



2021

Complete Issue

Ian Levy
Manhattan College, ian.levy@manhattan.edu

Caroline Lopez-Perry
California State University, Long Beach, caroline.lopezperry@csulb.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jca>



Part of the Higher Education Commons

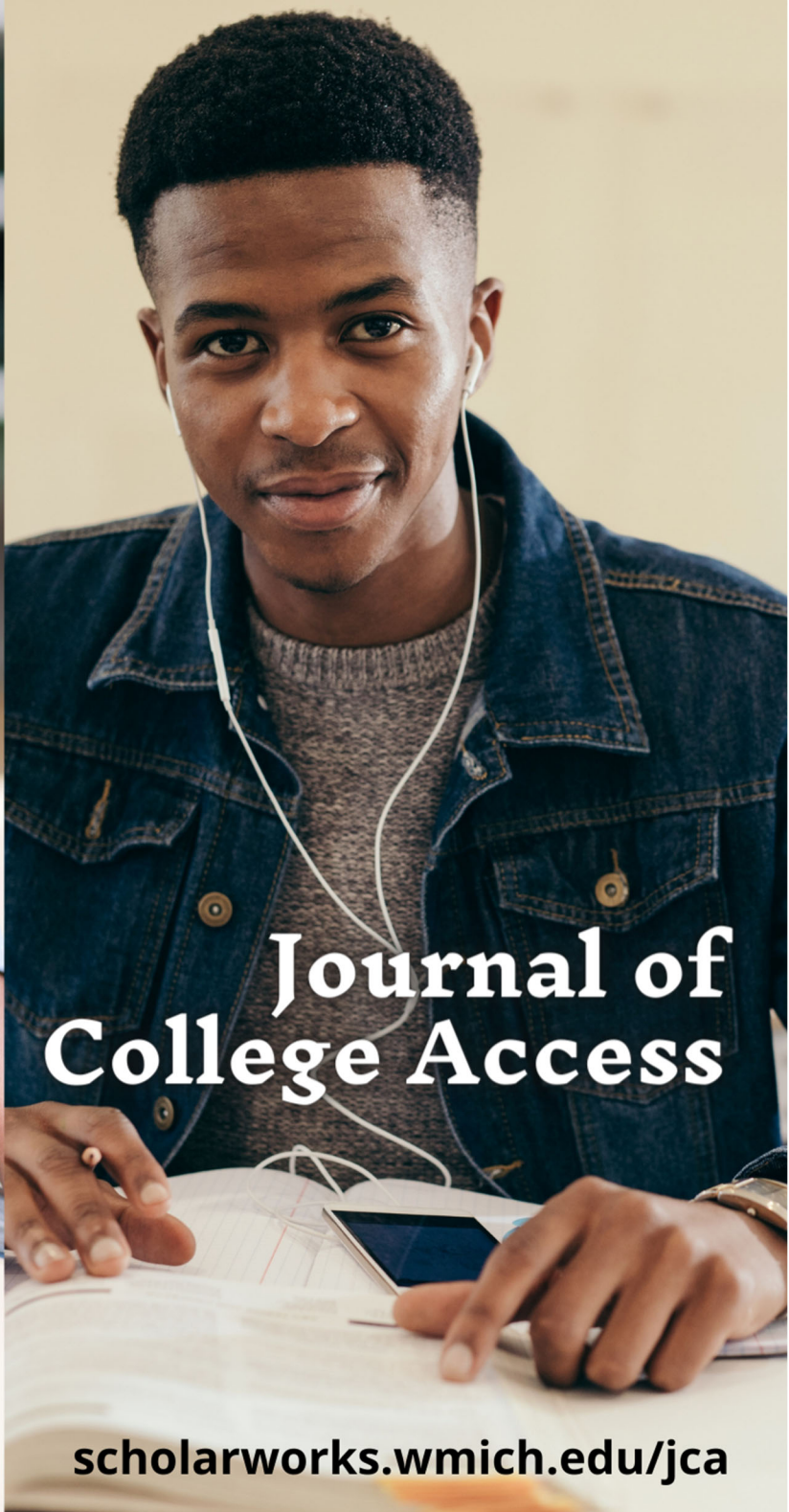
Recommended Citation

Levy, Ian and Lopez-Perry, Caroline (2021) "Complete Issue," *Journal of College Access*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 3 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jca/vol6/iss3/1>

This Complete Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Western Michigan University at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Journal of College Access* by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.





Journal of College Access

scholarworks.wmich.edu/jca

SPECIAL EDITION
**Access and Blackness:
Antiracist College Counseling and Advising**



October 2021 | Volume 6 | Issue 3

Table of Contents



About the Journal.....	3
Affiliations.....	4
Guest Editors.....	5
JCA Editorial Board.....	6
Coming Soon: Special Issue.....	7
From the Guest Editors.....	8-14
Advising Black Students and Anti-Oppressive Frameworks: A Systematic Review of College Access and College Counseling Literature.....	15-30
Tenisha L. Tevis (Oregon State University), Tiffany J. Davis (University of Houston), Stephanie R. Perez-Gill (University of Houston), Tori Amason (University of Houston)	
Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices: Using Lewin’s Field Theory to Examine Career Help-Seeking Behaviors and Intentions of Black First-Generation Students Attending Predominantly White Institutions.....	31-58
Jonique R. Childs (University of Massachusetts Amherst), Jennifer Sánchez (Florida Atlantic University), William M. Liu (University of Maryland)	
Black Women’s Perceptions of K-12 Experiences that Influenced their Preparation for College...59-82	
Janice A. Byrd (Pennsylvania State University)	
Promoting Equitable College Access and Success: Exploring Critical Frameworks in School Counselor Training.....	83-97
Heidi van Mastrigt (San Diego State University), Joey Nuñez Estrada, Jr. (San Diego State University)	
Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach using Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality.....	98-110
Andrea N. Hunt (University of North Alabama), Tammy D. Rhodes (University of North Alabama)	
Black Male Collegiate Athletes’ Perceptions of Their Career and Academic Preparation: A Mixed Methods Study.....	111-140
Jennifer R. Curry (Louisiana State University), Franklin A. Soares (Louisiana State University), Justin E. Maclin (Maclin Motivation) Imre Csaszar (Louisiana State University)	

COVER PHOTO

Photos from Canva used with paid subscription.



About the Journal



An Overview

The *Journal of College Access* (JCA) focuses on the current trends, research, practices, and development of all types of programs, policies, and activities related to the access of and success in postsecondary education. Issues of college aspiration, qualification, application, enrollment, and persistence are the primary emphases.

The Journal was co-founded by Dr. Patrick O'Connor and Dr. Christopher Tremblay. O'Connor is Chief Strategist and CEO of College is Yours, an organization dedicated to expanding college opportunity. He is a board member and past chair of the Michigan College Access Network (MCAN). Tremblay is Director of Admissions and Recruiting for the Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan.

Launched in March 2014, JCA is a part of Western Michigan University's ScholarWorks, a digital showcase of research, scholarly and creative output.



CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS

We accept submissions year round.

scholarworks.wmich.edu/jca



Affiliations



The *Journal of College Access* is affiliated with the Michigan College Access Network, the Center for Postsecondary Readiness and Success (CPRS) and the Center for Equity and Postsecondary Attainment (CEPA).



MICHIGAN COLLEGE ACCESS NETWORK

MCAN is a statewide non-profit organization with a mission to increase college readiness, participation, and completion in Michigan, particularly among low-income students, first-generation college going students, and students of color.

micollegeaccess.org



**The Center for
Postsecondary
Readiness and Success**

The goal of the Center for Postsecondary Readiness and Success is to increase equitable and accessible pathways to postsecondary success for all people. Located at American University in Washington, D.C., the Center creates aligned systems, driven by student outcomes to disseminate new knowledge and discovery of college and career readiness and persistence models, while simultaneously connecting this new knowledge to K-12 and higher education policy formation.

american.edu/centers/cprs



**SAN DIEGO STATE
UNIVERSITY**

**Center for Equity and
Postsecondary Attainment**

The Center for Equity and Postsecondary Attainment (CEPA) focuses on promoting equitable access to viable postsecondary pathways and opportunities. Guided by diverse student and parent perspectives, CEPA aims to create college and career counseling and advising practices that reconnect with and elevate the voices of those who have been historically marginalized and excluded. All students deserve access to high quality guidance that supports both individual and collective needs, challenges inequitable and racist school-based systems and policies, and promotes postsecondary opportunities.

education.sdsu.edu/cepa



Guest Editors



Ian Levy

Department of Counseling and Therapy
Manhattan College

Caroline Lopez-Perry

Department of Advanced Studies in Education
and Counseling
California State University, Long Beach

GUEST EDITORIAL BOARD

Stuart Chen-Hayes

Counseling, Leadership, Literacy, and Special
Education Department
Lehman College

Krystal Clemons

Department of Counseling
Liberty University

Natalie Edirmanasinghe

Department of Counseling & Human Services
Old Dominion University

Jan Gay

Department of Counselor Education
University of Florida

Erik Hines

Department of Educational Psychology and
Learning Systems
Florida State University

Nate Nevado

Student Services
Skyline College

Alicia Oglesby

School Counseling
Lower Moreland High School

Laura Owen

Department of Counseling and School Psychology
San Diego State University

Qiana Spellman

Department of Health and Behavior Studies
Teachers College, Columbia University



JCA Editorial Board



Editors in Chief

Patrick O'Connor, Ph.D.
Chief Strategist and CEO of College is Yours

Laura Owen, Ph.D.
Executive Director
Center for Equity and Postsecondary Attainment
Department of Counseling and School Psychology
College of Education
San Diego State University

Christopher Tremblay, Ed.D.
Director of Admissions & Recruiting
Taubman College of Architecture &
Urban Planning
University of Michigan

Associate Editors

Mary L. Anderson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor Emerita
Department of Counselor Education and
Counseling Psychology
College of Education and Human Development
Western Michigan University

Meredith B.L. Anderson, Ph.D.
Senior Research Associate
United Negro College Fund, Inc.

David D. Christian, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Counselor Education Program
College of Education and Health Professions
University of Arkansas

Kim Cook
Executive Director
National College Attainment Network

Beth Gilfillan, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
School of Counseling and Special Education
Bowling Green State University

Keren Zuniga McDowell, Ph.D.
Director
District Performance Office
School District of Philadelphia

Timothy Poynton, Ed.D.
Associate Professor of Counseling Psychology
Department of Counseling & School Psychology
College of Education and Human Development
University of Massachusetts Boston

Mandy Savitz-Romer, Ph.D.
Nancy Pforzheimer Aronson Senior Lecturer in
Human Development and
Education Faculty Director
Prevention Science and Practice
Graduate School of Education
Harvard University



Coming Soon: Special Issue



We have one additional special issue in progress:

Equity-Based Career Development and Postsecondary Readiness

The special issue will focus on manuscripts using an equity-based career development lens to prepare at-risk, minoritized, special needs, and vulnerable populations for postsecondary opportunities. The former first lady of the United States, Michelle Obama, created two initiatives (Reach Higher Initiative and Better Make Room) aimed at exposing young people to college and career planning as well as emphasizing the need for everyone to obtain additional education and training beyond a high school diploma. This special edition will build on these two initiatives and focus on preparing students from vulnerable populations for optimal career and postsecondary outcomes.

Guest Editors:

*Erik Hines, Associate Professor,
Florida State University*

*Renae Mayes, Associate Professor,
University of Arizona*

*Paul Harris, Associate Professor of Education
(Counselor Education)
Pennsylvania State University*



From the Guest Editors



Authored by
Ian Levy (Manhattan College)
Caroline Lopez-Perry
(California State University, Long Beach)

The School Counselor's Role in Anti-Racist College Counseling and Advising

At the time of writing the introduction for this special issue, we are on the heels of a national reckoning with the COVID-19 pandemic, racial inequity and violence, and systemic injustice. As the nation prepares to pivot back into in-person schooling, at least partially, conversations regarding mental health and Critical Race Theory have come to the fore. While a growing number of school counselors and other educators have rightfully advocated for the inclusion of anti-racist practices in schools to make sense of the multitude of ways racism pervades education and undermines the mental wellbeing and holistic development of young people, there has been national outcry and political decisions barring its use. While this special issue does not intend to detail the myriad ways Critical Race Theory can/should be drawn from, it does consider the role school counselors play in combating racist systems that disproportionately impact the College Counseling and Advising process for Black youth. This issue also explores the ways in which mental health, and social emotional wellbeing is wedded to the role of college counseling and career development. Emdin (2016) argues for White educators, who work



with Black youth, to become acutely aware of how age-old racist schooling practices force youth to assimilate to ways of knowing and being that are divorced from their authentic selves. The path towards authentic self-actualization, or the celebration of Black youth and their ways of knowing and being, are achieved through the abolishment of the policies and practices that squelch their development (Love, 2019). In this special issue, we introduce a series of articles that explore the role that counselors play in K-12 schooling and on college campuses, to challenge racist systems and structures and to support Black youth.

Racial Inequities in College Counseling & Advising

College and Career Readiness Data in K-12 Schools

From the general to the specific, counseling frameworks lack attunement to the



From the Guest Editors

intersectional identities that Black youth bring with them into schools (Singh et al., 2020). As school counselors, the vast majority of our counseling theory pulls from White eurocentric values and beliefs which manifest in the harming and isolating of Black and Brown youth (Chen, 2021). School counselors who cling to counseling theories/outcomes that reduce students' developmental potential to a singular phenomena, fail to understand how larger systems of racism/white supremacy produce those phenomena (Hannon & Varen, 2016). As counseling professionals, we should be attuned to the ways in which the context where one receives schooling impacts their development. For example, schools are too often environments which rely on deficit labels that both overlook the assets that Black youth and their communities hold, and minimize their developmental potential (Emdin, 2021). The deficit lens that many educators and educational systems carry when interacting with Black youth can be seen in teacher referral biases that lead Black boys and girls to receive 2 to 3 times more detentions/suspensions in comparison to White youth (Anderson & Ritter, 2017), to be erroneously overdiagnosed with attention deficit and oppositional defiant disorders and learning disabilities (Ballentine, 2019) and prescribed IEPs and behavioral plans (Shapiro, 2020). These general qualms with counseling can be extended to the specific area of college and career counseling. For example, college and career readiness as a construct is often judged on quantitative measurements of a students

academic performance (SAT, ACT, GPA) - which are really only metrics for college readiness and focus solely on academic development. Exploring these metrics within a recent national dataset, research suggested 53% of Black or African American test takers did not meet any SAT college readiness benchmarks, and only 10% of Black or African American test takers met ACT benchmarks across all four subjects (Espionosa et al., 2019). While there is evidence that college enrollment is increasing for Black youth from prior years (Espinosa et al., 2019), they remain statistically more likely to undermatch, or to attend colleges well below their academic level (Ovink, 2018). There are also noted drops in enrollment amongst Black and Latino youth during COVID-19 (Causey et al., 2020). Beyond COVID, Black youth have statistically lower retention rates once being admitted to college, with researchers citing experiences with racism on campus as a notable factor in decreasing the longevity of their enrollment (Grooms et al., 2020). These datums cannot be examined in a vacuum, meaning, the antecedents to this reality must be understood. Perhaps unsurprisingly inequities persist in areas like appraisal and advisement, where Black boys and girls are significantly less likely to be recommended for advanced placement courses (Mayes & Hines, 2014). Even when Black youth are granted admission into AP classes, they grapple with imposter syndrome (Collins et al., 2020), racist comments from their peers and teachers (Baker-Bell, 2020), and curriculum that fails to capture the realities of

From the Guest Editors

their lives experiences (Emdin, 2021), all of which stem from an anti-Black school system that fails to communicate to youth that Black lives matter (Love, 2019). Working backwards from disaggregated college and career readiness data, it should be clear that racist and anti-Black ideology inform policy which create barriers to Black youth's holistic development.

Anti-Racist School Counseling

Supporting the development of K-12 students is the cornerstone of the school counseling profession. This includes providing and advocating for students' college and career awareness through exploration and postsecondary planning and decision making, ensuring students' right to choose from the wide array of options after completing secondary education (American School Counselor Association, [ASCA] 2017a). However, this work cannot be done without affirming the intersecting identities of Black youth (e.g., ability and/or disability status, age, gender, gender identity, generation, historical as well as ongoing experiences of marginalization, immigrant status, language, national origin, religion or spirituality, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status, among other variables) and recognizing how biases and systemic racism impact postsecondary planning and access. ASCA (2016) ethical standards assert that counselors are responsible for "identifying gaps in college and career access and the implications of such data for addressing both intentional and

unintentional biases related to college and career counseling." In such manner, counselors must engage in anti-racist actions and advocate to change racist policies, procedures, practices, guidelines and laws contributing to inequities in students' academic, career and social/emotional development (ASCA, 2021).

Engaging in anti-racist work does not happen with one article, book, or workshop, rather it is a lifelong long process of learning and unlearning, and action. Counselors should actively reflect on their worldview (beliefs, values, assumptions, and biases) and examine how these views influence their practice, specifically college counseling and advising with Black youth (ASCA, 2021). Examining our own behavior can be difficult and becomes even harder when we realize that we may have caused harm to those we intended to be of service to. We must ask ourselves these tough questions. Are we truly listening to the unique experiences of Black youth and helping them make informed decisions that align with their wants and needs? Are we guiding them to institutions that are physically and emotionally safe environments? To institutions that actively contribute to Black students' personal and professional development? Anti-racism is the active process of identifying and eliminating racism by changing systems, organizational structures, policies and practices and attitudes, so that power is redistributed and shared equitably" (attributed to NAC International Perspectives: Women and

From the Guest Editors

Global Solidarity). Thus, counselors must also think deeply about structures, processes and policies that impact Black students. Cultural competence fails when the structures are racist.

Introducing the Articles

During this pivotal moment, the counseling profession must contend with their role in disrupting racist practices and dismantling systems of oppression that promote inequality in achievement, access and opportunity for Black youth. As counselors return to in-person schooling, they will likely be asked to confront complex racial politics and practices that seek to uphold whiteness and maintain the status quo. Anti-racist college counseling and advising requires a conscious decision to pursue it as a goal and way of being. It is a process that begins from the inside out by first unpacking one's cultural worldview, investigating existing practices and policies, expanding one's knowledge base to identify alternative ways of functioning, and interrupting systems that contribute to racial inequity and creating equitable and inclusive systems. Therefore, this special issue highlights articles that challenge counselors and counselor educators to consider the limits of White-centric theoretical frameworks, develop an awareness of contextual forces that impact Black youth in schools and amidst their post-secondary pursuits, and disrupt racism and inequality at the personal and systemic level. These research and conceptual articles utilize

methodological designs that center Black voices and the Black lived experience and interrogate counseling practices. Hunt and Rhodes (2021) draw from a critical race theory lens to offer a timely and important critique of traditional career development theory steeped in White ways of knowing and being, which struggle to address the experiences of Black youth. This article, titled "Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach using Critical Race Theory, Intersectionality, and Social Capital", gleans practical strategies for counselors to expand on Super's life-space approach and adequately support Black youth's development across the lifespan. In "Promoting Equitable College Access and Success: Exploring Critical Frameworks in School Counselor Training", Van Mastrigt and Nuñez-Estrada (2021) explore the readiness of school counselors to leverage critical race theory, culturally sustaining, and social justice competencies to effect systemic change. Specifically, through a series of interviews with practicing school counselors, Van Mastrigt and Nuñez-Estrada detail implications for challenging both practicing school counselors and school counselor preparation programs to adopt culturally responsive and anti-racist approaches. Curry and colleagues (2021) offer an article titled "Black Male Collegiate Athletes' Perceptions of Their Career and Academic Preparation", examining academic and career development disparities for Black youth who navigate the collegiate athletics system. Their holistic view of K-12 education as a feeder for athletic


From the Guest Editors

programs on college campuses offers valuable insights into anti-racist practice for school and college counselors.

In “Black Women’s Perceptions of K-12 Experiences that Influenced their Preparation for College,” Byrd (in press) uses phenomenological inquiry to center the intersectionality of Black women and the experiences that contributed to their college readiness. Her research provides valuable insight into how Black women reflect upon their preparation within their families, communities, and K-12 settings. Through a systematic review of the literature, Tevis, Davis, Perez-Gill, and Amazon (in press) in “Advising Black Students and Anti-Opressive Frameworks: A Systematic Review of the College Access and College Counseling Literature” examine how the extant literature is informed by anti-oppressive frameworks. The authors’ findings bring attention to the underrepresentation of Black students as a unit of analysis in the majority of the literature on college counseling. In “Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices: Using Lewin’s Field Theory to Examine Career Help-Seeking Behaviors and Intentions of Black First-Generation Students Attending Predominantly White Institutions,” Childs, Sánchez, and Liu (in press) use a hierarchical regression analysis to investigate the predictability of contextual factors on previous career services use and intention to seek counseling among Black first-generation

students attending predominantly White institutions.

In summary, we believe the research and conceptual articles in this special issue add to the literature on college and career counseling of Black youth. It is our hope that the research presented not only stimulates larger conversations about the contextual forces that impact Black youth amidst their post-secondary pursuits, school counseling practices, and the limits of White-centric theoretical frameworks, but also meaningful reform.

The articles published in this special issue were subject to a blind review acceptance process. The editors extend special acknowledgement to the individuals listed on page 5 for their time, expertise, and commitment to reviewing manuscripts. 

REFERENCES

- American School Counselor Association. (2016). Ethical standards for school counselors. Alexandria, VA: Author <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/f041cbd0-7004-47a5-ba01-3a5d657c6743/Ethical-Standards.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association (2017). The school counselor and career development. Alexandria, VA: Author <https://schoolcounselor.org/Standards-Positions/Position-Statements/ASCA-Position-Statements/The-School-Counselor-and-Career-Development>
- American School Counselor Association (2021). The school counselor and anti-racist practices. Alexandria, VA: Author. <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/12cec1e8-5dab-44e5-acf8-6f10484cbaab/ps-anti-racist-practices-draft.pdf>
- Anderson, K. P., & Ritter, G. W. (2017). Disparate use of exclusionary discipline: Evidence on inequities in school discipline from a U.S. state. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 25(49). <http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2787>
- Ballentine, K. L. (2019). Understanding racial differences in diagnosing ODD versus ADHD using critical race theory. *Families in Society*, 100(3), 282-292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1044389419842765>
- Baker-Bell, A. (2020). Dismantling anti-black linguistic racism in English language arts classrooms: Toward an anti-racist black language pedagogy. *Theory Into Practice*, 59(1), 8-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2019.1665415>
- Byrd, J. (2021). Black women's perceptions of K-12 experiences that influenced their preparation for college. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 59-82.
- Causey, J., Harnack-Eber, A., Lang, R., Liu, Q., Ryu, M., & Shapiro, D. (2020). COVID-19 transfer, mobility, and progress: Fall 2020 final report. National Student Clearinghouse. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED609897.pdf>
- Chen, J. C. (2021). The role of critical theory in the development of multicultural psychology and counseling. In *Research Anthology on Rehabilitation Practices and Therapy* (pp. 168-190). IGI Global. DOI: 10.4018/978-1-7998-3432-8.ch010
- Childs, J.R., Sánchez, J., & Liu, W.M. (2021). Moving from racist to antiracist practices: Using Lewin's field theory to examine career help-seeking behaviors and intentions of Black first-generation students attending predominantly White institutions. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 31-58.
- Collins, K. H., Price, E. F., Hanson, L., & Neaves, D. (2020). Consequences of stereotype threat and imposter syndrome: The personal journey from stem-practitioner to stem-educator for four women of color. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*, 19(4), 10. <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/taboo/vol19/iss4/10>
- Curry, J.R., Soares, F. A., Maclin, J.E., & Cszaszar, I. (2021). Black male collegiate athletes' perceptions of their career and academic preparation: A mixed methods study. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 111-140.
- Emdin, C. (2016). *For White folks who teach in the hood and the rest of ya'll too*. Beacon Press.
- Emdin, C. (2021) *Ratchetdemic: Reimagining Academic Success*. Beacon Press
- Espinosa, L. L., Turk, J. M., Taylor, M., & Chessman, H. M. (2019). Race and ethnicity in higher education: A status report. <http://hdl.handle.net/10919/89187>
- Grooms, A. A., Mahatmya, D., & Johnson, E. T. (2021). The retention of educators of color amidst institutionalized racism. *Educational Policy*, 35(2), 180-212.
- Hannon, M. D., & Vereen, L. G. (2016, October 1). Irreducibility of Black male clients: Considerations for culturally competent counseling. *The Journal of Humanistic Counseling*, 55 (3), 234-245. <https://doi.org/10.1002/johc.12036>
- Hunt, A.N., & Rhodes, T.D. (2021). Expanding the life-span, life-space approach using critical race theory and intersectionality. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 98-110.
- Love, B. (2019). *We want to do more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of educational freedom*. Beacon Press.
- Mayes, R. D., & Hines, E. M. (2014). College and career readiness for gifted African American girls: A call to school counselors. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 4(1), 31-42. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1063071.pdf>

From the Guest Editors

Ovink, S., Kalogrides, D., Nanney, M., & Delaney, P. (2018). College match and undermatch: Assessing student preferences, college proximity, and inequality in post-college outcomes. *Research in Higher Education*, 59(5), 553-590. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-017-9482-y>

Shapiro, A. (2020). Over diagnosed or over looked? The effect of age at time of school entry on students receiving special education services. EdWorkingPaper No. 20-259. Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED610284.pdf>

Singh, A. A., Appling, B., & Trepal, H. (2020). Using the multicultural and social justice counseling competencies to decolonize counseling practice: The important roles of theory, power, and action. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 98(3), 261-271. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12321>

Tevis, T., Davis, T., Perez-Gill, S.R., & Amazon, T.R. (2021). Advising Black students and anti-oppressive frameworks: A systematic review of the college access and college counseling literature. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 15-30.

Van Mastrigt, H. & Nuñez-Estrada, J. (2021). Promoting equitable college access and success: Exploring critical frameworks in school counselor training. *Journal of College Access*, 6(3), 83-97.

