measures in conjunction with the migration of whites led to the continuation of segregated schools. As more steps were taken to ensure integration, “By the tens of thousands, whites fled embroiled cities, some on the verge of anarchy, and headed for the country where their personal safety could be better protected and their children would not be required by court order to be educated alongside black youngsters” (Kluger 761). This movement, known as white flight, had been commonplace in the North prior to *Brown*—and intensified in the South in the years following *Brown*.

In *A More Beautiful and Terrible History*, Jeanne Theoharis explains that New York City, Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles and other major cities outside the South never developed or implemented plans to desegregate schools after *Brown*. Rather, whites across the United States, in the North as well as the South, continued to fight integration.

White Flight

In the North, white flight began taking place after the Civil War as black Americans moved North. In the South, white flight was a response to the *Brown* ruling as communities integrated. According to Dirk Hoerder et al., “Motives for migration are always related to degrees of constraint” (xxviii). The “constraint” for whites seemed to be the idea of sharing privilege with people of color. In addition, whites were motivated to

move to maintain control of their privilege in public spaces, jobs, public transportation, and schools (Lis Suzanne). Derrick Bell writes that, “the *Brown* decision marked the beginning of the end of Jim Crow oppression in all its myriad forms” (*Silent Covenants* 2). However, by moving away from integrated communities, whites found a way to create segregated communities that were mirror reflections of communities during the Jim Crow era. While the processes of white flight were different in the North and the South, the impact on education was the same.

In *The Possessive Investment of Whiteness*, George Lipsitz discusses extensively how discriminatory housing measures privileged/privileges whites and aids/aided in maintaining segregated communities. Lipsitz explains that owner-occupied homes constitute “the single greatest source of wealth for white Americans.” Further, he explains that, as laws increased that forbade discriminatory housing measures, whites took the next step in maintaining segregated communities—they moved (33).

In *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, Kevin M. Kruse looks to white flight to make connections between massive resistance and modern conservatism. While his text focuses on Atlanta and the South, Kruse explains the implications and motivations of white flight were the same in the North and South. Kruse contends that for conservatives and segregationists, white flight was more than physical relocation: “It was a political revolution.” Kruse explains:

While national politicians wages a reactionary struggle in the courts and Congress to preserve the old system of de jure segregation, those at the local level were discovering a number of ways in which they could preserve and, indeed, perfect the realities of racial segregation outside the

realm of law and politics. Ultimately, the mass migration of whites from cities to the suburbs proved to be the most successful segregationist response to the moral demands of the civil rights movement and the legal authority of the courts. (8)

White flight, then, created a way for whites to avoid the legal imposition of segregation. Ultimately, re-segregation due to white flight left many schools facing the same problems, if not worse, than they did prior to *Brown*.

In the South

Atlanta, Georgia the site of Kruse's work, prided itself during the 1950s as the "City Too Busy to Hate." However, as Kruse explains, "race and residence stood at the forefront" (42) of how "many white working-class Atlantans believed that their losses had actually been *caused* by the city's pursuit of 'progress'" (128). The events in Atlanta are representative of how resistance through white flight influenced school systems across the South and United States.

The Collier Heights neighborhood in Atlanta is one example of white flight on a local level. White residents in the neighborhood used discriminatory tactics to keep their community white. However, when they realized that their plans to keep people of color from moving into their neighborhood did not work, all white residents decided to list their homes with black real-estate agents (called realists) as black real estate agents were "denied membership in the whites-only NAREB and, as a result, prohibited from using its copy-righted title of realtor" (Kruse 63). And within a three-month period in 1954, "all 135 homes in Collier Heights changed ownership from whites to black" (Kruse 100). The whites here as in other communities moved to all white neighborhoods or out of the city

to suburbs in order to maintain segregation. This pattern of all-white neighborhoods becoming black neighborhoods and whites moving to the suburbs repeated throughout the city. White flight can have negative effects on communities of people of color as “minorities are often unable to leave unsatisfactory inner city conditions due to racial restrictions, economic restraints. . . . The effects of white flight, among others, are lower rates of job creation, lower average income, lower population growth, higher poverty levels, and higher income gaps” (Suzanne). Additionally, once whites left a neighborhood, black residents would fight “to maintain their high standards for the neighborhood, [however] the city rarely followed suit” (Kruse 75).

Integration also created a divide between whites in the city. As elite whites were able to maintain segregated communities and private spaces—such as country clubs and schools—a dichotomy formed between them and working-class whites who were closest to integration and resisted an increasingly integrated city. Kruse explains: “In the eyes of working-class whites, the desegregation of public spaces was nothing short of a disaster” (106). Upper-class whites, however, had no attachment to integration of public spaces because, “unlike the poor, they had plenty of private alternatives” (Kruse 107). Working-class whites were appalled as they had “long assumed that all white southerners stood united in support of segregation” (Kruse 107). However, the elite whites touted progress while working-class whites fought to maintain segregation. Meanwhile, moderates sought to “control the pace of integration” (Kruse 78). One coalition was set with the task of making sure “community integrity” or homogenous communities maintained a “racial status quo” (Kruse 78).

This had two notable implications on integration in school systems. First, the elite whites and moderates were oftentimes those that held legislative and other positions that were responsible for enforcing integration. In their personal lives, elite whites had the financial and social means to participate in segregated private schools, country clubs, and pools. Because of this, these elite whites were seemingly progressive while they operated on a path of least resistance to the drama of post-*Brown* outrage. These whites became complacent to integration as they did not have to integrate themselves. As I explain in the next chapter, this elitist white complacency would be enacted in the development of DE programs in the North.

The elite white complacency to integration added fuel to the resistance of working-class whites to oppose integration in school systems and beyond. Working-class whites felt betrayed by upper-class whites and acted out towards the entire system of integration, including towards whites they felt supported integration. The working-class communities enacted multiple implicit and explicit acts of violence toward integrated communities, neighborhoods, and public spaces. Black residents were threatened, their homes set on fire, their telephone wires cut, and their lives threatened. Entire communities closed roads to avoid admittance of black citizens. White neighbors turned against one another—threatening those who listed their homes with black realists. A pattern began to happen: “as some [white] residents tried to flee, their neighbors refused to let them” (Kruse 97). Working-class whites did not make the impact they had planned and were enforced by law to integrate in all spaces of public life. Resistant whites in Atlanta made a stand “against Atlanta’s plans for progress” by moving away from the city and far from the reach of enforced integration (Kruse 107). This left many schools as

segregated as they were prior to *Brown*. And “in the suburbs surrounding the city—away from Atlanta, away from the biracial coalition, and away from blacks—whites created the Atlanta of which the city’s segregationists long dreamed” (242). Whites began to see how integration would impact their communities—specifically within public schools—and “as the city’s struggles over segregation entered the realm of education, white middle-class Atlantans found themselves flirting with resistance for the first time” (Kruse 130).

Atlanta eventually adopted a “Freedom of Choice” plan that would later be ruled unconstitutional. The “freedom of choice” plan presumably upheld integration by allowing parents to choose which schools their students went to. For white parents, this was easily achieved. Black parents, however, had to petition and overcome many obstacles for their students to enter the school of their choice. Kruse explains: that “Freedom of choice” plan “was simply segregation in a subtler form” (238). Ultimately in Atlanta, very few black students would be involved in integration until many years later.

Schools avoided integration in other various ways. One way was pupil placement programs that relied on applications, interviews, and tests. These tests determined access to public primary and secondary schools as well as post-secondary institutions. This is similar to how access is determined in DE programs—something that I will discuss at length in chapter 4 of this dissertation. Another way whites avoided integration was a “local option” approach: “If a district decided to keep its public schools, strict pupil placement laws would prevent wholesale integration, and white parents would be able to move their children to segregated schools wherever possible. Alternately, parents could accept a tuition grant from the state to cover the price of private schooling” (Kruse 144). Kruse describes these private schools as “segregation academies” that show “a sign of the

lengths to which they would go to maintain white supremacy” (172). Whites turned to private schools, however, “with no private schools able to qualify for tax-exempt donations, the whole plan proved pointless” (170).

Atlanta is an example that shows how and to what lengths elite, working, and moderate whites were willing to go to maintain white schools and a hold on education and literacy in the United States in the South. As Kruse details, “southern whites fundamentally understood their support of segregation as a defense of their own liberties, rather than a denial of others” (Kruse 31). In support of their own liberties, Southern whites successfully segregated communities throughout the process of white flight within years of the *Brown v. Board* ruling.

Some scholars, such as Allison Shertzer and Randall P. Walsh argue that white flight began much earlier than during the civil rights’ movements of the 1950s. During the Great Migration between 1916-1970, 5 to 6 million African Americans moved from the rural South to the urban North. Shertzer and Walsh explain: “far from being a postwar phenomenon, white flight was a qualitatively important mechanism behind the development of residential segregation by race from the very beginning of the Great Migration” (3). The authors find that white flight in the North began as early as 1910 during the time in which African Americans were moving to the North. Because suburbs did not exist at this point in many places, white flight happened when whites would leave an area in the city to move to all-white communities within the city. Whites would eventually move out of cities almost entirely. Connecticut is one example of how white flight was carried out in the North.

White Flight and Ambivalence in Connecticut

In what is referred to as the “North” there is a connotation of ideological dissonance with the events taking place in the South during the 1950s and 1960s, including white resistance to integration and white flight. This “myth” of the North has been developed because of how the North is constructed as an opposing force to slavery and in support of progress for people of color. Connecticut was also seemingly (at least legislatively) in support of integration and the advancement of people of color. Bell explains that in northern states, such as Connecticut, “Where slavery was more firmly entrenched . . . the efforts of abolitionists met with more opposition. Slavery was wrong, many of these states admitted, but who would compensate the slave owner for the loss of property if abolition laws were enacted? Each of these states adopted gradual abolition statutes designed to lessen the burden that abolition would place on the slave owner” (Bell, *Silent Covenants*, 51). Connecticut stopped the further importation of slaves in 1787. Connecticut abolished slavery in (1784 and 1797) (Bell, *Silent Covenants*, 50). However, in 1840, it was deemed illegal for black citizens to vote.

Connecticut, as well as other states in the North, did legally desegregate within years of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. While Northern states, including Connecticut, were steadily improving legislation for people of color the white citizens were not completely detached from the same ideologies held by white citizens in the South. The state constitution in Connecticut was adopted in 1818 during which time the population of the state was made up of less than 2% non-whites. The constitution declared “all men to be equal in rights. The rights it guaranteed were freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly” (“Connecticut Civil Rights Calendar”). Over time, especially after the Civil War, the population of non-whites in the state continued to

grow. In 1868, a law was passed that required public schools serve all children without discrimination because of race or color (“Connecticut Civil Rights Calendar”). In 1876, the 23rd amendment of the state constitution was amended to eliminate the requirement that voters be white. In 1884, the deprivation of rights on any person because of alienage, color, or race was made punishable by fine and imprisonment (“Connecticut Civil Rights Calendar”). There were amendments to the Connecticut state constitution that deemed discriminatory practices punishable by law, such as: discriminatory practices in the sale of life insurance (1887), discrimination in public accommodations (1905), discriminatory ridicule (1917), the denial of a woman’s right to vote (1920), and discriminatory employment hiring and practices (1947).

In addition to these amendments and laws, the interracial commission was established in 1943 (and renamed the Commission on Civil Rights in 1951) because of a law that required the governor appoint 10 commissioners to investigate employment opportunities, violations of civil liberties, and related matters. Among other things, the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights published a series of Civil Rights Bulletins at least throughout the 1950s and 1960s and conducted multiple studies specifically aimed at the opportunities and violations of the civil rights of citizens within the state of Connecticut. The bulletins, studies, and other publications focused on employment, social relations, education, housing, and other civil rights issues.

Prior to the 1954 *Brown* ruling, the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights reports the relative progression of legislation and legal progress for the increasing improvements for people of color in the state, specifically where it concerns education and integration (“The End of School Segregation”). The commission reports that:

The cumulative record of Connecticut civil rights legislation in the area of race relations probably presents a maximum of progress toward equal opportunity between whites and Negroes achieved by any of the Northern states. The issues of school desegregation and voting rights, which are paramount in the struggle for Negro rights in the deep South today, were resolved in Connecticut within a decade after the close of the Civil War. (Stetler, "Attitudes" 1-2)

However, in multiple studies, the Connecticut state commission on civil rights found housing to be the number one problem for maintaining integration.

One important study, "Changes in Racial Composition and De Facto Segregation in Pupils in the Public Schools of Five Connecticut Cities," reported that between 1950 and 1960, as the nonwhite population in the state grew, there was a steady decline in white populations in city centers and the growth of nonwhite populations in some communities to up to 130 percent. The author of the study, Henry G. Stetler, explains that "The large increment of white families in the suburbs consisted of those who either fled from, or avoided taking up initial residence in the core cities" (1). Hartford, Connecticut was one of the "core" cities. And in 1955 the *New York Times* reported that Connecticut public housing projects show 40 percent segregation ("Housing Bias Revealed").

In 1957, the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights released "Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut." This study explains the problems surrounding the growth of non-segregated neighborhoods. A "flight of white" families in the neighborhood is the main problem, as well as experiences with real estate agents, experiences with white owners, builders, lending institutions, and the "intensity of

opposition as reflected by discriminatory practices” (17). Some of the opposition reported is broken windows, setting the house on fire, poisoned cats, circulated petitions, building fences, prank calls, not letting children play together (20)—all very much like the oppositions of whites in the South. Stetler explains how integration in neighborhoods has the same result in the North and South:

Racial isolation, racial imbalance, or de facto segregation by race are terms frequently used to describe the separation of pupils in the public school systems. Whether such separation results initially from segregation statutes (as in the South), or is the end-product of neighborhood segregation (as in the urban North), the net effect on minority racial groups is the same—creating feelings of economic, social, and psychological inferiority. (6)

The negative psychological effects of segregation on people of color in education (and beyond) was proven in Dr. Clark’s “doll test” for the *Briggs v. Elliot* case and used as evidence and support for the *Brown v. Board* decision.

As much as segregation and racism, structural and social privilege, leads to feelings and psychological feelings of inferiority in people of color—it also leads to psychological supremacy, superiority, and privilege to those that benefit from the inferiority imposed on other groups of people. In Connecticut, because the constitution and laws were written because of a “concern for equality” that seems to distance itself from racism in the South, there was still psychological damage being done to citizens of color in Northern States, such as Connecticut.

Connecticut's promotion of racial equality, without action, for years before *Brown v. Board* created a colorblind and complacent system, and therefore colorblind and complacent citizens. While the state's constitution did not support segregation, there developed a rhetoric of complacency in citizens as in, "our state has laws against discrimination, therefore the work here is done and we (white citizens) do not have to actively engage in or promote integration."

Published by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, the study "Attitudes Toward Racial Integration in Connecticut" shows overwhelming ambivalence in attitudes of whites towards integration and civil rights for African Americans and other communities of color after the 1954 *Brown v. Board* ruling. The purpose of the study was to report "the possible effect of the Southern school desegregation drive on race relations in Connecticut" (2). Stetler reports that the commission developed this particular study because in "preliminary talks" both "black and white leaders in the state seemed to agree that recent events in the South had heightened feelings of race consciousness" within black and white communities in Connecticut (2). The study was made up of 556 white and 527 African American male and female respondents who had variable levels of education, income, length of time as residents in Connecticut, and resided in segregated and non-segregated communities. This result of the study shows Connecticut's white flight and continued segregation within communities and the different perspectives of African American and whites within the state about integration.

The study finds that African Americans are "becoming increasingly impatient with the prospect of having to withdraw—after the day's job is done or school classes are concluded—within the social and psychological barriers of the *invisible ghetto*"

(emphasis mine; 49). The invisibility of the progress of integration and segregation in Connecticut is particularly difficult to pinpoint as there were laws in place that, opposed to the South, would seem to provide black citizens with more power and privilege within their communities. However, as Stetler writes:

The attitudes and practices of our white respondents in substance reflect a desire to move more slowly, and perhaps more cautiously than [African Americans] . . . toward the goal of integration. Although very few whites expressed outright opposition to integration in public schools or employment, the rate of opposition increased progressively in areas where racial interaction involved the acceptance of Negroes on a level of social equality. (49)

Stetler concludes that state-level legislation is not enough in the North or South to end segregation or its detrimental psychological effects on people of color and whites:

“Important as legislation may be for the control of discriminatory acts against persons of other racial, religious, or ethnic origin, such laws are not sufficient by themselves to bring about changes in the climate of opinion with respect to intergroup problems” (50).

In this study, only 22 percent of white respondents agreed that integration is “Desirable now” while 62 percent of African American respondents said they agreed that racial integration is “desirable now” (24). In looking to the controversy in the South at the time, “among our white respondents, those having the most favorable attitudes toward racial integration in Connecticut also regarded the conduct of Southern whites least favorable, and those most prejudiced toward racial integration in Connecticut were mere sympathetic toward Southern whites’ conduct” (21). In all, whites’ opposition to

integration was similar in the North and South. While there is a common myth that the North was free from prejudice, that was not the case. What is a commonality between the North and the South is the ambivalence and complacency of “progressive” whites in the South and “progressive” states in the North. This complacency enacted by “progressive” whites would later be enacted by Waugh and other stakeholders in the development of DE programs in Connecticut.