Advising Black Students and Anti-Oppressive Frameworks: A Systematic Review of College Access and College Counseling Literature



Authored by

Tenisha L. Tevis (*Oregon State University*)

Tiffany J. Davis (*University of Houston*)

Stephanie R. Perez-Gill (*University of Houston*)

Tori Amason (*University of Houston*)

ABSTRACT

It is well known that Black students have higher expectations for attending college than their White and non-White peers, yet consistently lag behind in degree attainment. It is important then that practitioners use differentiated approaches with and researchers offer disaggregated analyses of historically underrepresented racial/ethnic minoritized populations in the college advising process. Doing so could reveal systemic barriers to achievement and advancement that are specific, in this instance, to Black students. Since the role and practice of college advising is (or at least should be) informed by the extant literature, then a systematic review is an ideal avenue for scholarly inquiry, paying particular attention to how prior literature utilized anti-oppressive frameworks. This method allowed us to map current knowledge and strategies, as well as identify conceptual, methodological, and interpretive gaps in the current literature. Across our analysis, our findings reveal there is more work to be done, particularly focusing on representation, disaggregation, and application.

Keywords: Black students, anti-racism, anti-deficit, college advising, high school counselors

Introduction

There is widespread belief in a college education to, on an individual level, reduce economic inequality and increase opportunity and social mobility in America. On a societal level, it is believed that a diverse and better educated citizenry is necessary to

meet workforce needs, ensure national and global competitiveness (Ma et al., 2016), and contributes to “reduced dependence on public assistance programs, and greater tax revenue” (Mitra, 2011, p. 7), among other public, social and economic benefits. Hence, making college accessible to everyone is one of the most pressing concerns facing U.S. higher education (Eckel & King, 2004; Mitra, 2011). Accordingly, college access and the college-going journey is one of the most extensively explored topics in higher education and is often studied in the context of understanding disenfranchised students and their families. Interrogating systemic barriers to college access, such as prohibitive policies, programming, and institutional type (Deil-Amen & Turley, 2007), are a matter of national importance. Scholars have explored not only the benefits to having a degree, but also the impediments to degree attainment across student characteristics, both within and beyond the control of students and the educational systems they navigate. Disparate educational outcomes remain for racially and ethnically minoritized populations, illustrating that the benefits of college are not fully realized and can be

Advising Black Students

attributed to the racist legacy that has marred America's educational system (See Anderson, 2016; Brown v. Board of Education, 1954; Westminster School Dist. of Orange County v. Mendez, 1947; Wilder, 2013; Wong Him v. Callahan, 1902). Higher education participation varies among racial/ethnic groups, with Black and Hispanic students of traditional college age, being less likely to enroll in postsecondary institutions compared to their White and Asian peers (Ma et al., 2016). In a recent report titled Degree Attainment for Black Adults: National and State Trends, Nichols and Schak (2018) expressed:

achieving these "degree attainment" goals will be directly related to [a state's] ability to increase the shares of Black and Latino adults in those states that have college credentials and degrees, particularly as population growth among communities of color continues to outpace the White population and older White workers retire and leave the workforce.

This further reiterates the need for a diverse educated populace. And while it has proven fruitful to make comparisons between Black and Hispanic/Latin* students and White and Asian students, there are discernable differences because of the various ways racism has manifested differently across groups. Thus, it is important that practitioners be mindful of differentiated approaches with and researchers offer disaggregated analyses of historically underrepresented racial/ethnic minoritized populations, particularly, in the college

advising process. Doing so would reveal the myriad barriers to achievement and advancement that are, for example, specific to Black students. Guiffrida (2005) explained "despite the fact that African Americans are more likely than ever to earn high school degrees and attend college, they continue to be far less likely than White Americans to attain college degrees" (p. 99). Further, Black students tend to have higher expectations for attending college, higher than their White and non-White peers, and yet the trend persists, they continue to lag behind in degree attainment (NCES, 2018). And in an interview, Nichols concluded that "When you look at access for Black students, by and large, the data are awful," (St. Amour, 2020, para. 5). As such, college counselors¹ should adopt anti-oppressive - specifically anti-deficit and anti-racist approaches when advising Black students of their college choices.

College Advising

College counselors are defined professionally as gatekeepers who can either provide access or limit access to postsecondary options for their students (Ortiz & Gonzales, 2000; Martinez & Deil-Amen, 2015). Hence, they are what Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2011) referred to as institutional agents; those "non-kin agents who occupy relatively high positions in the multiple dimensional stratification system,

¹ College counselors are those individuals who do the work of college advising, both at the high school and college level. This term college counselor, is often interchanged with college advisor and academic advisor. In this paper we will primarily use the terms presented in the extant literature.

Advising Black Students

and who are well positioned to provide key forms of social and institutional support” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1074). However, in most public high schools, it is difficult for counselors to actively support students through the college application process, as they are often overburdened by responsibility and high caseloads, with an average student-to-counselor ratio of 471:1 nationally, which is beyond the 250:1 ratio recommended by National Association for College Admissions Counselors (NACAC), and American School Counselor Association (ASCA). College counselors are often only able to dedicate about a third of their time to college counseling, as they are often pulled by administrative responsibilities, such as scheduling and test coordinating (Hurley & Coles, 2015). Additionally, high school counselors often lack training for college advising, as it is typically not a requirement of school counseling education (Clayton, 2019). While Guiffrida (2005) explained these professionals are in a unique position, in this instance, “to support Black students and their families for the challenges they face when transitioning to college” (p. 99), time constraints, an overburdened workload, and systemic racism, which we will define in the next section, are conceivably roadblocks to Black students’ academic advancement. For sure, the role and practice of college advising represent an ideal avenue for scholarly inquiry. So, we turn to the literature on college access and advising to discern how college counselors and advisors are informed to better support, particularly, Black students’

transition to college. Since their understanding is often informed by the extant literature available to them as both graduate students and professionals, scholars should approach this line of inquiry ethically, employing anti-oppressive theoretical and analytic frameworks to provide a nuanced and culturally responsive approach to studying college advising, with Black students in mind. The resultant research could inform and improve the practices and approaches of college advisors as the holders of college knowledge, as well as policy makers and decision makers/implementers. Therefore, the purpose of this systematic review is to make sense of and critically analyze college access and college counseling and advising research, reported in scholarly academic journals related to advising Black students in the college-going process. We will pay particular attention to how the extant literature is informed by anti-oppressive frameworks. This method allows us to not only map current knowledge and strategies, but also identify conceptual, methodological, and interpretive gaps in the current literature (Bearman et al., 2012). The following research questions guide our study:

1. What is the nature of representation for Black students in the college access and college counseling and advising literature?
2. What are the themes found in research results related to advising Black students in the college-going process?

Advising Black Students

3. How are anti-oppressive frameworks, specifically anti-racism and anti-deficit, surfaced in the college access and college counseling and advising literature related to advising Black students?
4. What is missing from the college access and college counseling literature related to advising Black students?

Theoretical Grounding: Applying Anti-Oppressive Frameworks

Anti-oppressive frameworks are a collection of theories that encapsulate and seek to critically address the -isms that have come to plague society, including educational spaces as microcosms. It is beyond the scope of the current study to review the myriad anti-oppressive frameworks that can inform educational practices. However, the two we utilize - anti-racism and anti-deficit - provide insight into how systemic racism - the “ideological, cultural, and structural dimensions that encompasses hegemonic and normative beliefs, ideas, and concepts” (See Tevis & Croom, forthcoming), has manifested within this context, and in this instance, is specific to Black students. We specifically draw from anti-racism and anti-deficit frameworks, because they have been employed widely to call attention to and rectify the anti-Black bias that is prevalent in school systems. Anti-racism is defined by Dei (1999) as “an action-oriented educational strategy to deal with race, difference and interlocking oppressions” (p. 396). Anti-deficit suggests a need to challenge deficit

manifestations. Most germane to our analysis is deficit thinking, which Ford et al., (2006) defined as “negative, stereotypical, and prejudicial beliefs about a diverse group” (p. 176). Given the focus of the current study, the use of these particular anti-oppressive frameworks overlap in a way that if applied in the most informative outlets pertaining to college access and advising could shed light on what explicit actions would inform the behaviors and practices of college counselors and advisors in supporting, for example, Black students in their educational journeys.

Anti-Racism

Across the vast body of anti-racism literature (See Bonnett, 2000; Dei, 1999a; 1999b; Gillborn, 2004; Gillborn, 2006), one could gather, that first and foremost, practitioners should acknowledge that racism is real, and that White Supremacy is deeply ingrained within U.S. educational systems. As such, educators are then encouraged to critically examine the ways in which unconscious (and perhaps conscious) racism is both systemic and manifested within individuals. Further, within this examination, there is a need to be mindful, as articulated earlier, that racism differs across racial and ethnic groups. Relatedly, there is also a need to understand how intersectional characteristics compound the effects of racism, for example, gendered-racism (See Essed, 1991). Additionally, educators need to explore and question organizational practices and policies that are also perpetuating the racist foundation on which America’s educational system was built. Because U.S. educational systems are

Advising Black Students

built on the ideals of White Supremacy, more often than not there is a tendency for these spaces to erase cultural identities or fail to address student-body diversity. Gillborn (2006) expressed “that if antiracist research and practice are to survive and flourish we must learn from the errors of the past and adapt to the new realities of the present” (p. 1). Hence, there is a need to speak to a systems approach, rather than an individual one, as it pertains to Black students, to address the alienating effects of educational policies and practices, specifically challenging bias, stereotypes, and discrimination to fully address, again, the racism steeped within.

Anti-Deficit

An anti-deficit approach also takes actionable steps to disrupt systems, rather than focus on individuals.

The deficit thinking model, at its core, is an endogenous theory - positing that the student who fails in school does so because of internal deficits or deficiencies. Such deficits manifest, it is alleged, in limited intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings, lack of motivation to learn and immoral behavior (Valencia, 1997, p. 2).

Such thinking influences behaviors (Ford et al., 2006), which are taken up in a way that then maintains systemic inequality. Harper (2010) explained, in his development of “An Anti-Deficit Achievement Framework for Research on Students of Color in STEM,” how, in this instance, students can take action, specifically to overcome ideological and

structural barriers to achieve and persist in fields riddled with what Ford (2014) referred to as deficit-oriented paradigms. While work in this area is longstanding and has advanced, it has “[contributed] to growing confusion and misinterpretation within this literature” (Davis & Museus, 2019, p. 119), which could be an impediment to educators in developing effective strategies. To address this, in their analysis of anti-deficit thinking, Davis and Museus (2019) present four themes - “a blame the victim orientation, a grounding in larger complex systems of oppression, a pervasive and often implicit nature, and effects that reinforce hegemonic systems” (p. 121) that surely bring clarity to the “nature and impact” of the concept. These overlapping ideals bring to the forefront the constancy of interlocking systems of oppression (e.g. classism and racism) as well as other marginalizing ideologies (e.g. meritocracy and colorblindness) that perpetuate inequality. Again, since America’s educational systems are plagued by the ideals of White Supremacy, the practices of racism, and accompanying beliefs that determine the behavior of educators, then it would be fitting to apply anti-deficit thinking to educational practices, particularly challenging the deficit perspectives related to Black students in the college advising process.

Methodological Approach

A systematic review is “a literature review that is designed to locate, appraise, and synthesize the best available evidence relating to a specific research question in order to

Advising Black Students

provide informative and evidence-based answers” (Boland et al., 2017, p. 2). In this instance, we were able to assess prior literature that focuses on the college advising process to explore the extent to which researchers center Black students and apply anti-oppressive frameworks.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

To generate a dataset, we chose seven (7) leading, peer-reviewed journals that regularly publish research on college access and college counseling and advising: *Educational Researcher*, *The Review of Educational Research*, *The Review of Research in Education*, *American Educational Research Journal*, *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, *Professional School Counseling Journal*, and *Journal of College Admissions*. Studies were included if they: (a) published in one of seven leading, peer reviewed journals identified above (b) were published between 2010 – 2020, and (c) topically related to college access and college advising and/or counseling.

We reviewed literature from 2010 – 2020, which spans pivotal legislation governing K-12 education, the last five years of the former No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB; 2002) and the first five years of the current, Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA; 2015). No Child Left Behind was signed into law in 2002. At its enactment, NCLB’s focus on accountability signaled great promise for K-12 education and commitment to closing the achievement gap between majority and minority students. NCLB’s goals centered on disadvantaged

populations (i.e., low-income students, racial/ethnic minority students, English second language learners, and students with disabilities; Klein, 2015). Furthermore, some researchers asked whether “school-level accountability under NCLB, intended to close gaps in K–12 education, might also work to close gaps in college participation” (Goldrick-Rab & Mazzeo, 2005, p. 109). However, “over time, NCLB’s prescriptive requirements became increasingly unworkable for schools and educators” (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, para. 4) and was succeeded by Every Student Succeeds Act (2015), signed by President Obama in December 2015. The ESSA “advances equity by upholding critical protections for America’s disadvantaged and high-need students and requires – for the first time – that all students in America be taught to high academic standards that will prepare them to succeed in college and careers” (U.S. Department of Education, 2020, para. 5).

Search Procedures

In designing this study, we established search procedures that began with engaging in a scoping search (Boland et al., 2017) to refine our research questions and establish our main search process to generate data. In this phase, we identified and refined key search terms for available literature within the identified journals, relying on extant literature and experiential knowledge to inform our choices. Our search terms included the following: advising, high school counseling, high school counselor, guidance counselor, school counseling, college counseling, college

Advising Black Students

advising, college access, college admissions, race-based admissions, college readiness, and college choice. It is important to note that we understand the term guidance counselor is no longer used within the school counseling community as it does not encompass the many responsibilities of school counselors (See ASCA, n.d.). However, given the scope of this study, it is conceivable that relevant or related works may have used this term. To establish a baseline of internal consistency and refine search terms, two research team members reviewed the first journal together. We determined that this method of key term searching missed articles as search terms were not consistently applied, i.e., some articles met the criteria without the author's explicit use of the search terms. Therefore, we continued our project using a hand search strategy, which Boland et al. (2017) defined as "manual searches of electronic tables of contents of key journals to identify potential articles of interest" (p. 71-72). This process added value as the relevance of each journal article during the 10-year period was assessed using the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Data Extraction, Synthesis, and Representation

Data analysis began with an initial screening process following our main search process, in which we utilized hand searching. In this screening phase, we reviewed every article's title and abstract for the presence of a racial identity phrase central to our topic of interest (e.g., Black students, Students of Color) and a college access phrase (e.g., college readiness, college counseling, college choice) to establish

our final dataset. The research team independently screened each article in this phase, with each article being dual screened (Boland et al., 2017) to ensure suitability in the final data set. Empirical studies that included both phrases were included in our final dataset (see Table 1 for screening data summary).

Our next step of data analysis was data extraction, where we extracted relevant data from each study to answer the study's research questions. For example, to extract data related to the nature of representation, we recorded whether Black students were the focus of the study or grouped with other racial/ethnic minority students, the types of research methodologies used in these studies, and the scope of the investigation, i.e., college counseling/advising, readiness, access, choice, and/or transition.

A blended approach of content (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and thematic analysis (Percy et al., 2015) techniques using inductive and a priori coding strategies were utilized in understanding the data to present a narrative synthesis of the data (Boland et al., 2017). Content analysis methods allowed us to interpret meaning when checking for existence or non-existence of key theoretical ideas; thematic analysis offered interpretative flexibility to identify patterns within the data and supportive evidence.

Advising Black Students

Findings and Discussion

In this next section, we take an integrated approach to present our systematic review findings alongside interpreting the results and situating the results within the extant literature. We address the representation of Black students, the surfacing of anti-oppressive frameworks, and themes related to the research results of the college access and college counseling and advising literature. We close by illuminating the gaps in the advising and college counseling literature for Black students and offer implications of our review.

Representation of Black Students

Our first question focused on how Black students and their experiences were represented in the college access and college counseling and advising literature. Our initial scoping search yielded 86 results for articles that focused on college access and advising more generally. In the next phase, we reviewed these articles to ensure representation of Black students, and in so doing our sample was reduced to 14. We excluded three studies that were conceptual in nature, which lead to 11 articles in our final systematic review sample.

We then reviewed the articles to find what types of methods were used to study the topic, the population from which the research results were interpreted, and how Black students were included. Authors in our sample primarily utilized quantitative methods of inquiry (N=8); only two studies were qualitative in nature and one study

employed a mixed-methods approach. In seven of the studies, Black students were participants among other racial and ethnic groups; the Comeaux et al. (2020) research is the only study to include Black students exclusively. As a research team, we noted the coded and/or vague language of many of the articles. Authors used terms like "urban", "low-income", and "disadvantaged" when describing Students and Communities of Color or the school environment as a proxy for race, even when socioeconomic status was not a clear focus of the study. Vague language can prevent unique and tailored strategies (Vey & Love, 2020). Moreover, many of the studies did not focus exclusively on Black students, but instead were grouped with other historically marginalized or minoritized populations. We then looked deeper to determine the role of Black participants, i.e., how they were included.

There is a distinct difference in using Black students in an active role through participatory research methods such as interviews, pre/post intervention surveys, and focus groups (e.g., Malott et al., 2020) versus more passive roles through using student data from Black students, such as national datasets, test scores, grade point averages (e.g., Li & McKillip, 2014). The former allows for researchers to uncover Black students' experience and amplify their voices related to their college aspirations and college going process, whereas the latter does not allow for expansive understanding of the issues, influences, barriers, and opportunities related to college access. We are not

Advising Black Students

Table 1.
Characteristics of Articles Meeting Inclusion Criteria.

Study	Publication	Methodology	Study Population	Theoretical Framework
Bryan et al. (2009)	Professional School Counseling Journal	Quantitative	12 th grade students across race	None identified.
Cholewa et al. (2015)	Professional School Counseling Journal	Quantitative	11 th grade students across race	Social Capital Theory
Comeaux et al. (2020)	American Educational Research Journal	Qualitative	Pre-college African American students	Critical Race Theory
Conger & Long (2013)	Educational Researcher	Quantitative	Public high schools students across race	None identified.
Flores & Park (2013)	Educational Researcher	Quantitative	Pre-college data across race	College Completion Trajectory Model; Human Capital Theory
Gandara & Rutherford (2020)	Educational Researcher	Quantitative	Postsecondary data across race	Principal-Agent Theory
Holcomb-McCoy (2010)	Professional School Counseling Journal	Quantitative	High school counselors	None identified.
Li & McKillip (2014)	Journal of College Admission	Quantitative	High school SAT takers across race	None identified.
Malott et al. (2020)	Professional School Counseling Journal	Mixed Method	12 th grade students across race	Intersectionality; Social Cognitive Career Theory
Moses & Wiley (2020)	American Educational Research Journal	Qualitative	High school students across race	Social Capital Theory; Social Context of Choice; Adaptive Preferences
Nice et al. (2020)	Professional School Counseling Journal	Quantitative	Middle, junior, and high school counselors	None identified.

Advising Black Students

dismissing the value of survey research within this body of literature, as quantitative methods help researchers to describe broad patterns of the phenomenon and to investigate relationships between variables (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Yet, “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 6). Qualitative studies that focus on the experience of Black students in the college admissions process and their relationships with college advisors can highlight the issues (and opportunities) Black students face as they access postsecondary education. The more literature that is available that nuances Black student experiences and amplifies Black student voices, the more practitioners can inform their practice to fit a specific form of anti-racism praxis, one that addresses anti-Blackness, and disrupts deficit thinking.

Themes in College-Going Process for Black Students Research

It is important to reiterate that Black students were underrepresented as a unit of the analysis in the majority of the articles we examined. That being said, there are very few findings, results, and/or broad themes that can be specifically attributed to this population as it relates to the college advising process. Such elements are an integral part of a study as they reflect the relationship between a study’s purpose, its research question(s), theory, and methodology. Additionally, they inform the development of

broader implications for both practice and future research. This means the findings generated from prior research, in this instance, have the potential to impact Black students’ transition to college in ways that could disrupt their being disadvantaged along the education pipeline (See Ladson-Billings, 2012). However, lack of findings in this area, has the potential to perpetuate disparities in educational outcomes for this group, and maintain the status quo. A critical review of the most relevant literature focused on Black students and college advising, mentioned above, yielded only three studies that attributed findings to Black students. In these studies, both explicit and implicit, it was clear the authors were cognizant of the historical realities that shape these students’ educational experiences. The oldest of the three studies, Flores and Park (2013), focused on whether being enrolled at a minority-serving institution (MSI) has any bearing on minority students' experiences. Though not solely focused on Black students, the authors did attribute findings and implications specific to this group, and considered Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) as part of their analysis. Their enrollment pattern reflected these students either did not enroll in college over a 10 year time span or they choose to enroll in two-year colleges, yet not those designated Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), and do so over HBCUs. In 2008, there were a fair number of Black students who did enroll in four-year institutions, however, HBCUs were still their least explored option. This desire to attend community colleges has then surfaced

Advising Black Students

a need to explore two-year institutions where Black students have been consistently overrepresented since 2009 (Monarrez & Washington, 2020), “a growing yet somewhat under evaluated sector of higher education” (Flores & Park, 2013, p. 123).

Malott et al. (2020), also attribute findings to Black students, yet mostly focused on the generational status of students. The authors found that group intervention, particularly discussions, altered students’ perspectives and their behaviors, after engaging with currently enrolled students and faculty. Hence, Malott et al. found group intervention beneficial for Black students. The authors do posit that “this study is the first of its kind to assess African American youths’ experiences of a college preparatory group intervention tailored for prospective first-generation college students within an urban setting” (p. 10).

Lastly, Comeaux et al. (2020) examined the educational journeys of high achieving Black students with the intent of challenging the University of California system’s admissions practices and decisions juxtaposed these students' acceptance and enrollment choices. The findings from this study are vast, and include the significance of having attended well-resourced schools, which yielded more college options, navigating a positive campus climate, and having a critical mass of Black students. It is worth noting, that similar to Malott et al. (2020), generational status mattered; and the authors did make mention of HBCU’s like Flores and Park (2013). The

implications of this work speak directly to the importance of race and racism in Black students' college-going process as well as race-neutral policies in college admissions decisions.

Surfacing of Anti-Oppressive Frameworks

As previously mentioned, anti-oppressive frameworks is a broad umbrella term that includes critical, emancipatory, anti-racist, and anti-discriminatory frameworks. In this study, we specifically focused on how anti-racism and anti-deficit frameworks surface in the college access and college advising literature, yet we also found evidence of anti-classism (n=1) and anti-ableism frameworks (n=1). Anti-oppressive frameworks were evidenced in six of the articles, yet the use of an anti-deficit or anti-racism perspective was not clearly articulated across all of them. Instead, the research team interpreted their use in contextual statements of research or study implications. As future research studies are conducted, it is imperative that scholars name, utilize, and advance anti-oppressive frameworks and practices. When the frameworks that scholars use do not acknowledge the systemic causes of educational disparities and inequities, it impedes systemic solutions (Vey & Love, 2020). The Comeaux et al. (2020) article presented the most clear interrogation of race and racism in their qualitative study of high-achieving Black students.

A noteworthy observation of this systematic review is that none of the quantitative studies identified a theoretical or conceptual

Advising Black Students

framework that served as an critical analytic frame for their study, in contrast to the qualitative studies. Instead, they outlined the topical areas that aligned with the research questions or utilized frameworks that may uphold deficit thinking (e.g., social capital theory), rather than advance asset-minded perspectives. Adopting anti-oppressive frameworks and using them analytically can help to avoid missed opportunities to address issues of disparity, equity, and racial bias.

Black students are not a monolithic group and it is important to interrogate the intersections of their identity. The studies that advanced anti-classism and anti-ableism offer critical perspectives to juxtapose with anti-racism frameworks. College counselors should understand the context and intersectionalities of their students and their practices should attend to issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status, among other things to ensure anti-racist and culturally responsive praxis (Bryan et al., 2009).

Gaps in College Advising and Counseling Literature

In answering the final research question, we put forward implications for future research related to representation, disaggregation, and application. Through an anti-oppressive lens, our analysis has revealed, first, a need for

more research focused on college advising and Black students. Prior research continues to demonstrate myriad challenges Black students face along the educational pipeline (Ladson-Billings, 2012), which conceivably affects their transition to college process, far beyond the more common transitional challenges related to academic and social adjustment, time management, and being away from family. Hence, an increase in research in this area, and across intersecting characteristics, could inform educators about diversifying their approach to college

advising, and further inform how to remove barriers in the college-going process for this population who desires to attend college more than any other group. Furthermore, increased work in this area could yield how those Black students who successfully transition and navigate higher education environments overcame challenges that are seemingly beyond their control, which

aligns with an anti-oppressive approach. Second, within this suggestion to increase research about college advising and Black students, there is a need to disaggregate Black student participants, specifically between Black identified males and Black identified females, and again, across intersecting characteristics. Prior scholars (Patton et al., 2016; 2017; Patton & Croom, 2017) have expressed that Black girls' educational journeys are under-researched, and as such,



“Black students are not a monolithic group and it is important to interrogate the intersections of their identity.”

Advising Black Students

require more attention to inform educators and practitioners about what may be a distinct transitional process. For example, the limited research that centers Black girls, does reveal they are out pacing their male counterparts, across educational contexts (See Snyder et al., 2019). Yet, much is foreclosed, in this instance, without an anti-oppressive analysis, particularly about context, climate, and their experiences. Moreover, while higher education research pays a significant amount of attention to Black males, prior research has surfaced that they lack representation in STEM majors (See USNews and World Reports, 2015). Therefore, a disaggregated analysis of Black students would greatly benefit these groups, respectively.

Third, given the racist history by which U.S. educational systems were established, a focus on Black students both collectively and separately requires the application of anti-oppressive lenses, particularly anti-racism and anti-deficit to affect student interaction and experiences. As previously stated, these frameworks reveal systemic challenges, specifically, those deficit ideals, in this instance, about Black students, that are explicitly tied to White Supremacy and racism, that have manifested within educational practices. Additionally, these theoretical perspectives also require educators, as well as students, to take actions that directly disrupts anti-Blackness, and shifts toward an asset-based approach. In utilizing these two frameworks – anti-racism and anti-deficit – scholars, practitioners, and

policymakers begin to surface anti-Black bias and related practices.


Limitations

The discussions of this study should be considered in light of the boundaries and limitations of the data and review process. First, we did not include grey literature which Boland et al. (2017) defined as evidence and literature not controlled by commercial publishers. As a result, we excluded association magazines and other publications, such as newsletters, reports, dissertations or theses, and conference proceedings that also serve as a resource for disseminating college counseling and advising literature. The benefit of grey literature is the inclusion of diverse evidence sources and more comprehensive findings that reflect all available literature; yet the challenges related to locating and accessing these data sources outweighed the potential contribution to our present study. Thus, our findings do not reflect all available literature. Next, we did not combine our studies in a meta-analysis, which may be an appropriate analytic decision in systematic review, given that our data included both qualitative and quantitative studies and exploratory questions that primarily focus on the framing of research studies, rather than the findings.

Concluding Thoughts

The purpose of this systematic review is to discern and critically analyze the college access, college counseling, college advising

Advising Black Students

research that center Black students, found in academic journals. We pay particular attention to how this body of work is informed (or not) by anti-oppressive frameworks. Across our extensive analysis, our findings reveal there is more work to be done, particularly focusing on representation, disaggregation, and application. Therefore, quantitatively or qualitatively, we encourage scholars going forward to explicitly utilize frameworks that push against anti-sentiment. This line of inquiry has taught us there is a sustained benefit to college advisors gaining a deeper understanding of how to better support Black students' educational trajectories. 

REFERENCES

References marked with an asterisk (*) indicate studies included in the systemic review.

American School Counselor Association (ASCA). (n.d.). *Guidance counselor vs. school counselor*. Author. <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/c8d97962-905f-4a33-958b-744a770d71c6/Guidance-Counselor-vs-School-Counselor.pdf>

Anderson, C. (2016). *White rage: The unspoken truth of our racial divide*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bearman, M. L., Smith, C., Carbone, A., Slade, S., Baik, C., Hughes-Warrington, M. T. E., & Neumann, D. L. (2012). Systematic review methodology in higher education. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 31(5), 625-640. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2012.702735>

Boland, A., Cherry, M. G., & Dickson, R. (Eds.). (2017). *Doing a systematic review: A student's guide*. Sage.

Bonnet, A. (2000). *Anti-racism*. Psychology Press.

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1955/347us483>

*Bryan, J., Holcomb-McCoy, C., Moore-Thomas, C., & Day-Vines, N. L. (2009). Who sees the school counselor for college information? A national study. *Professional School Counseling*, 12(4), 280–291. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759x0901200401>

*Cholewa, B., Burkhardt, C. K., & Hull, M. F. (2015). Are school counselors impacting underrepresented students' thinking about postsecondary education? A nationally representative study. *Professional School Counseling*, 19(1), 144–154. <https://doi.org/10.5330/1096-2409-19.1.144>

*Comeaux, E., Chapman, T. K., & Contreras, F. (2019). The college access and choice processes of high-achieving African American students: A Critical Race Theory analysis. *American Educational Research Journal*, 57(1), 411–439. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219853223>

Clayton, A. B. (2019). Helping students navigate the college choice process: The experiences and practices of college advising professionals in public high schools. *The Review of Higher Education*, 42(4), 1401-1429.

*Conger, D., & Long, M. C. (2013). Gender gaps in college enrollment: The role of gender sorting across public high schools. *Educational Researcher*, 42(7), 371–380. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x13503983>

Davis, L. P., & Museus, S. D. (2019). What is deficit thinking? An analysis of conceptualizations of deficit thinking and implications for scholarly research. *NCID Currents*, 1(1).

Dei, G. J. S. (1999). Knowledge and politics of social change: The implication of anti-racism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20(3), 395-409.

Dei, G. J. S. (1999). The denial of difference: Refraining anti-racist praxis. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 2(1), 17-38.

Deil-Amen, R., & Turley, R. L. (2007). A review of the transition to college literature in sociology. *Teachers College Record*, 109(10), 2324-2366.

Eckel, P. D., & King, J. E. (2004). *An overview of higher education in the United States: Diversity, access and the role of the marketplace*. American Council on Education.

Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. Sage.

Advising Black Students

Every Student Succeeds Act, 20 U.S.C. § 6301 (2015). <https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf>

*Flores, S. M., & Park, T. J. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and college success: Examining the continued significance of the Minority-Serving Institution. *Educational Researcher*, 42(3), 115–128. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x13478978>

Ford, D. Y. (2014). Segregation and the underrepresentation of Blacks and Hispanics in gifted education: Social inequality and deficit paradigms. *Roeper Review*, 36(3), 143–154.

Ford, D. Y., Moore III, J. L., & Whiting, G. W. (2006). Eliminating deficit orientations: Creating classrooms and curricula for gifted students from diverse cultural backgrounds. In M. G. Constantine & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *Addressing racism: Facilitating cultural competence in mental health and educational settings* (pp. 173–193). John Wiley & Sons.

*Gándara, D., & Rutherford, A. (2020). Completion at the expense of access? The relationship between performance-funding policies and access to public 4-year universities. *Educational Researcher*, 49(5), 321–334. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x20927386>

Gillborn, D. (2004). Anti-racism: From policy to praxis. In D. Gillborn & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in multicultural education* (pp. 35–48). Psychology Press.

Gillborn, D. (2006). Critical race theory and education: Racism and anti-racism in educational theory and praxis. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), 11–32.

Guiffrida, D. (2005). Preparing and supporting African American college students. <https://www.counseling.org/docs/default-source/vistas/preparing-and-supporting-african-american-college-students.pdf?sfvrsn=10>

Goldrick-Rab, S., & Mazzeo, C. (2005). What No Child Left Behind means for college access. *Review of Research in Education*, 29(1), 107–129. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X029001107>

Harper, S. R. (2010). An anti-deficit achievement framework for research on students of color in STEM. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 2010(148), 63–74.

*Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2010). Involving low-income parents and parents of color in college readiness activities: An exploratory study. *Professional School Counseling*, 14(1), 115–124. <https://doi.org/10.5330/prsc.14.1.e3044v7567570t04>

Hsieh, H-F, & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277–1288.

Hurley, S., & Coles, A. (2015). College counseling for Latino and underrepresented students. <http://www.nacacnet.org/research/research-data/nacac-research/Documents/NACACElenciaReportFinal.pdf>

*Jackson, N. (2012). Minority access to higher education. *The Journal of College Admissions*, 214, 56–62.

Klein, A (2015, April 10). No Child Left Behind: An overview. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/ew/section/multimedia/no-child-left-behind-overview-definition-summary.html>

Ladson-Billings, G. (2012). *Strengthening the African American educational pipeline: Informing research, policy, and practice*. SUNY Press.

*Li, J., and McKillip, M. E. M., (2014). Race variation on the path to college. *Journal of College Admission*, 223, 24–32.

Ma, J., Pender, M., & Welch, M. (2016). *Education pays 2019: The benefits of higher education for individuals and society*. College Board. <https://research.collegeboard.org/pdf/education-pays-2019-full-report.pdf>

*Malott, K., Havlik, S., Gosai, S., & Diaz Davila, J. (2020). A group intervention for prospective first-generation college students: application with an urban, African American population. *Professional School Counseling*, 24(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759x20957297>

Martinez, G. F., & Deil-Amen, R. (2015). College for all Latinos? The role of high school messages in facing college challenges. *Teachers College Record*, 117(3), 1–50.

*McKillip, M. E., Rawls, A., & Barry, C. (2012). Improving college access: A review of research on the role of high school counselors. *Professional School Counseling*, 16(1), 49–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759x1201600106>
Westminster School Dist. of Orange County v. Mendez, 161 F.2d 774 (9th Cir. 1947). <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/161/774/1566460/>

Advising Black Students

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation* (4th ed.). Wiley.

Mitra, D. (2011). The social and economic benefits of public education. *Pennsylvania State University*.

Monarrez, T., & Washington, K. (2020). *Racial and ethnic representation in postsecondary education*. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/research/publication/racial-and-ethnic-representation-postsecondary-education/view/full_report

*Moses, M. S., & Wiley, K. E. (2019). Social context matters: Bridging philosophy and sociology to strengthen conceptual foundations for college access research. *American Educational Research Journal*, 57(4), 1665–1687. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219883587>

*Nice, M. L., Kolbert, J. B., Joseph, M., Crothers, L. M., Hilts, D., & Kratsa, K. (2020). School counselors' self-efficacy in knowledge of the college process. *Professional School Counseling*, 24(1), 1–12. doi.org/10.1177/2156759x20976374

Nichols, A. H., & Schak, J. O. (2018). Degree attainment for Black adults: National and state trends. *Education Trust*. https://edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Black-Degree-Attainment_FINAL.pdf

No Child Left Behind Act, 20 U.S.C. § 6301 (2002). <https://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pdf>

*Núñez, A.-M. (2014). Employing multilevel intersectionality in educational research: Latino identities, contexts, and college access. *Educational Researcher*, 43(2), 85–92. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x14522320>

Patton, L. D., & Croom, N. N. (Eds.). (2017). *Critical perspectives on Black women and college success*. Taylor & Francis.

Patton, L. D., Haynes, C., & Croom, N. N. (2017). Centering the diverse experiences of Black women undergraduates. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, 10, 141-143.

Patton, L. D., Crenshaw, K., Haynes, C., & Watson, T. N. (2016). Why we can't wait: (Re)examining the opportunities and challenges for Black women and girls in education (Guest Editorial). *The Journal of Negro Education*, 85, 194-198.

Snyder, T. D., De Brey, C., & Dillow, S. A. (2019). Digest of Education Statistics 2017, NCES 2018-070. National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2018/2018070.pdf>

St. Amour, M. (2020). Report: College access remains inequitable at selective publics. *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/07/21/inequity-college-access-continues-black-latinx-students-report-finds>

Stanton-Salazar, R. (1997). A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and youths. *Harvard Educational Review*, 67(1), 1-41.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2011). A social capital framework for the study of institutional agents and their role in the empowerment of low-status students and youth. *Youth & Society*, 43(3), 1066-1109.

Valencia, R. R. (1997). Conceptualizing the notion of deficit thinking. *The Evolution of deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice*, 19(1), 1-12.

Vey, J. S., & Love, H. (2020,). *Recognizing that words have the power to harm, we commit to using more just language to describe places*. The Brookings Institute. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2020/07/13/recognizing-that-words-have-the-power-to-harm-we-commit-to-using-more-just-language-to-describe-places/>

Wilder, C. S. (2013). *Ebony and ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of Americas*. Bloomsbury Press.

Wong Him v. Callahan, 119 F. 381 (1902). <https://ravellaw.com/opinions/4ce48975f039618d6feb2c16bea15844>

References marked with an asterisk (*) indicate studies included in the systemic review.

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices: Using Lewin's Field Theory to Examine Career Help-Seeking Behaviors and Intentions of Black First-Generation Students Attending Predominantly White Institutions

ABSTRACT

This study examined person and environment contextual factors associated with career decision-making difficulties among Black first-generation students (FGSs) attending predominantly white institutions (PWIs). Using Lewin's field theory, we investigated the predictive value of person and environment factors on help-seeking behaviors for 63 Black FGS attending PWIs. We used a non-experimental correlational research design, along with hierarchical regression analysis, to investigate the predictability of contextual factors on previous career services use and intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. Change/loss in advisor and lack of information were associated with previous career services use, whereas intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers was predicted by age, gender, interaction self-efficacy, and academic competitiveness within their program. Findings of this study can be used to develop and implement antiracist college counseling and career advising services. We explore implications for practice, include suggestions for policy modifications, discuss the limitations of our study, and finally, provide recommendations for future research.

Keywords: first-generation, help-seeking behaviors, racist career barriers, minoritized persons, white supremacy, antiracist policies



Authored by

Jonique R. Childs (*University of Massachusetts Amherst*)

Jennifer Sánchez (*Florida Atlantic University*)

William M. Liu (*University of Maryland*)

Despite decades of investments in government programs, faculty research, and financial scholarships focused on recruiting, retaining, and matriculating underrepresented and first-generation students (FGSs) to reduce academic and career development inequities, racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities have increased (Allen, 2018; Kane et al., 2021; Maietta, 2016). Recent findings indicate that Black students who attended predominantly white institutions (PWIs) fared worse than their non-Black peers at PWIs as well as their Black peers at non-PWIs (Gallup & 2U, 2021; McGee et al., 2019; Strayhorn, 2017). Black FGSs have endured myriad obstacles in higher education (Hines et al., 2019), and at PWIs, they are compounded by racism, oppression, and white supremacy (Bernard et al., 2020). Moreover, for-profit colleges have capitalized on the inequality, predatorily targeting marginalized students (Cottom, 2017), and recently, have even formed partnerships with PWIs (Carey, 2020). As a result, costs have

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

skyrocketed; from 2008 to 2018, tuition at public colleges jumped up 37% (Hess, 2019), whereas wages barely increased 5% during the same time (Economic Policy Institute, 2019).

Although Black FGSs could benefit from academic advising, college counseling, and career services (Parks-Yancy, 2012), they have been less likely to utilize these resources (Nickerson et al., 1994; Winograd & Rust, 2014). Perhaps because when some Black FGSs have sought help, they encountered academic advisors who dismissed or refused to understand their experiences at PWIs, leaving their challenges not only unaddressed, but exacerbated (Lee, 2018). bell hooks (1996) advocated for “a paradigm, a practical model for social change that includes an understanding of ways to transform consciousness that are linked to efforts to transform structures” (p. 193). In turn, antiracist praxis was recommended to combat disparities created from systemic racism pervasive in K-12 and higher education (Batur-VanderLippe, 1999; Utt & Tochluk, 2020). As Kendi (2019) explained, “[o]ne either allows racial inequities to persevere, as a racist, or confronts racial inequities, as an antiracist. There is no in-between safe space of ‘not racist.’ The claim of ‘not racist’ neutrality is a mask for racism” (p. 9). Specific practices must be identified, implemented, and evaluated to successfully move from racist to antiracist academic advising, college counseling, and career services. A preliminary study was conducted to examine barriers to

career development of Black FGSs, Lewin’s (1936) field theory (of behavior) was used to test predictors of help-seeking. Following is an overview of variables used in the study (factors identified in the literature to influence career development of Black FGSs), a description of Lewin’s field theory (how it will be applied), and the research questions (RQs).

Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)

PWIs of higher education continue to target, recruit, and enroll Black FGSs, claiming to value diversity in their classrooms, marketing their academic programs as keys to financial and vocational equity, and promoting their campuses and surrounding communities as inclusive learning and social settings. Yet, Black students have reported experiencing racist stereotypes on campus (Harper, 2006) and being subjected to “deeply entrenched, codified sociospatial racial norms that constrain their behavior, movement, and routines in ways that encumber them from functioning as valued members of classrooms, dorms, social activities, and academic departments” (Harwood et al., 2018, p. 1256). The appropriation of inclusive language in PWIs’ mission statements and intentional visual presentation of Black students and faculty on campus, while simultaneously ignoring the cultural trauma perpetuated through racial bias, stereotyping, and discrimination (Liu et al., 2019) serves to “maintain and strengthen the status quo that marginalizes diversity” (Brayboy, 2003, p. 86). Specifically, the white supremacist ideology,

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

biased policies, and “traditional” racist practices at PWIs (Mehler, 1999) impede Black FGSs’ ability to access, navigate, and succeed in higher education (Liu, 2017; Worthington et al., 2008).

Postsecondary schools broadly comprise two types: minority-serving institutions (MSIs) and PWIs. MSI status is determined by established federal guidelines, based on either stated mission or minimum student enrollment by socioeconomic status (SES; e.g., low-income) and racial/ethnic group membership (e.g., Black); however, no official designation exists for PWIs. Yet scholars have noted that contrary to MSIs, which were established to mitigate longstanding educational inequities hindering minoritized students, PWIs were founded on principles of racism, established to operate in cultures of whiteness, and perpetuate systemic racism (Hughes, 2014). Unsurprisingly, the *Ivory Tower* (or PWI) is often described as a lonely and unwelcoming place by faculty, staff, and students of color, including Black FGSs (Ford et al., 2016).

Effects of PWIs on Black First-Generation Students (FGSs)

Black FGSs attend PWIs in pursuit of higher education; yet matriculation rates have steadily decreased, while attrition rates continue to increase (Postsecondary National Policy Institute, 2021). Specifically, though PWIs accounted for nearly nine out of 10 (87.1%) Black undergraduates, they only conferred about three-fourths (78.5%) of all

bachelor’s degrees among Blacks (McClain & Perry, 2017). Many Black students enter college with “racial battle fatigue” (Smith, 2004) due to the cumulative impact of racial microaggressions endured during K-12 education (Henfield, 2011). Unfortunately, Black students who manage to escape this racial trauma prior to entering the PWI, are unlikely to leave unscathed (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2007) because PWIs cultivate hostile climates which serve as catalysts of racial terror, vital for producing racial battle fatigue (Smith et al., 2011). At one PWI, Black students described classroom experiences of racial microaggressions from faculty and peers, including being subjected to racial stereotype comments, having their contributions minimized, being made to feel inferior for speaking, and not being taken seriously (Harwood et al., 2015). Thus, by ignoring or minimizing racial microaggressions, PWIs successfully perpetuate racism through educational practice, and protect white supremacy, and their valued status in society.

Racial Microaggressions. Racial microaggressions include three types of transgressions: 1) *microassaults* (e.g., intentional racial slurs), 2) *microinsults* (e.g., demeaning racialized comments), and 3) *microinvalidations* (e.g., negating the racism experienced by people of color; Sue et al., 2007), and can differ by gender. For example, Black males experienced more stereotyping and racial profiling from campus security and local police (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007),

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

whereas Black women were compelled to model stereotypical positive behaviors to address racial microaggressions (Corbin et al., 2018). Racial microaggressions caused isolation, marginalization, and alienation (Dortch & Patel, 2017). Specifically, Black FGSs at one PWI reported that difficult experiences related to their racial identity and first-generation status led to feelings of “otherness” (Havlik et al., 2020). These covert and overt racial microaggressions have been found to negatively impact self-esteem (Nadal et al., 2014), cause Black college students to question their abilities due to experiences of racial bias, with those who attended PWIs with racially hostile academic spaces being more likely to develop low self-efficacy (McGee, 2016).

Barriers. Black FGSs have reported challenges transitioning to PWIs, like “culture shock in a sea of whiteness,” as barriers to achieving their goals (McCoy, 2014). Examining the effects of demographic factors on graduation rates of students enrolled at 24 PWIs, Keels (2013) found gender gaps, which differed by race and SES. Namely, Black males reported being pressured to mature faster than their White peers, such as focusing on “true success” and avoiding “the frat life” (Wilkins, 2014, p. 182). Ultimately, experiencing racist attacks at PWIs have left Black FGSs feeling lost, angry, and defeated (Ford et al., 2016). Moreover, minoritized groups, such as Black FGSs, are disproportionately subjected to gender-, racial-, and class-based discrimination, resulting in distress (Thoits,

2010) and negatively affecting their academic performance and well-being (Ackerman-Barger et al., 2020). Furthermore, lack of family support to attend college (Blackwell & Pinder, 2014), and discouragement from co-workers and peers to pursue graduate studies (Schwartz et al., 2003), create additional barriers for Black FGSs. In addition, programs that fail to establish a sense of community cause their students to isolate and receive less support from one another, and create greater competition among peers (Smith et al., 2006). Thus, Black FGSs must beat numerous odds to achieve a postsecondary degree while simultaneously battling experiences of racial microaggressions and systemic racism at PWIs (Harper, 2012; Mills, 2015).

Career Development. Black FGSs face various barriers to career development, including lack of professional social networks (Tate et al., 2015), career-enhancing information (Frett, 2018), and mentoring (Patton & Harper, 2003; Vickers, 2014). For example, among Black FGSs, undergraduates attending PWIs developed imposter syndrome and self-sabotaged career plans (Harris, 2018), yet when seeking better financial options, graduates have chosen PWIs (over non-PWIs) due to their perceived superior instructional quality (Schwartz et al., 2003). Inequitable policies (e.g., Black student organizations stifled by white property rights; Jones, 2020) and oppressive practices (e.g., Black faculty jeopardize tenure/promotion with activism; Jones & Squire, 2018) at PWIs create racist barriers for Black FGSs which impede

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

vocational decisions. Personal (e.g., low self-efficacy) and environmental (e.g., white supremacist ideology) barriers restrict career development and employment outcomes for those with minoritized racial identities (Reid, 2013). For example, low self-efficacy and outcome expectations (Olson, 2014) were found to limit career choices and constrain career plans of Black FGSs (Parks-Yancy, 2012).

Academic Supports and Career Services.

University services can help mitigate barriers encountered by Black FGSs trying to realize their career goals. These supports are particularly relevant for Black FGSs attending PWIs, who reported more depression, anxiety, and stress than their peers at MSIs (Williams, 2014). Although informal supports (e.g., peers in Black student organizations) can be assets for Black FGSs at PWIs, they can also be liabilities during the career development process (Guiffrida & Douthit, 2010). Conversely, professional supports in higher education (e.g., career services) are there to ensure student success (Dey & Cruzvergara, 2014).

Federal TRiO Programs. President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty enacted the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964* and authorized the Upward Bound pilot project (Coles, 1998). The *Higher Education Act of 1965* and *Amendments of 1968* established the Talent Search and Student Support Services programs, respectively (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). The *Amendments of 1972*,

1976, 1986, 1990, and 1998 established six more "TRiO" Programs; two provide administrative support and seven offer direct services to oppressed students, including low-income, FG, and people with disabilities, enroll in and complete college (Campbell, 2010; Graham, 2011). Specifically, the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program helps minoritized students (e.g., Black FGSs) achieve doctoral degrees (Grimmett et al., 1998). Overall, TRiO programs improve outcomes for low-income Black FGSs (Pitre & Pitre, 2009).

College Counseling and Career Services.

While college counseling and career services could mitigate the barriers associated with attending PWIs, Black FGSs face systemic challenges simply to gain access. Unlike primary (i.e., White) programs and professional offices which are placed for optimal visibility, multicultural offices are obscured and located apart (e.g., in back hallways), diversity programs are underfunded and under-resourced, and minoritized students are subjected to re-traumatization with "business as usual" racist practices at PWIs (Redd, 2018). Conversely, underrepresented, low-income, and FGSs who received support from program staff and engaged in career-related activities through a college transition program, experienced gains in career self-efficacy (Kezar et al., 2020). Similarly, career counseling was found to improve academic and career self-efficacy among high school students (Stipanovic et al., 2017).

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Help-Seeking among Black FGSs

Although Black FGSs experiencing career development barriers could benefit from professional supports, such as career counseling (e.g., Byars-Winston, 2010), decades of research findings show Black Americans are reluctant to seek help for emotional and psychological issues (Neighbors, 1988; Taylor & Kuo, 2019), particularly from White counselors (Nickerson et al., 1994), and at PWIs (Bonner, 1997). In fact, help-seeking among Black college students was found to decrease as experiences of racial microaggressions in counseling increased (Crawford, 2011). While counselors are trained to be open-minded and non-judgmental, implicit biases (e.g., attitudes one is not aware of, but which can influence judgments) remain common, have led to racial microaggressions (e.g., conveying facial surprise when first meeting a Black client), and left clients feeling “distrustful, angered, and resentful” (Sue et al., 2008, p. 337). According to a recent study, Black FGSs only sought help when ultimately necessary (Lampley, 2020).

Lewin’s Field Theory

Nearly a century ago, Kurt Lewin (1936) developed an equation to explain behavior (B) in any given situation (S), where B is a function (f) of S : $B = f(S)$ and established his field theory. According to Lewin, behavior could only be understood “if one includes in the representation the whole psychological situation” (p. 12). Each psychological situation distinguishes the person (P) from his or her

environment (E) and is dependent “upon the state of the person and at the same time on the environment” (Lewin, 1936, p. 12). Moreover, he explained that behavior was also a result of the interface with environmental factors such as societal attitudes, actions, and/or systems (Lewin, 1935). Lewin demonstrated how minoritized social groups could be studied, understood, and treated as a group (e.g., Black FGSs), given that often problems or issues are passed on from the group to an individual by mere group identity or membership (Lewin, 1935). Each individual event is therefore represented as $B = f(P, E)$.

Purpose of the Present Study

A recent study on access to the United States’ highest quality colleges revealed little has changed since 2000, with most remaining inaccessible to Black students (The Education Trust, 2020). The steady decline in retention of Black FGSs has been associated with experiences of racial microaggressions at PWIs (Lewis et al., 2019; Mills, 2020), which in turn were found to increase academic-related stress, reduce academic self-efficacy, and negatively affect career development (Nadal et al., 2014). College counseling or career services could mitigate barriers at PWIs, but Black FGSs are least likely to seek professional help, given that current practices were founded on racism and perpetuate white supremacy ideologies. Antiracist college counseling and career services include the eradication of racist ideological policies (e.g.,

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

#AllLivesMatter in response to #BlackLivesMatter masked in colorblindness; Jones, 2017) and practices (e.g., discourse of administrators downplays racism at their PWI; Jones, 2019). Counselors, educators, administrators, and policy makers must be equipped with the knowledge and resources to help abolish the racist career barriers plaguing Black FGSs. Antiracist approaches that facilitate career development at PWIs are needed to achieve equitable outcomes for Black FGSs. The urgency to promote dialogue that supports making necessary societal changes to eradicate racist practices, dismantle lingering oppressive policies, and create welcoming institutional climates is evident.

This preliminary study examined career development barriers of Black FGSs at PWIs. Using Lewin's field theory, we identified significant predictors of help-seeking. Based on our findings, we provided implications for practice (equitable services to be provided at PWIs), suggestions for policy modifications (moving from racist to antiracist), and recommendations for future research directions. The six (6) research questions (RQs) we asked were:

RQ1.

What factors are barriers to career development for Black FGSs at PWIs?

RQ2.

Which contextual (P, E) factors are associated with previous career services use?

RQ3.

Does Lewin's field theory (of behavior) predict previous career services use?

RQ4.

What factors are related to racist career barriers for Black FGSs at PWIs?

RQ5.

Which contextual (P, E) factors are associated with intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers?

RQ6.

Does Lewin's field theory predict intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers?

Methods

Participants and Procedures

All participants who self-identified as Black FGSs ($n=63$) were extracted from a larger study sample ($N=168$) of racial/ethnic minoritized FGSs who were attending PWIs. Purposive sampling was used to recruit potential participants from local TRiO programs at PWIs. Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained prior to recruitment and data collection.