Conclusion

In *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, Derrick Bell writes, “What we designate as ‘racial progress’ is not a solution to that problem. It is a regeneration of the problem in a particularly perverse form” (3). As this chapter shows, although *Brown v. Board* sought to end segregation, white flight as a response to integration, recreated segregated schools and communities without legal repercussions. As explained in this chapter, white flight began taking place in the North years prior to *Brown v. Board* as African Americans began moving to states in the North—such as Connecticut—that were seemingly in opposition to the degradation of people of color. This was implied in state laws, such as in Connecticut, that specified mistreatment of persons of color was punishable by law. However, white flight was one way whites in the North and South maintained segregation in communities, and therefore schools, legally.

Because states such as Connecticut had laws against discrimination and segregation, and white flight had been such a slow and gradual process, the impact of white flight and segregation of schools would not be apparent nor challenged until years after *Brown v. Board* in the case of *Sheff v. O’Neill* as I will discuss in the next chapter. In *Sheff v. O’Neill* schools in the Hartford area were found by the courts to have never

integrated. Not one of the original participating schools in UConn's DE program would be in Hartford, Connecticut where the majority of students were students of color. In all, dual enrollment courses as we now know them began at a time and in a state in which race was not at the forefront of developments in education, which was part of a larger pattern of white complacency. In the next chapter, I narrate the origins of DE courses by articulating archival research I conducted at the University of Connecticut to which I found that as just like Connecticut operated within the realm of white complacency, so too, did the development of DE.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ADVENT OF THE “LONGEST-RUNNING” DUAL ENROLLMENT PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES: THE UCONN HIGH SCHOOL COOPERATIVE PROGRAM FOR SUPERIOR STUDENTS

The influence of *Brown* and desegregation on Rhetoric and Composition Studies is not well-documented in scholarship. One reason for this lack of documentation might be because the field was not established in the 1950s. Additionally, there remains a large gap in historical research in Rhetoric and Composition Studies from roughly the 1950s to 1970—this time period overlaps with African American civil rights movements and *Brown*. However, the field did not develop in a vacuum detached from social, civil, and political influences—before, during, and after *Brown* the professionalization of the field was in motion.

In *Vernacular Insurrections*, Carmen Kynard narrates connections between Rhetoric and Composition Studies, literacy studies, African American civil rights movements, *Brown*, and desegregation. She explains that the composition studies has “inherited” intellectual and political intersections that “have origins in a multiracial, multiethnic Civil Rights Movement” (9). Kynard also points to Catherine Prendergast’s *Literacy and Racial Justice*, where Prendergast shows how *Brown*, literacy studies, education policies, and composition studies bear “a kind of symbiotic relationship with one another” (7). This relationship, Kynard explains, is based on composition as a gatekeeping mechanism: “Now a longstanding gatekeeper for success in white, bourgeois literacy codes of college, Freshman English/Freshman Composition is an important lens into the ongoing racialized and political boundaries of who can and should have a right to

higher education” (8). According to Prendergast, *Brown* would eventually lead English and writing instructors to work towards changing “first-year composition from a gate-keeping course and tool of racial exclusion to a course explicitly connecting the development of literacy with racial justice goals” (97). *Brown* would also lead to questioning “whether the frequently required first-year composition course was a tool to help students of color adjust to academia, or gate-keeping mechanism to fail out those students” (95).

In more detail, Kynard explains specifically how desegregation and African American civil rights movements would eventually influence composition studies. She explains this as a “collision” between Freshman Composition, composition studies, and “policies and protests ushered in by the Black Freedom struggles [in the 1960s]: student protest movements that linked the disparate cultures of academic and working-class communities of color” (9). These protest movements would result in, among other things, “competing definitions of purposes of writing instruction for the ‘nontraditional student’; ‘canon wars,’ and other challenges. . . [as well as] a new body of professors representing racially subordinated groups demanding change” (9). Importantly, after 1960, composition studies would not only be “forced into a dialogue with Black Freedom struggles, it would also be literally conceived alongside these struggles” (9).

Thinking of first-year writing as a “gatekeeping mechanism” as described by Kynard and Prendergast and considering the development of DE courses in the context of *Brown*—courses that would ultimately separate students by allowing some to speed up their time to degree—and considering the white complacency I discovered in Connecticut in the previous chapter, my goal in this historical research is to identify programmatic

foundations of UConn’s DE program and how they did or did not do as Kynard suggests that white power structures do and “uphold a racial status quo” with the support of “a rhetoric of dismantling it” (19).

In this chapter, I present findings from archival research conducted at the University of Connecticut’s Thomas J. Dodd Research Center in order to narrate the historical origins of The University of Connecticut’s High School Cooperative Program for Superior Students—now the UConn Early College Experience (ECE)—that began in 1955 in the context of *Brown v. Board*. To do this, I first explain the theories I used to conduct research and to analyze my findings. I then detail my methodology, hypothesis, and research questions. I then narrate the origins of the UConn cooperative program based on findings from my archival research. Finally, I will explicate the absence of any reference in the archives to either the *Brown* decision or the then-current African American civil rights movements where it concerns the development of DE programs at UConn. In doing this I highlight the importance of the *Sheff v. O’Neill* case as an echo of *Brown* as it pertains to the development of DE programs in Connecticut.

Theoretical Framework

I used multiple, interconnecting theories for research and interpretation to illuminate the historical moment in which DE programs began. The overarching theory I use is whiteness critical race theory. As a white heterosexual cisgender female, I have consistently worked to understand whiteness as a structural, social, and inherent aspect of my lived experiences. For this research, it was no question that I would use theories that are supported and closely related to whiteness theory. Whiteness theory allows me to constantly reflect on my subjectivities as to not reproduce whiteness in my work. Using

whiteness theory is a way to dismantle whiteness—to look at society and understand the imbalances, disparities, inequalities, and injustices imposed on people of color, or persons from LGBTQIA communities, persons that do not speak English fluently, immigrants, disabled communities, as well as others. Whiteness theorists explain that whiteness is a way to understand how privilege is afforded to whites in global and local contexts and is regarded subconsciously or intentionally, systemically, and structurally, as a gatekeeping mechanism for success (Bonilla-Silva; Martinez; Lipsitz).

Critical race and whiteness theorists Michael Omi and Howard Winant define racial formation theory as “the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed” (55). Racial formation theory suggests that “society is suffused with racial projects, large and small, to which all are subjected. The racial ‘subjection’ is quintessentially ideological” (60). Omi and Winant explain that there is “A vast web of racial projects mediates between the discursive or representational means in which race is identified and signified on the one hand, and the institutional and organizational forms in which it is routinized and standardized on the other” (60). And, according to Omi and Winant, “. . . racial formation is always historically situated, or understanding of the significance of race, and of the way race structures society, has changed enormously over time By knowing something of how it evolved, we can perhaps better discern where it is heading” (61).

Knowing a history in order to “discern where it is heading” echoes composition historian Robert J. Connors, who writes that “we cannot learn what to do from history. All we can learn is what others have done, perhaps a little about what not to do, and, perhaps, a little more about who we are” (32). Deborah Brandt explains that the

“complicated amalgamations of literacy’s past, present, and future help to formulate the interpretive opportunities and complexities facing current generations of literacy learners” (*Literacy and Learning* 87). Critical race scholar Derrick Bell also asserts that “We simply cannot prepare realistically for our future without assessing honestly our past” (*Faces at the Bottom of the Well* 11). For these reasons, when conducting research into the origins of dual enrollment programs, I made sure to account for how race and racism (unconscious or intentional) influenced the development of DE programs. This is what Prendergast and Inoue would call a project absent absence in that I developed a research plan that looked specifically for race and racial formations.

In “Racial Methodologies for Composition Studies: Reflecting on Theories of Race in Writing Assessment Research” Asao Inoue advances the need for racial methodologies for research that account for race. According to Prendergast and Asao Inoue, Rhetoric and Composition studies has historically lacked treatment of race and investigations of racism. This lack of treatment of race is “absent presence” and the lack of treatment of racism is “absent *absence*” (Prendergast 36). Prendergast explains that the “Present challenge for Compositionists is to develop theorizations of race that do not reinscribe people of color as either foreign or invisible, nor leave whiteness uninvestigated; only through such work can composition begin to counteract the denial of racism that is part of the classroom, the courts, and a shared colonial inheritance” (51).

I also used feminist theories in my approach as they allow for a flexibility that is absolutely necessary to archival research. This flexibility was necessary very early in my process as I could find very little information about the history UConn’s DE program in scholarship and preliminary research. And, after talking to a university archivist at

UConn, I found that there was no formal program archive. In Shirley Rose's "Preserving Our Histories of Institutional Change," she explains that—specific to writing programs—there are various reasons there might not be an archive for a program. These reasons lend to the likelihood of a lack of interest or value of a program, among other things. Rose writes that, "The very existence of an archive makes a claim for the importance of the work it documents" (117). Because of the sheer growth of DE programs and the lack of historical research in the 1950s and DE in Rhetoric and Composition Studies—I wanted to see if there was any reference in the archives to the programs and possible implications of the lack of a program archive.

While preparing for my trip to the archives, I prepared to keep in mind throughout the process that, as Connors suggests, historical archival research "is not, cannot be, a forced march from hypothesis to support to further support to thesis" ("Dreams and Play" 23). This lends to back to feminists research methods as Kirsch and Rohan suggest that researchers approach a project with "a willingness to follow all possible leads, an openness to what one may encounter, and a flexibility in revising research questions" (*Beyond the Archives* 5). Feminist archival research methods, then, allowed for a flexibility to account for what is present and the implications of what is not there.

Using an absent-absence racial methodology to find what and who has been "left out" historically is an aspect of intersectional feminist theory. In "Research (Im)Possibilities: Feminist Methods and WPA Inquiry" Julia Ferganchick-Neufang explains how feminist research is "set apart" from others in its "dedication to eradicate oppression to investigate the ways in which our cultures and our institutions serve to objectify and exploit "others" (25). Further, Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberlé Williams

Crenshaw, and Kathleen Neal Cleaver, among others, advance the ways intersectional feminism can account for multidimensional aspects of lived experiences of women of color within what Collins explains as “unjust systems of power” (19). Crenshaw explains how women of color “fall into the void” and are “erased” where it concerns the intersection of “women’s issues and concerns of racism” (1282). Part of the argumentative foundation for intersectional feminism is how historically, feminism has excluded women of color—a type of white complacency. For example, In “Racism, Civil Rights, and Feminism” Cleaver writes that “Until white feminists discover how to see the insidious way that racism constricts the lives of millions of women, they cannot oppose it. Worse, they may blindly fail to perceive how their ancestry positions them to benefit passively from racism’s perpetuation, and remain oblivious to the racialized nature of gender” (52). In Chapter 2, I explained studies that highlight the complacency of whites in Connecticut to civil rights movements and people of color. I wanted to make sure that in my research—especially from my subjectivity as a white woman—I accounted for and looked at what was apparent in the archives and also looked at what wasn’t there—what had fallen “into the void” at the intersections.⁸

Methodology

To carry out the historical research of DE programs at UConn, I used multiple methods. I first took an interdisciplinary approach to research and sought scholarship in education studies and Rhetoric and Composition Studies to find reference to the historical origins of the programs. I then looked specifically at historical narratives of Rhetoric and Composition Studies to determine how and to what extent DE programs were accounted for in the history of the field. As previously discussed, even though Rhetoric and

Composition scholars of the last decade have traced DE back to the 1970s, the programs began in the 1950s as they were the split from AP programs developed by the Ford Foundation's Kenyon Plan. Two long-forgotten articles—Helen J. Estes' "College Level English in High School" (1959) and Shirley A. Radcliffe and Winslow R. Hatch's U.S. Department of Education report "Advanced Standing: New Dimensions in Higher Education" (1961) date the "first" DE program to 1955 at the University of Connecticut. The fact that it began earlier than the 70s is significant in itself, for that means that DE has a much longer track record than researchers have understood.

Given that the civil rights era had started with *Brown* decision, I then developed a hypothesis and questions. My hypothesis and questions focused on the administrative aspects of the program development as well as whether officials intentionally created the programs to separate students of color and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds from white affluent students as schools began to integrate after the 1954 *Brown v. Board* ruling. In all, I wanted to see how and if the programs' development was reflective of whites' resistance to integration after *Brown*. The questions I developed for research are as follows:

- How were the original purposes of the programs articulated?
- What events and circumstances developed institutionally that influenced the choice to begin the programs?
- Who was responsible for the decisions that were made that led to the program's creation—who were the stakeholders, or as Brandt would call "sponsors"?
- How were the courses marketed to students, students, instructors, and high school administrators?
- What students were eligible to take the courses?
- How was eligibility determined?
- How did students pay for the courses? What were the sources of funding?
- Who would be responsible for teaching the courses?
- How was student work assessed and graded? And what institutions were going to accept the credits?
- Are there racial implications to the development of UConn's DE program?

Before travelling to UConn, I spoke to the Manager of University Archives. One of her first suggestions was to consult the digitized daily journal of Albert E. Waugh, who served as University Provost from 1950-1965. The archivist's lead—Waugh's journals—would reveal themselves to be the key to my research. This lead was what I believe Gesa Kirsch and Liz Rohan would call a “serendipitous” find (*Beyond the Archives* 4). Waugh maintained a journal from at least 1924-1984 that included specific details about almost every day during those 60 years. Importantly, Waugh's entries in his journal included specific details about conversations pertaining to the development and implementation of DE programs. Details in Waugh's journal entries—with specific references to meetings (with dates)—directed me to meeting minutes and documents within the archives that were specific to program development that I might not have found otherwise.

Because of my interest in the programs' origins during African American civil rights movements, before I visited the archives, I also researched how integration took place and materialized in Connecticut and at UConn to see if there was any connection between the development of DE and *Brown*. During this query, I found information about the 1989 lawsuit and 1996 ruling of *Sheff v. O'Neill*. In this case, the court found public schools in the Hartford area were racially and ethnically isolated and deprived students of equal education opportunities and access to higher education, which prompted re-segregation in the community. Legal scholars, such as Mary Jane Lee and Alicia L. Mioli have argued that *Sheff v. O'Neill* is an almost exact replica of *Brown v. Board*. The case involved the same areas in which UConn's DE programs began.

With this knowledge I then travelled to Hartford and Storrs, Connecticut and spent a week at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center gathering as much information as possible from various collections as there is no formal DE collection. I was able to gather press releases, meeting minutes, personal correspondence, pamphlets, internal data, state-wide studies, and the first DE students' grade rosters among other things. Upon my return and after receiving scans of requested documents, I sorted and categorized the copies of documents into categories chronologically. These categories were integration and African American civil rights' movements; UConn ECE and High School Cooperative Program for Superior students; and *Sheff v. O'Neill*.

The Origins of Dual Enrollment Programs at the University of Connecticut

Educational institutions are always adapting to social and political changes. However, it seems like the adaptations taking place at UConn during the 1950s, during the development of DE programs, were completely focused on the aftermath of WWII and the current Cold War. I found no reference to extremely significant social and political events, such as African American civil rights movements, *Brown v. Board*, or integration in archived documents where it concerns the development of their DE program. Specifically, I found no references or documents that would lend to the idea that there were institutional standards that required faculty or administrators to account for students of color.

In the archived materials I reviewed, it is particularly well-documented that the population boom after World War II created a need for more primary and secondary teachers in Connecticut. It is also well-documented that in the context of the Cold War UConn felt increased pressure to—with decreases in funding—contribute to the needs of

the workforce and train teachers. During this time, UConn also revisited and revised a philosophy of education that used a seemingly elitist rhetoric that focused on the individual student within a democratic society. The articulation of the purpose of the DE program at UConn would employ the same rhetoric outlined by Provost Waugh in his philosophy of education.

Provost Waugh saw potential in investing in high school students' standing for increased retention and graduation rates as early as the 1940s. In 1940, before he was provost, Waugh was head of the Department of Economics. In a letter to President Jorgensen, Waugh bemoaned the large number of students admitted to the university that were being dismissed after freshman review for failing to meet "scholastic" requirements and suggested alternatives that would allow the university to avoid what he calls "scholastic risks." He explains that the faculty wanted a system "under which no student would be dismissed" (Waugh to Jorgensen, February 10, 1940). Waugh suggests admitting students based on their high school standing as he writes: "Experience has shown us that the students' high school standing is a better basis for judgement than any other single measure for applicants who have never done college work" and "we could make a far better record than this by admitting new students who had never had any opportunity at college work at all" (Waugh to Jorgensen, February 10, 1940). This problem of "scholastic dismissal" is significant because Waugh's observations while head of the Department of Economics would influence how as provost he would work to increase retention rates through DE programs.

Almost immediately after becoming provost in 1951, Waugh began creating a program that would allow students to gain college credit in high school—a program that

would provide students a direct path for enrollment at UConn. In April of 1952 Waugh conveys interest in implementing a program “to admit a few bright youngsters who have not graduated from high school” (“Daily Journal: 1952” 122). Two key details of the programs he details are that: first, “outstandingly good students” be admitted without “meeting our admission requirements” and second, that students could potentially enroll after three years of high school (145). The purpose of the development of the program was not stated in this journal entry.

One potential influence I found that might have been a catalyst for the program’s creation was that within the first few years of Waugh’s term as provost, the university’s budget was consistently not enough to cover the costs accrued by increased enrollment. The financial situation at UConn was reflective of the larger budget crisis in the state and required Waugh to find a way to accommodate increased enrollment with a lack of funding—something he would eventually accomplish with DE.