Measures

Various validated instruments and a sociodemographic questionnaire were used to measure predictors of help-seeking using Lewin's (1936) field theory, which posits that Behavior (B) is a function (f) of the Person (P) and his or her Environment (E): $B = f(P, E)$. These constructs, as hypothesized for this

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

study, and an overview of the measures used are discussed below. However, in-depth details of these measures are described elsewhere (see Childs, 2018).

Measures Used to Examine Career Development and Previous Career Services Use

Help-Seeking Behavior. To assess past help-seeking behavior (previous career services use), students were asked 2 specific questions, “Have you received Career Services for personal barriers (Mentioned previously) anytime as a student?” and “Have you received University career services for Difficult Career Decisions anytime as a student?” and responded accordingly (1 = Yes or 0 = No). Responses were summed for previous career services use score (range: 0–2).

Environment Factors. The sociodemographic questionnaire collected information on environmental contextual factors, including: participation in programs (TRiO enrollment), social supports (lack of friend/mentor support, lack of family assistance or support), and campus environment (advisor change/loss, racial microaggressions). Responses for each of the five items were rated on either a dichotomous (1 = Yes, 0 = No) or Likert-type (0 = No, 2 = Yes) scale.

Person Factors. The *Academic Stress* (AS; Zajacova et al., 2005) subscales were used to measure perceived stress (from 0 = not at all stressful to 10 = extremely stressful) in

completing various school-related tasks. Internal reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) for the 4 AS subscales were reported to be .83 (Interaction at School), .86 (Performance out of Class), .83 (Performance in Class), and .72 (Managing Work, Family, and School). In the current study, Cronbach’s alphas for the AS subscales were computed to be .84 (Interaction at School), .83 (Performance out of Class), .80 (Performance in Class), and .61 (Managing Work, Family, and School). The *Career Decision-making Difficulties Questionnaire* (CDDQ; Gati & Saka, 2001) was used to measure specific (from 1 = does not describe me to 9 = describes me well) and overall (from 1 = not severe at all to 9 = very severe) career-related difficulties. Internal reliability for the 3 CDDQ subscales were reported to be .60 (Lack of Readiness), .93 (Lack of Information), and .83 (Inconsistent Information). Cronbach’s alphas for the CDDQ subscales were computed to be .50 (Lack of Readiness), .93 (Lack of Information), and .89 (Inconsistent Information) in this study.

Measures Used to Examine Intention to Seek Counseling for Racist Career Barriers Help-Seeking Behavior

To determine future help-seeking behavior (intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers), student responses to, “Would you attend University Career Services for Career Decisions impacted by Racial Microaggression (racial insult or slur) experienced?” were used. Responses were scored on a Likert-type scale

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

from 0 (*No*) to 2 (*Yes*).

Environment Factors. Information extracted from the sociodemographic questionnaire to reflect environmental contextual factors included: program culture (TRiO helpfulness, academic competitiveness in their program) and exposure to white supremacist institutional oppressive practices (racism or perceived discrimination at institution by faculty or staff, racism or perceived discrimination at institution by peers, experienced racial microaggressions while at PWI, experienced career difficulties due to microaggressions). Responses for each of the 6 items were rated on either a dichotomous (1 = *Yes*, 0 = *No*) or Likert-type (0 = *No*, 2 = *Yes*) scale.

Person Factors. The sociodemographic questionnaire included age and gender (0 = *Male*, 1 = *Female*). The Academic Self-Efficacy (ASE; Zajacova et al., 2005) subscales were used to measure perceived ability (from 0 = *not at all confident* to 10 = *extremely confident*) in completing academic tasks. Internal reliability coefficient estimates were reported as satisfactory for Interaction at School (.87), Performance Out of Class (.90), Performance in Class (.87), and Managing Work, Family, and School (.77). In the current study, Cronbach's alphas for the ASE subscales were computed to be .87 (Interaction at School), .87 (Performance Out of Class), .91 (Performance in Class), and .74 (Managing Work, Family, and School).

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed with IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 25). G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) was used to conduct an *a priori* power analysis for the total R² value for multiple regression analyses with 12 predictor variables, power = .80, alpha = .05, and yielded minimum samples of 61 for a large effect size ($f^2 = .35$; Cohen, 1988). Pearson product-moment correlations and Spearman rank-order correlations were computed for all predictor and outcome variables. Correlations were assessed to determine factors associated with career development and variables used to examine previous career services use. Hierarchical regression analysis (HRA) was conducted with previous career services use (*B*) as the dependent variable and two sets of predictors entered in sequential steps: (1) five *E factors* (TRiO enrollment, lack of friend/mentor support, change/loss in advisor, lack of family support, and racial microaggressions) and (2) seven *P factors* (4 types of academic stress and 3 types of career decision-making difficulties). HRA is particularly useful when more than one predictor variable is used to measure a construct (Hoyt et al., 2006), as the change in R² (ΔR^2) shows the combined contribution (of the variable set) in predicting (variance) the criterion, while *sr*² shows the unique contribution (of each variable) of variance in predicting the criterion. Additional correlations were assessed to determine factors associated with racist career barriers and variables used to examine intention to

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

seek counseling for racist career barriers. Another HRA model was conducted with intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers (*B*) as the dependent variable and two predictor sets entered sequentially: (1) six *E* factors (TRiO helpfulness, academic competitiveness in program, racism/discrimination from faculty/staff, racism/discrimination from peers, racial microaggressions experienced at PWI, career difficulties due to microaggressions) and (2) six *P* factors (age, gender, and 4 types of academic self-efficacy).

Results

Career Development and Previous Career Services Use

Pearson product-moment correlations and Spearman rank-order correlations for all variables used to examine factors associated with career development and to predict *previous career services use* are presented in Table 1 on page 41. Significant correlations for factors associated with career development and between predictors and *previous career services use* are provided.

RQ1 – Career Barriers. Career decision-making difficulty-lack of readiness was significantly associated with stress-interaction at school ($r = .30, p < .05$) and stress-performance in class ($r = .29, p \leq .05$); career decision-making difficulty-lack of information was significantly correlated to stress-interaction at school ($r = .31, p \leq .05$); and career decision-making difficulty-inconsistent

information was significantly associated with stress-interaction at school ($r = .26, p \leq .05$), stress-performance out of class ($r = .28, p \leq .05$), stress-managing work, family, and school ($r = .26, p \leq .05$), and lack of friend/mentor support ($r = .32, p \leq .05$).

RQ2 – P & E Career Services Factors.

Significant correlations between predictors and help-seeking were found for *previous career services use* and *career decision-making difficulty-lack of information* ($r = .34, p \leq .01$), *TRiO enrollment* ($r = .27, p \leq .05$), and *change/loss in advisor* ($r = -.33, p \leq .01$). Black FGSs who reported greater career decision-making difficulty due to lack of information and were enrolled in TRiO were more likely to report *previous career services use*, while *change/loss in advisor* reported *less previous career services use*.

RQ3 – Predictors of Previous Career Services

Use. HRA results, including ΔR^2 , unstandardized regression coefficients (*B*), standard errors (SE *B*), and standardized coefficients (β) for the predictor variables are presented in Table 2. First, environment factors (TRiO enrollment=enrolled, lack of friend/mentor support, change/loss in advisor, lack of family support, and racial microaggressions) were entered. This variable set explained 24% of the variance in *previous career services use*, $R^2 = .235, F(5, 57) = 3.500, p = .008$. Change/loss in advisor was negatively associated with *previous career services use*, $\beta = -.293, t(62) = -2.22, p = .030$, whereas lack of family support was positively

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Table 1.

Pearson/Spearman Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Variables Used in Hierarchical Regression Analysis Model 1.

Variable	O1	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	cP1	cP2	cP3	cP4	cP5
P1	-.07	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P2	-.07	.44***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P3	-.07	.51***	.67***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P4	<-.01	.44***	.63***	.45***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P5	.22	.30*	.16	.29*	.23	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P6	.34**	.31*	.09	.21	.20	.40***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
P7	.22	.26*	.28*	.09	.26*	.38**	.67***	1	—	—	—	—	—
cP1	.27*	.04	-.18	-.04	.09	-.02	-.08	-.08	1	—	—	—	—
cP2	<-.01	.30*	.11	.17	.28*	.16	.21	.32*	-.15	1	—	—	—
cP3	-.33**	.14	.13	.09	.24	.12	.11	.09	.36**	.26*	1	—	—
cP4	.17	-.04	.21	.36**	.21	.10	.19	.05	.07	.29*	.24	1	—
cP5	-.18	.05	.17	.04	.22	.05	.11	.14	-.17	.30*	.18	.15	1
Mean	0.57	4.46	6.14	7.88	5.98	4.53	3.92	3.16	—	—	—	—	—
SD	0.82	2.38	1.94	2.22	2.13	1.02	1.87	1.79	—	—	—	—	—

Note. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$; O= Outcome; O1= previous career services use; P= Predictor (Pearson product-moment correlation); P1= stress-interaction at school; P2= stress-performance out of class; P3= stress-performance in class; P4= stress-managing work, family, & school; P5= career decision-making difficulty-lack of readiness; P6= career decision-making difficulty-lack of information; P7= career decision-making difficulty-inconsistent information; cP= categorical Predictor (Spearman rank-order correlation); cP1= TRiO enrollment (enrolled); cP2= lack of friend/mentor support; cP3= change/loss in advisor; cP4= lack of family support; cP5= racial microaggressions.

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

associated with previous career services use, $\beta = .254$, $t(62) = 2.06$, $p = .044$. Person factors (4 types of academic stress and 3 types of career decision-making difficulties) were entered next. This set of predictor variables explained 18% more variance beyond the variables from the previous step, $R^2 = .418$, $\Delta R^2 = .183$, $F(7, 50) = 2.997$, $p = .045$. Career decision-making difficulty-lack of information was positively associated with previous career services use, $\beta = .351$, $t(62) = 2.030$, $p = .048$. The final regression model accounted for 42% (a large effect size; Cohen, 1988) of the variance in previous career services use. When controlling for all factors, change/loss in advisor and career decision-making difficulty due to lack of information significantly predicted previous career services use.

Intention to Seek Counseling for Racist Career Barriers

A correlation matrix (Pearson product-moment correlations and Spearman rank-order correlations) for all variables used to examine factors associated with racist career barriers (and to predict intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers) is presented in Table 3. Results of significant correlations for factors associated with racist career barriers and between predictors and *intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers* are provided.

RQ4 – Racist Career Barriers. Significant factors associated with racist career barriers were found among correlations between

career difficulties due to racial microaggressions with racism/discrimination from faculty/staff ($r = .31$, $p \leq .05$) and with racial microaggressions at PWI ($r = .40$, $p < .001$).

RQ5 – P & E Racist Career Barriers.

Significant correlations between predictors and help-seeking were found for *intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers* and *self-efficacy-interaction at school* ($r = .41$, $p \leq .001$) and gender (i.e., female, $r = .27$, $p \leq .05$). Black FGSs who reported greater self-efficacy related to interaction at school and females were more likely to affirm their *intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers*.

RQ6 – Predictors of Intention to Seek Counseling for Racist Career Barriers.

HRA results, including ΔR^2 , unstandardized regression coefficients (B), standard errors (SE B), and standardized coefficients (β) for the predictor variables are presented in Table 4. *Environment factors* (TRiO helpfulness=helpful, academic competitiveness in program, racism/discrimination from faculty/staff, racism/discrimination from peers, microaggressions experienced at PWI, and career difficulties due to microaggressions) were entered. This variable set explained 20% of the variance in intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers, $R^2 = .197$, $F(6, 56) = 2.293$, $p = .048$.

Microaggressions experienced at PWI was negatively associated with intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers, $\beta = -.324$, $t(62) = -2.436$, $p = .018$. Next, person factors (age, gender=female, and 4 types of academic

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Table 2.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Model 1: Prediction of Help-Seeking Behavior – Previous Career Services Use ($N = 63$)

Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	At Entry into Model			In the Final Model		
			B	SE B	β	B	SE B	B
Step 1 (Environment Factors)	.235	.235**						
TRiO Enrollment (Enrolled)			0.38	0.21	.232	0.33	0.21	.201
Lack of Friend/Mentor Support			0.15	0.21	.093	0.07	0.22	.042
Change/Loss in Advisor			-0.57	0.26	-.293*	-0.69	0.25	-.354**
Lack of Family Support			0.46	0.23	.254*	0.41	0.24	.224
Racial Microaggressions			-0.35	0.21	-.216	-0.38	0.20	-.23
Step 2 (Person Factors)	.418	.183**						
Stress-Interaction at School			-0.04	0.05	-.097	-0.04	0.05	-.097
Stress-Performance Out of Class			< -0.01	0.09	-.112	< -0.01	0.09	-.112
Stress-Performance In Class			-0.09	0.07	-.236	-0.09	0.07	-.236
Stress-Managing Work, Family, & School			0.06	0.06	.152	0.06	0.06	.152
Career Difficulty-Lack of Readiness			0.15	0.10	.191	0.15	0.10	.191
Career Difficulty-Lack of Information			0.15	0.08	.351*	0.15	0.08	.351*
Career Difficulty-Inconsistent Information			-0.02	0.08	-.047	-0.02	0.08	-.047

Note. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; TRiO = Federal TRiO Programs.

self-efficacy) were entered. This set explained 31% more variance beyond the variables from the previous step, $R^2 = .509$, $\Delta R^2 = .312$, $F(6, 50) = 4.326$, $p < .001$. Gender (being female) was negatively associated with intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers, $\beta = -.336$, $t(62) = -3.051$, $p = .004$, whereas age, $\beta = .338$, $t(62) = 3.026$, $p = .004$, and self-efficacy-interaction at school, $\beta = .376$, $t(62) = 3.433$, $p = .001$, were positively associated with intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. The final regression model accounted for 51% (a large effect size; Cohen, 1988) of the variance in intention to seek counseling for

racist career barriers. Controlling all factors, academic competitiveness in program, age, gender, and self-efficacy related to interaction at school were significant predictors of intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers (see Table 4).

Discussion

This preliminary study examined barriers to career development of Black FGSs at PWIs. In addition, personal and environmental contextual factors hypothesized as predictors of help-seeking behaviors and intentions

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Table 3.

Pearson/Spearman Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Variables Used in Hierarchical Regression Analysis Model 2.

Variable	O1	P1	P2	P3	P4	cP1	cP2	cP3	cP4	cP5	cP6	cP7	cP8
P1	.41***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P2	.07	.32**	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P3	.06	.31*	.80***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P4	.16	.34**	.71***	.65***	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cP1	.15	.01	.13	-.00	-.04	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cP2	.27*	.12	-.22	-.21	-.12	.22	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
cP3	-.20	-.00	.13	.13	.01	.01	-.11	1	—	—	—	—	—
cP4	-.15	.04	.02	-.09	-.08	.18	-.18	-.00	1	—	—	—	—
cP5	.06	.02	.02	.11	-.04	-.01	-.16	.07	.21	1	—	—	—
cP6	.17	.12	-.02	.04	-.03	-.12	-.24	-.26*	.19	.50***	1	—	—
cP7	-.17	-.06	.14	.19	-.05	.05	.06	.13	.06	.29*	.18	1	—
cP8	.20	-.06	.09	.02	-.04	.15	-.02	.23	.07	.31*	.19	.40***	1
Mean	0.48	6.40	5.55	4.52	5.47	22.40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SD	0.50	2.09	2.06	2.64	2.27	5.47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$; O= Outcome; O1= intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers; P= Predictor (Pearson product-moment correlations); P1= self-efficacy-interaction at school; P2= self-efficacy-performance out of class; P3= self-efficacy-performance in class; P4= self-efficacy-managing work, family, & school; cP= categorical Predictor (Spearman rank-order correlations); cP1= age; cP2= gender (female); cP3= TRiO helpfulness (helpful); cP4= academic competitiveness in program; cP5= racism/discrimination from faculty/staff; cP6= racism/discrimination from peers; cP7= racial microaggressions at PWI; cP8= career difficulties due to racial microaggressions.

among Black FGSs attending PWIs were explored.

Research Questions (RQs), Findings, and Implications for Practice

RQ1 – Career Barriers. Career development barriers (decision-making difficulties) were associated with lack of friend/mentor

support, and stress regarding interaction at school, performance in and out of class, and managing life roles. Our findings reflect previous barriers identified as common for FGSs, including a high desire to connect with faculty, low participation in extracurricular activities, feeling uncomfortable in college environments, being underprepared academically, and lacking time management

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Table 4.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Model 2: Prediction of Intention to Seek Counseling for Racist Career Barriers ($N = 63$)

Variable	R^2	ΔR^2	At Entry into Model			In the Final Model		
			B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Step 1 (Environment Factors)	.197	.197*						
TRiO Helpfulness (Helpful)			0.15	0.13	.150	0.18	0.11	.175
Academic Competitiveness in Program			-0.19	0.13	-.192	-0.29	0.11	-.283**
Racism/Discrimination from Faculty/Staff			0.06	0.18	.051	0.12	0.15	.105
Racism/Discrimination from Peers			0.16	0.16	.150	0.04	0.14	.040
Experienced Microaggressions at PWI			-0.33	0.14	-.324*	-0.17	0.12	-.166
Career Difficulties due to Microaggressions			0.27	0.14	.266	0.16	0.12	.163
Step 2 (Person Factors)	.509	.312***						
Age			0.03	0.01	.338**	0.03	0.01	.338**
Gender (female)			-0.69	0.23	-.336**	-0.69	0.23	-.336**
Self-Efficacy-Interaction at School			0.09	0.03	.376***	0.09	0.03	.376***
Self-Efficacy -Performance Out of Class			-0.04	0.05	-.158	-0.04	0.05	-.158
Self-Efficacy -Performance In Class			-0.03	0.03	-.139	-0.03	0.03	-.139
Self-Efficacy -Managing Work, Family, & School			0.05	0.04	.242	0.05	0.04	.242

Note. * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$; TRiO = Federal TRiO Programs.

skills (Maietta, 2016). Black FGSs have been found to benefit from teacher/counselor structured academic support and guidance (Roderick et al., 2008), and could benefit from similar transitional supports when first entering college. Moreover, school counselors were found to be particularly useful sources of college and career information for FGSs (Owen et al., 2020); therefore, college recruiters and career counselors should establish working relationships with school counselors to facilitate transition and utilize

tools, such as career mapping to assist with career decision-making (Rafes et al., 2014). RQ2 – P & E Career Services Factors. Previous career services use by Black FGSs at PWIs was positively correlated to TRiO enrollment and negatively associated with change/loss in advisor. The benefits of participation in TRiO programs for Black FGSs are evident (e.g., Vaughan et al., 2020). Black FGSs indicated receiving social support from professors as being important and helping to buffer academic stress (Harrington, 2011).

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Meanwhile, same-race connections were found to be important for graduate advising and mentoring (Barker, 2011). Thus, active recruitment, intentional hiring, and continued development of Black faculty, staff, and counselors across academic departments, disciplines, and student support services, including TRiO programs at PWIs is needed (Chang et al., 2020; Harris, 2018; Stewart, 2019).

RQ3 – Predictors of Previous Career Services

Use. Results from the HRA indicate that previous career services use can be predicted from environment and person factors. The overall model allows for a prediction of 42% of the variance in previous career services use among Black FGSs at PWIs. Notably, environment factors contributed the most variance (24%) in previous career services use, and in the final model, change/loss in advisor remained the most significant individual predictor of previous career services use. Contrary to our expectation, change/loss in advisor was negatively associated with previous career services use. Previous research shows that Black FGSs who have positive relationships with their advisors are more engaged in peripheral college activities (Seifert et al., 2006). Moreover, Black FGSs who experienced change/loss in advisor were less likely to use support services on campus that are overwhelmingly provided by White faculty members (Stanley, 2020). We also found that Black FGSs who had career decision-making difficulties due to lack of information were more likely to have used

career services. This aligns with recent findings that Black FGSs at PWIs underutilized social supports on campus for fear of being judged by others, losing face, or making matters worse (Chang et al., 2020), and in turn, engaged in help-seeking behaviors only when needed, and often only as a last resort (Lampley, 2020).

In the final HRA model, lack of family support was no longer a significant predictor of previous career services use, even though it was statistically significant when entered in the model. This result signifies the possible mediating effect of career decision-making difficulty due to lack of information on the relationship between lack of family support and career services use. Given the overwhelming research indicating that family are often unable to assist FGSs with career decisions, PWIs should proactively support Black students' development (Cohen, 2021).

RQ4 – Racist Career Barriers. Career difficulties due to microaggressions in our study, was positively related to experiencing racial microaggressions at PWI and racism/discrimination from faculty/staff. Racial microaggressions cause race-related stress, create cultural mistrust, and impede help-seeking among Black students (Cusick Brix, 2018). Moreover, as White college students have been found to see little evidence of racism, dismiss the power of systemic racism, and placate Whites as the actual victims due to “reverse racism” (Cabrera, 2014), Black undergraduates considering graduate studies

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

should be advised to seek out programs that have Black faculty and currently enrolled Black students and be encouraged to ask candid questions about the experiences of Black people on campus and in the surrounding communities (Stanley, 2020). When working with Black FGSs, faculty and advisors should acknowledge intersectional identities and establish trust before providing constructive feedback to reduce perceptions the criticism is based on their minoritized identity (Auguste et al., 2018). White administrators, faculty, and staff must work toward *decentering Whiteness* and centering the experiences of Black people, including Black faculty, counselors, and FGSs, who continue to be silenced and are expected to accept being silenced (Spickard et al., 2017) to establish a supportive campus environment within the PWI (Warren, 2017). To begin, Black faculty and staff, “must be allowed to act in untempered ways as their livelihoods quite literally depend on changing a broader racist system” (Jones & Squire, 2018, p. 37). Meanwhile, White faculty and staff serving when on committees and attending department meetings could begin by asking themselves, “‘who does not have a seat at this table?’ and ‘what are we going to do about it?’” (West, 2020, p. 71).

RQ5 – P & E Racist Career Barriers. Black FGSs who were female and had greater self-efficacy pertaining to interaction at school, in our study, were more likely to report intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. In prior studies, Black females were

more likely to consider utilizing career counseling, personal counseling, and time management training (Sheu & Sedlacek, 2004). To increase self-efficacy with interaction at school for Black FGSs, senior Black FG undergraduate and graduate students should receive training to help mentor incoming and junior students and help connect them to antiracist campus resources (Harris, 2018).

RQ6 – Predictors of Intention to Seek Counseling for Racist Career Barriers. HRA results from the second model indicate that intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers can be predicted from environment and person factors. The overall model allows for a prediction of 51% of the variance in intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers among Black FGSs at PWIs. Notably, the second step in the HRA, person factors, contributed the most variance (31%) in intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers, and in the full model, three variables from this set (i.e., age, gender, and self-efficacy-interaction at school) were the most significant independent predictors of intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. Our data reveals that Black FGSs at PWIs who reported competitiveness within their academic programs were less likely to report intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. As reflected in previous findings, academic competitiveness is negatively associated with campus involvement among Black FGSs at PWIs (Johnson, 2013). Thus, faculty should work to

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

improve feelings of cohesion rather than competition within their programs (Callan, 2018; Ota, 2016).

We found gender was significant in predicting intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. Along with prior research on Black FGSs, females were less inclined to seek counseling services (Gadson, 2018), whereas males were more likely to utilize college supports (Harris, 2018). Finally in our study, Black FGSs who were older and reported higher interaction self-efficacy were more likely to indicate intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers at PWIs. Recent studies of Black FGSs found that being older (Auguste et al., 2018) and having greater self-efficacy (Stanley, 2020) were associated with greater likelihood of help-seeking. In the final HRA model, experiences of microaggressions were no longer significant in predicting intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers, even though it was statistically significant when entered in the model. This result signifies the possible mediating effects of age, gender, and self-efficacy regarding interaction school on the relationship between experiences of microaggressions at the PWI and intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. Thus, self-efficacy is recommended for use in school counseling and career services (Betz, 1992).

Suggestions for Policy Modifications

Previous career services use was positively correlated to TRiO enrollment. PWIs receive funds to provide services and coordinate TRiO programs for minoritized students, such as Black FGSs. Despite the purported benefits of these programs, Blacks comprise 13 percent of the civilian population, make up only 10 percent of undergraduate degree completers (Cahalan et al., 2020), and have the highest cumulative loan amounts, averaging \$34,630 in 2016 (Cahalan et al., 2019). Low-income and FGSs have a 21 percent chance of graduating with a bachelor's degree, compared with a 66 percent chance for those of higher SES and non-FGSs (Cahalan et al., 2020), yet between 1983 and 2016, Black median family wealth decreased by 51 percent (from \$7,323 to \$3,557), whereas White median family wealth increased by 33 percent (from \$110,160 to \$146,984), widening the SES gap (Cahalan et al., 2019). Meanwhile, though only 12.9 percent of all Black undergraduates attended HBCUs, HBCUs conferred almost double the amount (21.5%) of all Black undergraduate degrees (Provasnik & Shafer, 2004). HBCUs are known for providing supportive academic environments, increasing chances for student success and social mobility, and having motivated faculty, but lack financial institutional resources for research and faculty compensation (Smith et al., 2020). Thus, funding for TRiO programs should be provided based on accountability measures, including graduation rates, campus climate

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

(reported by minoritized faculty and students), and actual social and financial mobility gains made by Black graduates. PWIs should establish anti-oppressive strategic plans and incorporate antiracist policies (Stewart, 2019). Greater diversity is generally associated with more positive attitudes toward minoritized groups (Claypool & Mershon, 2016). However, the dearth of Black faculty representation across departments at PWIs pose undue burdens on the few already marginalized “token” academics (Crichlow, 2017; Lee, 2020). In fact, research showed that student–faculty interaction was not significant in improving racial tolerance for Black students (Kim, 2006). Academic institutions are not neutral spaces and minoritized (e.g., Black) faculty are forced “to conform to the status quo of the dominant group” (Pizarro, 2017, p. 108). The literature is saturated with qualitative and quantitative studies highlighting the experiences of macro- and micro-aggressions, and race-based inequities during academic preparation, disparities in institutional hiring practices, and discriminatory promotion processes (Davis et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2021). Black students and faculty “are targeted for the same bias, social and epistemic exclusion, and disregard,” and over time many develop “stress-related physical

and/or mental health conditions” from “the bigoted, hostile feedback to their research, worldviews, and values perpetrated by faculty and classmates” (Buchanan, 2020, p. 102). Black faculty are not only targeted by colleagues and supervisors, but also tormented by White students, as reflected in classroom management and student evaluations of teaching (Miller et al., 2021). The dominant group will not give up their advantage, and the minoritized groups do not have sufficient power to demand and implement actual substantive changes, thus

tokenism continues (Lee, 2020).