Another event surrounding the creation of DE was the shortage of teachers in the state. The population boom after WWII required more teachers for primary and secondary schools as there was “a shortage of about 100,000 prepared teachers” in Connecticut (University of Connecticut, “The Rising Tide” 1). In order to train necessary teachers with a lack of funding Governor John Davis Lodge, with the help of Provost Waugh and President Jorgenson, developed and introduced House Bill 1013 for the reorganization of higher education in Connecticut. According to George R. Muirhead’s *Central Connecticut State University*, UConn was responsible for the controversy and stress of a bill due to their determination to secure the training of all secondary teachers in the state. If this bill had passed, it “would have transferred all preparation of secondary

school teachers to the University of Connecticut” (8). Muirhead emphasizes that “This was a frontal assault on the teachers colleges, especially TCC [Teacher’s College of Connecticut], which did most of the training in academic disciplines”⁹ (8). While the bill was not passed, the controversy is significant it highlights one of multiple ways that UConn tried to simultaneously increase enrollment and retention with a lack of funding—through teacher training. If UConn had secured all teacher training in the state they would have seen an increase in funding. And while UConn did not succeed in training all of the teachers in the state, Waugh was in the process of developing DE courses, with the intent of increasing enrollment and retention—something he would do by recruiting students that were still in high school.

In 1953 Waugh released a statement that details his educational philosophy, which would employ the same rhetoric that would later be used to substantiate and implement DE programs. In “Comments on the Basic Curriculum for the Freshman and Sophomore Years at the University of Connecticut,” Waugh explains his vision for how his philosophy should influence basic curriculum and education at UConn. Waugh begins the document in a seemingly progressive way:

there is no one pattern of education which is equally desirable for everyone—that to some extent one’s education should be adapted to the needs of his individual case—that while we all wish to turn out ‘educated’ young men and women, there is no single certain road to education. It is my belief that this University should offer several (many?) kinds of education, and that we need not worry if we find that the aims and

purposes and methods and requirements of our various schools and colleges differ to a considerable extent. (“Comments” 1)

Understandably, Waugh specifies that the curriculum at UConn should be “intellectual,” “reasonably advanced,” and “work of college grade” (2). However, throughout the document, the elitist and potentially marginalizing undercurrents become more apparent as Waugh uses social values and democracy to describe what he believes are two basic principles of any “sound” education for college-level freshman and sophomores. One principle is that “Democracy does not imply equality of ability or of interest or of attainment, but equality of opportunity” (“Comments” 2). The second principle he explains is that “Where there are differences in ability and industry, equality of opportunity leads to differences in attainment rather than to equality of attainment” (“Comments” 2). This seemingly “progressive,” yet elitist, rhetoric is reflective of “progressive” whites in the North and in the South (as explained in chapter 2).

Waugh goes on to explain at length what his philosophy means in terms of “education for all.” If “we want ‘education for all’” he states, “we must plan for greatly increased difference in education” (“Comments” 2). Education for all should not be done “by destroying the educational system for those of better intellect by removing ‘verbal skills and intellectual interests,’ but by providing other and different institutions for those whose abilities and interests are not such as to make college or universities profitable” (Waugh, “Comments” 2). Waugh then suggests that higher education is not recommended for every student:

We only mislead ourselves and the general public when we pretend that everyone can profit by a college education, unless we alter radically the

meaning of the phrase ‘college education.’ And if we bow to the public pressure which insists that our Johnny, too, must be given a college degree despite his lack of intellectual attainments merely because Johnny and his parents desire it and because he will be handicapped in competition with others who do have one, then we short-change the public in the same way that we do when we try to make everyone rich by starting the print presses and issuing fiat money. (“Comments” 2)

While Waugh seems to support each individual student’s different educational path, at the same time, he suggests that providing “education for all” runs the risk of depreciating the value of education. For example, Waugh explains that it “not our duty” or job of the college to meet “all the needs of the state. . . . To that end, it is important that our system of admissions be reasonably selective. . . . [as] no one has a right to admission even to a public college. The state is not warranted in spending its money save in those cases where applicants have a reasonable chance of success” (“Comments” 2).

Especially concerning is that to support his philosophy and argument, Waugh then quotes David Starr Jordan as he writes, “We should not, as David Starr Jordan expressed it, ‘waste a thousand dollar education on a twenty cent mind’” (“Comments” 2). David Starr Jordan, once the president of Stanford, is known by some as a peace activist—and others as a eugenicist. A critic of Jordan, Lars Johnsson writes that “Even Jordan’s ‘much admired’ pacifism was rooted squarely in his eugenics beliefs. Jordan did not reject war on grounds of morality; instead, he feared that during war the nation’s strongest die, leaving room for the unfit to reproduce and decay the Anglo-Saxon/Nordic race.” This is not to say that Waugh was a eugenicist or even had knowledge of the Jordan’s racist

beliefs. Specifically, Waugh is not clear as to which students should or should not be able to access higher education—there is an absent presence of any reference to race. At the same time, there are implications to his invocation of Jordan and also his next statements that discuss justice and injustices for students and society as he writes:

The university is neither a health resort nor a reform school, and dismissals are neither problems of revenge nor of misguided sympathy. They are problems of measurement and evaluation; and just as an unwarranted dismissal is an injustice to the student and to society, so is there social injustice in continued expenditure of tax funds on students of known incompetence. (“Comments” 2-3)

Here, Waugh then explains that the university must “feel free” to make subjective decisions about which students will be admitted “in the interests of justice. In each case consideration should be given to the ultimate advantage both of the student and of society” (“Comments” 3). Again, he does not explain which students he is referring to; however, as I explain later in this chapter, it would later be decided that the students would be chosen to participate subjectively by high school principals. A subjective approach to admissions—especially in the context of *Brown v. Board* prior to affirmative action laws—would leave “all” students at the mercy of those evaluating them, which could have been detrimental to students of color who have been historically disparately represented in higher education.

Waugh’s “Comments” is pertinent to the eventual development of the UConn cooperative program as many aspects of this philosophy are used to substantiate the need for the DE program. As DE courses will further develop at UConn, there is a focus on

personalized education for students that progress at a “superior” rate to other students. I argue that here, and during the development of DE programs at UConn, there is a level of hypocrisy in the focus on doing what is best for democracy in this philosophy without making any reference to students of color. Waugh does not make any reference in his educational philosophy nor any documents where it concerns DE programs how the programs might influence or best serve students of color, or how the programs might seek out students of color for the sake of fairness as a response to African American civil rights movements, *Brown*, and the overturning of *Plessy*.

Based on what I found at the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center while conducting archival research, the Cold War was constructed as the most concerning social and political influence on UConn in the 1950s. This was especially well-detailed in Waugh’s journals as he and President Jorgensen were made responsible by the governor to develop committees to investigate faculty that were accused of being communists.¹⁰ During this time, the University of Connecticut Board of Trustees released a statement titled, “The Rising Tide of School and College Enrollments.” This statement outlines multiple needs in Connecticut created by the population boom of WWII and influence of the Cold War. The Cold War emphasis at UConn is significant because, as stated previously, there was a heightened awareness of the influences of the Cold War on society, education, and UConn while there would be no references in the 1950s during the creation of DE programs to integration or the eventual *Brown v. Board* case and ruling.

In “The Rising Tide” the Board of Trustees suggests that the “enrollment problem” will be more critical in Connecticut than in other states—one reason being “migration from other states” (7). The migration referenced here is not clear. However,

the migration could be that of people of color moving to Connecticut from the South, something I explained in Chapter 2. The author of this document explains that in response to the increased population and therefore enrollments there should be “a critical review of ‘entrance requirements and procedures.’ [As] There are some young people now in college who should not be there. It is hoped [by the Board of Trustees] that in the future, youth with low intellectual interests and aptitudes will not be admitted to college” (“The Rising Tide” 4). One suggestion offered by the author/s to “lessen the burdens” of increased enrollments is that the citizens of Connecticut “invest” in education and “support a reasonable program for providing qualified Connecticut youth with opportunities for higher education” (10). This statement points to a specific “program” for higher education, which could have been reference to the developing DE programs. This statement also echoes the educational philosophy Waugh advances—that only certain students should be able to access higher education. A focus on “qualified” students as an “investment” would go on to become an integral aspect of the articulation of the developing DE program at UConn.

The Senate’s Committee on Curricula and Courses approved Waugh’s proposed program in 1953 (Waugh, “Daily Journal: 1953” 25). This articulation and outline would maintain the same structure throughout the development of UConn’s DE program. The joint committees on Scholastic Standards and Curricula and Courses agreed on the following program articulation:

Every teacher and every faculty is forced to give particular attention to the programs of the weaker students who need and deserve special attention and care. Yet it is important that we should not lose sight of the fact that

the most able and promising students also have unusual problems in our educational system. We believe that much can be accomplished, both for the individual gifted student and for society, by so organizing the educational system that such students can be given work which will challenge their abilities and retain their interest, and that they may progress in learning at a rate commensurate with their ability. We believe that the best students are better college risks at the end of two or three years of preparatory school than are average students after finishing the full preparatory course, and that such students should be given the opportunity, if they desire it, of beginning their college work as soon as they demonstrate clearly their ability to profit by the richer and more challenging opportunities available to them there. While any acceleration of the academic pace makes problems for the institution which allows it, we believe that the problems are not insurmountable, and that they do not warrant us enforcing the best minds to follow an average pace merely because uniformity is simple to administer. (“Joint Meeting: February 5, 1953”)

The program, then, would seem to be one answer to the problem of rising enrollment—the answer seems to be to privilege already advanced students. It is clear that the students that Waugh and the Senate consider to be “qualified”—students with the “best minds—should have more opportunities than “weaker students.” In all, the senate approved the program that Waugh articulated as beneficial to the students while the majority of evidence shows how the programs would be to the ultimate advantage of UConn.

The approval of the program and admission requirements led to the experimentation of how the program would work at the University of Connecticut. Anne Ebner is recorded as the first high school student to be admitted as an “experiment” to Waugh’s program (Waugh to Ebner, December 28, 1953). Ebner’s experience reflected what might be considered an early college model,¹¹ as she attended college classes at the UConn campus. Upon successful completion of the courses, Ebner’s father and mother—both high school teachers—wrote to Waugh to express thanks and add their perspectives (Ebner to Waugh, February 9, 1954).

Now that Waugh had secured the approval of parents and a participating student, he then moved on to gain approval from high school principals. It was through the invitation, correspondence, and negotiation with the high school principals that the direction of the proposed program changed. In the letters to the principals, Waugh appeals to his audience by emphasizing that they are “key” to this new plan (Waugh to Principals and Headmasters).¹² Though most high school principals were originally in opposition to the programs, after offering suggestions, such as seeking a model like Ford’s Kenyon plan and insisting students take courses on the high school campuses, some agreed to participate.

One principal responded with interest, yet declined the offer on the grounds of theory versus practice. Ogden Miller writes, “In theory I believe this is an excellent stand to take. In practice I am not so certain that . . . students who might be eligible are going to benefit as much educationally, socially, spiritually and physically as all interested in them might hope they would benefit” (Ogden Miller to Waugh, June 5, 1953). Waugh responds with an openness to Miller’s suggestion as he explains that he has asked the

committee in charge of the program's development about changing the program format to make it possible "for the student of unusual intellectual ability to stay in the home environment and still perhaps make some faster progress toward his ultimate educational goal" (Waugh to Ogden Miller, June 12, 1953). Here we see a shift in the program development away from allowing high school students to take classes on the college campus—the format that Waugh had originally intended for the program.

Another principal responds with the argument that high schools should be competent enough to prepare students for college themselves (Grubbs to Waugh, June 5, 1953).¹³ Grubbs was hesitant in general, but does mention his interest in "the program being explored by a small group of colleges under the Ford Foundation." Separately, the Principal of Danbury High School and President of the Connecticut Association of Secondary School Principals, Raymond E. Claflin writes that he is in opposition to Waugh's proposed plan as well as the Ford Foundation's Kenyon plan. Claflin writes that The National Association of Secondary School Principals "definitely went on record in opposition to such a proposal when the Ford Foundation instituted its plan. . . . Because of this feeling it is our hope that the proposal can be reconsidered and a cooperative examination of all its implications, secondary as well as college, can be given" (Claflin to Waugh, June 16, 1953).

In other correspondence, Waugh explains how what the principals were proposing—to keep high school students on high school campuses while receiving college credit—might be "advisable." He uses English courses as an example as to how this might be implemented:

Instead of having the promising young student leave high school a year earlier to start college work, it might be advisable to have him stay in high school working under our supervision and direction and then give him full college credit for work which he did there. For example, our English Department might supervise his senior work in English and high school giving him extra readings and special examinations, and if he met the requirements of the English Department, he might be given credit or English 105 or even English 105 and English 108. (Waugh to Sedgwick, October 27, 1953)

In November of 1953, Waugh travelled to Hartford to discuss his proposed program with the Secondary School Principals' Association. The principals did not like the idea of high school students attending college as Waugh writes:

They wanted to protest our decision last spring to admit a small number of unusually good students who had not graduated from high school We calmed them down a good deal on this point, I thought, and I took advantage of the opportunity to get them pretty thoroughly and enthusiastically committed to the plan we are now studying of allowing these outstanding students to stay on in the high school taking work under our supervision, and getting college credit for the work. (Waugh, "Daily Journal:1953" 371)

Because of the discussions and meetings with principals, Waugh changed the program format so that high school students stay at the high school while receiving credit from UConn (Waugh to Ginand, December 1, 1953). The program at UConn then changed to

reflect many DE courses as we understand them today—where college credit is given for writing in high school on a high school campus, taught by a high school teacher.

Waugh does not specify how he determined which high schools he would ask to participate or why particular high schools agreed to sponsor his program. UConn did not initially establish anything in Hartford; rather, they enlisted schools from the white communities on the parameters of Hartford. While never specifically stated, Waugh avoided Hartford—either on his own accord or that of President Jorgensen or other stakeholders in the development of the programs. Regardless, not one of the seven original high schools that offered college classes to the high school students through the University of Connecticut would be in the immediate Hartford area where the majority of students were students of color.

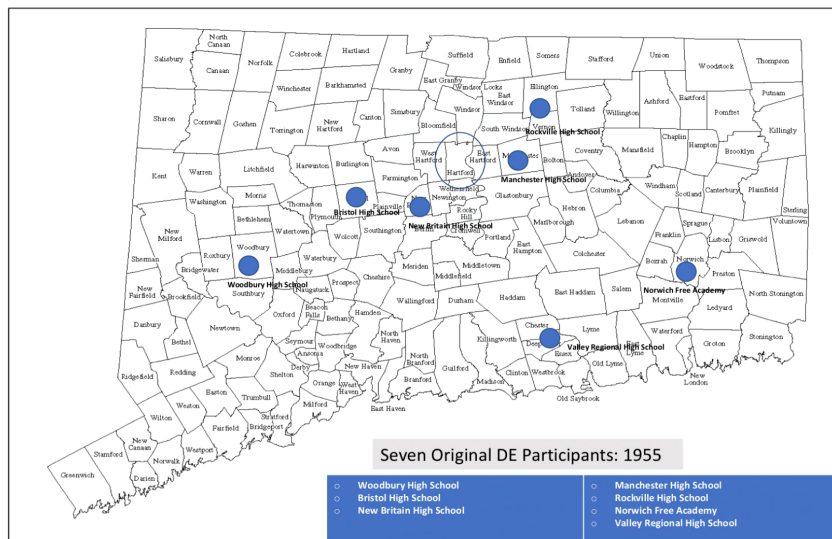
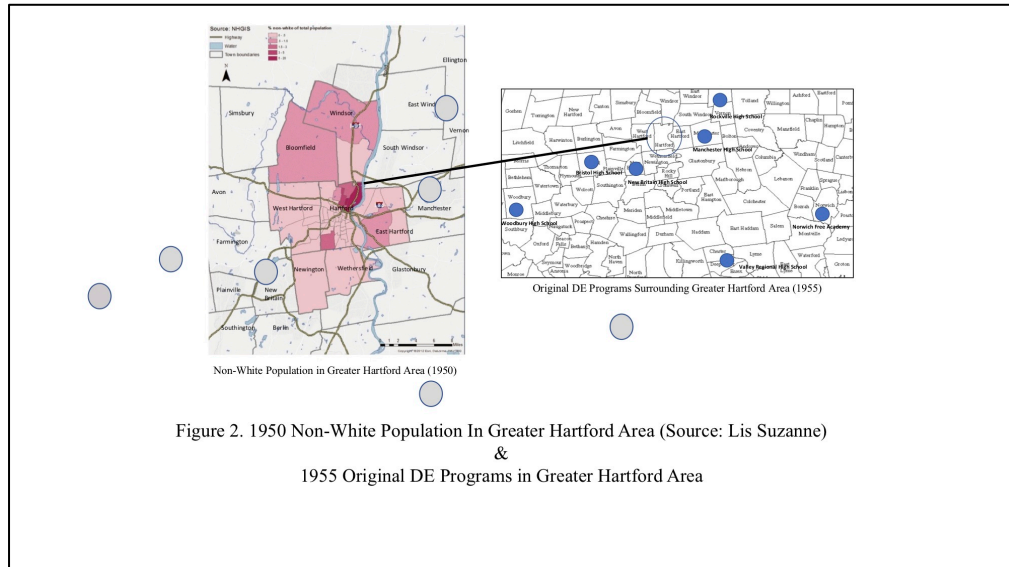


Figure 1. Seven Original High School DE Participants Surrounding Hartford, CT: 1955

In its inaugural year, the seven schools that participated in UConn’s High School Cooperative program for Superior Students were Bristol High School, Manchester High

School, New Britain High School, Nonnewaug High School (formerly Woodbury High School), Norwich Free Academy, Rockville High School, and Valley Regional High School (see fig. 1).