Finally, educational accreditation and related professional ethics organizations should be actively monitoring their respective accredited programs and credentialed faculty at PWIs, and take disciplinary actions as warranted. For example, by requiring students to pursue

and complete internships that pose undue financial, structural, and spatial barriers for minoritized students (e.g., Black FGSs), PWIs reproduce privilege and exacerbate inequality (Hora et al., 2019). Or in response to the previous Executive Order banning diversity training related to systemic racism, minoritized students responded in protest, demanding a change in culture and wanting “to hold the University of Iowa and College of



“...educational accreditation and related professional ethics organizations should be actively monitoring their respective accredited programs and credentialed faculty at PWIs, and take disciplinary actions as warranted.”

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

Dentistry accountable for the diversity values that they claim to champion” (Quintana, 2021). In turn, Senator Joni Ernst (R-IA) adamantly denied that systemic racism exists, particularly in Iowa (Meyer, 2020); however, as one Iowan explained, the “Iowa Nice” trademark goes hand-in-hand with “microaggressions and backhanded compliments [hidden] behind their sweet facades” (Trager, 2020). Circling back to the state’s flagship PWI, another student indicated how “the demotion of African American studies from a PhD-granting department to a program and the high turnover rates of faculty of color across campus are two additional marks that blemish Iowa’s record” (Howard, 2020). The evidence is clear, women and faculty of color have less job security (i.e., tenure) and are paid less than their male, White counterparts, with Black full-time faculty comprising only 6 percent of the professorate (Flaherty, 2020). Demonstrating their commitment to white supremacy, Iowa along with Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Missouri, West Virginia, and South Dakota have introduced bills that would cut funding to K-12 schools, colleges, and universities that teach “divisive concepts” (Flaherty, 2021; Folley, 2021; O’Grady, 2021; Rodriguez, 2021; Skarky, 2021). If the federal government is truly committed to reducing disparities and promoting racial justice equity, they should withhold grant funding from PWIs that continue to sustain white supremacist practices, discriminate against Black students and faculty, and further traumatize, suppress,

and oppress marginalized people and communities.

Limitations

While this preliminary study is the first to examine predictors of help-seeking behaviors among Black FGSs for racist career barriers, several limitations should be considered when interpreting the results of this study. First, this study used data collected by self-report from a convenience sample recruited from TRiO programs, therefore, students not on TRiO listservs may have been excluded. Second, some survey questions were developed for the initial study and not standardized, which may have influenced the reliability of the data. Third, this study only targeted Black FGSs at PWIs, therefore, results may not be generalizable to Black FGSs at non-PWIs or MSIs, such as HBCUs. Finally, the present study used cross-sectional data; therefore, limiting our ability to account for timing between the variables and to make causal inferences.


Recommendations for Future Research

Future research should examine the policies and procedures at PWIs pertaining to the recruitment, retention, and retainment of Black faculty that work across campus and within career service centers. Although more research is needed, faculty and administrators at PWIs have an ethical duty to take deliberate action and create healthy and diverse academic learning environments

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

(Williams, 2019). Future research should examine employment practices that have been successful in achieving fair and equal representation of minoritized faculty and staff at PWIs. Research should seek to eradicate perceived differences in academic quality between PWIs and HBCUs. Finally, longitudinal studies should test the effects of supports on improving outcomes for this oppressed population, with intersecting minoritized identities (Banning, 2014).

Conclusion

This was the first study to apply Lewin's field theory (of behavior) to better understand help-seeking for racist career barriers among Black first-generation students (FGSs) attending predominantly white institutions (PWIs). Our findings provide empirical support for using this interactive framework to predict help-seeking behavior, which includes person and environment contextual factors. The final models accounted for 42% of the variance in previous career services use and 51% of the variance in intention to seek counseling for racist career barriers. Antiracist policies must be implemented to curtail the race-based trauma inflicted on Black FGSs. Further research is needed to explain the complex interactive relationships of contextual factors influencing help-seeking for racist career barriers among Black FGSs at oppressive PWIs. 

REFERENCES

- Ackerman-Barger, K., Boatright, D., Gonzalez-Colaso, R., Orozco, R., & Latimore, D. (2020). Seeking inclusion excellence: Understanding racial microaggressions as experienced by underrepresented medical and nursing students. *Academic Medicine*, *95*(5), 758–763. <https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0000000000003077>
- Allen, S. G. (2018, May 25). Black and Hispanic students get lower return on higher ed investment. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*. <https://diverseeducation.com/article/117164/>
- Auguste, E., Wai-Ling, B., & Keep, A. (2018). Nontraditional women students' experiences of identity recognition and marginalization during advising. *NACADA Journal*, *38*(2), 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.12930/NACADA-17-046>
- Banning, J. H. (2014). First-generation college student dissertation abstracts: Research strategies, topical analysis, and lessons learned. *Journal of Education and Learning*, *3*(2), 14–32. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jel.v3n2p14>
- Barker, M. J. (2011) Racial context, currency and connections: Black doctoral student and white advisor perspectives on cross-race advising. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, *48*(4), 387–400. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14703297.2011.617092>
- Batur-VanderLippe, P. (1999). On the necessity of antiracist praxis: An experience in teaching and learning. *Teaching Sociology*, *27*(3), 274–285.
- Bernard, D. L., Jones, S. C. T., & Volpe, V. V. (2020). Impostor phenomenon and psychological well-being: The moderating roles of John Henryism and school racial composition among Black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *46*(2-3), 195–227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420924529>
- Betz, N. E. (1992). Counseling uses of career self-efficacy theory. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *41*(1), 22–26. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.1992.tb00352.x>
- Blackwell, E., & Pinder, P. J. (2014). What are the motivational factors of first-generation minority college students who overcome their family histories to pursue higher education? *College Student Journal*, *48*(1), 45–56.
- Bonner, W. W. (1997). Black male perspectives of counseling on a predominantly white university campus. *Journal of Black Studies*, *27*(3), 395–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479702700307>

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Brayboy, B. M. J. (2003). The implementation of diversity in predominantly white colleges and universities. *Journal of Black Studies, 34*(1), 72–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934703253679>
- Buchanan, N. T. (2020). Researching while Black (and female). *Women & Therapy, 43*(1-2), 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2019.1684681>
- Byars-Winston, A. (2010). The vocational significance of Black identity: Cultural formulation approach to career assessment and career counseling. *Journal of Career Development, 37*(1), 441–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845309345847>
- Cabrera, N. L. (2014). Exposing whiteness in higher education: White male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating white supremacy. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 17*(1), 30–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.725040>
- Cahalan, M. W., Perna, L. W., Addison, M., Murray, C., Patel, P. R. & Jiang, N. (2020). *Indicators of higher education equity in the United States: 2020 historical trend report*. The Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education and PennAHEAD Alliance for Higher Education and Democracy, University of Pennsylvania.
- Cahalan, M., Perna, L. W., Yamashita, M., Wright-Kim, J. & Jiang, N. (2019). *Indicators of higher education equity in the United States: 2019 historical trend report*. The Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education and PennAHEAD Alliance for Higher Education and Democracy, University of Pennsylvania.
- Callan, R. D. (2018). *Black, female, first-generation college students: Perceptions of academic persistence* (Publication No. 10808686) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Miami]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Campbell, M. (2010). TRIO programs: Increase college graduation and career success. *The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education, 20*(14), 26–28.
- Carey, K. (2020, August 11). Proposed merger blurs the line between for-profit colleges and public universities. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/11/upshot/university-of-arizona-ashford-zovio-online-college.html>
- Chang, J., Wang, S., Mancini, C., McGrath-Maher, B., & Orama de Jesus, S. (2020). The complexity of cultural mismatch in higher education: Norms affecting first-generation college students' coping and help-seeking behaviors. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 26*(3), 280–294. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000311>
- Childs, J. R. (2018). *First-generation college students of color attending PWIs in the Midwest relationship among help-seeking behaviors for racial microaggressions, academic self-efficacy, academic stress, mental well-being, and career decision-making difficulties: Using Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT)* [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Iowa]. Iowa Research Online. <https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/6394/>
- Claypool, V. H., & Mershon, C. (2016). Does diversity matter? Evidence from a survey of political science faculty. *Politics, Groups, and Identities, 4*(3), 483–498. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1170707>
- Cohen, C. (2021, February 23). Black first-generation students reflect on their experiences at UNC. *The Daily Tar Heel*. <https://www.dailytarheel.com/article/2021/02/unc-first-generation-black-students>
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Routledge Academic.
- Coles, A. S. (1998). TRIO achievers: The promise of the future. *The Journal of Negro Education, 67*(4), 432–443. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2668142>
- Corbin, N. A., Smith, W. A., & Garcia, J. R. (2018). Trapped between justified anger and being the strong Black woman: Black college women coping with racial battle fatigue at historically and predominantly white institutions. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 31*(7), 626–643. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2018.1468045>
- Cottom, T. M. (2017, February 22). The coded language of for-profit colleges. *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/02/the-coded-language-of-for-profit-colleges/516810/>
- Crawford, E. P. (2011). *Stigma, racial microaggressions, and acculturation strategies as predictors of likelihood to seek counseling among Black college students* (Publication No. 3499119) [Doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Crichlow, V. J. (2017). The solitary criminologist: Constructing a narrative of Black identity and alienation in the academy. *Race and Justice*, 7(2), 179–195. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368716687624>
- Cusick Brix, M. (2018). *Help-seeking attitudes of Black college students: The effects of racism, and race-based traumatic stress* (Publication No. 27534769) [Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Davis, P., Dickins, D., Higgs, J. L., & Reid, J. (2021). Macro- and microaggressions in the accounting academy: The Black experience. *SSRN*. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3780732>
- Dey, F., & Cruzvergara, C. Y. (2015). Evolution of career services in higher education. *New Directions for Student Services*, 148, 5–18. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20105>
- Dortch, D., & Patel, C. (2017). Black undergraduate women and their sense of belonging in STEM at predominantly white institutions. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, 10(2), 202–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2017.1331854>
- Economic Policy Institute. (2019). *State of Working America Data Library*, “Wages by education,” 2008–2018. <https://www.epi.org/data/#cpsorg>
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.-G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, 41(4), 1149–1160. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.41.4.1149>
- Flaherty, C. (2020, December 10). *New analysis of faculty pay, representation*. Inside Higher Ed. <https://www.insidehighered.com/>
- Flaherty, C. (2021, March 18). *No more ‘divisive concepts’ in Iowa?* Inside Higher Ed. <https://www.insidehighered.com/>
- Folley, A. (2021, February 22). *West Virginia GOP introduces bill seeking to prohibit ‘divisive acts’ in schools, workforce*. The Hill. <https://thehill.com/>
- Ford, D. Y., Scott, M. T., Goings, R. B., Wingfield, T. T., & Henfield, M. S. (Eds.). (2016). *R.A.C.E. mentoring through social media: Black and Hispanic scholars share their journey in the academy*. Information Age Publishing.
- Frett, J. (2018). *College-to-career experience: Black and Hispanic first-generation college graduates* (Publication No. 10829075) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Gadson, L. (2018). *An exploration of the underrepresented minority medical student experience* (Publication No. 10752224) [Doctoral dissertation, The Florida State University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Gallup & 2U. (2021). *Positive career outcomes and equitable experiences: The 2020 Gallup-2U graduate alumni outcomes study*. <https://www.gallup.com/education/347408/gallup-2u-graduate-alumni-outcomes-2020.aspx#ite-347771>
- Gati, I., & Saka, N. (2001). Internet-based versus paper-and-pencil assessment: Measuring career decision-making difficulties. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 9(4), 397–416. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106907270100900406>
- Graham, L. (2011). Learning a new world: Reflections on being a first-generation college student and the influence of TRIO programs. *New Direction for Teaching & Learning*, 2011(127), 33–38. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tl.455>
- Grimmett, M. A. S., Bliss, J. R., Davis, D. M., & Ray, L. (1998). Assessing federal TRIO McNair program participants’ expectations and satisfactions with project services: A preliminary study. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67(4), 404–415. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2668140>
- Guiffrida, D. A., & Douthit, K. Z. (2010). The Black student experience at predominantly white colleges: Implications for school and college counselors. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 88(3), 311–318. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2010.tb00027.x>
- Harper, S. R. (2006). *Black male students at public flagship universities in the U.S.: Status, trends and implications for policy and practice*. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Health Policy Institute.
- Harper, S. R. (2012). *Black male student success in higher education: A report from the National Black Male College Achievement Study*. University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education.
- Harrington, A. C. (2011). *An examination of Black male first-generation college students’ reports of the social supports that have buffering effects on their school-related stress and help them achieve academic success in college* (Publication No. 3454017) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Hartford]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Harris, S. M. (2018). Barriers to Black male college success: Identifying and conquering the saboteur. *Negro Educational Review*, 69(1-4), 77–99.
- Harwood, S. A., Choi, S., Orozco, M., Browne Huntt, M., & Mendenhall, R. (2015). *Racial microaggressions at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: Voices of students of color in the classroom*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Harwood, S. A., Mendenhall, R., Lee, S. S., Riopelle, C., & Browne Huntt, M. (2018). Everyday racism in integrated spaces: Mapping the experiences of students of color at a diversifying predominantly white institution. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 180(5), 1245–1259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1419122>
- Havlik, S., Pulliam, N., Malott, K., & Steen, S. (2020). Strengths and struggles: First-generation college-goers persisting at one predominantly white institution. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, 22(1), 118–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1521025117724551>
- Henfield, M. S. (2011). Black male adolescents navigating microaggressions in a traditionally white middle school: A qualitative study. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 39(3), 141–155. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2011.tb00147.x>
- Hess, A. J. (2019, October 24). Tuition at public colleges has increased by in all 50 states over the past 10 years—Here's how your state compares. *CNBC Make It*. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/24/college-costs-have-increased-in-all-50-states-over-the-past-10-years.html>
- Hines, E. M., Cooper, J. N., & Corral, M. (2019) Overcoming the odds: First-generation Black and Latino male collegians' perspectives on pre-college barriers and facilitators. *Journal for Multicultural Education*, 13(1), 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JME-11-2017-0064>
- Hooks, b. (1995). *Killing rage: Ending racism*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Hora, M. T., Wolfgram, M., & Chen, Z. (2019). *Closing the doors of opportunity: How financial, sociocultural and institutional barriers intersect to inhibit participation in college internships* (ED603922). ERIC. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED603922.pdf>
- Howard, A. (2020, November 9). *Iowa, we must not rest on our laurels*. Iowa Magazine. <https://magazine.foriowa.org/story.php?ed=true&storyid=1979>
- Hoyt, W. T., Leierer, S., & Millington, M. J. (2006). Analysis and interpretation of findings using multiple regression techniques. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin*, 49(4), 223–233. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00343552060490040401>
- Hughes, R. L. (2014, May 29). *10 signs of institutionalized racism*. Diverse Issues in Higher Education. <https://diverseeducation.com/article/64583/>
- Johnson, J. M. (2013). *A different world: African American, first generation college women at a selective university* (Publication No. 3599611) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Jones, V. (2017). Marginality and mattering: Black student leaders' perceptions of public and private racial regard. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 41(3/4), 67–80.
- Jones, V. (2019). Discourse within university presidents' responses to racism: Revealing patterns of power and privilege. *Teachers College Record*, 121(4), Article 22609.
- Jones, V. (2020). Challenging race neutral rhetoric: Black student leaders' counternarratives of racial salience in PWI student organizations. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 13(1), 23–32. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000105>
- Jones, V. A., & Squire, D. (2018). Disengaging whiteness and examining power in campus activism: Reuniting communities of color through a critical race analysis of tempered radicalism. *Journal Committed to Social Change on Race and Ethnicity*, 4(1), 36–65.
- Kane, T. J., Boatman, A., Kozakowski, W., Bennett, C., Hitch, R., & Weisenfeld, D. (2021). Is college remediation a barrier or a boost? Evidence from the Tennessee SAILS program. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22306>
- Keels, M. (2013). Getting them enrolled is only half the battle: College success as a function of race or ethnicity, gender, and class. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 83(2-3), 310–322. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajop.12033>

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Kezar, A., Hypolite, L., & Kitchen, J. A. (2020). Career self-efficacy: A mixed-methods study of an underexplored research area for first-generation, low-income, and underrepresented college students in a comprehensive college transition program. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 64(3), 298–324. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219869409>
- Kim, Y. K. (2006). *Student–faculty interaction in college: Examining its causalities, predictors, and racial differences* (Publication No. 3251520) [Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Lampley, C. C. (2020). *The impact of support programs on retention and matriculation experience for Black first-generation students at PWIs* (Publication No. 28031704) [Doctoral dissertation, Trevecca Nazarene University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Lee, A. R. (2020). All you have gotten is tokenism. In L. T. Benuto, M. P. Duckworth, A. Masuda, & W. O’Donohue (Eds.), *Prejudice, stigma, privilege, and oppression: A behavioral health handbook* (pp. 387–399). Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
- Lee, J. A. (2018). Affirmation, support, and advocacy: Critical race theory and academic advising. *NACADA Journal*, 38(1), 77–87. <https://doi.org/10.12930/NACADA-17-028>
- Lewin, K. (1935). Psycho-sociological problems of a minority group. *Journal of Personality*, 3(3), 175–187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1935.tb01996.x>
- Lewin, K. (1936). *Principles of topological psychology*. McGraw Hill.
- Lewis, J. A., Mendenhall, R., Ojiemwen, A., Thomas, M., Riopelle, C., Harwood, S. A., & Hunt, M. B. (2019). Racial microaggressions and sense of belonging at a historically white university. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219859613>
- Liu, W. M. (2017). White male power and privilege: The relationship between white supremacy and social class. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 64(4), 349–358. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000227>
- Liu, W. M., Liu, R. Z., Garrison, Y. L., Kim, J. Y. C., Chan, L., Ho, Y. C. S., & Yeung, C. W. (2019). Racial trauma, microaggressions, and becoming racially innocuous: The role of acculturation and white supremacist ideology. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 143–155. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000368>
- Maietta, H. (2016). Unfamiliar territory: Meeting the career development needs of first-generation college students. *NACE Journal*, 77(2), 19–25.
- McClain, K. S., & Perry, A. (2017). Where did they go: Retention rates for students of color at predominantly white institutions. *College Student Affairs Leadership*, 4(1), Article 3. <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/csai/vol4/iss1/3>
- McCoy, D. L. (2014). A phenomenological approach to understanding first-generation college students’ of color transitions to one "extreme" predominantly white institution. *College Student Affairs Journal*, 32(1), 155–169.
- McGee, E. O. (2016). Devalued Black and Latino racial identities: A by-product of STEM college culture? *American Educational Research Journal*, 53(6), 1626–1662. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831216676572>
- McGee, E. O., Griffith, D. M., & Houston, S. L., II. (2019). “I know I have to work twice as hard and hope that makes me good enough”: Exploring the stress and strain of Black doctoral students in engineering and computing. *Teachers College Record*, 121(4), Article 22610. <https://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=22610>
- Mehler, B. (1999, March 15). Academia at forefront of racist ideals, white supremacy. *Intelligence Report*. <https://www.splcenter.org/>
- Meyer, E. (2020, October 15). *Joni Ernst: Systemic racism does not exist in Iowa*. Iowa Starting Line. <https://iowastartingline.com/>
- Miller, T. L., Wesley, C. L., II, Bell, M. P., & Avery, D. R. (2021). Hold the torch: Shining a light on the lives of Black management faculty. *Journal of Management*, 47(2), 351–367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206320968621>
- Mills, K. J. (2015). *We gon’ be alright: Racial microaggressions and resilience in African American college students attending a primarily white institution* [Unpublished master’s thesis]. Michigan State University.

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Mills, K. J. (2020). "It's systemic": Environmental racial microaggressions experienced by Black undergraduates at a predominantly white institution. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 13(1), 44–55. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000121>
- Nadal, K. L., Wong, Y., Griffin, K. E., Davidoff, K., & Sriken, J. (2014). The adverse impact of racial microaggressions on college students' self-esteem. *Journal of College Student Development*, 55(5), 461–474. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2014.0051>
- Neighbors, H. W. (1988). The help-seeking behavior of Black Americans: A summary of findings from the National Survey of Black Americans. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 80(9), 1009–1012.
- Nickerson, K. J., Helms, J. E., & Terrell, F. (1994). Cultural mistrust, opinions about mental illness, and Black students' attitudes toward seeking psychological help from white counselors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 41(3), 378–385. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.41.3.378>
- O'Grady, E. (2021, February 18). *N.H. lawmakers debate banning schools from teaching about systemic racism and sexism*. Concord Monitor. <https://www.concordmonitor.com/>
- Olson, J. S. (2014). Opportunities, obstacles, and options: First-generation college graduates and social cognitive career theory. *Journal of Career Development*, 41(3), 199–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845313486352>
- Ota, A. (2016). *A research study on educational experiences of Black male student athletes in a higher education institution* (Publication No. 10250657) [Doctoral dissertation, Wilmington University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Owen, L., Poynton, T. A., & Moore, R. (2020). Student preferences for college and career information. *Journal of College Access*, 5(1), 68–100. <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jca/vol5/iss1/7>
- Parks-Yancy, R. (2012). Interactions into opportunities: Career management for low-income, first-generation African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 53(4), 510–523. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2012.0052>
- Patton, L. D., & Harper, S. R. (2003). Mentoring relationships among African American women in graduate and professional schools. *New Directions for Student Services*, 2003(104), 67–78. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.108>
- Pitre, C. C., & Pitre, P. (2009). Increasing underrepresented high school students' college transitions and achievements: TRIO educational opportunity programs. *NASSP Bulletin*, 93(2), 96–110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192636509340691>
- Pizarro, J. M. (2017). Race/ethnicity and justice in academia. *Race and Justice*, 7(2), 107–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368717696162>
- Postsecondary National Policy Institute. (2021). *Factsheets: First-generation students*. <https://pnpi.org/first-generation-students/>
- Provasnik, S., & Shafer, L. L. (2004). *Historically Black colleges and universities, 1976 to 2001* (Publication No. NCES 2004–062). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS54090>
- Quintana, C. (2021, February 6). *Trump's controversial diversity training order is dead – or is it? Colleges are still feeling its effects*. USA Today. <https://www.usatoday.com/>
- Rafes, R. S., Malta, S. L., & Siniscarco, M. (2014). Career mapping: An innovation in college recruitment and retention. *College & University*, 90(1), 47–50, 52.
- Redd, L. A. (2018). *Institutional barriers affecting the academic and social development of underrepresented college students: Perspectives of administrators* (Publication No. 13872035) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Reid, K. W. (2013). Understanding the relationships among racial identity, self-efficacy, institutional integration and academic achievement of Black males attending research universities. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 82(1), 75–93. <https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.82.1.0075>
- Roderick, M., Nagaoka, J., Coca, V., & Moeller, E. (2008). *From high school to the future: Potholes on the road to college* [Research report]. The University of Chicago, Consortium on Chicago School Research.
- Rodriguez, B. (2021, February 10). *Republican state lawmakers want to punish schools that teach the 1619 Project*. USA Today. <https://www.usatoday.com/>

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Schwartz, R. A., Bower, B. L., Rice, D. C., & Washington, C. M. (2003). "Ain't I a woman, too?": Tracing the experiences of African American women in graduate school. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72(3), 252–268. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3211247>
- Seifert, T. A., Drummond, J., & Pascarella, E. T. (2006). African-American students' experiences of good practices: A comparison of institutional type. *Journal of College Student Development*, 47(2), 185–204. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2006.0023>
- Sheu, H.-B., & Sedlacek, W. F. (2004). An exploratory study of help-seeking attitudes and coping strategies among college students by race and gender. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 37(3), 130–143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2004.11909755>
- Skarky, B. (2021, February 23). *An Oklahoma bill seeks to ban teaching 'divisive concepts', but not everyone agrees on what that means; some think the bill is more harmful*. Oklahoma's News 4. <https://kfor.com/news/>
- Smith, K., Davis, M., Malone, C. F., & Owens-Jackson, L. A. (2020). Faculty that look like me: An examination of HBCU accounting faculty motivation and job satisfaction. *SSRN*. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3744399> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3744399>
- Smith, R. L., Maroney, K., Nelson, K. W., Abel, A. L., & Abel, H. S. (2006). Doctoral programs: Changing high rates of attrition. *Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education and Development*, 45(1), 17–31. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1939.2006.tb00002.x>
- Smith, W. A. (2004). Black faculty coping with racial battle fatigue: The campus racial climate in a post-civil rights era. In D. Cleveland (Ed.), *A long way to go: Conversations about race by African American faculty and graduate students at predominately white institutions* (pp. 171–190). Peter Lang Publishers.
- Smith, W. A., Allen, W. R., & Danley, L. L. (2007). "Assume the position ... you fit the description": Psychosocial expectations and racial battle fatigue among African American male college students. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(4), 551–578. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207307742>
- Smith, W. A., Hung, M., & Franklin, J. D. (2011). Racial battle fatigue and the miseducation of Black men: Racial microaggressions, societal problems, and environmental stress. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80(1), 63–82. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41341106>
- Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2007). Racial primes and Black misandry on historically white campuses: Toward critical race accountability in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 43(5), 559–585. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X07307793>
- Spickard, P., Guevarra, R. P., Jr., & Rondilla, J. L. (2017). Introduction: About mixed race, not about whiteness. In J. L. Rondilla, R. P. Guevarra Jr., & P. Spickard (Eds.), *Red and Yellow, Black and Brown: Decentering whiteness in mixed race studies* (pp. 1–18). Rutgers University Press.
- Stanley, D. C., Jr. (2020). *Understanding sociocultural factors that foster resilience for Black male doctoral students in psychology* (Publication No. 27995813) [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Georgia]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Stewart, A. E. (2019). *The lived experiences of Black doctoral students: Institutional racism and race-based traumatic stress* (Publication No. 27534769) [Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.
- Stipanovic, N., Stringfield, S., & Witherell, E. (2017). The influence of a career pathways model and career counseling on students' career and academic self-efficacy. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 92(2), 209–221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2017.1302217>
- Strayhorn, T. L. (2017). A return of investment analysis for Black graduates of historically Black colleges and universities: Insights from three studies. In M. Gasman, A. C. Samavao, & M. Nettles (Eds.), *Investing in student success: Examining the return on investment for minority-serving institutions* (Research Report No. RR-17-57, pp. 27–45). Educational Testing Service. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ets2.12187>
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271–286. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271>

Moving from Racist to Antiracist Practices

- Sue, D. W., Nadal, K. L., Capodilupo, C. M., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., & Rivera, D. P. (2008). Racial microaggressions against Black Americans: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 86*(3), 330–338. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2008.tb00517.x>
- Tate, K. A., Caperton, W., Kaiser, D., Pruitt, N. T., White, H., & Hall, E. (2015). An exploration of first-generation college students' career development beliefs and experiences. *Journal of Career Development, 42*(4), 294–310. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845314565025>
- Taylor, R. E., & Kuo, B. C. H. (2019). Black American psychological help-seeking intention: An integrated literature review with recommendations for clinical practice. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration, 29*(4), 325–337. <https://doi.org/10.1037/int0000131>
- The Education Trust. (2020). *Segregation forever? The continued underrepresentation of Black and Latino undergraduates at the nation's 101 most selective public colleges and universities*. <https://edtrust.org/>
- Thoits, P. A. (2010). Stress and health: Major findings and policy implications. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 51* (1.1, Suppl.), S41–S53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146510383499>
- Trager, Z. (2020, June 2020). *Covering racism with "Iowa niceness"*. Necessary Behavior. <https://www.necessarybehavior.com/blogs/news/covering-racism-with-iowa-niceness>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2008). *A profile of the Federal TRIO Programs and Child Care Access Means Parents in School Program*. Office of Postsecondary Education Federal TRIO Programs. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/trio/triopprofile2008.pdf>
- Utt, J., & Tochluk, S. (2020). White teacher, know thyself: Improving anti-racist praxis through racial identity development. *Urban Education, 55*(1), 125–152. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042089516648741>
- Vaughan, A. L., Dorn, B., Rose, J. S., Ward, C., & Hauck, A. A. (2020). Intersection between TRIO/SSS programs and FYS: Effects on first-generation students. *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice, 20*(15), 126–138.
- Vickers, T. (2014). *The (in)visible road map: The role of mentoring for first-generation Black female doctoral students at predominantly white institutions* [Doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College]. Digital Commons.
- Warren, R. L., Jr. (2017). *Pathways to success at four-year institutions as perceived by Black first-generation college students* (Publication No. 324) [Doctoral dissertation, St. John Fisher College]. Fisher Digital Publications.
- West, L. M. (2020). Prejudice, stigma, privilege, and oppression regarding African Americans. In L. T. Benuto, M. P. Duckworth, A. Masuda, & W. O'Donohue (Eds.), *Prejudice, stigma, privilege, and oppression: A behavioral health handbook* (pp. 59–75). Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
- Wilkins, A. C. (2014). Race, age, and identity transformations in the transition from high school to college for Black and first-generation white men. *Sociology of Education, 87*(3), 171–187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040714537901>
- Williams, M. D. (2014). *HBCU vs. PWI: Institutional integration at PWIs and Black doctoral student depression, anxiety, and stress* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota]. University Digital Conservancy. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/76349938.pdf>
- Williams, M. T. (2019). Adverse racial climates in academia: Conceptualization, interventions, and call to action. *New Ideas in Psychology, 55*, 58–67. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2019.05.002>
- Winograd, G., & Rust, J. P. (2014). Stigma, awareness of support services, and academic help-seeking among historically underrepresented first-year college students. *Thw Learning Assistance Review (TLAR), 19*(2), 19–43. https://nclca.wildapricot.org/tlar_issues
- Worthington, R. L., Navarro, R. L., Loewy, M., & Hart, J. (2008). Color-blind racial attitudes, social dominance orientation, racial-ethnic group membership and college students' perceptions of campus climate. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 1*(1), 8–19. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1938-8926.1.1.8>
- Zajacova, A., Lynch, S. M., & Espenshade, T. J. (2005). Self-efficacy, stress, and academic success in college. *Research in Higher Education, 46*(6), 677–706. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-004-4139-z>

Black Women's Perceptions of K-12 Experiences that Influenced their Preparation for College



Authored by
Janice A. Byrd (*Pennsylvania State University*)

ABSTRACT

This critical phenomenological inquiry explored the college preparation experiences of ten high-ability, Black, women who grew up in poverty to identify influences from various family, school, and community environments contributing to their college readiness. I used a conceptual framework informed by both Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality and Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory to frame this study and critically examine their responses. This specific paper reports 5 of the 9 themes that yielded from the inquiry: (1) prophetic excellence: family and friends support and expectations; (2) it takes a village: community culture and resources; (3) from chaperone to mentor: exploring the depth of K-12 academic relationships and experiences; (4) preparing for a home away from home: college exploration and preparation; (5) demystifying the process: I don't know what I do or don't need to know. Implications for anti-racist perspectives to inform the practices of counselor educators, school counselors, and school communities are discussed.

Keywords: Black women/girls, high-ability, college and career readiness, anti-racist college counseling

Preparing high school students to successfully enter post-secondary educational spaces (i.e., colleges, universities, vocational training) or the world of work increasingly gains the attention of K-12 educators, national laws, and state-level policies (Bryant, 2015; Castro, 2020; Mayes, 2020). College readiness is narrowly defined as a high school students' acquisition of basic knowledge and skills that

adequately prepare them to succeed in credit-granting, non-remedial, courses within a postsecondary institution (ACT, 2018; Conley, 2014). Typically, quantitative markers such as a student's grade point average (GPA) and performance on college entrance exams (i.e., ACT and SAT) guide the perception of preparedness for college and is still the dominant metric used to formally assess a student (McFarland et al., 2019). Conley (2014) suggested four constructs guide our understanding of a student's preparedness for college and careers: (1) cognitive strategies; (2) content knowledge; (3) learning skills and techniques; and (4) transition knowledge and skills. As illustrated by these concepts, college readiness as defined assumes all students exist in academic spaces with the same cultural experiences, equal access to opportunities, void of oppression, and inherently places the burden of success on the individual student without holding the inadequate preparation environments accountable (Castro, 2020; Howard-Hamilton, 2003).

The varying constructs used to define college readiness perpetually fail to uniquely triage the tools used to prepare Black girls for colleges and careers. Notably, these constructs



Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

do not acknowledge the social/political realms Black girls and women traverse (i.e., racism and sexism) (Porter & Byrd, 2021). Additionally, these ideas support the illegitimate notion of meritocracy, the idea that one's aptitude and persistent efforts solely determine their success (McCall, 2013; Mijs, 2016; Porter & Byrd, 2021; Porter et al., 2018). Constructs that uphold the one-dimensional definition of success and ignore the role of systemic oppression are incomplete (best) and systemically violent (worst). These paradigms of success do not provide room for student-driven conceptualizations and center White-ideals about achievement (Castro, 2020; Porter & Byrd, 2021). Additionally, they do not align with an anti-racist epistemology. Being anti-racist is to consciously, systematically, and continuously confront racism and any inequalities, discrimination, and prejudices based on race (Kalin, 2002; Ohito, 2016). Therefore, maintaining a narrow, culturally-deficit lens of college readiness upholds a faulty construct that continues to render the process of understanding the college preparation needs of Black girls and women insufficient and maintains systemic racism.

The career development efforts facilitated by school counselors, school-based career counselors, and other K-12 educators are naïvely grounded on the assumption that Black women are academically successful because of college enrollment and graduation statistics when comparing them to their racial counterparts. The National Center for

Education Statistics (2019) reported that during the 2017-18 academic year, approximately 11% of the Bachelor's degrees conferred to women were granted to Black women. These statistics, however, do not consider the stories of Black girls stereotyped to certain career paths/college choices because of biased school counselors and K-12 staff. Additionally, these statistics do not account for the emotional and mental anguish experienced across their lifetime when being made to feel inadequate in high school or ignored in college (Byrd & Porter, 2021; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Patton & Croom, 2017; Porter & Byrd, 2021; Zamani, 2003). Scholars have and continue to highlight the influence of non-academic conditions such as motivation (Gaertner & McClarty, 2015), high school culture (Roderick et al., 2011), and social-emotional health (Bryan et al., 2015) on a student's college preparedness and retention. These non-academic characteristics are more prevalent for Black girls and women and warrant more attention in the research and by K-12 staff when preparing them for college and the world (Porter & Byrd, 2021; Porter et al., 2018; Russell & Russell, 2015). Higher education scholarship exploring the experiences of Black women on college campuses has documented that misguided and incomplete college preparation in K-12 settings greatly influences all facets of development (e.g., academic, personal/social, and career). Notably, college and career development activities that do not acknowledge the social/political realities Black girls will face in their acquisition of

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

college/career success will negatively influence their development across their lifetime.

Overview of Experiences of Black Undergraduate Women

Across several decades, scholars have explored the experiences of Black undergraduate women to provide language and context to shed light on the impact these overlooked nuances have on their social, emotional, and academic development (Banks, 2009; Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Commodore et al., 2018; Patton et al., 2016; Winkle-Wagner, 2008). While there are scholars devoted to this work, there is still limited understanding of the unique influences of gendered, racialized, and anti-Black realities on how they grow, see themselves, and how others see them (Dumas, 2016; Patton & Croom, 2017; Patton & Haynes, 2018). Notably, these experiences impact all facets of their development and are frequently overlooked because tropes/characterizations (i.e., strong Black woman, angry Black woman, Black girl magic) have historically shrouded our ability to understand the damage caused. Black women are assumed to be “okay” because strength and success from a western lens is an accomplishment and because these characterizations render them as individuals undeserving of help; invisible (Corbin, 2018; Thomas, 2015; West et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2020). However, scholarly explorations of these nuances have uncovered the need to

acknowledge Black undergraduate women's identity intersections (Patton & McClure, 2009; McGuire et al., 2016; Porter et al., 2020); mental health needs (Byrd & Porter, 2021; Jones et al., 2016; Hotchkins, 2017; Roland & Agosto, 2017); and their academic/career development experiences (McPherson, 2017; Porter et al., 2018; Storlie et al., 2018). Additionally, few studies (Brown et al., 2017; Corbin et al., 2018; Szymanski et al., 2016) have explored the experiences of Black undergraduate women navigating racial battle fatigue (Corbin et al., 2018) and gendered racism on college campuses which uncovers how their experiences are different from Black men and White women (Patton & Njoku, 2019). Despite being categorized as social, emotional, or academic, these experiences (coupled with how they experience marginalization at the intersections of their identities) are intertwined with a Black girl or woman's preparation for college and careers. The present study expands the limited scholarship focused on the career development of Black girls and women and notably highlights the non-academic characteristics that prominently influence their sense of career readiness. The overarching research question was: How do Black women at PWIs who are high-ability and low-income perceive their experiences as contributors to their college readiness?

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Theoretical Framework: Intersectionality and Ecological Systems Theory

The theoretical framework undergirding this study incorporated Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1989, 1991) intersectionality and Urie Brofenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979). I purposely chose both to inform the lens for all aspects of the study for specific reasons. Intersectionality allowed me to understand the unique ways Black girls and women experience oppression, and the ecological systems theory illuminated all the environments and interactions they traverse. Together, these theories created a comprehensive theoretical framework that guided me to critically examine the college preparation experiences of high-ability, Black women who grew up in poverty.

Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, 1991) coined the term intersectionality to illuminate the intersections of racialized and gendered prejudice, discrimination, and violence faced by Black women and women of Color. Crenshaw's (1991) "intersectionality" provides language to describe the peculiar structural oppression Black women and women of Color described across many decades of fighting for gender and racial justice (Anzaldúa, 1987; Combahee River Collective, 1982; hooks, 1981; Truth, 1851). Grounded in critical race and Black feminist epistemologies, intersectionality is a theoretical framework, or lens, that unearths the complexities of the oppression

experienced by marginalized people within U.S. systems and structures. Harris and Patton (2019) stated, "Rather than an additive approach that frames multiple identities as isolated and resulting in summative inequalities, an intersectional approach allows for a focus on how interdependent sociohistorical systems influence interdependent identity-specific experiences" (p. 348).

Crenshaw (1991) described three levels of intersectionality - structural, political, and representational. Structural intersectionality explains the inner workings of how systemic oppression is embedded throughout power structures that create inequitable treatment and experiences for historically marginalized persons. Political intersectionality scrutinizes procedures, practices, and policies fail to fully acknowledge parts of the discrimination faced at one axis (i.e., single-axis examination of gender as oppose to the intersection of gender, race, and class) versus another which ignores the totality of the experiences of the person marginalized. Representational intersectionality considers how manifestations of historical and current tropes negatively position Black women in various ecological spaces. When one contests these images, Black women are rendered either more invisible or hypervisible.

Notably, within the context of college readiness, or broadly college success, an intersectional lens helps to clarify the nuances present in the success stories of Black girls

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

and women in educational spaces. These stories refrain from acknowledging that Black women do not navigate these spaces unscathed and are frequently viewed as outsiders in systems that are foundationally laced with white supremacy and sexism (Commodore et al., 2018; Patton & Hayes, 2018). An intersectional lens provides the social/political context to identify and dissect how oppression is perpetuated across all facets of life for Black girls and women (Patton & Hayes, 2018; Porter et al., 2018) and hypervisible (Epstein et al., 2017; Morris, 2016).

Ecological Model

Urie Brofenbrenner's ecological systems theory, also known as the social ecological model, is a theoretical framework initially introduced as an ecological theory in the 1970s. Due to limited scopes used by developmental psychologists at that time, the ecological systems theory was created to expand the ways psychologists examined the social conditions that informed the development of children (Brofenbrenner, 1979). This theory, used in social sciences, explores the relationships between individuals and their social environments and delineates a series of nested systems (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem) (Brofenbrenner, 1979).

Researchers exploring students of Color's educational and health experiences have used

Brofenbrenner's ecological systems theory to explore the varying influences on their academic and personal/social development (Derlan & Umaña-Taylor, 2015; Graves & Sheldon, 2018). Broadly, an ecological lens afforded me the language and framing to acknowledge the experiences outside of the educational building (i.e., familial, mentorship, community) that influences a student's identity, academic, and career development. Additionally, it affords researchers and K-12 staff a lens that acknowledge the cultural uniqueness of students and how these differences, if recognized, can inform a strengths-based academic or career development approach (Albritton et al., 2020; Emdin, 2016; Ford, 1994; Williams et al., 2020).

Methods

A phenomenological inquiry approach with a critical lens was chosen to answer the research question: How do Black women at PWIs who are high-ability and low-income perceive their experiences as contributors to their college readiness? Phenomenology seeks to uncover the nuances of universally lived experiences (Bhattacharya, 2017; Crotty & Crotty, 1998). Davis (2020) stated:

The phenomenological method is an attempt to offer prescriptive descriptions of the world in which we live. It involves the transformation of the way we understand our world such that we can be astonished before it – the attempt to see our world as if for the first time, through unjaded eyes (p. 16).

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

A phenomenological approach enabled an in-depth exploration of the college preparation experiences of Black women within the current study context. Limited research has explored the contextual influences of the relationship between one's race, gender, and educational achievement with college readiness (Mayes & Hines, 2014), so phenomenology provides the autonomy needed to understand the phenomenon broadly. Additionally, qualitative research greatly encourages an atmosphere where the experiences of Black women can be 'made real' (Crenshaw, 2016), and it supports the alignment of all facets of the research process with the cultural needs of the participants (Bhattacharya, 2017; Evans-Winters, 2019). Next, I describe my positionality, data collection, and data analysis.

Positionality of the Researcher

I am a cis-gender Black woman and a counselor educator. I am middle-class but grew up in rural poverty and my positionality is grounded in a critical political standpoint (Prilleletensky, 1994). My subjectivity is situated within intersectional, critical, and Black feminist epistemology. This lens informs my teaching, service, research, and how I make meaning of power and oppression (Evans-Winters, 2019). Being a Black woman who shares personal experiences with those I mentor, teach, and research influences the framework from which I make meaning of the voices of Black girls and women. My goal is to center and expound on how Black girls and women

navigate anti-Black, sexist, and oppressive educational spaces (Love, 2019; Venus-Winters, 2019) and explore how K-12 educators can better meet their career development unique needs.

Participants and Data Collection

Ten Black undergraduate women in their second semester at a predominantly White institution (PWI) in the Midwest comprised my sample and their demographics are reported in Table 1 (see page 77). The inclusion participant criteria included: (a) cis-gender woman, (b) Black/ African American or of mixed racial heritage to include Black/ African American, (c) high-ability, (d) currently enrolled, full- or part-time in the undergraduate program at a predominantly White college or university, (e) grew up in a low-income household, (f) 18-19 years of age, and (g) attended high school in the United States and graduated within the past 12 months. A research-informed criteria were created and vetted by gifted education scholars to determine the inclusion criteria "high-ability." To meet these criteria, participants confirmed at least two of the following statements were true: (1) participated in gifted and talented, (2) graduated with a 3.5 GPA or higher, (3) graduated in the top 10% of their class, (4) scored at or above a 28 on the ACT or 1880 on the SAT. Either receiving free or reduced lunch identified a low-income household at any point in high school.

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Data collection began following Institutional Review Board approval. Black women across the campus were made aware of the study by email listservs, flyers, and targeted visits to student-led organization meetings. I collected various forms of data by way of a demographic questionnaire, one-hour long semi-structured individual interview, and an invitation to a one-hour long focus group. Each interview protocol was reviewed by a researcher who previously engaged in similar work and piloted with a similar-aged participant before use. Once participants emailed me to demonstrate interest in the study, I sent the informed consent document and a demographic questionnaire. After which, a date and time was established for the individual interview where we reviewed the informed consent and the participant chose a pseudonym to maintain confidentiality. Individual interviews were chosen because they allowed me to engage the participant with pre-specified, open ended questions, but provided the flexibility and scope to probe beyond the surface of the initial response (Patton, 2002). This approach aligned with the purpose of the inquiry and the critical nature of the theoretical framework informed by intersectionality and ecological systems theory which influenced the pre-specified and follow-up questions (Bhattacharya, 2017). Similarly, focus groups were chosen to provide a space where the realities of Black women could be centered through engaged dialogue while building community with one another (Porter & Byrd, 2021). Each individual interview lasted at least one hour,

was audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim. Once all of the individual interviews were completed, the ten Black women were invited to participate in two focus groups. Of the ten, six volunteered to engage in dialogue in two separate focus groups about their college preparation. Similar to the individual interview, each focus group lasted at least one hour, was audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim.

Trustworthiness was supported throughout the research process but namely through researcher notes, member checking, and utilizing a peer reviewer (Stahl & King, 2020). I wrote notes throughout the research process and especially after facilitating individual or focus group interviews. Oftentimes, participants would remain after the interview to convey how the interview made them feel which was seemingly cathartic. For some who remained after meeting, I felt they saw me, a Black woman, as someone for whom they could connect with in the isolated spaces they experienced at the PWI (Johnson-Bailey, 1999). My notes conveyed what I observed and how it made me feel to fully face how it influences the data analysis process. Each participant was invited to review all interview transcripts and provided an opportunity to evaluate the final themes. Across all solicitations for member checking, one participant provided suggestions for the final themes and the others responded with agreement as to how their experiences were represented. Finally, I met with two peer reviewers twice throughout the data analysis

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

process to discuss how I was making-meaning of the data. They offered suggestions and most importantly challenged my analysis to ensure I was not interpreting the experiences of the Black women as my own.

Data Analysis

I utilized a modified data analysis method (Moustakas, 1994) to examine the data within the qualitative analysis software, Atlas Ti. Esposito and Evans-Winters (2021) state phenomenological analysis, "Emerges from a philosophical tradition; examines how a participant experiences and later describes a particular phenomenon" (p. 146). Each interview transcript was read individually multiple times and I focused on common words and phrases to be coded. From the verbatim transcripts, each statement was considered within the context of the experience (i.e., college preparation) and the theoretical lens (i.e., intersectionality and ecological systems theory). I highlighted and assigned an initial code, or preliminary codes, for all relevant statements using Atlas Ti. These initial codes were discussed with the peer debriefers before the next step to increase trustworthiness. Eventually, I generated a list of initial codes and then analyzed them to create a list of non-overlapping and non-repetitive statements to generate themes that described their experiences with the phenomenon, preparing for college. Each theme was described and assigned a meaning incorporating participant language. I shared the final themes with the peer debriefers and participants. Feedback was incorporated to

yield a total of 9 themes. The dissemination of these findings are separated into two manuscripts based on audience – K-12 educators and higher education faculty/staff. Separating the themes into these two broad groups allows me to tailor the results to the audience who may best be able to integrate what was learned. The current paper provides insight for K-12 educators and highlights 5 of the 9 themes in the Findings section from the study.

Findings

The findings from this critical phenomenology answered the question: How do Black women at PWIs who are high-ability and low-income perceive their experiences as contributors to their college readiness? The 5 of the 9 total themes represented in this paper are: (1) prophetic excellence: family and friends support and expectations; (2) it takes a village: community culture and resources; (3) from chaperone to mentor: exploring the depth of K-12 academic relationships and experiences; (4) preparing for a home away from home: college exploration and preparation; (5) demystifying the process: I don't know what I do or don't need to know.

Prophetic Excellence: Family and Friends Support and Expectations

Participants described, throughout the individual and focus group interviews, familial, peer, cultural – related relationships that helped them prepare for college. These relationships were described as external

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

motivation and as sources of support while traversing internal and external conflicts and they described college-going as a destiny or prophecy regardless of circumstances. When discussing familial influences, participants emotionally recalled the crucial role families played in motivating them to succeed and regardless of familial education attainment, attending college was an expectation. Green captured this overall feeling when she stated, "I feel it was something that you just did after high school ...is just, if you got into a college, you went, you know, no matter if it was community college or a university." Ashely remembers her grandmother when she stated, "but my grandmother has always just basically expected me to go to college because she also didn't—um, I don't think she finished high school." Magenta was born on a Caribbean island and moved here at a very young age. She reflected often upon strict expectations from the family to perform well in school. She noted many of them did not attend college and some did not complete high school yet they seem to always have high hopes and remain positive. She stated:

I came to the country, a really young age, so, my parents – they were obviously strict and everything, and they were really sheltered... they would always protect me from certain things. And they would always say school was super-important.

Some participants described observing parents sacrificing resources (i.e., time and money) to create more opportunities for them.

Aubrey stated, "She (her mother) ...would form relationships with our school counselors and really get us into...or have us talk to our older cousins or her-her coworker's sons and daughters that are already in college." Others reflect upon parents investing in their child's interests. Nova stated, "I always had a fascination with how the human body worked, and I loved kids. Um, so my father, he took me to a science museum down in the city of Chicago, and he, you know, looked for specific exhibits for me to study."

When discussing peers, participants expressed the people around them also motivated them to work harder and they did the same for others. Nova shared, "I hung out with a majority of people who took honors and advanced placement courses, so there was always kind of that mindset of having to constantly study and make sure that our grades were sufficient." This sentiment was echoed by Mary and Magenta. Notably, Nala added:

And we'd just all go to the computer lab and help each other write our essays, bounce ideas back and forth between each other...So I had a little mini support group, and we just made sure that we were kind of on it with each other.

Some participants such as Nala and Aubrey critiqued their peers' level of maturity and motivation. Aubrey:

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

The neighborhood kids on the other hand, were nothing...we were definitely on, we're ten levels ahead of them. And you could just tell...but it's not their fault. They were just products of their environment.

This theme highlights the positive influence of familial and peer support on one's sense of readiness especially with regards to motivation. The next theme extends these thoughts but considers community culture and relationships.

It Takes a Village: Community Culture and Resources

This theme illuminates the relationships and experiences participants had, or wish they had, within their communities to prepare them for college. Many expressed they wished their communities were more involved in their preparation process by providing more resources (i.e., time, people, money). Broadly they discussed the community expectations, involvement of faith-based organizations and financial resources and opportunities. Across participants there were varying experiences in their communities around expectations to attend college. Ashley stated, "as far as my neighborhood, I would say that there isn't a great – it may vary from family to family, but overall, there probably is not a great emphasis on going to college." Green, on the other hand, conveyed it was "frowned upon" if you did not go to college, and stated, "I feel like the whole community influenced my situation or to go to college because, pretty much...if

you don't go to college, you're, you know, gonna be – like you just have your diploma."

Others specifically acknowledged community programs that helped them prepare for college. Notably, Aubrey described her experiences at an afterschool program, "I went to a daycare until I was 13 years old but they had us do our homework before we got to play with anything." Ashley shared the Boys and Girls Club helped her explore careers and reiterated that not all pathways lead to college. Melissa wished her community had more role models outside of school which connects with the next theme focusing on K-12 experiences and relationships.

From Chaperone to Mentor: Exploring the Depth of K-12 Academic Relationships and Experiences

This theme evolved from very lengthy discussions about the participant experiences in K-12 settings preparing for college. The Black women reflected upon what they perceived to be effective and ineffective practices in high school now that they have completed one semester of college. These reflections involved discussions about school college-going culture, relationships with school counselors, connections with teachers, and academic rigor. Most participants felt their high school embodied a college-going culture. Ashley stated of her school:

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

I mean our school heavily influence – I mean heavily emphasized that you have to apply to a college... our principal even was talking about making it mandatory in order for you to get your diploma. That you had to at least apply and get accepted to a college.

Aubrey and Victoria recalled it being an unspoken expectation and heavily stressed. The participants also offered a critique when observing the disparities in college preparation approaches among high schools. Aubrey felt her brother's high school offered more resources to support his development compared to her own. She specifically noted a lack of opportunities to attend college fairs or visit colleges. Ashely, Melissa, and Aubrey noted high school "choice" played a major role in the opportunities and resources you had and acknowledged some peers who did not have access to what they perceived as better schools had worse outcomes. Victoria, on the other hand, admitted the resources were there but she did not take advantage of all the opportunities. Nala felt her high school did not let Black girls know there is more to life than high school and stated, "There's nothing that's too high that you can achieve so if you want to be astronaut, okay, let's make a plan. Let's do it." Olivia broadly felt her high school did not support students. She stated when asked what her high school could do more of:

Support. Just basically caring about the wellbeing of someone... not supporting somebody because you have to, but supporting someone because you want to...I don't know...just being genuine and support.