UConn’s DE program began in communities that surrounded the greater Hartford area where the majority of the population was white (see fig. 2). In figure 2, the grey dots represent the first schools to participate in UConn’s high school cooperative program as taken from figure 1 (included in the image to the right). The map on the left shows is an area map of demographic makeup up in the Hartford area in 1950 (Lis Suzanne). The more an area is shaded, the higher the non-white population. The further from Hartford on the map, and the lighter the shading, the less the non-white population. This shows visually a pattern of white flight in Connecticut as I discuss in Chapter 2. These maps in figure 2 show how the first schools to participate in the UConn cooperative program were those with higher white populations.

The *Sheff v. O’Neill* lawsuit that began in the 1980s and ruling later in the 1990s reveals what happened in the 1950s. I will briefly discuss *Sheff* and its findings to show

what the case illuminates about the 1950s and Waugh. As shown in figure 2, all of the offering high schools were on the perimeters of Hartford—in the largely white suburbs that were part of the reason for the initiation of the *Sheff v. O’Neill* lawsuit regarding segregation in the state.

In the 1980s, Gerald Tirozzi, the Connecticut Commissioner of Education in Connecticut, reported that the Hartford public schools were largely segregated by explaining the two types of school systems in Connecticut: one poor, urban and segregated, and performing below state standards; the other suburban, predominately white and meeting or exceeding state standards (*Sheff* Movement). In the 1996 ruling of *Sheff v. O’Neill*, the court found that the public schools in Connecticut were racially and ethnically isolated and also deprived students of equal education opportunities and access to higher education, which required a re-desegregation in the community. *Sheff*, it has been argued by legal scholars, is almost an exact replica of *Brown* (Lee; Mioli). It is important to understand how despite Connecticut’s laws against discrimination and segregation, it was still a problem in the state for years to come.

The point of *Sheff v. O’Neill*—its significance to my argument—is to extend how the original DE programs did not account for students of color—there was an absent presence. The absent presence was not only at UConn, but in the entire state as exemplified in studies I detailed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. This explains gives a lens to look at what Waugh and other stakeholders were doing—they were avoiding integration and avoiding serving schools with predominantly non-white populations. The DE programs began at schools where the majority of students were white and therefore aided in advancing white students through college more quickly than students of color.

In addition to these findings, I also found a large gap in reference to the development of the UConn Cooperative Program for Superior Students in the archives throughout 1954—the year of the *Brown v. Board* I ruling.¹⁴ I found no reference in Waugh’s 1954 journal to *Brown v. Board*. I argue that this gap is at the least a complacent act. Maybe Waugh didn’t respond to *Brown* or integration because he thought it was focused on K-12 education. Waugh might have thought that since Connecticut had laws against segregation prior to *Brown*, that neither the court proceedings nor the decision concerned the state or UConn at all as the university was already integrated—the first black student, Alan Thacker Busby, enrolled in 1914.

One possibility for the lack of development in the DE program in 1954 could be that Waugh intentionally halted the development while the *Brown* decision was being determined to see how the ruling might influence the program. Regardless of the reason for the lack of DE developments taking place or lack of discussion of *Brown*, the *Brown* case and ruling was intended to—and should have—prompted all people in all sectors of society to think about race and discrimination. Although, some people undoubtedly remained unaware or oblivious to the ruling, which again, is a complacent act. According to the archives and Waugh’s journal, Waugh did not respond to *Brown*—there seems to have been an avoidance to *Brown*. Waugh was complacent in that he did not seem to think consciously about race in the development of the UConn’s DE program.

In 1955, the development of the programs continued. The University Senate adopted rules proposed by the Committee on Scholastic Standards to enable high school students to enroll and gain credit at UConn. Admissions standards were changed to include a variety of ways that students could be admitted (“Minutes,” March 14, 1955).

And in the Spring of 1955, committee persons agreed to craft a statement similar to that of the Kenyon Report for their own program (“Meeting of Special Committee” January 3, 1955). As explained in the introduction of this dissertation, the Kenyon Plan was an advanced standing program that, upon adoption by the CEEB, became an advanced placement program. At that time, any programs not sponsored by the CEEB were considered to be advanced standing programs. UConn is recorded as the first advanced standing program of many modeled after the Kenyon Plan (Radcliffe and Hatch). While AP programs maintain(ed) a uniform model, all other Advanced Standing programs vary—giving us the variety of DE models today.

The Fall of 1955 was the inaugural semester for UConn Cooperative Program for Superior Students. Students at 7 participating high schools were taught by 32 high school teachers in eight different subject matter areas. English was one of these courses. Students were assessed for course completion by taking exams “comparable to final examinations now given at the University” (“Meeting of Special Committee” December 14, 1954).

Since students were not required to meet the college’s admission standards, they were required to have completed a minimum of 12 units in an approved high school; 9 of which must be non-vocational. Even with admission test results, students were also required to “demonstrate outstanding ability by performance on the admissions tests” (“Joint Meeting: February 5, 1953” 2). The chosen assessment genre was not specified. And, even if a student passed an admissions test, they might not have been nominated by a principal. Students that participated in the program must have been certified by the principal as showing “unusual promise of success at college work” and be “outstanding

in scholastic ability unusual intellectual leaders. . . . to be of sufficient maturity and stability to make him a reasonable scholastic risk as compared with the average graduate of his preparatory school” (“Joint Meeting: February 5, 1953” 2). The way these criterion would be assessed by principals was not specified and implies the previously described subjective approach to choosing qualified students.

Instruction in the cooperative program was given by “qualified high school teachers in accordance with recommendations from appropriate University departments on subject matter” (“Minutes” January 10, 1955). The teachers were “designated as consulting members of the University staff, but the University must have final responsibility for examinations granting credit” (“Minutes,” January 10, 1955). There were no funds in the budget for extension teaching for this program (“Minutes” January 10, 1955).

The students had access to faculty liaisons at the University. These liaisons were responsible for developing the work and examinations for students. Students would have the opportunity to conference with University faculty (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office). Student textbooks were the same as those used in the introductory courses at the University (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office). And students were rewarded credit if they met the “required standards in his work and examinations set up by the University faculty” (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office).

Shortly after the programs began, UConn issued a press release that detailed the University of Connecticut’s Cooperative Program for Superior Students. Details included the potential and prestige of the students in the courses, who was teaching the courses,

and also how the programs would benefit the communities and state of Connecticut. It is explained that “The University of Connecticut has put into operation a twin program of enrichment and acceleration which will be a boon to superior high school students” (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office). The “superior student,” it is noted, will be able to “shorten his years of schooling, and arrives sooner at his graduate studies or the threshold of a career” (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office). The courses are articulated here, in part, as an answer to a problem as the “University authorities state that such an acceleration can be significant in helping to alleviate the dangerous personnel shortage in many professions” (University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office). Aiding in the “dangerous personnel shortage” was something advanced socially and politically through education because of the Cold War. This constructs the most pressing issue of the time as having nothing to do with race as there was no reference to how the programs would account for students of color. This emphasis on the personnel shortage also shows a connection between the past and present with regards to DE sponsors’ push to accelerate career access.

An accelerated time to degree was then, and is now, marketed as an incentive of participating in the programs. While more information is needed, it does not seem like Waugh’s program was successful in accelerating time to degree in the first few years. In 1959, it was reported that of “those students receiving credit during the first year of the program (1955-56), five entered the University of Connecticut. They have completed two years at the University and all five are currently enrolled in their junior year at the institution” (“A Report on the Cooperative Program” 1). Based on this initial data, these

students were not accelerating at advanced rates as they were college juniors in their third year after high school, which is a standard goal for undergraduates.

In UConn's press release, Waugh describes the program as follows:

We are not trying to set up an aristocracy of brains better students invariably have the longest educational experience, through graduate school and professional studies. Moreover, tomorrow's leaders must be picked from this group With these things in mind, the University faculty, after trying several approaches, has arrived at this two-fold program combining enrichment and acceleration, to challenge the better student on the one hand, and speed him on to a career on the other.

(University of Connecticut News Coordinators Office)

This explanation of the program echoes Waugh's educational philosophy that seems to offer already privileged students more educational opportunities.

A status study developed by Alexander Plante, gives an overview of the initial year of the program. In its first year, 112 students were accepted into the program; 76 students received credit ("Status Study of Cooperative Program (Year 1955-56)" 1).¹⁵ And college credit for writing in high school was given to at least 52 students in ENG 105 and ENG 106 ("Instructor's Mid-Semester and Final Report").¹⁶

Helen J. Estes, one of the first English teachers for the UConn Cooperative Program at the participating Manchester High School,¹⁷ wrote an article about the programs that was published in *College English* in 1959. To the best of my knowledge, this is the earliest DE writing-specific publication. In Estes' "College Level English in High School," she details that, among other things, the courses that were set up as a

semester of each composition and literature and that, “the high schools in the program to combine the two emphases if they chose” (333).

Estes explains the duality of grading in the program¹⁸ and also provides details about course curriculum. I found no specific evidence that the UConn composition curriculum made it more “rigorous” than high school English. However, Estes details trends in pedagogy and curriculum in what would later be Rhetoric and Composition Studies and also how these trends in literature-based curriculum, that was typical in the 1950s, were carried out in the first DE courses. Estes details the multiple “units” in the Literature Program that are based on themes such as “The Hero and the Principle Obligation,” “Conventional and Romantic Values,” and “The Search for Self-Realization.” Students read texts such as *The Prince*, *Beowulf*, and *Hamlet*. Throughout the course, students wrote an average of 500 words per week and submitted a “resource paper” of at least 2,000 words at the end of each semester (333). The “resource paper” required student’s collection and analysis of primary and secondary sources. No details of the composition portion of the course are given. However, Estes does note that the program followed the CEEB’s Advancement Placement program format to an extent as students completed a vocabulary, grammar, and punctuation review.

She concludes that, “Whether or not the course has resulted in accepted credits or in advanced placement or in neither, students returning from college have invariably expressed their satisfaction with the ‘preview’ of college work and with the quality of preparation for college” (334). The satisfaction of students reported by Estes lends to ideas of how DE programs today are beneficial to students that experience “senioritis.”

UConn’s High School Cooperative Program for Superior Students 1956-1960

From 1956 to 1960, there is clear documentation that the majority of conversations about the programs focused on teacher training and compensation. In 1956, there were requests of “respectable salary” for liaisons between the high schools and colleges (Brammell to Jorgensen, April 4, 1956). In 1957, there was a conference for teachers in the cooperative program. The aim of the conference was to “consider the ways by which college and high school teachers can work together to assist in the continued improvement of these programs” (University of Connecticut, *Press Release November, 19, 1957*). At the conference, there was a session to bring together high school and college teachers in each of the five subject matter areas (English, Foreign Language, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies) to answer the questions as they pertain to their varying fields, questions such as: “What are the things which need to be done which will help teachers in their efforts to develop better programs for our superior high school youth? Should high school and college teachers work together in planning programs? How can this be done?” (Connecticut State Department of Education). These questions are still today in need of inquiry.

Specific to first-year writing, in another 1959 UConn report, it is noted that more students took college-level English than any other course. In this year, 119 students enrolled in English 105 (the first section of first-year English) (“Cooperative Program School-Course Breakdown”). During this same year the only course to come close to English enrollments were History 110 with 57 students and Math 105 with 45 students (“Cooperative Program School-Course Breakdown”). It is also reported that the only and most “typical” pattern of these courses that the majority of students use the cooperative courses to “to rid themselves of freshman-sophomore requirements” (“A Report on the

Cooperative Program” 3). And that this is most apparent in English courses (“A Report on the Cooperative Program” 2). Not one of the students that had enrolled in the English courses in high school went on to major in English.

And in 1959, UConn reported increased student enrollment because of the cooperative program. The author of this report writes that “There is no doubt. . . that the Cooperative Program does provide motivation for students to enter the University of Connecticut. . . . This is an important factor in our favor. . . .with additional publicity and personal encouragement. . . we might greatly increase our opportunity to encourage students of superior potential to attend the University” (“A Report, April 1959” 3). In this way, Waugh succeeded in securing more local students at UConn in a way to accelerate students time to degree completion in order to meet what he constructed as the most important needs to the university and the state.

Discussion: An Institutional Absent Presence

This discovery of DE’s origins in the 1955 reveals that DE arose at a singular moment in American history—one year after the *Brown* decision and the same year that Emmett Till was infamously murdered in Mississippi. Later that same year, Rosa Parks was arrested on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama—an arrest that launched the Montgomery bus boycott and catapulted Martin Luther King, Jr. into the national spotlight. This discovery means that DE arose at the beginning of the tumult of the struggle between nonviolent African American activists and brutally violent segregationist sheriffs and governors. DE then proceeded during the early years of the black power movement. Yet the archival record reflected nothing that directly reflects the racial awakening of this era where it concerns DE.

While the archives did provide generative information about the development of DE programs at UConn such as various programmatic details, all of the documents pertaining to African American civil rights movements and school desegregation were completely separate from the collections where I found information about UConn's DE program. I had expected that because I found so much pertaining to other social events, such as enrollment after WWII and the Cold War, within DE documents and collections that I would find at least some references to integration, African American civil rights movements, and/or *Brown* within these same documents and collections.

Waugh's journals and folders and meeting minutes and all other areas where it concerned the development of UConn's DE program there was no reference to how African American civil rights' movements and *Brown v. Board* might impact UConn, how their DE program might influence students of color, and how students in largely segregated schools would be accounted for in the implementation of programs that were intended to give "gifted" and "superior" students the chance to gain college credit—for writing or otherwise—in high school.

This lack of discussion of race in DE documents and the lack of documents pertaining to African American civil rights movements or *Brown* was/is reflective of a large over-arching absent presence at UConn during at least the 1950s. This absent presence of race stretched beyond DE, and was institutional, as there was no reference to the race of students or integration in any programmatic, curricular, or administrative documents; the absence of discussions of race was present at the institutional level. UConn administrators were complacent to *Brown*, integration, and the advancement of students of color.

In “Race: The Absent Presence,” Prendergast notes Brandt’s question “How do we study the social structures of practices so ingrained as to be unconscious—so extremely scenic as to go unnamed and unnoticed?” (“The Cognitive as the Social” 348). And responds to write, “It is one thing to say that racism is one of those scenic unconscious practices; it is another thing to identify and expose it as not an aberration, but as business as usual in the United States” (37). She then explains that this work—to expose an absence of race in projects—is the work of critical race theory. Because my work and analysis is based on critical race theory and a project of absent-absence, in what follows, I analyze the absence of the discussion of historically marginalized students in the development of DE programs as something of significance, not a coincidence or “aberration.”

While there was no direct reference at UConn to denying admittance to returning veterans of color, there were many references in archived documents to the problem of increased enrollment and how not every student should be expected to receive a college education. Such details are included in Waugh’s “Comments on the Basic Curriculum for the Freshman and Sophomore Years at the University of Connecticut.” This document was released in 1953, when UConn was beginning to find ways to account for the growing student population. These “Comments” encompassed a type of elitist educational philosophy—one that upheld how there is “no one pattern of education which is equally desirable for everyone—that to some extent one’s education should be adapted to the needs of his individual case—that while we all wish to turn out ‘educated’ young men and women, there is no single certain road to education (1). And while DE programs

are now marketed as a way to level the field through education for “all,” they did not begin that way.

Waugh’s elitism and white complacency appears to overlap with the “racism of the Progressive era” as Kynard writes, which was something African American college students “inherited”(14).¹⁹ In her historiography, Kynard details how “accommodationist racism” allowed whites to work “for racial equality while also holding onto their ideas of Negro inferiority” (39). Kynard explains that few whites ever moved beyond “accommodationist racism” as “The ‘upliftment’ of the black race did not include an agenda that would imagine or desire antilynching legislation or voting rights for blacks” (39). Accommodationist racism, I argue, is a type of white complacency that was enacted by multiple sponsors of the UConn High School Cooperative Program for Superior Students.

Through their work and approval of the programs, the immediate stakeholders of dual enrollment programs were the Ford Foundation, and later Provost Waugh, President Jorgensen, the University Senate, and the UConn Board of Trustees. In *Literacy and Learning*, Deborah Brandt explains how stakeholders of literacy learning are “sponsors.” She explains that “literacy takes its shape form the interests of its sponsors” and “A focus on sponsorship can force a more explicit and substantive link between literacy learning and systems of opportunity and access” (27-8). Administrators, parents, students, and teachers of DE programs all became the “link” between literacy and educational practices in the state and larger social and economic contexts.

The DE program became a way for UConn administrators to respond to what they constructed as the needs of university and Connecticut. Waugh and administrators at

UConn did as Brandt suggests, and “help[ed] to organize and administer stratified systems of opportunity and access. . . .[while] they raise[d] the literacy stakes in struggles for competitive advantage” (40). DE programs created access and opportunity, but this can be problematic as Brandt adds that “Sponsors can be benefactors but also extortionists—and sometimes both in the same form” (180). She gives the following example:

In the early stages of mass literacy in the United States, those sponsors were largely Protestant churches, who used literacy to convert people to their beliefs. Many African Americans, even before Emancipation, learned to read and write through the churches (that is, when state laws or slaveholders weren’t forbidding it). Through the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, many more literacy sponsors came into prominence with the White population, particularly economic sponsors interested in literacy for consumption and production. (11)

Brandt writes that the “institutional and material conditions” contribute to the “ideologically hybrid character of literacy formations” (*Literacy and Learning* 43). Based on my archival research, Albert E. Waugh created UConn’s DE programs in response to the previously described “material conditions” that were constructed as problems, such as the increased state population and student enrollment, low retention, and the shortage of teachers in the state. Again, there is no record of *Brown* or integration as a “material condition” of UConn.

High school teachers became sponsors by default. I could not find information lending to the idea that teachers were involved in developing the programs; however,

teachers would eventually become responsible for helping nominate students, work with UConn's subject area specialists, teach, and assess the students. The parents of students were also sponsors of these programs. Much like today, parents were able to see the economic benefit of their students gaining college credit while in high school. And, stated in "The Rising Tide" one reason for rising enrollment in college was "A desire of more parents to send their children to college, particularly if they themselves are college graduates" (3). And, as Brandt explains, parents' literacy practices play a key role in their children's literacy development (*Literacy and Learning* 182). In fact, Anne Ebner's participation as the first high school student "experiment" in Waugh's early admittance program was negotiated by her father.

Students then became sponsors of the programs as DE was a way for them to begin college work sooner, but also to secure their academic and therefore their economic futures. Brandt explains that monetary economics influence what she calls the "knowledge economy" and what it means for students as literacy learners (*Literacy and Learning* 118). She writes that:

the course of an ordinary person's literacy learning—its occasions, materials, applications, potentials—follows the transformations going on within sponsoring institutions as those institutions fight for economic and ideological position. As a result of wins, losses or compromises, institutions undergo change, affecting the kinds of literacy they promulgate and the status that such literacy has in the larger society.

(*Literacy and Learning* 39)

In developing the programs, the administrative sponsors transformed the potential paths for students. And, with a with a post-WWII approach to education to account for the influx of students, they were placed on different “tracks” via dual enrollment programs. As Jeannie Oakes explains, while alleging that they based these ‘tracks’ on ability levels, school officials often based them partly or mainly on students’ racial identities and their parents’ socioeconomic status; thus, “tracking” often became the new form of racial segregation (191).

As previously mentioned, the constructed main social and political influence on the development of DE based on what was available in the archives was that of the Cold War and influx of students after WWII. Derrick Bell explains that these events had a direct connection to *Brown v. Board* and African American civil rights’ movements. In “*Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma*,” Bell argues that the *Brown v. Board* ruling was one of interest-convergence. Interest-convergence is how “The interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interest of whites” (Bell 523). And, in 1954, their interests did. After years of cases and claims by blacks that the schools were inferior, Bell argues that what changed in 1954 was the interest of whites on the basis of at least a few key points: First, that “the decision [to integrate] helped to provide immediate credibility to America’s struggle with Communist countries to win the hearts and minds of emerging third world peoples (524). Second, that “Brown offered much needed reassurance to American blacks that the precepts of equality and freedom so heralded during World War II might yet be given meaning at home. Returning black veterans faced not only continuing discrimination, but also violent attacks in the South which rivalled those that took place

at the conclusion of World War I” (524). Finally, integration was seen as advantageous to whites in the South as “segregation was viewed as a barrier to further industrialization” (525). Integration was used as a way to show Communist countries and the rest of the world what Kynard might call “a rhetoric of dismantling” the racial status quo (19). However, as Kynard explains, American schools and universities “have often upheld a racial status quo *alongside a rhetoric of dismantling it*” (18-19).

Bell explains that *Brown* has never fully been implemented as he writes, “Demographic patterns, white flight, and the inability of the courts to effect the necessary degree of social reform render further progress in implementing *Brown* almost impossible” (518). While Connecticut had laws against discrimination and segregation, integration was not fully implemented in schools in Connecticut. This is exemplified in the 1989 and 1996 Connecticut Supreme Court case of *Sheff v. O’Neill*.

Programs Created out of White Complacency, Not Race Neutrality

The absence of any reference to how the development of DE programs would account for students of color—the institutional absent presence—in the social and historical context of *Brown v. Board* and the location of the chosen high schools to participate in white schools exemplifies how the DE program at UConn was not created to be “race neutral” as they are marketed today as accessible for “all students.” This is not to say that the programs were created to purposefully further separate students of color from white students. However, because students of color were not accounted for in the program’s creation, it was inevitable that the programs would not serve students of color in the same ways as white students. Kynard would extend this to remind audiences that there is “no white innocence” where it concerns the oppression of the literacy practices of

students of color (18-19). And, based on my research, it seems as though the perception at UConn in the 1950s, at least Waugh's perception, was that race, integration, and African American civil rights movements did not pertain to UConn.

In these ways, DE's history at UConn is an example of a racial formation as described by Omi and Winant. For example, the first student "experiment" in UConn's program was Anne Ebner—a white female student. In our Texas study Keith D. Miller and I found that white female English-speaking students make up the majority in the courses ("The Triumph of Whiteness"). In Texas, students of color, students from multiple language backgrounds, and students from lower socioeconomic areas make up the majority of students in the state, and yet it appears that these same students are less likely to be enrolled in DE courses even though increased access to higher education is one stated goal of most DE programs (Friedman et al.). David Schwalm reports virtually 100 percent of students that enroll receive credit. And it has been reported that DE students do have greater probability of graduating from high school and college (Swanson). However, there are numerous reports that highlight the disparities in how students—specifically students of color and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds—gain access to these programs; students of color are not accessing the courses at the same rates as white students (Moreland and Miller; Hugo; Hoffman). Because UConn's DE program developed out of white complacency, according to the Omi and Winant's racial formation theory, it can be argued that the programs best serve white students today.

The white complacency and colorblindness at UConn is reflective of the white complacency in the state of Connecticut. While there were laws against discrimination in Connecticut during the program's development, the attitudes of whites in the

communities were still ambivalent towards integration (as I explained in Chapter 2). And white flight in Connecticut to the areas surrounding Hartford in the 1950s onward would be a cited reason and support the eventual *Sheff v. O'Neill* case and ruling. In all, UConn's DE program was not developed to be "race neutral"—they began under the guise of white complacency. This is apparent in the institutional absent presence I found in conducting archival research focused on the development of DE writing courses.

Today, dual enrollment (DE) programs are currently marketed as giving the opportunity of "all students" to gain college credit in high school. Many DE FYW courses require, among other things such as GPA and recommendation, pre-college assessment for enrollment. In the next chapter I sought to understand the implications and fairness of DE FYW student access and placement via the use of ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores that determine student placement in some DE programs using the disparate impact model advanced by Poe et al. in "The Legal and the Local." The next chapter will highlight how without transparent data and accountability for that data to enable validity studies such as disparate impact analysis, an assessment genre cannot be deemed valid, reliable, or fair. This lack of comparable data to understand how assessment is influencing access to DE writing courses, I argue, is a violation of students' civil rights which shows how the marginalizing aspects of DE's origins are present in DE access and assessment today.

CHAPTER IV

ACCESS FOR “ALL”? USING DISPARATE IMPACT ANALYSIS TO ASSESS THE VALIDITY OF ASSESSMENT THAT DETERMINES DE STUDENT ENROLLMENT

In “A Report on the Cooperative Program for Superior High School Students,” released at UConn 1959, it is written that “The Cooperative Program is a sleepy giant who does not realize his ultimate strength” (3). The author of this document could sense the strength of the program—merely four years after their implementation. And, like a waking giant, the programs have grown exponentially, over 2 million students enrolled in 2010-2011 (Thomas et al. 3).

In 2005, the UConn High School Cooperative Program for Superior Students changed its name and was “re-branded” as the University of Connecticut Early College Experience (“About” UConn ECE). As the change in the name of the program suggests, the UConn ECE program today encompasses a rhetoric that is geared toward “all students,” not just the “superior” student the program was intended for. 194 high schools and over 10,000 students now participate in over fifty courses taught by 1,200 instructors in twenty disciplines through the UConn ECE program (“About” UConn ECE). The program was accredited by the National Alliance of Concurrent Enrollment Partnerships in 2007 and again in 2014. There is now at least one state policy in place for DE in Connecticut, which states that DE courses can count towards high school graduation credits provided that, “demonstration of mastery. . . . is in accordance with the state-wide subject matter content standards” (Connecticut Gen. Stat. Ann. § 10-221a, 10-261, 10a-8). To the best of my knowledge, there are no other state legislative policies in place.

During the 1960s and 1970s, while DE programs such as UConn's ECE continued to evolve post-*Brown*, open admission programs, such as Educational Opportunity Programs (EOPs), were created. According to Horner and Lu, EOPs and open admissions programs have been constructed as the "site of the birth" of basic writing courses (xv). Steve Lamos details that EOPs, open admissions, and various "basic writing" programs were designed to make education more available to students of color and lower socioeconomic statuses to succeed in college. Lamos explains that he believes the programs started with good intentions, to offer progressive race-based educational opportunity to non-white and non-mainstream students; however, these opportunities were "significantly undermined during the mid-1970s by proliferation of literacy crisis discourse and its problematic stance toward issues of race and racism" (W127). Basic writing courses presumably facilitates access, but often unfairly tracks and labels students as not as "college ready" as the "traditional" first-year composition students (Shannon Carter; Horner and Lu; Kynard; Lamos). This is similar to how DE courses can also track students unfairly, while touting equality for all students.

In "Basic Writing and the Conflict over Language" Tom Fox explains, among other things, the problematic aspects of using the Accuplacer to determine FYW placement as he details the California Acceleration project. At the "core of this project" he explains "is a belief that students are more capable than placement tests show" (10). The Accuplacer's parent organization is the College Board, which adopted AP programs in the 1950s. Fox asserts that the Accuplacer and other standardized tests "are not good. They do not accurately predict success in writing courses and they mislead students about the content and practices of reading and writing in college" (14). Accuplacer is not only

used to determine if students are “college ready” or should be placed into “basic writing” courses, they are also one aspect used to determine student access to DE writing courses—as is the case for my research site in this chapter.

Student access is one of many moveable (and largely unknown) parts of DE. And while the lasting strength of DE programs is still unknown, with a history stretching back to the 1950s, it can be gleaned that these courses are now a lasting aspect of the process of higher education for students in the United States—and therefore a lasting aspect of FYC and writing programs.

Overview

In Rhetoric and Composition Studies as a whole, researchers have analyzed different assessment genres, such as placement exams, essays, and portfolios that rely on “traditional” student enrollment, i.e., students enrolled in a college writing class on a college campus, at least 18 years old, and possessing a high school diploma or the equivalent (Huot et al.; White; see also Williamson and Huot). Edward White et al. explain that Writing Program assessment should capture “all genres of writing assessment” and grapple with “limited and robust construct representation at all levels of the curriculum, from admissions to placement” (86). However, if we follow Carolyn Miller’s 1984 invocation of genre as social action, then we must understand that genres are not merely form, but rise from different social exigencies. To that end we need different evidentiary categories to determine different social exigencies. Transparency is how we can link the social exigencies by which assessment genres rise and their consequences. In all, there is no composition-specific research that assesses the consequences of different assessment genres that determine access for students that are

seeking to be dually enrolled in high school English and college writing courses. In many cases, enrollment in DE FYW courses requires both admission and placement assessment. DE enrollment, then, refers to students that successfully meet admissions and placement assessment requirements.

One question that obviously arises from such co-curricular, especially considering the history of the programs, is: How are students who have not completed high school or its equivalent currently assessed to qualify for DE and placed into college level DE writing courses? In fact, the ways students are assessed for placement into DE programs and DE writing courses varies depending on the state, high school, and institutions that offer courses. A related question thus follows: Do the programs today produce evidence of fairness?

When the fairness of a practice is questioned, the social justice of the practice must also be questioned. In the same vein as FYW, DE FYW courses were developed for educational and therefore social mobility. The question of equity in admissions is particularly important in DE programs because co-curricular programs are attractive to an increasing number of students because they offer the opportunity to obtain college credit for writing more quickly (and in many cases, more cheaply) than would be possible after matriculating to the university context.

In DE, like most FYW courses, many institutions rely on standardized placement tests (such as the CEEB's ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® (developed by Pearson)), student GPA, and also recommendation from high school principals, teachers and counselors to determine which students will have the opportunity to gain college credit

for writing in high school more quickly. Evaluating the validity of the placement practices (and/or tests) is one way to determine the fairness and social justice of DE.

In “Explicating Validity,” Michael T. Kane explains the importance in validating testing practices if it is anticipated that a genre is linked to “unintended consequences”—specifically “social consequences” (10). According to Kane, there are currently two main concerns of social consequences in validation studies: “[1] differential impact against particular groups (which may or may not be associated with identifiable sources of bias) and [2] undesirable systemic effects (particularly in education)” (10). Kane explains that there must be categories of evidence to support the fairness of an assessment genre as issues of fairness and validity are “basically the same” (181). In this way, validity and fairness studies focus on the implications of testing procedures or scores and the social consequences (and social justice) of the implemented procedures and use of the scores. However, a validity study (to determine aim and consequences) is only possible when a writing construct has been identified and sample constructs and supplementary data are transparent. Because no assessment practice can be deemed valid without analysis, and analysis is only possible with transparency, I argue that issues of transparency are “basically the same” as issues of validity and fairness. The 2014 American Educational Research Association *Standards* included for the first time a chapter on fairness, which Diane Kelly-Riley, Norbert Elliot, and Alex Rudiny explain, “elevated the concept of fairness to be a foundational consideration for tests, parallel in importance to validity and reliability (3). Therefore, conversations pertaining to assessment should be extended to account for the implications of assessment genres that are not supported with clearly accessible and transparent data to support fairness.

The makeup of students in FYW classes is dynamic and the work of many scholars has shown that students' race, language, gender, and economic backgrounds should not impede their college and FYW experience (Inoue and Poe; Martinez; Matsuda; Ratcliffe; Wallace). Most DE courses are marketed as a means for "all" students to have more access and an easier transition to college. The purpose of one type of DE format—Early College (EC) high school programs—is to "serve low-income young people, first-generation college goers, English language learners, and students of color, all of whom are statistically underrepresented in higher education and for whom society often has low aspirations for academic achievement" ("History" Jobs for the Future). Despite the intended (and marketed) purposes of DE programs, Keith D. Miller and I found that while students of color are the majority in Texas, white students make up the majority of students enrolled in DE programs.

In this chapter, I build upon my previous research focused on DE enrollment to interrogate fairness issues surrounding student DE admission and placement assessment practices, interrogating the implications of practices that determine student eligibility and access of DE programs. While previous research was based on data from Texas, and archival research in Connecticut, for the work in this chapter I chose a more localized system. This institution, which I will refer to as Arizona College (AC), is one of the largest community college systems in the U.S. with DE courses at local high schools.

As I illustrate in this chapter, DE enrollment data at AC was not reported or available. Therefore, there is not transparency of the scores that are necessary to determine the fairness, reliability, and validity of the institution's pre-college assessment for students seeking to be enrolled in courses that allow students to gain high school and

college credit simultaneously. In this way, the scores are not transparent, therefore the fairness, reliability, and validity of the instruction's chosen assessment genre is not transparent. And in instances when data from institutions may not be reported or available, other avenues that do have the authority to gather such data, such as the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR) serve as important resources to understanding the problematic implications of the lack of transparency in assessment practices. When claims of discrimination are made, the OCR compiles and analyzes data using what is called a burden-shifting approach. This three-step process has been taken up by Mya Poe et al. in the form of a validation tool that identifies unintentional forms of discrimination—disparate impact analysis.

This chapter is organized into the following sections. I first give an overview of DE composition and associated areas of concern to highlight how assessment practices that determine enrollment requires more data-driven inquiry. Such orientation situates how Moreland and Miller's work necessitates more RAD scholarship that focuses on whether—and where—discrimination in DE is happening outside of Texas. I then detail my research site, how enrollment in these DE FYW courses rely on ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores, and how there is no data publicly available or internally compiled data regarding these placement scores. While there are no records of data, there are records of how AC was investigated by the OCR for discriminatory practices regarding, among other things, how students gain knowledge about and access DE courses. Therefore, I also include explanation of these claims and the larger functions of the OCR. To determine if the chosen research site is operating in a way that discriminates students via ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores, I explain disparate impact

analysis as a validation tool, as proposed by Poe et al. I then demonstrate how the lack of data available at my chosen site complicates the disparate impact approach presented by Poe et al. and emphasize the need for transparency in testing practices and scores as to better understand the intended and unintended social consequences. Finally, I conclude this chapter with a discussion that shows the relationship between the history and the present state of DE.

DE Assessment and Access Met with Growth in Enrollment and Concerns

In Stephanie Marken et al.'s 2013 report, it was found that 25% of institutions that offer DE courses in the U.S. “reported eligibility for high school students in grade 9” (3), meaning that in some cases, students qualify at the age of 14. DE researchers have raised concerns over the age of students in DE programs given that how students write at any level is informed by their cognitive abilities (Taczak and Thelin; MacArthur & Graham), their level of maturation (Anson; Tinberg and Nadeau), and various other, age-related facets that influence writing (White et al.).

Second, inconsistent DE admissions standards means that DE enrollment is based on varied assessment practices. In 2015, for example, 27 states required standardized test scores, such as the ACT or SAT, to determine student access (Zinth). In the remaining states, there was no state policy; the institutions constructed unique eligibility requirements. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, there is only one state policy in Connecticut—it does not regard student access. ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores are commonly used in institutions with and/or without state policy to determine student eligibility for DE writing courses. In the end, according to the U.S. Department of Education Reports from 2010-2011, only 46% of colleges offering DE

courses held students to the same admission standards of the institution (Marken et al. 4), despite calls from organizations such as CCCC that programs offering DE should reflect the “sponsoring college composition program” (Farris et al.). It is extremely important to understand here that in the case of DE composition, in instances where the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores are used, placement into the course determines a student’s ability to enroll at the college. For example, if a student is seeking to enroll in only DE composition, they might first be required to meet a GPA requirement and/or have been recommended by a faculty member at the school and then they must take the placement exam and receive a score that places them into DE FYW and then they can enroll in the college. However, if placement testing is required and the student does not receive the recommended score for the course, they will not be admitted to the college.