Finally, participants discussed how their relationships with school counselors and other school staff influenced their preparation for college varied. Some discussed positive relationships with school counselors. When reflecting upon what she perceived as a meaningful relationship, Aubrey described her school counselor as being proactive by advising her of personalized opportunities. Aubrey conveyed, "she would always, uh, definitely help me...she would always call me out of class and stuff and be like ...'Hey, this is what I found.' Cuz we had a really good relationship." Aubrey shared she not only felt her school counselor was there for her academically but demonstrated compassion when Aubrey was injured by checking in and ensuring her homework was completed. Additionally, Aubrey observed her school counselor taking the time to get to know her family. Similarly, Magenta spoke positively of her school counselor when she stated, "So, I feel he really motivated students to just be themselves and everything, especially. And he was just accepting of whatever." Melissa and Ashley also conveyed positive relationships with their school counselor and felt they were patiently supported and provided with details they did not know they needed to know. Mary, on the other hand, felt discouraged by her school counselor and recalled:

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

I remember one day we were talking about my ACT score...I was like, 'Oh, yeah, I got a 23.' And she ... 'What schools are you looking at?' I was like, "Oh, University of Joe, University of Jane" and some other school I named off. And she goes, "You probably have to retake the ACT because that score isn't good enough."

Similar to Mary, Olivia felt her school counselor was unapproachable and Green felt hers was absent and not "very nice."

Others described teachers who helped them prepare for college. Most participants positively reflected upon teachers who challenged them. Olivia stated:

Most of my teachers were sticklers, if that makes any sense...they were...real hard to the point. But, I mean, I think that helped... prepare me, cuz I feel as if somebody's being too soft on you won't know how to get through stuff, when things get hard.

Aubrey reflected upon being challenged by her Black literature teacher and felt they was invested in their success and felt there was an kinship. Aubrey described:

And she always was like a mom to all of us. So we-we were always like, oh my God...we never liked to disappoint her. If we made her angry, it was like, oh my god...I'm so sorry. We would always...literally would like bring this woman... food and stuff like that just because I loved her so much. She was just so – she really pushed us outside of our boxes and stuff.

Ashley and Nova both described teachers they did not care for but felt what they learned helped in college because they were challenged. Others reflected upon negative experiences with teachers and viewed them as disengaged. Nala, for example, stated:

A lot of teachers I know from personally my high school; they didn't care about a good half of the students. They just went, got their paycheck and went home...If a teacher doesn't like you just for a simple fact that you're of maybe a race or sex or something, they're not going to help you. They're just not. They're going to grade your work, they're going to talk to you and engage with you in class but when it comes to getting that extra one-on-one help they're not going to help you. My problem is why are you a teacher? We definitely need more teachers that want to help students.

In the focus group, Aubrey agreed with Nala and recalled teachers stating, "It looks like you're never going anywhere in life anyway."

Overwhelmingly, participants felt taking advanced placement (AP) and honors courses helped prepare them for the academic rigor of college. However, many of them discussed in retrospect, they wished they learned more about time management and study skills. Notably, Mary described juggling multiple assignments in high school helped her prepare for college.

The relationships highlighted in this theme reflect the ways K-12 environments encouraged and discouraged students as they prepared for college. These reflections connect

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

well with the next theme discussing the college exploration process.

Preparing for a Home Away from Home: College Exploration and Preparation

Across many of the other themes, participants described relationships, experiences, and social conditions they felt prepared them for college. This theme focuses on the specific task of preparing for the transition from high school to college in the areas of college choice, entrance preparation, and financial literacy.

Participants discussed what influenced their college choice. These thoughts varied from how they felt on campus, money, to family influence. For example, Ashley stated:

This university was the cheapest option for me, but it was like I didn't want to go to John Doe University. I wanted to be in a big city. I wanted to be in a big – a really large city. I wanted to be far away from home...so distance, and then the size of this school is really intimidating for me, cuz I was planning to go to a small university... 10,000 or less.

Of the participants, Ashley was the only Black woman in the freshman class of the honors college at the time. At the end of the interview, Ashley cried, revealed some mental health challenges to include suicidal ideation, and conveyed she asked her mom if she could leave because she was so unhappy because she felt isolated and tired of being the only. Her mom advised her no, because the tuition was so low. Despite being mentally

exhausted, Ashley still completed her first semester with a 3.6 GPA.

Others discussed the entrance exams. Most participants took the ACT and fifty percent of the participants reported scoring at least a 28 on the ACT or 1880 or higher on the SAT. Some participants described experiencing anxiety because of entrance exam scores. Magenta shared, "I was really nervous about my ACT score 'cuz I'm not a good test-taker. So I was one of those people whose worried I wouldn't get into any school or anything."

Finally, participants discussed their strategies to financially prepare for college. Many discussed a lack of financial resources in their families motivated them to do well in high school to secure scholarships. Mary stated, "I think my parents just basically told me, 'Just keep your grades up, and hopefully you'll get the funding from that. And hopefully it'll either be all of it or enough where we can pay without going into debt'".

The discussions highlighted in this theme reflect the ways anxiety about college entrance exams, financial resources, and college choice look different for Black, high ability women who experience financial scarcity. The concerns presented within this theme, in some ways, was addressed by relationships or experiences described in the final theme highlighted next.

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Demystifying the Process: I Don't Know What I Do or Don't Need To Know

The final theme evolved from conversations about relationships or experiences the participants described as navigators who demystify the college-preparation process. This theme intertwines with previously described themes. Notably, participants described navigators being school staff or mentors. Green shared of one of her AP teachers:

I guess the most where I learned about college was my AP class with my teacher... it was kinda scary. She made it seem like it wasn't so bad, and she just kinda walked through the process with everyone in applying and stuff. So it was nice.

Similarly, Melissa reflected upon the limitations with understanding college preparation among family members and how school counselors and teachers helped her decide on a career path because she was unsure what to do and stated, "They told me everything they knew about college. They – I still talk to them now, even in college, because, like I said, my parents can't give me much information. But I text them all the time." Nala added that her godmother was also a person who demystified the process by sharing stories about when she was in college. Aubrey conveyed mentorship is something she still seeks as an undergraduate student because, "you need somebody there to make sure that you're going in the right direction with your college experiences and stuff."

This theme connects all the previously discussed themes because in many ways all the experiences and relationships described by the participants demystified something they were unsure or unaware of, college.

Discussion

The experiences represented in the 5 themes discussed in this phenomenology provide insight into how Black women, after one semester of college, reflect upon their preparation within their families, communities, and K-12 settings. To make meaning of their experiences across these settings, I situate the discussion section in Crenshaw's (1991) three dimensions of intersectionality (e.g., structural, political, and representational) because this lens connects to the framework used to underpin the study and it provides a structure to delineate the different ways intersectionality can aid in understanding the experiences of Black undergraduate women.

Structural Intersectionality

Even at a young age, Black women are socialized to navigate educational structures, policies, and practices to achieve what they define as success against various odds (Patton & Hayes, 2018; Porter et al., 2018). Throughout the themes presented, participants discussed ways they circumvented barriers (policies, people, and internal/external thoughts of value) and identified ways to get their needs met as they prepared for college. Bryan et al. (2009) stated

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Black girls are the group most likely to reach out to school counselors for college information. This is not by chance; it is a direct result of the social/political structures Black women have learned to negotiate for centuries. For example, Aubrey conveyed her mom would connect her with anyone who could provide insight about the college preparation process. Aubrey, similar to other participants, observed her mom making use of her networks and resources to create connections to support the success of her daughter.

Additionally, the structures represented in the current findings are best categorized as familial, community, and academic. When discussing these structures, participants directly and indirectly described what they recall as expectations related to college which were overwhelmingly positive even if their family did not attend college and most of them discussed their parents. Holcomb-McCoy (2010) examined the beliefs of parental involvement among 22 high school counselors in high-poverty and schools heavily enrolled by Black and other students of Color. Many of the school counselors noted consulting with parents is a major part of their job, but only a few conveyed inviting parents to volunteer or conferencing with parents. As illustrated in the current study, parents want to help their children, but if they have not attended college, they may feel powerless. Bryant (2015) expressed Black parents are less likely to have completed college and may need more information. This phenomenon is not

reflective of a low value in attending college among Black parents, but a reflection of barriers created by structural racism that have over generations impacted college-going culture in Black communities. School counselors can help by sharing resources with parents and creating informational sessions that align with their schedules.

Political Intersectionality

Political intersectionality appears in many instances throughout the participant responses. Notably, the anxiety experienced around performing well on college entrance exams comparable to the ACT or SAT. McFarland et al. (2019) described affluent White students consistently score higher on the ACT. Bryant (2015) highlighted a similar sentiment and stated, "African American students are far less likely to be ready for college, with those in high-poverty schools being the least prepared" (p. 1) is too often reflected in much of the college and career readiness research, but it does not adequately antagonize the root of the cyclical issue Black students face. Black students are not inherently inept to being college ready but the way we measure college readiness fails to address the insidious role of systemic racism (Castro, 2020; Stewart, 2007). Castro (2020) expressed, "By focusing solely on individual students, the larger racialized and classed context of educational opportunity is ignored and as a result, individual students become targets to be fixed." This is apparent in the tools used by school counselors to prepare students for colleges and careers. Notably, the

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

ASCA Mindsets and Behaviors for Student Success: K-12 College- and Career-Readiness Standards for Every Student (ASCA M & B) (2014) aligns with the myth of meritocracy because the standards supports the assumption all students have access to the same opportunities, resources, and are treated equally in educational spaces (Washington et al., in press). Therefore tools used to evaluate Black students on a daily basis (i.e., ASCA M & B), yearly basis (i.e., school report cards and standardized tests), and for college entrance (i.e., ACT and SAT) systemically and repeatedly characterize Black girls as inherently flawed and deficit (Castro, 2020).

Representational Intersectionality

Representational intersectionality provides a lens to critically illustrate the stereotypical characterizations that shape how Black girls and women grow to see themselves and others characterize them. The oppression faced by Black women at the intersection of race, gender, and class contributed to the manifestation of historical images, or tropes, such as mammy, matriarch, welfare mother/queen, jezebel, and sapphire (Collins, 2000, 2009). Presently, these tropes are expanded to include the angry Black woman, strong Black woman, and superwoman (Ashley, 2014; Corbin et al., 2018; West et al., 2016). The participants in the current study are beginning to reflect an internalization of the strong Black woman (SBW) characterization. SBW trope is a stereotypical controlling image that portrays Black women as sacrificially resilient and autonomous and is mentally and

physically harmful (West et al., 2016). Many of the participants described working relentlessly, but notably Ashely described experiencing mental health challenges to include suicidal ideation and, in the midst, she still performed well academically. This misaligns with what the literature states about college age students and suicidal ideation. De Luca et al. (2016) reported among college age students there is a correlation between low GPA and suicidal ideation but there is little research exploring what this looks like among students of Color. SBW offers some context to help make-meaning of Ashley's case. Donovan and West (2014) suggested Black women use SBW as their shield to ward off or cope with the varying forms of oppression faced (racism, sexism, classism).

Implications for High School Counselors

The current study yields implications for many individuals who work with Black girls in K-12 and other academic settings to include administrators, gifted education coordinators, and teachers. However, school counselors are the navigators in schools charged with assisting students with demystifying the college preparation process (ASCA, 2014; Hines et al., 2011). The current study conveys results to help school counselors increase their anti-racist practices when facilitating college preparation with students. These implications include: (a) anti-racism begins within you, (b) collaborate with Black families and community partners, and (c) disrupt racist college preparation practices.

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

First, for school counselors to actively work to be anti-racist, the journey begins with an admission that racism is real and permeates all facets of society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) and an understanding that the journey is for a lifetime. Anti-racism has quickly become the new buzzword in educational practices. However, it is not a professional identity or tool one may try to 'see' if it works because it takes commitment (Williams et al., in press). Educational spaces institute school-wide practices like social-emotional learning or restorative justice to see if it works in their communities. However, to genuinely practice anti-racism one cannot isolate it to one aspect of one's life (i.e., at school/work) or use it in one setting (i.e., career development) to see if it helps when working with students of Color. "Anti-racism is an approach one embodies across all facets of their lives that involves actively identifying, challenging, and changing the values, institutional structures, and behaviors that perpetuate systemic oppression" (Williams et al., in press). So, one must begin, continue, and persist throughout the journey to eradicate thoughts and actions that perpetuate racism. One may start by integrating Black, notably Black feminist,

perspectives in your growth toolkit (i.e., books, webinars) and surround yourself with people who challenge your bias.

Second, school counselors are encouraged to avoid viewing Black families from the deficit lens, which is reinforced by representations on television, in the media, and shared by

others. Additionally, school counselors should collaborate with Black families and community partners to expand college preparation awareness beyond the school building. As mentioned previously, collaborating with families to create a college-going culture and visiting community agencies (i.e., The Boys and Girls Club, church) to support their college preparation efforts demonstrates you value the community and the knowledge they hold.

Third, school counselors must actively work to

disrupt racist college preparation policies and practices in your school, region, and nationally by addressing disparities related to standardized tests and college preparation examinations (Castro, 2020). Additionally, school counselors are encouraged to utilize postmodern career development tools which provide a culturally responsive approach to help Black girls identify careers and colleges



"The current study conveys results to help school counselors increase their anti-racist practices when facilitating college preparation with students. These implications include: (a) anti-racism begins within you, (b) collaborate with Black families and community partners, and (c) disrupt racist college preparation practices."

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation


(Albritton et al., 2020). Notably, school counselors should also antagonize data related to disparities that may exist if Black girls are represented in gifted, advanced placement, and honors courses (Mayes & Hines, 2014).

Limitations and Future Research

The present study offers transferable empirical evidence to support the need for more qualitative explorations of the college and career preparation experiences of Black women. The limitations of the current study include: (1) all the participants were recruited at one large public PWI in the Midwest, (2) the criteria to determine low-income status was solely dependent on the participants memory of obtaining free and reduced lunch in high school, and (3) the interview protocol should have allowed participants the space to share about other cultural identities that have influenced their college readiness. To mitigate these limitations, researchers are encouraged to qualitatively explore the college preparation experiences of Black women across institution type (i.e., private, public, historically Black colleges), region (i.e., West, South), and identify participants who attended different types of high schools (i.e., rural, suburban, urban). Additionally, to acquire a more accurate understanding of a participant's socio-economic status, researchers are encouraged to learn more about financial aid reporting which provides more details about an individual's economic standing.

To expand upon the current topic, future research should delve deeper into the role of relationships in a Black girl's perception of preparedness for college. For example, participants mentioned mentors, navigators, and individuals they viewed as mothers and mother-figures. Exploring the connection of such relationships with a Black undergraduate woman's motivation to complete college would extend the current study in a meaningful way.

Conclusion

Over the past decades, scholarship exploring the unique experiences of Black girls and women has grown, but more work is needed to deeply understand how they prepare, navigate, and make-meaning of their career and college preparation. To do this effectively, school counselors and school-based career counselors are encouraged to actively create anti-racist environments where Black girl's academic, career, and personal/social development is not disrupted. Additionally, they are encouraged to create spaces where Black girls are made to feel accepted, supported, and are encouraged to explore careers and colleges without stereotypical confines. To do this well, school counselors and other school personnel facilitating college readiness are encouraged to focus on unpacking their own bias on an ongoing bases and to genuinely connect with their student's families and communities. 

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Table 1.
Participant Demographics.

Pseudonym	Female	African American/ Black	AP	Dual Enrollment	IB	GATE	GPA 3.5 or higher	HS Class Rank Top 10%	ACT 28 or higher; SAT 1880 or higher	Low-income household	18-19 years old	Graduated HS w/in the past 12 months
Victoria	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Melissa	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nala	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nova	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ashley	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mary	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Green	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Magenta	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Aubrey	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olivia	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

REFERENCES

- American College Testing. (2018). The condition of college and career readiness 2018. https://www.act.org/content/dam/act/unsecured/documents/cccr2018/National_CCCR-2018.pdf
- Albritton, K., Cureton, J. L., Byrd, J. A., & Storlie, C. A. (2020). Exploring perceptions of the path to work/life success among middle school students of color. *Journal of Career Development, 47*(4), 440-453. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845319832667>
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La frontera; The new Mestiza*. Lute Press.
- American School Counselor Association (ASCA). (2014). *ASCA mindsets & behaviors for student success: K-12 college-and career-readiness standards for every student*. Alexandria, VA: Author.
- Ashley, W. (2014). The angry Black woman: The impact of pejorative stereotypes on psychotherapy with Black women. *Social Work in Public Health, 29*(1), 27-34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2011.619449>
- Banks, C. A. & Banks, C. (2009). *Black women undergraduates, cultural capital, and college success*. (Vol. 20). Peter Lang.
- Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide*. Routledge.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by design and nature*: Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brown, D. L., Blackmon, S., Rosnick, C. B., Griffin-Fennell, F. D., & White-Johnson, R. L. (2017). Initial development of a gendered-racial socialization scale for African American college women. *Sex Roles, 77*, 178-193. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0707-x>
- Bryan, J., Holcomb-McCoy, C., Moore-Thomas, C., & Day-Vines, N. (2009). Who sees the school counselor for college information? A national study. *Professional School Counseling, 12*(4), 280-291. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759X0901200401>
- Bryan, J., Young, A., Griffin, D. C., & Henry, L. (2015). Preparing students for higher education: How school counselors can foster college readiness and access. In J. L. DeVitis & P. Sasso (Eds.). *Higher education and society*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bryant, R. T. A. (2015). College Preparation for African American Students: Gaps in the High School Educational Experience. *Center for Law and Social Policy, Inc.(CLASP)*.
- Byrd, J. A., & Porter, C. J. (2021). Black undergraduate women navigating (mis)representation, strength, and strategies: An analysis of influences on their mental wellness. In L. D. Patton, V. Evans-Winters, & C. Jacobs (Eds.), *Investing in the educational success of Black women and girls*. Stylus.
- Castro, E. L. (2020). "They sellin' us a dream they not preparin' us for": College readiness, dysconscious racism, and policy failure in one rural Black high school. *The Urban Review, 1-24*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-020-00585-9>
- Collective, C. R. (1982). A Black feminist statement: The Combahee River Collective. In G. T. Hull, P. Bell-Scott, & B. Smith (Eds.), *All the women are White, all the Blacks are men, but some of us are brave: Black women's studies* (pp. 13-22). The Feminist Press at CUNY.
- Collins, P. H. (2009). *Another kind of public education: Race, schools, the media, and democratic possibilities*. Beacon Press.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed). Routledge.
- Commodore, F., Baker, D. J., & Arroyo, A. T. (2018). *Black women college students: A guide to student success in higher education*. Routledge.
- Conley, D. T. (2014). *Getting ready for college, careers, and the Common Core: What every educator needs to know*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Corbin, N. A., Smith, W. A., & Garcia, J. R. (2018). Trapped between justified anger and being the strong Black women: Black college women coping with racial battle fatigue at historically and predominantly White institutions. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 31* (7), 626-643. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2018.1468045>

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989(1), 139-167.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 1241-1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Crenshaw, K. (2016). The urgency of intersectionality. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality
- Crotty, M., & Crotty, M. F. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage.
- Davis, D. (2020). The phenomenological method. In Weiss, G., Salamon, G., Murphy, A.V.'s 50 Concepts for a Critical Phenomenology. Northwestern University Press.
- Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). New York: New York University Press.
- De Luca, S. M., Franklin, C., Yueqi, Y., Johnson, S., & Brownson, C. (2016). The relationship between suicide ideation, behavioral health, and college academic performance. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 52(5), 534-540. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-016-9987-4>
- Derlan, C. L., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2015). Brief report: Contextual predictors of African American adolescents' ethnic-racial identity affirmation-belonging and resistance to peer pressure. *Journal of Adolescence*, 41, 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2015.02.002>
- Donovan, R. A., & West, L. M. (2014). Stress and mental health: Moderating role of the strong Black Woman stereotype. *Journal of Black Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798414543014>
- Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the dark: Antiblackness in education policy and discourse. *Theory Into Practice*, 55(1), 11-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2016.1116852>
- Emdin, C. (2016). *For White folks who teach in the hood... and the rest of y'all too: Reality pedagogy and urban education*. Beacon Press.
- Epstein, R., Blake, J., & González, T. (2017). Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls' childhood. Washington, DC: Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2017. <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/poverty-inequality-center/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2017/08/girlhood-interrupted.pdf>
- Esposito, J., & Evans-Winters, V. (2021). *Introduction to Intersectional Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, Incorporated.
- Evans-Winters, V. E. (2019). *Black feminism in qualitative inquiry: A mosaic for writing our daughter's body*. Routledge.
- Ford, D. Y. (1994). Nurturing resilience in gifted Black youth. *Roeper Review*, 17, 80- 85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02783199409553630>
- Gaertner, M. N., & McClarty, K. L. (2015). Performance, perseverance, and the full picture of college readiness. *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice*, 34(2), 20-33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/emip.12066>
- Graves, D., & Sheldon, J. P. (2018). Recruiting African American children for research: An ecological systems theory approach. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 40(10), 1489-1521. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193945917704856>
- Harris, J. C., & Patton, L. D. (2019). Un/Doing intersectionality through higher education research. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 90(3), 347-372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2018.1536936>
- Hines, E. M., Vega, D. D., Mayes, R., Harris, P. C., & Mack, M. (2019). School counselors and school psychologists as collaborators of college and career readiness for students in urban school settings. *Journal for Multicultural Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JME-02-2019-0015>
- Hines, P. L., & Lemons, R. W. (2011). Poised to lead: How school counselors can drive college and career readiness. K-12 Practice. *Education Trust*.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2010). Involving low-income parents and parents of color in college readiness activities: An exploratory study. *Professional School Counseling*, 14(1), 115-124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759X1001400111>
- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a woman?* South End Press.

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

- Hotchkins, B. (2017). Black women students at predominantly White universities: Narratives of identity politics, well-being and leadership mobility. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, 10(2), 144-155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2017.1326943>
- Howard-Hamilton, M. (2003). Theoretical frameworks for African American women. In M. Howard-Hamilton (Ed.), *Meeting the needs of African American women* (New Directions for Student Services, 104, pp. 19-27). Jossey-Bass. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.104>
- Johnson-Bailey, J. (1999). The ties that bind and the shackles that separate: Race, gender, class, and color in the research process. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 12(2), 659- 670. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095183999235818>
- Jones, L. V., Ahn, S., Chan, K. T. (2016). Expanding the psychological wellness threshold for Black college women: An examination of the Claiming Your Connections intervention. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 26(4), 399-411. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731514549631>
- Kailin, J. (2002). *Anti-racist education: From theory to practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Love, B. (2019). *We want to do more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of educational freedom*. Beacon Press.
- Mayes, R. D. (2020). College and Career Readiness Groups for Gifted Black Students with Disabilities. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work*, 45(3), 200-212. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2020.1789790>
- Mayes, R. D., & Hines, E. M. (2014). College and career readiness for gifted African American girls: A call to school counselors. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 4(1), 31-42. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1063071>
- McCall, L. (2013). *The undeserving rich. American beliefs about inequality, opportunity, and redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McFarland, J., Hussar, B., Zhang, J., Wang, X., Wang, K., Hein, S., et al. (2019). The condition of education 2019 (NCES 2019-144). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2019/2019144.pdf>
- McGuire, K. M., Casanova, S., Davis III, C. H. F. (2016). "I'm a Black female who happens to be Muslim": Multiple marginalities of an immigrant Black Muslim woman on a predominantly White campus. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 85(3), 316-329. <https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.85.3.0316>
- McPherson, E. (2017). Oh you are smart: Young, gifted African American women in STEM majors. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, 23(1), 1-14. <http://doi.org/dq7c>
- Mijs, J. J. (2016). The unfulfillable promise of meritocracy: Three lessons and their implications for justice in education. *Social Justice Research*, 29(1), 14-34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-014-0228-0>
- Morris, M. (2016). *Pushout: The criminalization of Black girls in schools*. The New Press.
- Murry, V. M., Liu, N., & Bethune, M. C. (2016). Rural Black adolescents' development: A critical review of empirical studies and preventive intervention programs. In *Rural ethnic minority youth and families in the United States* (p. 203-225). Springer International Publishing.
- Ohito, E. (2016). Making the emperor's new clothes visible in anti-racist teacher education: Enacting a pedagogy of discomfort with white preservice teachers. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 49(4), 454-467. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2016.1226104>
- Patton, L. D., Crenshaw, K., Haynes, C., & Watson, T. (Eds.) (2016). Why we can't wait: (Re)examining the challenges and opportunities for Black women and girls in education [Special Issue]. *Journal of Negro Education*, 85(3). <https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.85.3.0194>
- Patton, L. D., & Haynes, C. (2018). Hidden in plain sight: The Black women's blueprint for institutional transformation in higher education. *Teachers College Record*, 120(14), 1-18. <https://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=22382>
- Patton, L. D., Haynes, C., & Croom, N. N. (2017). Centering the diverse experiences of Black women undergraduates. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, 10(3), 1-3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2017.1331627>
- Patton, L. D., & McClure, M. L. (2009). Strength in the spirit: A qualitative examination of African American college women and the role of spirituality during college. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 78(1), 42-54. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25608717>

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

- Patton, L. D., & Njoku, N. R. (2019). Theorizing Black women's experiences with institution-sanctioned violence: A #BlackLivesMatter imperative toward Black liberation on campus. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 32*(9), 1162-1182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1645908>
- Porter, C. J., & Byrd, J. A. (2021). Understanding influences of development on Black women's success in college: A synthesis of literature. *Review of Educational Research*. Advanced online publication. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543211027929>
- Porter, C.J., & Byrd, J. A. (2021). Juxtaposing #BlackGirlMagic as "Empowering and Problematic:" Composite Narratives of Black Women in College. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*.
- Porter, C. J., Mlambo, Y. A., Hannibal, J., & Karunaratne, N. (2018). (Re)Defining student success: A qualitative study of Black undergraduate women pursuing veterinary medicine. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering, 24*(1), 61-80. <http://doi.org/dq7d>
- Porter, C. J., Green, Q., Daniels, M., & Smola, M. (2020). Black women's socialization and identity development in college: Advancing Black feminist thought. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice, 57*(3), 253-265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2019.1683021>
- Prilleltensky, I. (1994). *The morals and politics of psychology: Psychological discourse and the status quo*. Suny Press.
- Roderick, M., Coca, V., & Nagaoka, J. (2011). Potholes on the road to college: High school effects in shaping urban students' participation in college application, four-year college enrollment, and college match. *Sociology of Education, 84*(3), 178-211. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040711411280>
- Roland, E., & Agosto, V. (2017). Black women resident assistants: Seeking and serving as bridges, mentors, advisors, filters, and community builders. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education, 10*(2), 186-201. <http://doi.org/dq6w>
- Russell, M. L., & Russell, J. A. (2015). Black American undergraduate women at a PWI: Switching majors in STEM. *The Negro Educational Review, 66*(1-4), 101-125. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/996aa670529fb8a99f17def87f39ad31/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=46710>
- Stewart, E. B. (2007). Individual and school structural effects on African American high school students' academic achievement. *High School Journal, 91*(2), 16-34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40364137>
- Storlie, C. A., Hilton, T. L., Duenyas, D., Archer, R., & Glavin, K. (2018). Career narratives of African American female college students: Insights for college counselors. *Journal of College Counseling, 21*, 29-42. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jocc.12085>
- Szymanski, D. M., & Lewis, J. A. (2016). Gendered racism, coping, identity centrality, and African American college women's psychological distress. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 40*(2), 229-243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315616113>
- Thomas, D. (2015, September 9). Why everyone's saying 'Black Girls Are Magic'. <https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-everyones-saying-black-girls-are-magic-20150909-htmlstory.html>
- Truth, S. (1851). 'Ain't I A Woman?', Speech delivered at Women's Convention, Akron, Ohio.
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2019). *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2018* (NCES 2019-038). https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_322.20.asp
- Washington, A.R., Byrd, J.A., & Williams, J. (in press). Decolonizing the counselor canon. In C. Holcomb-McCoy's (Ed.)'s *Antiracist Counseling in Schools and Communities*.
- West, L. M., Donovan, R. A., & Daniel, A. R. (2016). The price of strength: Black college women's perspectives on the strong Black woman stereotype. *Women & Therapy, 39*, 390-412. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2016.1116871>
- Williams, J. M., Byrd, J., Smith, C. D., & Dean, A. (2020). Photovoice as an innovative approach to group work with Black youth in school settings. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 45*(3), 213-225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2020.1789794>
- Williams, J. M., Byrd, J. A., & Washington, A. R. (in press). Challenges in implementing anti-racist pedagogy into counselor education programs: A collective self-study.
- Winkle-Wagner, R. (2008). Not feminist but strong: Black women's reflections of race and gender in college. *The Negro Educational Review, 59*(3-4), 18-195. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ835224>

Black Women's Perceptions of College Preparation

Zamani, E. (2003). African American women in higher education. In M. Howard-Hamilton (Ed.), *Meeting the needs of African American women (New Directions for Student Services, 104, pp. 5-18)*. Jossey-Bass. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.103>

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success: Exploring Critical Frameworks in School Counselor Training



Authored by
Heidi van Mastrigt (*San Diego State University*)
Joey Nuñez Estrada, Jr. (*San Diego State University*)

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study employs a phenomenological research approach that examines the school counselor's experiences and training. The purpose of this study is to explore if school counselors received training in critical race theory (CRT), culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP), and social justice (SJ), and if they implement these theories in practice. Semi-structured interviews were used with eleven practicing school counselors. Thematic content analysis was used with a critical discourse lens to identify explicit and implicit themes within the data. The results indicate a lack of training in critical race theory (CRT), culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP), and social justice. While some participants had knowledge of social justice theory, most were unsure how to move theory to practice. These results allude to a call for action within school counselor education. School counselors should be trained how to translate the theories of CRT, CSP, and social justice to practice. This can provide a deeper understanding of the systemic factors that affect college access and success.