The varied rhetorical situations and communities in which students who are immersed in DE courses write leads to a third inconsistency: curriculum. According to Esther B. Hugo high school and, therefore, DE curriculum play a large role in DE students’ eventual success in college. However, David E. Schwalm argues that writing courses taught on college campuses are “impossible to replicate in a high school senior English class” (53). Chris Anson writes that these programs can range from “well-coordinated courses” (245) taught with “fully supported teachers” to programs to those that have what Chris Farris might call “slapdash arrangements” in that they lack “adequate instructor preparation or a standardized college-level syllabus” (245). Farris advances that the “integrity” of the composition curriculum “is only as good as each instructor’s ability to deliver it” which necessitates more focus on instructor training (105). WPAs at many institutions that accept DE credits have no voice in the curriculum

design for DE programs and there is minimal, if any, communication with the local offering institutions. In fact, Melinda Mechur Karp et al. report that less than one-third of states with a dual enrollment policy have policies about course content or curriculum (*State Dual Enrollment Policies*). The lack of state and institutional policy leads to inconsistent DE curriculum guidelines. Ultimately, unlike FYW that looks to WPA guidelines for program construction and evaluation, DE programs largely function to meet the standards of sources outside of their institutions, such as the National Alliance of Concurrent Enrollment Partnerships (NACEP).

NACEP is an organization that was designed specifically for the advancement of another variation of DE courses—Concurrent Enrollment (CE). The organization was founded in 1997, currently has a staff of four, and is run mostly by volunteers. A large function of NACEP is to accredit programs. Once accreditation is granted, it is valid for seven years. In 2018-2019, 107 programs held accreditation (“NACEP Accredited Programs”). NACEP accredits dual enrollment programs on the basis of teacher training, curriculum, student assessment, and an overall program evaluation. Additionally, NACEP holds national and regional conferences to share issues of effective practices, research, and policies.

NACEP outlines that the curriculum of the programs must be the same as that of the providing college in regards to course descriptions, line numbers, pedagogy, and assignments. Students enrolled in the program should be registered with the college, meet the college prerequisites, and also be provided with publications regarding students’ rights and responsibilities (“NACEP Standards”). With regard to assessment, students should be held to the same achievement standards as those in college classes and graded

using the same methods as those enrolled in classes on college campuses. But policy does not always influence or dictate practice, especially when policies are not in place.

As of now, NACEP has no official statement or study on racial bias in DE access. While a few panels at the 2017 conference did address “equality in access” a keyword search of “race” within the program had zero results (*Concurrent & Dual Enrollment: A Capitol Idea*). In all, NACEP seems to give very little attention to issues of racial bias in DE access and assessment.

A fourth inconsistency in DE programs arises in the ways instructors are trained to teach. Until recently, there was no agreed-upon, research-based way that teachers receive preparation or training to teach DE FYW classes (Farris “Minding the Gap”; Anson; McCrimmon). In October 2015, the Higher Learning Commission (HCL) adopted a policy revision to Assumed Practice B.2. This will require all instructors, including those of DE courses to have “18 graduate credit hours in the discipline or subfield in which they teach” by September of 2022 (2). This policy revision was largely influenced by dual enrollment courses:

The institution must assure that the faculty members teaching dual credit courses hold the same minimal qualifications as the faculty teaching on its own campus. This requirement is not intended to discount or in any way diminish the experience that the high school teacher brings into a dual credit classroom. Yet it is critical that the content of the dual credit course match the complexity and scholarly rigor of the same course delivered to the student population on the college campus. With millions of high school students now earning college credit through dual credit programs,

the advancement of higher education and the value of student learning rely extensively on the adequacy of faculty preparation and demonstrated qualifications among dual credit instructors. (4)

This adoption has added new problems for dual enrollment and writing programs across the country, as community colleges that are largely involved with DE course offerings do not offer graduate-level courses and many of the high school instructors do not hold an M.A. or Ph.D (much less those degrees in Rhetoric and Composition Studies or Literacy). Among other things, the HLC's revision is causing WPAs to "scramble" to create more graduate-level course offerings for instructors seeking to meet the qualifications and a concern with finding ways to pay "for the additional credit hours, [and] encouraging high school teachers to participate" (Ashely A. Smith "Questioning Teaching Qualifications"). Many, if not most, teachers are getting these hours via online courses.

In the end, the fragmented practices of DE mean that we have little understanding of what students' varied age levels, teacher training, curricular differences, and admission standards yield in regards to equitable outcomes for various student groups and writing programs. Without meaningful and more transparent data, and analysis of that data, we simply cannot ascertain the fairness of DE and whether DE results in socially just outcomes for all students (and instructors) within these programs.

Importance of Data for Determining Discriminatory Practices

Given the origins of DE, and that little is known about issues of equity in DE admission today, and the effects of DE over the course of a student's college career, it is imperative that there be more data driven studies of DE evaluation. Of the few DE composition-specific publications, five—Denecker ("Toward Seamless Transition?"),

Denecker (“Transitioning Writers Across the Composition Threshold”), Frick and Blattner, Post et al., and Taczak and Thelin—offer models for data collection and analysis that can act as models for future research. While these studies do highlight some aspects of writing assessment, in short, to my knowledge, there are no DE-specific validation studies in the composition research journals.

In regards to DE and social justice, data collection and analysis is needed to evaluate the validity of assessment practices to determine their fairness. As previously mentioned, Kane (“Explicating Validity”) writes that issues of fairness and validity are “basically the same” (181). Validity theory upholds the idea that: “It certainly is appropriate to evaluate a decision rule in terms of the extent to which it achieves the goals of the program, but it is also important to attend to unintended effects that have potentially serious consequences” (Kane, “Validating the Interpretations and Uses of Test Scores” 55). Some potential negative impacts, or consequences, according to validity theory, are adverse (and/or disparate) impact.

Poe and Cogan discuss how validity and/as fairness of test scores holds larger meaning for social justice:

Test scores may reflect social inequality, but the *use* of test scores works to create that social inequality. Racial isolation and structural inequality are not merely reflective of such social mechanisms; social mechanisms work to sustain racial invisibility, racial isolation, and structural inequality.

This “structural inequality” is precisely what the work of Miller and I found in the state of Texas based on enrollment data (“The Triumph of Whiteness”). In 2007, the state of

Texas mandated that all high schools offer at least 12 hours of college credit to their high school seniors (Friedman et al. i). However, not all schools were able to pay for student's courses and texts. Therefore, socio-economically disadvantaged students were not always provided this option. Students that are at an economic disadvantage have more disadvantages in regards to college placement tests because of a lack of resources in their high schools; in many instances, these students are students of color and/or from multiple language backgrounds (Zwick & Himelfarb, 2011). In our work, Miller and I looked at data from Lawrence B Friedman et al.'s 2011 report that focuses on the then-current state of DE in Texas that highlights how although students of color outnumber white students in the state of Texas, white students are the majority in DE courses. Miller and I analyzed this data using whiteness theory as well as aspects of George Lipsitz's *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* in which he identifies the ways that certain people—those categorized as white—benefit from structural racism in society. In regards to education, Lipsitz expands on the ways that, “[un]equal opportunities for education play a crucial role in racializing life chances in the United States” (33). In the end, our work shows how the promises of DE programs fail to meet the call for advancement of “all students” in the state of Texas, which we argue can be applied to the U.S. as a whole.

Given findings from the Texas study and archival research in Connecticut focused on the historical origins of DE programs, it seems that claims regarding equitability of DE programs are suspect. Such findings beg the question whether the current equitability of DE is simply a matter of access—i.e., more poor students need access to DE—or whether equitability is related to assessment practices.

Thus, in the following study I sought to identify if enrollment patterns at a large institution in another state (Arizona) that offers DE is reflective of the enrollment patterns in Texas. After establishing whether there was a disparity in enrollment, I endeavored to identify some possible reasons for this disparity. Specifically, I ask why students of color do not seem to access DE courses in the same ways or at the same rates as white students.

Research Site Overview

In order to create a research project focused on determining if discrimination of students based on testing practices that lead to DE enrollment happens outside of Texas, I chose to focus on DE policies and assessment/placement practices in a large community college in Arizona. Arizona Community (AC) is one of the largest community college systems in the United States. There are 10 different branches and, in 2014, a reported 128, 212 students enrolled (“Student profile: Fall 45th day 2014”). Approximately 15% or 19,103 of these students were enrolled in what is referred to as High School Dual/Concurrent Enrollment (“Student profile: Fall 45th day 2014”). Additionally, in 2014, the 10 colleges in the system provided more than 400 academic and occupational courses at over 50 high schools (“High Schools with Dual Enrollment Courses: 2013-2014”).²⁰ In 2015, at one NACEP accredited branch of AC, it was reported that about 7,000 students took classes for college and high school credit simultaneously; 38 students received their associate degree before graduating from high school (“Record Number of Phoenix Students Earn Two Diplomas”). The number of these 7,000 students that participated in DE first-year writing courses is not documented. However, in order for these students to obtain their associate degrees, they must have completed the required FYW courses.

DE Access and Placement at AC Based on ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®

At AC, placement into FYW courses—DE and otherwise—is based on the institution’s predetermined qualifying scores from the College Board’s ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® exam. According to the ACCUPLACER website, the “WritePlacer® is a direct measure of a student’s writing skills. The student’s response is scored electronically using an automated system, and scores are returned within seconds. Institutions can also use WritePlacer® to assess English as a second language (ESL) writing skills” (“About Accuplacer”). As can be gleaned from the information provided by ACCUPLACER, students must take the test in English only.

While ACCUPLACER is touted as supporting “accurate placement decisions” (“How it Works”) there are multiple accounts of how tests, such as the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®, incorrectly place FYW students. Judith Scott-Clayton reports that placement exams are “better predictors of success in math than in English” (2). Paul Fain explains that “up to a third of students who placed into remedial English classes on the basis of the placement tests could have passed college-level classes with a grade of B or better.” Christie Toth suggests alternatives to standardized placement tests as they largely under-place students. Where it concerns ACCUPLACER, Norbert Elliot et al. report that “populations of diverse students may be disenfranchised” (304-5) as ACCUPLACER failed to correctly place females, Asian, Hispanic and Black students” (300).

An analysis of DE students’ ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® scores at AC would allow me to better understand how this form of assessment might lend to student enrollment patterns and how these patterns might relate to the historical and social context in which the programs were created. At AC, student placement in first-year

writing, language skills, basic writing, and even honors FYW courses is based on scores that range from 0-8. (see table 1.).

WritePlacer® Score	Course placement
0-1	ENG 071 Language Skills, ESL077 or take CELSA if ESL
2	ENG 081 Basic Writing Skills, ESL 087
3-4	ENG 091 Fundamentals of Writing, ESL 097
5-8	ENG 101/107 FYC; Score of 7/8-Consider Honors

Table 1. WritePlacer® Score and Course Placement at Arizona Community

Students can re-test for course placement. The guidelines for re-testing are as follows:

Students will be permitted one re-test in English, reading or math level after at least a 24-hour waiting period. **ONE additional re-test is permitted no sooner than three months from the oldest valid score date at any course placement testing site.** Course placement scores, with the exception of the reading exemption scores, will be valid for two years from the date of the original or re-test assessment. (Course Placement Chart)

An important thing to note here is that based on the institutions' test scores and placement, students admitted through the normal college admissions process have access to basic writing. However, if a high school student does not place into ENG 101/107, they do not have the option of taking Language Skills, Basic Writing, or Fundamentals of Writing courses. Thus, if students do not meet placement criteria, they are denied access to DE FYW courses. Not allowing DE FYW students to take basic writing courses is not

specific to AC. As of 2015, only nine states had clear options to allow DE students access to developmental coursework (Zinth).

As Tom Fox explains, “research shows that institutional structures of basic writing may do more harm than good” (9). This is interesting where it concerns high schools in that while some students are enrolling in DE and gaining college credit for writing—other students that do not place into FYW and cannot access basic writing courses might have to wait another year or two to graduate high school and enroll in college—and might still place into basic writing courses because of standardized testing. These students, then, would be even further behind than their peers who gained college credit for writing in high school. So, while basic writing or developmental courses might not be advised, if DE FYW is an option, I argue that DE basic or stretch or developmental writing should also be an option.

Test Scores Not Compiled or Available

Given that the goal of my research was to understand the impact of DE placement assessment, my first task was to ascertain how many and which students were taking the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® exam for placement in Arizona Community’s DE FYW courses. I also needed to know how many and which students were placing into the DE FYW courses. Based on these goals, I sought data regarding the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® scores at AC via five sources: ACCUPLACER, the college, corresponding high schools, the Arizona Department of Education, and later, the U.S. Department of Education.

Upon my initial inquiry, I found that these institutions’ websites do not offer data or statistics regarding the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® scores. For this reason, the next

step was to contact individual institutions. I first contacted ACCUPLACER where I was told that while they do make the test available, they do not have any data about the number of students taking the WritePlacer® or their exam scores as the college is responsible for these scores. I then contacted two corresponding high schools of AC in which DE FYW courses are available and asked if they had data regarding how many of their students seeking DE writing courses took ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® and how many placed into courses. They also informed me that they do not keep records of this. They suggested I contact AC and also the Arizona Department of Education. Arizona's Department of Education told me (via multiple phone conversations) that they do not have records of those scores either as these scores are for the colleges and college students. I must note here that this is concerning as the DE students are, in fact, still high school students which would seem to hold the state accountable for keeping data where it concerns these students.

I then sought data through AC. Via a telephone conversation with AC's Director of Research, Planning, and Development, I was told while the college does keep record of students' ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores, the records are not disaggregated based on students' testing for traditional versus DE writing courses. This data, I was told, would only be compiled and released upon *approval* of a formal request first submitted to the Director of Research, Planning, and Development at AC and then forwarded for approval. For this reason, I created a formal request. The information requested from the college is as follows:

1. The number of students taking the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test for placement in English-Composition (FYW) courses as well as the age, race,

gender, and educational level (educational intent) of these students.²¹

2. The breakdown of the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® student test results based on the colleges' qualifying scores (0-1; 2; 3-4; 5-8) as well as the age, race, gender, and educational level of these students.

3. The number of students currently enrolled in English/Composition specific courses (ENG 071, ENG 081, ENG 091, ENG 101/107) as well as the age, race, gender, and educational level (educational intent) of these students.

4. The total number of students enrolled in Dual/Concurrent enrollment ENG 101/102 courses as well as the age, race, gender, and educational level (educational intent) of these students.

Once submitted, my hope was that the director and/or college would eventually get back to me with some of the information requested—at the very least I thought I would receive an update of progress of the request. I never heard back from the college or the director at the college—even after multiple follow up emails to check on the status of my request. Since the information should be available under the Freedom of Information Act, this led me to inquire about this information through the college's legal department.

AC's Omsbud service provides the facilitation of “an external constituent's efforts to maneuver through what the constituent feels to be ‘bureaucratic red tape’” (“Description of Services”). I contacted the manager of the Office for Public Stewardship to get advice about how I might gain access to the data. I also asked if I could receive the raw data to sort on my own and was told that this was not possible. I was told that I should send the same request I had previously sent to the college so that my inquiry could be processed to determine if the college has any legal obligation to release the data. After

a short wait, I was informed that the college is under no obligation to release the data. More specifically, I was told via email that, “the data you are requesting does not already readily exist in the form of a record -- thus -- we are not required to generate a report under public records law -- nor dispatch staff to create such” (Name redacted for confidentiality reasons, personal communication, December 22, 2015).

My next step was to consult the U.S. Department of Education as they do accept requests for information under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552, enacted in 1966. When a person or organization files a request for information, they will learn: 1) If records are available and 2) If the records are releasable. However, it is possible that even if records are available and can be released, the data can cost the individual filing money out of pocket as well. I sent a formal email to the Department of Education’s FOIA manager outlining my inquiry and complications as well as to request advice on possible steps to gain access to the data requested (FOIA request 16-00801-F). In an email response (with an attached letter) I was told to:

Please be advised that the Department of Education does not maintain those types of records/information. We recommend that you contact the School or the company that performances [performs] that task, as only they would be able to provide that information for you. (EDFOIA Manager)

As discussed previously, neither the school nor ACCUPLACER is legally bound to release such data. Ultimately, through inquiry at multiple sites, there was little knowledge about how and where student assessment scores that determine student access and placement were located and could be accessed. This lack of data is highly

problematic in regards to understanding how, on a large scale, the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® influences student assessment and subsequent enrollment in DE courses.

What is arguably more problematic is the lack of responsibility and accountability of maintaining the data on a federal, state, and local level. Although AC offers DE FYW courses at multiple participating institutions--and all of the institutions rely on ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® test scores for student placement--there are no known organized records of how many students are taking or placing into FYW (DE or otherwise) via the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®. On a federal level, FOIA is not responsible for maintaining records at state and local agencies as “most states, and some local jurisdictions have their own laws about access to state and local records” (“About FOIA”). However, as stated previously, since AC did not maintain records they were not required to generate the file “under public records law” (Name redacted for confidentiality reasons, personal communication, December 22, 2015). Here, both the federal and local education agencies deny responsibility to maintain or produce these records.

In a *Propublica* article, multiple contributors recount difficulties in gaining access to public records under FOIA law. A common denominator in these requests is that:

local, state and federal agencies alike routinely blow through deadlines laid out in law or bend them to ludicrous degrees, stretching out even the simplest requests for years. And they bank on the media’s depleted resources and ability to legally challenge most denials. (“Delayed, Denied, Dismissed”)

At AC, because there is a lack of accountability for any federal, state, or local agency to keep the records, there is no party responsible to ensure the fairness of the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® for DE FYW placement. And while President Obama did sign the FOIA Improvement Act of 2016 that was supposed to enable more transparency for those seeking records, “the act explicitly provides no new resources for implementing these provisions” (“Delayed, Denied, Dismissed”).

College Investigated by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR)

While searching for information about the institution and test scores, I unintentionally found that AC was recently under investigation from the U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The investigation was based on a claim made by a local, non-profit Civil Rights Center. According to Chen, members of the Civil Rights Center claimed that, “the college system is creating an environment hostile to undocumented immigrants and is discriminating against minority students.” AC applications asked “students for their immigration status” and the tuition rates were higher for students that are not residents of the county, which “discourages [students] them from pursuing higher education at the community college level” (Chen). This constitutes a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs.

In a 2013 press release from the Civil Rights Center, it is written that because of the claim, the college will:

make changes to address the following allegations: ... [that the college] 1. - Discriminated in the basis of national origin by engaging in practices that may chill or discourage the enrollment of High School students in their

Charter Schools based on their or their parents' or guardians' actual or perceived citizenship or immigration status. 2.-Discriminated against national origin of minority individuals in [on] the basis of their limited English proficiency by failing to provide meaningful access to information and services and by failing to provide meaningful access to Board Meetings. (Cornejo)

In educational institutions that receive any type of government funding (e.g., grant monies, federal student loan programs, etc.), the OCR is where formal complaints of discrimination are made. In 2013-14, the OCR received nearly 10,000 civil rights complaints, which is “the highest numbers in OCR history” (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, “Message from the Assistant Secretary” 4). Complaints range, in addition to complaints about racial discrimination, from disability access claims to sexual assault on campuses.

The work of the OCR highlights the ways that social injustices in education are as present today as they ever were. Ultimately, the mission of the OCR is to “*ensure equal access to education and to promote educational excellence throughout the nation through vigorous enforcement of civil rights*” (“About: Office of Civil Rights”). In order to carry out their mission, the OCR resolves complaints filed “by anyone who believes that an education institution that receives Federal financial assistance has discriminated against someone on the basis of national origin as prohibited by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; sex as prohibited by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972; disability as prohibited by Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973; and/or age is prohibited by the Age Discrimination Act of 1975 (“About: Office of Civil Rights”). In the case of

AC, the persons filing the complaint were advocates for those they believed to have been victims of discrimination.

Given the research on ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®'s discriminatory effects on students of color (Elliot et al.) and the fact that AC was already under investigation by the OCR for its DE program practices, I look to Poe et al.'s disparate impact analysis as a validation tool that was developed on the basis of the OCR's burden-shifting approach for investigating claims of discrimination.

Disparate Impact Analysis

Disparate impact analysis is a precedent used by the courts and adapted by OCR to investigate education discrimination claims. In their article, Poe et al. explain how to utilize the OCR's three-step burden-shifting approach as a validation tool for assessment practices to determine unintentional consequences specific to disparate impact. Disparate impact, it should be noted, is unlike intentional *disparate treatment*. Disparate treatment "requires direct evidence of discriminatory intent" (Poe et al. 593). On the other hand, disparate impact discrimination is "*unintended racial differences in outcomes resulting from facially neutral policies or practices that on the surface seem neutral*" (Poe et al. 593). Disparate impact approach then, as a type of legal heuristic, is traditionally used to determine unintentional discrimination (590). The idea that institutions may be, intentionally or not, discriminating against students reflects the importance of utilizing disparate impact analysis as a validation tool.

Disparate impact as a validation tool, Poe et al. write, "connects testing and curriculum" and "speaks to our historical and current struggles to provide meaningful writing instruction to all students" (605). Validation tools, according to Poe et al. help

understand “the local effects of writing assessment” and “may mean the difference between college success and failure for many students” (589). In validity studies, “information is at the center” and there are four main agreed upon sources of validity evidence: scoring, generalization, extrapolation, and consequences (590). Scoring establishes “performance through a scoring framework” (590). Generalization evaluates “different conditions that impact student performance” (590). Extrapolation is the “inference linking the test to a range of performances associated with the concept under investigation” and consequence is the “anticipation of intended outcomes, adverse impact, and systemic effects” (590).

Poe et al. extend these concepts to assert that a disparate impact analysis is beneficial for writing assessment in two important ways. First, this type of analysis can determine “the relationship between scores and the local context in which decisions about assessments are made” (591). Additionally, the main sources of validity evidence—scoring, generalization, and extrapolation—when combined with disparate impact analysis are “not to be understood as a discrete set of categories. Rather, each is understood in terms of its integrated impact on diverse student groups” (591). This contextualization of the evidence supporting the use of scores is vital as without this, “the validation process is suspect” (591). In this way, Poe et al. advance that using disparate impact accounts for both the legal responsibilities of writing assessment practices and also the local contexts where these assessment practices take place.

In order to model disparate impact approach as a validation tool, Poe et al. adapted the OCR’s three-step burden-shifting approach, which investigates “disparate impact claims in education settings” (591). The self-study design allows for writing

programs to conduct their own analysis not to determine if writing programs comply with federal law, per se, but to utilize disparate impact as a validation tool for “an evidence-based approach to decision making that relies on quantitative information as well as contextualized reasoning” (591). And while disparate impact analysis commonly focuses on race—as does the model provided by the authors—they note that this approach can be extended to include other classifications, such as nationality, gender, sexuality, international students, students’ socioeconomic status, students with disabilities, and students with limited English proficiency (592).

The three steps of the disparate impact self-study model that Poe et al. adopted follows the OCR’s burden-shifting approach, and are as follows. The *first* step is to “show an adverse impact on students of a particular race as compared with students of other races” (599). This step would begin with “a statistical analysis of the pass rates within the population of test takers, disaggregated by race” (600).

The *second* step determines if the assessment practices are necessary to meet an educational goal; that is, if there is a justifiable educational need (599). This step is made up of multiple phases, each of which requires empirical evidence. The inquiry, Poe et al. note, should include the following procedures: determine whether “the elements of writing that the test measures are important components of student writing ability”; ensure that the test results capture those components; document that “the basic writing course provides help to students for the identified writing deficiencies”; and demonstrate that the test “is predictive of or significantly correlated with students’ performance in college writing” (601).

The *third* and final step is to determine if there are alternatives that meet the institution's educational goal with less of a burden. This step "encourages" the imagining of "a wide range of alternative assessment practices" and could offer the possibility of "a method of assessment that would result in equally good outcomes for all its students but without the racialized score distribution" (603).

For my study, using disparate impact analysis to find ways to "provide meaningful writing instruction to all students"—i.e., one of the stated promises of DE programs—would allow clarification of how the goals of DE are actually being carried out. In the case of AC, this type of analysis would be extremely beneficial to understand how their assessment practices are influencing "all students" access to DE FYW classes. The question was, however, would I be able to replicate the model analysis provided by Poe et al.

Revisiting OCR

After a thorough search of the OCR's database via their website ("Office for Civil Rights"), I found that while many resolution letters and agreements are available, neither the resolution letters and agreements nor the complaint number for the case against AC's Early College High School was available on the website. I then contacted the OCR and was told that the complaint information may not be available on the website because the case might be A) so small that the information would not be useful to audiences B) there may have been a request to keep all documents confidential because they may be heavily redacted and they want to protect those involved; because of this, I would need to find the complaint number and then submit a FOIA request (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights-Denver, personal email). To find the case number, I contacted the author

of the press release that, as previously cited, explained the revisions mandated by the OCR (Cornejo) who was able to direct me to an individual that provided me with the complaint number. I then filed a FOIA request (16-00856-F) for documents pertaining to OCR case 08-112-2170. Within a few weeks, the OCR released the resolution letter for the complaint to me.

In the letter, it is written that the Complainant alleged that AC:

discriminated against national origin minority high school students by engaging in practices that may chill or discourage the enrollment of students based on their parents' or guardians' actual or perceived citizenship or immigration status. The Complainant also alleged that ... [AC] discriminated against national origin minority individuals on the basis of their limited English proficiency (LEP) by failing to provide meaningful access to information and services” and to AC Board Meetings. (Ciapusci)

It is also noted in the letter that before the OCR had made any findings, AC took “voluntary steps to ensure compliance with Title VI,” which allowed them to forgo any investigation:

Pursuant to Section 302 of OCR’s Case Processing Manual, a complaint may be resolved when, before the conclusion of an investigation, a recipient expresses an interest in resolving the complaint and the OCR Office Director believes that doing so is appropriate, so long as the remedies align with the allegations. (Ciapusci)

As part of compliance, AC agreed to multiple things, including drafting “procedures to provide a mechanism for LEP students and parents” at the charter schools—both of which are a form of dual enrollment (an Early College High School and College Preparatory Academy)—to “ensure meaningful access to LEP individuals” (Ciapusci). In other words, AC was responsible for implementing procedures to provide LEP students and their parents information about student access to the Early College program.

While voluntary compliance could seem to be positive, early compliance could also create oversight. While I cannot be sure that data regarding placement procedures would have been collected or analyzed, an early compliance and lack of full investigation may have resulted in the lack of investigation into how students were testing and placing in DE Early College courses (including DE FYW) via the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®.

The lack of a full investigation into the discriminatory practices concerning LEP students seeking Early College courses made me wonder how the OCR may go about investigating claims of discrimination in which data is not being collected (as in the case of AC). Upon inquiry, I was told by the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights FOIA coordinator that all claims such as this would require a formal claim that, upon evaluation of the “subject matter,” may or may not be investigated (personal communication, February 8, 2016).

Discussion: The Call for Data Transparency

My hope is that this chapter has shown, at least to some extent, the relationship between the history and the present state of DE. In my archival research, I found that while the programs are now directed towards “all students,” they were not created to account for all students—they were for the “superior” student. When structures are

developed with a particular participant in mind, the particular participant will always, or more often than not, best benefit from that structure. In the case of UConn’s DE programs, schools that were chosen to participate were in predominantly white communities, students were then chosen based on the subjective approach of their principals; the principal determined who was “superior” enough to access the courses.

Now, as in the case with AC, testing genres to which no one is legally accountable for validating is a key element that determines which students enroll in their DE programs. And, as recent studies have shown in Texas, Arizona, and otherwise—students of color are not represented proportionally to white students, do not access the programs at the same rate, nor are there—at least in the case of Arizona—assessment practices that determine access that are set up in ways to be validated for fairness.

As the work in this chapter has detailed, there are extreme and often unnecessary complexities in obtaining writing assessment data, which emphasizes the necessity and urgency for more transparent data for validity studies to determine the fairness of testing practices. In short, because test score data were not available from AC, I could not conduct a disparate impact analysis to see if there is evidence of negative consequences for the current use of the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®. While there cannot be certainty that an analysis of the scores (step 1) would result in reaching step 3, to “imagine a less discriminatory alternative” (Poe et al. 604), there should be transparency in test scores to analyze the implications of testing practices—especially those that are potentially discriminatory against students.

Poe et al. explain: “Because discrimination flows from the test design, process, or use of test scores, rather than from the intent of the test giver, disparate impact analysis

focuses on the *consequences* of specific testing practices” (593). The “*consequences*” of not having testing data to analyze to determine disparate impact at AC seems to have the possibility of a wide range of discriminatory practices that could have meaningful legal implications. I argue that the lack of comparable data to understand how assessment is influencing access to DE courses is a violation of students’ civil rights. In “Queering Writing Assessment,” Nicole I. Caswell and William P. Banks also faced bureaucratic red tape when attempting to collect demographic data specific to sexuality and gender identity to identify how programs are meeting the needs of LGBTQ students. This is another instance where the lack of data is a violation of students’ civil rights. Without self-studies, such as disparate impact analysis in place, writing programs could face OCR complaints.

There should be practices in place for student access to programs that are more transparent so that the positive and negative consequences are clearer. As Kane details:

A program can have substantial negative consequences and still be acceptable if the benefits outweigh any negative consequences. Negative consequences that are not offset by positive consequences tend to render a decision rule unacceptable (at least for stakeholders who are concerned about these consequences). (“Validating the Interpretations and Uses of Test Scores” 54)

I argue that the stakeholders administering any tests *should* be “concerned” regardless of their decided approach for placement. At any school that requires the placement tests, such as the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®, to determine student enrollment in FYW—DE or otherwise—data should be collected and recorded in a way that allows for an

evaluation of the validity of the test and consequences (and the tests and consequences *should* be validated). This data compilation and evaluation would be a less discriminatory practice in that there can be a clear understanding of the positive, negative, and possible social consequences of the testing practices. In this way, disparate impact approach as a validation tool outlined by Poe et al. becomes expanded to hold institutions more accountable for keeping data.

As there are social *injustices* present in many areas of writing assessment, there are undoubtedly social injustices present in DE writing assessment. The lack of transparency in data is, like intersectionality, mutually constructed by “unjust systems of power” (Collins 19). Janet Alsup and sj Miller write: “It is nearly impossible to refute that schools and schooling are inequitable and that multiple injustices affect schooling environments daily” (211). In regards to college admission testing, Kathleen Yancey explains that, “testing constructs what it purports to measure as it serves *a predetermined end in social, economic, administrative, and educational institutions*” (173).

While the lack of data available made it impossible to determine if the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® constructs what it purports to measure, the ACCUPLACER WritePlacer® is one example of how testing companies are not held accountable for their products. Bob Broad explains that, “like other industries (e.g. tobacco, fossil fuels, and soft drinks), the standardized testing industry profits from selling a product that has repeatedly been shown to harm the public good”; yet, there has been little to no advancements towards eliminating, regulating, or validating these tests.²²

Using disparate impact analysis as a guide, this chapter’s purpose was to examine the validity, fairness, and social justice of placement practices that determine DE FYW

student eligibility. As my case study has shown, just because an assessment genre has evidentiary categories that support a validity argument does not mean that evidentiary categories are sufficient to support a fairness argument.

While DE began as an elitist gatekeeping mechanism for “superior students” it now claims a promise to “all students.” However, that promise is faulty when the opportunity for students to learn in these courses is not clear or transparent. Kelly-Riley, Elliot, and Rudiny explain how “advancement of the opportunity to learn, subsumes all other assessment aims ... [and] demand[s] articulated connections between the assessment and the instructional environment, and provide resources for the least advantaged students” (18). The opportunity to learn, then, is a potential consequence of pre-college assessment. In this way, the visibility of test scores is vital to understanding the opportunity to learn as an intricate aspect of assessment. Therefore, my suggestion that institutions make data visible at the local level cannot be extremely beneficial if the theory used to analyze the data does not address the fairness of the practices. Therefore, a standard for assessment must be transparency in the scores that supports fair practices regarding students’ opportunity to learn.

Requiring a standard of fairness and transparency has the potential to enable a more fluid understanding of assessment genres that determine student placement in FYW and DE composition courses. A standard of transparency will be paramount to future research that focuses on how and if DE courses are living up to their intended goals of allowing “all students” an opportunity to advance in DE courses regardless of race, gender, socioeconomic class, language backgrounds, and other widely varied

subjectivities that should be accounted for, rather than hinder, how students are testing and placing in DE FYW courses.

Conclusion

In Connecticut and across the United States DE writing courses have been under-researched, undertheorized, and, therefore, I argue, underestimated in Rhetoric and Composition Studies. I believe this is especially the case where it concerns the potential impact of DE on the field and profession and when looking at the broader picture of student writing. When there is a lack of accountability and transparency in writing programs and assessment practices that determine student enrollment in DE writing courses—this is a violation of students’ civil rights. Such immeasurable and unclear practices, I argue, are reflective of the historical origins of the programs that were created in the context of *Brown* and African American civil rights movements without accounting for historically marginalized students.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have narrated a history of the “longest-running” dual enrollment program in the United States and have shown how standardized testing continues to marginalize historically marginalized students seeking to enroll in DE programs. I have narrated the lengths that whites in the North and the South would go to—before, during, and after the *Brown v. Board* ruling—to preserve their white privilege. While whites in the South often resisted the progress for people of color through violent means, whites in the North resisted through quiet complacency. One way white resistance was carried out in the North was through the implementation of DE programs at UConn.

The work in this dissertation has shown how Connecticut, a state considered a part of the North, was never free from prejudice. In Connecticut, I have argued, white complacency developed as a result of early laws against discrimination coupled with continuous white flight and a lack of progress for rights of people of color in the state. This white complacency, I argue, is a form of colorblindness, which would be discussed and theorized years later by scholars such as Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Victor Villanueva, Aja Martinez, and many others.

DE programs and DE writing courses were developed with the exclusion of social upheavals surrounding *Brown v. Board* in a state where the majority of whites weren’t concerned with integration. The origins of DE courses at UConn, therefore, exemplifies a racial formation that was intended to preserve white privilege. Standardized testing practices, such as ACCUPLACER WritePlacer®, continue to unfairly place students

seeking DE enrollment as these tests have been shown to reproduce biased race and class writing standards.

For years prior to *Brown*, black Americans fought for equality socially, civilly, and educationally. And, in the 1950s, largely white power structures in the United States saw a political benefit to de-segregation—in ending segregation they thought they could appeal ideologically moral to a global audience (“*Brown v. Board of Education*”). *Brown* was the result of this, what Derrick Bell calls, interest-convergence. However, *Brown* would do little to integrate schools in the United States for years to come. Black student and freedom movements would focus on continuously changing the virtually unchanged educational systems after *Brown*.

Whites’ resistance to integration and responses from black communities had innumerable influences on literacy and higher education in the United States. However, the developers of DE—mainly Waugh—included no record of *Brown* or students of color in any document concerning the development of DE programs at UConn. Using what Catherine Prendergast calls an “absent absence” approach to research (“*Race: The Absent Presence*”), I found that UConn’s neglect of social events concerning race in society and education an institutional absent presence.

In this dissertation, I narrated the original program articulation, development, and implementation of UConn’s program to the best of my ability within the limitations of my research. I found original student requirements, such as how principals were the “key” to nominating “superior” students. I found that high school administrators questioned the necessity of such programs. I also found that some high schools were in support because of the economic benefit. Additionally, I found that the original

participating high schools were those in predominantly white communities—communities that would later be a part of the *Sheff v. O’Neill* case that found schools surrounding and within Hartford had never fully integrated.

Throughout my research I found that the Ford Foundation was one of the largest original sponsors of DE. Ford had sponsored the Kenyon plan that would later be adopted by the CEEB as the Advanced Placement program that is still in operation today. During the 1950s, Ford also sponsored pre-induction scholars programs at institutions such as Yale. This program allowed high school students to eliminate their last two years of high school and take college courses at Yale (or another participating college). When UConn approved Waugh’s program, he had originally intended the programs to reflect Yale’s Ford-sponsored early admittance program for pre-induction scholars. However, before the program was implemented at UConn, after discussions with the high school principals, Waugh’s program would reflect Ford’s Kenyon Plan—not Ford’s pre-induction scholars model, which ended at Yale and other colleges and universities in 1957. Ford’s Kenyon plan—the original advanced standing program—was adopted by the CEEB in 1955 and renamed the Advanced Placement program. Institutions across the nation began developing programs similar to that of the Kenyon Plan without the guidelines of the CEEB—their own version of advanced standing programs.

Despite Waugh’s attempts for a more elitist program that was reflective of the pre-induction model at Yale that eliminated two years of high school, UConn’s advanced standing program would allow students to remain on high school campuses and be taught by high school teachers a curriculum similar to that of the college. Liaisons from each department were to communicate with teachers that were chosen by the principal and

approved by the dean of the college within the University. I found that there were no funds, at least in their inaugural year, to compensate high school teachers for the additional work. I found that initially a high school student's earned credit would transfer directly to UConn. I found that many of the gaps in the program development are similar to the gaps in the programs today. Teacher training, collaboration between high schools and colleges that offer the courses, student access, assessment, and maturation were all aspects of UConn's DE program development that were noted as areas that needed improvement. And then the programs grew, and grew, and grew. All the while, at their onset, their development does not seem to have accounted for how the programs could best serve students of color—there was no reference to these students at all. This is especially problematic considering the social and historical context in which the UConn DE program was developed. And through the research conducted for this dissertation, I found a direct connection between the lack of transparency of race in Connecticut in the 1950s and the a lack of transparency in how DE programs serve students of color in DE programs today.

The historical work in this dissertation was based on my understanding of the present state of dual enrollment writing in the United States. Robert J. Connors explains that all projects should start with a present awareness because “Until we have some knowledge of the situation a posteriori, our ability to understand the prior situation is hopelessly lacking” (“Dreams and Play,” 16). The work of this dissertation was a result of my experiences as a DE writing instructor, the work of Keith D. Miller and I in Texas (“The Triumph of Whiteness”), and my difficulty when trying to conduct a disparate

impact analysis on assessment practices that determine student enrollment in Arizona (“Chasing Transparency”).

My present awareness was based on my experiences teaching DE writing. While teaching DE students, I found a lack of research and methods pertaining to the programs—best methods for instruction for students in the high school setting, how to account for student maturation, how to account for less than 1 percent of students in my classes that were students of color, how to create assignments that were inclusive of diversity without letting the weight of the discussions fall on students of color. I also found that no matter how capable a student may be to pass a test to enroll in a DE writing course, they will inevitably be younger and at oftentimes at a different maturation level than the “traditional” students that most—the majority—of first-year writing research has been based on. As a recent graduate from an MA program saturated with information and texts focused on FYW and then finding that Hansen and Farris’ collection, *College Credit for Writing in High School*, made up over half of the published DE writing-specific scholarship at that time—I was thankful for what I had found, but was still confused. Where was the rest of scholarship?

Upon beginning research as a PhD student I found disparities in enrollment for students of color in Texas—something I was witness to as a teacher. I wanted to know if assessment practices that determined access were responsible for the disparities because many states now have legislation that requires access for all students—but where were “all” of the students? I found that assessment practices at a large community college system in Arizona—one of the largest community college systems in the country—did not disaggregate or validate their testing practices for DE students. All of the test results

were combined with those of students that were seeking enrollment in FYW classes—students with high school diplomas, returning students, veterans, international students, etcetera. I found that none neither the high schools, the college, the state of Arizona, nor the creators of the tests were legally obligated to keep the test scores much less validate those test scores to determine fairness. These institutions were not legally responsible to the students, which is a violation of students civil rights.

In approaching historical archival research, I had a present awareness of how students of color were not proportionally represented in the courses, and validation studies such as disparate impact analysis could not be conducted to ensure fairness of the testing practices. I also recognized multiple other gaps in research regarding the programs. Much of this awareness was based on my experiences as co-chair of the DE Studies SIG and workshop at CCCC. Many program directors are given the task of creating DE programs without any understanding of the purposes or intent of the programs—or how to implement them. Christine Farris and Christine Denecker have created exemplary models for teacher training; however, in getting to know many DE writing instructors through the DE Studies SIG and Workshop, it is clear many colleges do not provide funds for this work. Additionally, many DE writing instructors are not offered TT positions. There are high school teachers that teach the courses as part of the teaching load. Separately, college instructors (many of which are adjuncts) teach DE students on the college campus or in the high school. This is an exploitation of labor for the high school teachers that do not receive an increase in pay and also the adjunct instructors that are hired specifically to teach DE courses without the possibility of a full-time position. Part of this is due to a severe lack of funding, which has more implications

where it concerns the quality and rigor of the programs. While quality and rigor of DE programs should reflect that of a traditional FYW course, many instructors and WPAs have trouble finding funding for the professional development of DE instructors.

I have learned so much throughout this process, so much so it is hard to conclude such a project. Ultimately, I see this as a starting point for myself, much like I hope it is a starting point for other researchers. I still have innumerable questions about the programs—questions I hope will continue to insert the history of DE writing into that of the history of Rhetoric and Composition Studies. What were the assignments used in the first courses? How did these assignment align and to what extent did they align with current trends in writing instruction? What was the demographic makeup of the first students and teachers in the programs? When and to what extent were teachers compensated for their work?

I learned throughout this process that archival research is a fulfilling practice that makes the hard work worth the reward. I have also learned that talking to archivists is key. I have learned that a week is not enough time in an archive. I have learned to take better notes of the documents I request to be scanned at the archive. I have learned that it is absolutely necessary to cite archived documents as you write, else a writer/researcher can spend hours trying to find the original document. I have learned the value in a collection. I have learned the value in a writing program archive. I have learned that archival work is patient work. A few more minutes of work now, will save work later.

I have learned the importance of validating assessment genres that evaluate student writing. While I was not able to complete a disparate impact analysis at Arizona College, I hope to do so at large institution in the future. I am also interested in

conducting a study in which I gather and analyze qualitative and quantitative data to assess how DE is influencing English majors, writing programs, and the matriculation of students of color at institutions of higher learning. In all, my goal for future research is to expand upon ways that writing programs and courses—from inception to practice—can better account for the diverse students within our classrooms and diverse subjectivities of those that make up the world we live in.

Most of all, throughout this process, I have learned that narrating a history is and should be a difficult task. My approach to research and the historical narration of my research was very much based on my experiences teaching and with research and my subjectivity and positionality as a white woman. Many times throughout this work I questioned what I was doing—if it's ethical, if it's "true," is this doing justice to the work of Waugh—a research subject I became attached to through reading years of his personal journals—while also doing justice to the students then and now nationwide that are not accessing and benefiting from these programs at the rate of white students. As a white woman that is writing a history that involves so many discussions about race, I thought many times that I was not the best person for this job. However, I now realize that in writing a history an researcher needs—I needed—to find an ebb and flow. The ebb is the area that pushes me to discomfort; the ebb allows me to remember who I am and what I cannot do as a white woman. The flow is the space in which I situate myself and am comfortable with what I have to offer as a white person interrogating white folks' oppressive approaches to social, civic, and educational institutions.

Writing a history is hard. Understanding that this is *a* history is even harder. Understanding and being comfortable with the fact that there are still many holes in this

history is something that was exceptionally difficult. However, I have learned that a history needs multiple—many—narrations. This work is what I have to offer to that larger collective. And while I am not a person of color, and approached this as with an understanding of my subjectivities as a white woman, I know that students and teachers of color need to be accounted for in all historical narrations regarding writing programs or otherwise. I aspire to do such justice to history as scholars such as Carmen Kynard and Keith D. Miller. In my research, I had a hard time—too hard of a time—finding references to civil rights movements of the 1950s and 60s, students of color, how *Brown v. Board* has influenced writing programs, courses, and Rhetoric and Composition Studies, in Rhetoric and Composition historical narrations and scholarship. If I have learned nothing else, it is that any history regarding Rhetoric and Composition Studies, or DE, or DE writing that does not account for students and teachers of color is an absent presence, it is complacent, it reproduces whiteness, it is oppressive, and it is unacceptable.

In seeking to narrate a history of the programs I sought to find a starting point for future research. My hope is that others find this history useful in their work. I am interested to see how other scholars might approach the history of DE—and how and what other historical narrations that might develop from this initial work. I wonder what other points of history regarding DE programs will be developed and the connections that will be made between DE's history and patterns and points in current programs. I am interested to see how researchers might build upon this incomplete history as we continue working towards a larger understanding of the history of DE and writing programs so that

we might be able to know a little more about where we are—and where we can go in the future. I look forward to it.

NOTES

1. These courses include variations of dual credit (DC), concurrent enrollment (CE), and Early College (EC) programs. See also Hansen and Farris' *College Credit for Writing in High School*.

2. For more details about the events leading up to the creation of the CEEB see Schudson, 1972.

3. The earliest DE program in composition-specific scholarship dates DE to the 1970s, with the Syracuse University Project Advance (SUPA) that began in 1972 identified as the oldest documented program. My original goals for my dissertation were to focus on the origins of SUPA. Thanks to Christine Denecker, my collaborative partner for the CCCC dual enrollment SIG and DE studies workshop, suggested a two articles—Estes (1959) and Radcliffe and Hatch (1961)—that verify that dual enrollment courses began much earlier than previous scholarship. Once I began preliminary research I found that the program identified in both of these documents as the first, was UConn's Cooperative program.

4. With the aid of Charles Houston Howard would eventually become a prominent law school that was home to many African American civil rights and NAACP lawyers. But this took years to achieve. Eventually, "Howard Law school became a living laboratory where civil-rights law was invented by teamwork" (Kluger 128).

5. The "end" of Jim Crow is arguable. See Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration and the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press, 2010.

6. The doll test was created by Clark and his wife, Dr. Mamie Clark. By order of the judge, Clark performed the doll test on sixteen black children between the ages of six and nine in Clarendon County. Students were first asked to identify the black and white dolls, which they all did correctly. Nine of the sixteen children picked the white dolls as the “nice” dolls. Ten children preferred the white dolls to the black ones. And eleven of the children chose a whites doll as the one most like themselves (Kluger 330).

7. According to Richard Kluger, *Brown* was listed first as this was the only case that did not come from the South (Kluger 534).

8. In “Mapping the Margins” Crenshaw explains that “Because of their intersectional identity as both women *and* of color within discourses that are shaped to respond to one *or* the other, women of color are marginalized within both” (1244). And also that “When reform efforts undertaken on behalf of women neglect this fact, women of color are less likely to have their needs met than women who are racially privileged” (1250). In “Racism, Civil Rights, and Feminism.” Kathleen Neal Cleaver, once communications director of the Black Panther Party, gives a historical overview of how the intersections of the feminist movements and civil rights movements are often overlooked historically. For example, Cleaver discusses how “If it weren’t for black women. . . the civil rights movement as we know it would not exist” (48). However, black women’s roles the civil rights movements are often unaccounted for. She explains that, the Black Panther Party “formed coalitions” with other organizations and “While the ultimate domination that we all struggled to destroy during that era many have been the same, that did not mean its distinct historical and social articulations were interchangeable. The ancient dynamic that elevated white men over white women was

not rooted in the same historical economic processes that allowed them to extract forced labor from African slaves and their descendants in north America (51).

9. Muirhead explains that it was “Six years after the great threat of 1953 the teachers colleges became state colleges. This was a recognition of a national trend in which the strong academic base of teacher education could readily graft onto it broad baccalaureate- and master-level programs without the pedagogical focus” (8).

10. In his entry on March 31, 1953, Waugh details at length his perspective and opinions of communism—as there were many talks about this around campus at this time (because of the governor’s accusations and request of investigation). Waugh writes that in regards to communism and academic liberty: “we can not and should not legislate against beliefs—that if a staff member believes that Communism is a better way of life than ours, he has the right so to believe and to say so –and to try to persuade others that he is correct [However,] I have decided that we can not justify dropping a man from a university faculty because he holds strange and different or even repugnant beliefs. He has a right to his beliefs, and to the expression of them. But we, in turn, have a right to assume that they are his beliefs—that he is not parroting the opinions of someone else—that he speaks honestly for himself. If he takes a ready-made line from other sources, and particularly if he takes the line which inevitably leads to the eradication of the very academic freedom which I have been describing above, and passes off the line as being his own brain child, then I can see that perhaps there is a reason in self defense to deny him the freedom which he would deny others” (117-18).

11. Early in the program’s creation, Waugh had not intended the model that the DE program actually became. Waugh he wanted advanced students to enroll and

participate in college on the college campus—something similar to the pre-induction scholars model at Yale. While the structure and implementation of the program changed over time, Waugh’s original goals and articulation of the program changed very little.

12. These letters to the high school principals did not include any mention of funding for students (Albert E. Waugh to Principals and Headmasters). In February of 1953, Hugh Clark notes that “Committee on Scholarship give special consideration to students admitted under this program in awarding financial aid” (University Senate Records; Box 18; Folder 1037). In May of 1953, Waugh notes in his journal that he has made progress “toward getting foundation funds to finance some scholarship for our own program of admitting students after three years of high school.” However, this was funding for allowing early admittance of students.

13. Francis Grubbs believes it is the job of secondary schools “to provide for the unusual student ourselves, rather than send him on to college with the admission that we are not qualified to do the job ourselves” (Francis O. Grubbs to Albert E. Waugh, June 5, 1953).

14. I found only one reference to meeting pertaining to the development of the DE program late in the fall of 1954. Among other things, it was determined that while the program would be based on collaboration with high schools UConn would maintain control, and, as originally planned “Only gifted students would be admitted to the program” (Waugh, “Daily Journal: 1954” 294). Waugh expresses how this plan is “part of my [his] general over-all attack on the problem” (Waugh, “Daily Journal:1954” 294). The problem being that he is “convinced that some students are able to learn more rapidly than others” (Waugh, “Daily Journal:1954” 294). This problem, again, reflects his

seemingly elitist educational philosophy. It was also determined that the program would provide a direct path for students to transfer to different colleges and universities, with hopes that students would attend the University of Connecticut. This is articulated as follows:

The intention is that if such students can be identified early enough in their high school career, that they might, while in high school, earn University credits which could enable them to enter the University with advanced standing, conceivably as sophomores. Such students might transfer their credits to any collegiate institution though, obviously we should be anxious that they continue in the University of Connecticut. (“Meeting of Special Committee” December 14, 1954)

This “anxious”-ness shows relation to the identified need for the program—to increase enrollment and retention at UConn.

15 . A reason cited for the lesser number of total students completing and receiving courses credit is cited as student withdrawal, school decisions, and students not obtaining qualified grades (Alexander Plante, “Status Study” 1).

16 . 11 of the participating seniors were accepted to the University of Connecticut; 10 were accepted to Yale (Alexander Plante, “Status Study” 2). Of the students that participated, only 4 are noted as deciding to not enter college (Alexander Plante, “Status Study” 2).

17. I was able to verify this on UConn’s 1955-56 course roster and grade reports.

18. Estes writes that “few colleges have been prepared to accept these credits but many colleges have given advanced placement to graduates of the course—usually after

confirmation of the student's ability by their own test. . . . To resolve the reasonable hesitation of students who feared that their chances for acceptance at colleges other than the University of Connecticut and for college scholarship might be lessened by lower grades than they could get in a regular college preparatory English class, a dual marking system was adopted in Manchester: a 'high school' mark and a 'college' mark (the two being often identical)." (332)

19. Kynard includes here how African American college students "show us how education and school-based literacies have always been reconfigured by the very people who have been troped and hopelessly locked on the outer margins" (14).

20. These high schools include "traditional" public, private, and charter schools.

21. I requested FYW student information rather than dual enrollment-specific students, as I was made aware that students taking the tests do not have to specify if they are testing for DE or "traditional" FYW courses. It is for this reason I requested the educational level (educational intent) of the students, as the college system does document the educational intent. The categories for educational intent are: "Transfer to University," "Enter/Advance in the Job Market," "High School Dual/Concurrent Enrollment," "Personal Interest," "Meet University Requirement," and "Undeclared" (Office of Institutional Effectiveness, 2014).

22. Broad suggests federal government regulation to "manage this industry for the same reasons and in similar ways that is manages other risky, profitable industries" (Broad, 2016). I think that this is one important way that the test data would be more accessible. If the tests were regulated by the federal government, specifically the Department of Education, access to the scores and records would not be a responsibility

of the local agency, therefore making the data of test scores available through FOIA requests, such as the one I submitted.

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