Keywords: critical race theory, culturally sustaining pedagogies, school counselor education, anti-racist counselor, social justice

Introduction

Many scholars propose the United States colonial education system is at the core nucleus of the historical and very contemporary systemic racism that has profoundly impacted the educational inequities woven into the fabric of our society

today (Atkins & Oglesby, 2018; Love, 2019; Shedd, 2015). Topics concerning social justice, equality versus equity, oppression, privilege, and racial disparities in college access and success have been ongoing conversations in the world of education throughout time (Holcomb-McCoy, 2004; Steward, 2019). Considering these are still very relevant hot topics at the center of the college access and success discourse, it seems the field of education has not made much sustainable progress in eliminating racial and discriminatory inequities. Unfortunately, education transformation efforts frequently lose fire and fade to black rather quickly, or continue to perpetuate institutionalized systemic oppression in newly disguised racist policies, language, or practices that uphold racial disparities in college access and success (Atkins & Oglesby, 2018; Love, 2019; Shedd, 2015; Steward, 2019).

However, recently ignited by the global pandemic and current socio-political racial climate, there is a very strong social justice movement underway to address the historical systemic racism and racial disparities in college access and success. This movement, which feels much different than others, is



Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

creating a buzz in the educational community and school counselors are at the forefront pushing a call to action for anti-racist school counseling practices. For example, the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) just adopted The School Counselor and Anti-Racist Practices position statement which states, “The role of the school counselor in ensuring anti-racist practices is to enhance awareness, obtain culturally responsive knowledge and skills, and engage in action through advocacy” (ASCA, 2021). The new generation of students currently entering school counseling training programs are coming with a fiery passion to fight for social justice, equity, and to eliminate racial disparities in college access and success through anti-racist school counseling practices. Given this strong movement, what is being implemented within school counseling training programs to ensure sustainable change, social justice, and equitable college access for all?

As professional school counselors and social justice advocates, we need to challenge the colonial ideals of the U.S. education system that help maintain systems of oppression through racist practices (Atkins & Oglesby, 2018; Love, 2019). We have to be critical of culturally biased standardized tests, an implicitly racist curriculum, and biased history lessons that tell half truths. Trying to tackle racial disparities in college access and success without the foundational acknowledgement that these are deeply embedded within the institutionalized

systemic racism of colonial education leaves educators, researchers and students spinning in circles.

Critical race theory (CRT) and culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP) are key frameworks that offer educators, especially school counselors, important analytical perspectives on the ramifications of racism, inequity, and the dynamics of power, privilege, and social justice in education (Grothaus, Johnson, & Edirmanasinghe, 2020; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2015). Incorporating these frameworks into school counselor training would provide a strong social justice foundation for school counselors as they advocate for anti-racist school counseling policies and engage in practices to dismantle systems of oppression in education. Therefore, it is important to explore whether school counseling training programs incorporate theoretical frameworks and practices that will prepare future school counselors to disrupt the racist practices in schools as they work toward social justice and equity in college access and success for all students (Atkins & Oglesby, 2018). Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore if professional school counselors receive training in critical race theory (CRT), culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP), and social justice (SJ), and if they implement these theories in practice.

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

Literature Review

This section will open with a review of the literature on the application of CRT and CSP in education. Next, a review of literature on school counselor training will be discussed. This information is then connected to the study to identify why it is critical to incorporate these theories and practices in school counselor training to help school counselors create a counter narrative that moves toward disrupting current educational systems of oppression that impact racial inequities in college access and success.

CRT in Education

CRT challenges racism at the structural and institutional level and operates from five tenets: counter-storytelling, permanence of racism, whiteness as property, interest conversion, and critique of liberalism (Hiraldo, 2010). CRT centralizes racism in society and the experiential knowledge of people of color and views their perspectives as valid. It uses an interdisciplinary approach to analyze the knowledge learned with historical and contemporary contexts, and works to dismantle oppressive systems with a commitment to SJ (Vaughn & Castagno, 2008). It also questions the ongoing mainstream debates of neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness and merit and applies historical and contextual analyses (Dixson & Rousseau 2005).

Ladson-Billings (2020) examines how CRT can effectively be used in the field of education by

applying principles to relevant issues such as curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation. For example, Ladson-Billings (2020) discusses the race-neutral perspective of traditional instruction and how deficiency is viewed as an individual phenomenon. If instruction is generic and race-neutral, it can be applied to all students; thus when the desired results are not achieved, the student, not the results, are viewed as deficient. However, when applying the tools of CRT and understanding that institutional racism exists, instruction, curriculum and methods of teaching can be critically examined (Ladson-Billings, 2020). Additionally, Howard and Navarro (2016) suggest CRT to be used in teacher preparation and it is critical that it moves from theory to practice as many schools are places where racism is undiscussed, but thoroughly understood by the students. The school counselor is not exempt from these issues, even if they are not mentioned in the CRT research. For these reasons, it is imperative to incorporate CRT in school counselor training because it centralizes racism while challenging dominant ideologies and moves beyond explanations of cultural differences or ideologies of deficiency.

CSP in Education

CSP is a theory and practice created by teachers who view schools as sites for sustaining cultures, rather than silencing, eliminating, or assimilating them to the dominant ideal (Paris & Alim, 2017). CSP values cultural diversity and believes in

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

enriching strengths rather than replacing deficits (Paris & Alim, 2017). The foundation of CSP is in asset pedagogies that challenged deficit approaches of languages and cultures of people and communities of color (Paris & Alim, 2017). Paris and Alim (2017) discuss Du Bois' concept of double consciousness, which is described as a psychological challenge of always looking at oneself through the eyes of a racist society and measuring oneself by a society that looks back in contempt. CSP uses the term 'white gaze' to describe the ways in which students and communities of color are looked at through educational research and practices (Paris & Alim, 2017). In this way, students of color are also held to a white standard, and educational success is framed as how well one can assimilate into whiteness. For example, when school integration was being pushed in education, white students were not being bussed to Black communities and white teachers were not getting fired (Paris & Alim, 2017). Black students were being bussed to white communities with this underlying belief that schools in white communities were providing a higher quality education, and Black teachers were getting fired (Paris & Alim, 2017). This is a clear example of how the white gaze and white standard perpetuates ideas of cultural deficiency. However, de-centering whiteness reframes issues of access and equity by challenging the white gaze-centered question: "How can 'we' get 'these' working class kids of color to speak/write/be more like middle-class white ones, rather than critiquing the white gaze itself that sees, hears, and frames

students of color in every which way as marginal and deficient?" (Paris & Alim, 2017, p. 3). Reframation like this is why CSP is essential for school counselor education.

The Inclusion of CRT and CSP in School Counselor Training

School counselor training programs play an important role in how school counselors approach their work with students. A review of the literature shows that frameworks of social justice, multiculturalism, equity and inclusion, have been part of the school counselor training for more than 20 plus years (Holcomb-McCoy, 2007; La Guardia, 2019). Moreover, Wilczenski et al., (2011) outline specific areas to apply social justice in school counselor education. These areas include program goals, admission criteria, coursework, cultural diversity, urban experience, community engagement, and service learning. Furthermore, La Guardia (2019) completed a review of 139 articles on counselor education and supervision and noted issues of diversity and inclusion are incorporated more now than ever before. Ratts and Greenleaf (2018) also offer a leadership framework for school counselors using constructs of the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC). This framework lays the foundation for an improved kind of school counselor leadership where school counselors will be able to address issues of power, privilege, and oppression that are present in K-12 schools (Ratts & Greenleaf, 2018). Extensive research has demonstrated how SJ has been an integral

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

part of the field for decades. Yet, a deeper analysis of this work indicates that SJ approaches in practice are more focused on the individual rather than systemic racism (Ladson-Billings, 2020; Duncan-Andrade, 2008). The research is lacking literature that unpacks the deeper parts of racism: institutionalized racism, implicit discriminatory policies, and the factors of CRT and CSP need to be at the forefront of the conversation. Research that examines the role of CRT and CSP in school counselor training and practice is even more scarce. However, the current anti-racist school counselor movement has begun to support shifts within the field. ASCA has recently addressed the issue of moving from culturally competent to culturally sustaining in practice. As stated in *Culturally Sustaining School Counseling*, "...the term "culturally sustaining" invites us to change our views and actions regarding culture by engaging the whole community and embracing and enriching existing strength..." (Grothaus et al., 2020). This is an indication that the field is progressing, but the continued racial disparities in college access and success suggest there is still work to be done. Given the scarcity of research in this area the implementation of these frameworks, strategies, and concepts is imperative to the continued growth of the profession to ensure school counselors are best serving their communities and schools.

Purpose of the Study

This qualitative study employs a phenomenological research approach that examines the school counselor's experiences and training. The purpose of this study is to explore if school counselors received training in critical race theory (CRT), culturally sustaining pedagogies (CSP), and social justice (SJ), and if they implement these theories in practice. Students of color are historically swayed away from college and do not have the same opportunity for success in higher education. Thus, it is vital to examine one of the key bridges from high school to college: the school counselor. The research questions are as follows:

How do school counseling training programs provide sustainable knowledge in CRT, CSP, and SJ content (level of exposure, for example, one course vs. embedded throughout the curriculum)?

How do school counselors report utilizing CRT, CSP, and SJ in practice?

Methods

School Counselor Participants

To explore the research questions, interviews were conducted with 11 professional school counselors who currently work at various school districts in Southern California.

Participants work in traditional, charter, court and community schools, serving students in

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

kindergarten through 12th grade, with ages ranging from five to twenty four. Before the interview, all participants completed a demographic questionnaire.

Procedures

Semi-structured interviews were used because they provided guidance and structure pertaining to the research interests, and allowed flexibility in the participants' answers. This allows for a thick and rich description of the participants' experiences and allows the researcher to analyze on a deeper level (Brinkmann, 2014). Information about the semi-structured interview was read to all participants prior to starting.

Participants were encouraged to answer questions honestly and assured they would remain anonymous. Participants were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time. The interviews took approximately 30-60 minutes to complete. The semi-structured interview consisted of multiple sections. The first section consisted of a survey module that gathers demographic background data (e.g., age, sex, race/ethnicity, etc) and inquires about professional development and training that occurred in the last five years.

Additional sections explored the participant's current school counseling work (i.e. How do you feel about the school counseling program's effectiveness and place within your school?), students (ie. What is your relationship with the students like? How do you relate to them?), school (i.e.

How is your school supporting all students?), and their school counseling graduate program (i.e. Was social justice incorporated within your school counseling program [e.g., one course, topics threaded throughout multiple courses, embedded in the entire curriculum]? If so, how?). The purpose of this was to get a holistic understanding of the participant's experience and training. All questions were optional, therefore participants were not obligated to answer questions if they did not feel comfortable doing so.

An Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved the research study and all supporting documents including the research proposal, informed consent, and interview questions prior to starting the study. Participants were recruited via email and listservs. Willing participants were screened once they responded with interest in being interviewed to ensure they met the required criteria. Participants were required to have a Masters degree, a Pupil Personnel (PPS) Credential, and had to be current practicing school counselors in Southern California. All human subject requirements were approved by the researchers institution and all participants signed the IRB approved informed consent prior to the interview.

Data Analysis

Once eleven interviews were complete, they were then sent to Rev.com, an online audio transcription service, to be transcribed. Once transcribed, interviews were coded until saturated by the primary investigator and by

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

the faculty chair to ensure coding validity (Spooren & Degand, 2010). This coding process was done by reviewing the transcriptions multiple times in different sittings to ensure all data was included and reviewed. Thematic content analysis was used to identify themes in the data using a critical discourse lens. Thematic content analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017). Critical discourse analysis “[analyzes] written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts” (Hart, 2010). Thematic content analysis allowed for explicit and implicit messages to be exposed within the data. Using a critical discourse lens gave better context to the implicit messages and better focus to the reproduction and/or challenge of the dominant hegemony (Hart, 2010).

Positionality

The researchers are from a school counseling graduate program that is deeply committed to social justice, equity, and removing barriers for all students to succeed. As we worked together throughout the program, we realized a lack of clarity in practice, and that is what led us to pursue this research. We realized the conversations that took place in our late night classes did not always translate to the work being done in the field. We also witnessed the

complexities of bringing new and sometimes “radical” or “revolutionary” ideas and perspectives to the public school system that was very comfortable and set in its ways. The work is not easy, but it is vital to create lasting change.

Results

An analysis of the demographic data indicates that the sample of participants (N=11) was 63.6% female (n=7) and 36.3% male (n=4). Roughly 45.4% identified as White (n=5), 18.1% as Latino/a (n=2), 0.09% as Pacific Islander (n=1), 0.09% as Chicano (n=1), 0.09% as Filipino Mexican (n=1), and 0.09% as Filipino American (n=1). Approximately 81.8% identified their age as 25-34 (n=9), while 18.1% identified their age as 35-44 (n=2). Additionally, 72.7% of the participants have been working in the field for 5 or less years (n=8), and 81.8% received their degree and PPS in Southern California (n=9). Lastly, 36.3% of the participants work at elementary schools (n=4), 18.1% work at middle schools (n=2), 27.2% work at high schools (n=3), 18.1% work at alternative schools (n=2), and three of the schools were charter schools. Given the data, the most represented participants were white young adult females, most which are fairly new to the field. Qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews provided extreme depth and rich descriptions of school counselors’ perspectives, experiences, training, and practice. The thematic content analysis of the data revealed three primary emergent themes.

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

The first theme, graduate school experience, answered research question one (i.e., How do school counseling training programs provide sustainable knowledge in CRT, CSP, and SJ content [level of exposure, for example, one course vs. embedded throughout the curriculum]?). This theme affirmed that CRT and CSP were unfamiliar to the majority of participants. The second theme, views about education and social justice, answered research question two (i.e., How do school counselors report utilizing CRT, CSP, and SJ in practice?). The data revealed that participants are unclear how to move theory to practice in regards to SJ. The third theme, personal experience with gatekeeping and access, revealed some unexpected additional findings about how school counselors serve as key stakeholders in college access. Each theme is described in more detail below and selected quotes from participants are used to reveal how school counseling programs could improve by integrating more theory to practice and incorporating CRT, CSP, and SJ into the curriculum.

Graduate School Experience

To answer the first research question, participants were asked to reflect back on their graduate school training. Graduate school experiences varied, but the common theme when asked about CRT, CSP, and SJ was that the training was minimal or nonexistent. One participant stated:

I feel when I was going through the program it was very centered around being data-focused and learning the national model, which is great and it's helped me tremendously, but I just feel like as a person and as an educator and as a social justice advocate, it would have helped a lot more to learn more about it [CRT, CSP, SJ] or to have some more discussions regarding social justice. And so that was my experience. There were for a few instances, but not as many as I thought I was going to see, especially through a graduate program.

This quote draws attention to the lack of social justice within the graduate program, and a disappointment in a sense, as the participant had different expectations of graduate level work. Additionally, another participant shared similar feelings about social justice in his/her school counseling graduate program. The participant stated: "...I thought I was going to get more [social justice content] in my program..." Again, this highlights feelings of disappointment pertaining to social justice content in school counseling graduate programs. Both participants had certain expectations for their graduate programs to provide training and information pertaining to social justice that were not fulfilled. This finding indicates that the level of CRT, CSP, and SJ content in school counselor training was limited and participants wished there was more of it. Lastly, only one participant was able to speak to CRT and could explain what it was. This participant stated:

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

[CRT]...it's just kind of like this idea around putting race at the center of how we look at oppression, privilege, and just kind of like how that manifests itself in education. Being aware of like all the different ways in which like race and racism manifest itself, like systemically, in schools, for me, I think that's critical...and just being aware of that. But I [also] think...it's about being fully aware of how racism is still here today, knowing our own biases and how that impacts our interactions with people, but then also having really difficult conversations around race, and how it looks for every single person, because race is so complex, you know, and how we define race is so complex too.

This quote touches on many different aspects and how CRT applies to systems outside of education, in a similar fashion as SJ. This participant was the only person that could explain CRT and was also the only person that continued their education to earn a Ph.D. They stated that this knowledge came from their doctoral work, thus, it was not received in their school counseling program. Overall, while many participants shared overall positive graduate school experience, some also shared areas of growth for their graduate program. Most areas of improvement were about SJ content, and a desire for more of it. This implicates changes for school counselor training.

Views About Education and Social Justice

To answer the second research question, participants were asked whether social justice was incorporated within their school

counseling program (e.g., one course, topics threaded throughout multiple courses, embedded in the entire curriculum? If so, how?). Participants expressed strong views about the education system and SJ in particular. Many identified flaws within education, discussed how they approach student needs, and again, the importance of relationships in the field of education. However, one of the most prominent themes in regard to SJ, was an uncertainty of how to move SJ theories to practice in school counseling. As one participant stated:

I don't know if it's something that is obvious or I don't know if it's something that's very explicit. I just feel like it, I don't know. I mean, I think I try to do it but I don't know if I'm doing a good job at it. I don't know if it's something that's just apparent to everybody else.

This participant had strong feelings about SJ, but then was hesitant in their answers as to how SJ is applied in their practice. Another participant shared:

I do know that social justice, even as an educator, is going to be very, very limited. Because again, you're bound by whatever your school or your district believes and that's kind of where you have to function around. You can't be like this crazy social justice advocate at a school, especially when you're just starting because you might not last there very long, you know? You might get isolated or even worse, you might get laid off or fired for something that you might do. I think you just gotta be strategic too while you're within the confines of a school setting. You have to be very

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

strategic in terms of the work that you're able to accomplish. But as a social justice educator, I feel that we have to understand that true change is probably not going to happen within the school hours. The true change is probably going to happen outside of what we're able to do here. Like when we try to implement new policies, new rules or funding and whatnot, it's not going to happen from us screaming at the top of our lungs while students are here in the school.

It's going to have to happen outside of the work hours. It's going to have to happen at board meetings, out in the community...

This quote highlights multiple reasons why utilizing SJ as a school counselor, and in schools in general, is difficult. The participant also explained how SJ work requires strategy because of the barriers that schools, districts, and the system as a whole can have in place. Even further, the participant shared how they felt education was unfortunately not the ideal place for SJ work and it tends to happen outside of school.

SJ was understood by participants in a variety of ways. While some participants had a deep understanding and passion for SJ, this did not necessarily mean they were implementing intentional and clear strategies within the schools. The application and practice of SJ was a very unclear concept to participants, which may speak to the training that is happening in the school counseling graduate programs.

Personal Experience with Gatekeeping and Access

This theme surprisingly emerged in the analysis and is a vital piece of the data that speaks to systemic issues like equity and access in the personal experiences of the school counselor participants. For instance, one participant speaks of their own personal experience as what motivated them to pursue school counseling:

I became a school counselor, based on my personal experience in education. I went to a low income high school, two different high schools. One high school did not offer extracurricular activities or AP courses. It was concentrated on raising the literacy of students. Then I went to a traditional high school with AP classes. I felt that I was identified as a high achieving student, and because of that, I received guidance to go to higher education. However, I was also in non-AP classes, and I [...] saw that students in non-AP classes were offered only army and community college options. That was very disturbing to me.

This quote speaks to the different paths taken depending on where students go to school and the guidance they receive. Because of this experience, the participant has the opportunity to take a stand as a leader in education to identify and call out injustices. Another participant shared a similar experience:

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

We have a large percentage of first-generation college students and also a pretty significant population that's low-income for reduced lunch. So working with all students, but particularly with them has been rewarding because I know that my experiences and my upbringing kind of serve a purpose. Or at least it allows me to be able to help some of those students who otherwise probably wouldn't see themselves going to college...

This quote highlights the school counselor as a gatekeeper for college access. If it weren't for the participants' experience, they feel that the students they work with would never think of pursuing college.

This theme highlights an important factor that directly affects the trajectory of students' lives: school counselors act as gatekeepers for college access. With that being said, what can be done to ensure school counselors are properly equipped with tools to create the bridge between students of color and higher education? It is imperative that the research on this topic continues.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that school counselor training programs should include CRT, CSP, and SJ and provide clear approaches to move theory to practice. The first theme demonstrated how most school counselors have very limited familiarity with CRT and CSP, while also reporting a desire for more SJ content to be included in their graduate training experience. Therefore, in

order to ensure school counselors are fostering a positive transformational education experience for all students, it is important for school counselor training to incorporate strategies that are not merely tolerant of all cultures, but create a space for students from all cultures to flourish. Training in CRT would provide school counselors the fundamental knowledge that racial disparities in college access and success are deeply embedded within the institutionalized racism of colonial education (Atkins & Oglesby, 2018; Love, 2019; Shedd, 2015; Steward, 2019). School counselors can utilize this critical analytical perspective to challenge and disrupt racism, inequity, and the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression in education (Grothaus, Johnson, & Edirmanasinghe, 2020; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2015). The findings within the second theme indicate that participants are unclear how to move theory to practice in regards to SJ. Again, through the application of CRT and CSP into practice school counselors can critically identify the deeper root issues to disrupt racism, rather than continuing to compartmentalize issues as if they are not in and of the same problem. CRT provides a framework for school counselors to create counternarratives and a different way of viewing schools as a catalyst for change and empowerment, and challenges deficit rhetoric in all forms (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015). CSP incorporates a curriculum that empowers and sustains cultural identities rather than silencing or suppressing them (Paris & Alim, 2017). Incorporation of these theories and

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

practices will have a significant impact on the field of school counseling by defining ideas and practices that current school counselors are hungry to implement. Application to practice could look like collaborating with teachers or administrators to critically analyze classroom curriculum and opening honest discussions with students about the racism they experience, valuing the voices of students and their lived realities and applying this knowledge to school practices and curriculum.

Our findings demonstrate that school counselors are not receiving the in-depth training on CRT, CSP, and SJ needed to sustain success and break down systemic barriers for our richly diverse populations. While many participants identified as SJ advocates, they were unsure how to move SJ theory to practice. Thus, it is important to be more clear on how to implement intentional strategies in practice during the graduate school experience and beyond. The implementation of CRT and CSP is a step in the right direction, as this can lay the groundwork for potentially difficult and uncomfortable discussions, which can then lead to changes in practice, policy, and hopefully the standards at which students are measured.



“Our findings demonstrate that school counselors are not receiving the in-depth training on CRT, CSP, and SJ needed to sustain success and break down systemic barriers for our richly diverse populations.”

Additionally, the unexpected finding that emerged from the third theme suggests that systemic issues like equity and access in the personal experiences of the school counselor participants may affect the trajectory of their students' lives. Given the fact that school counselors can function as gatekeepers to college access and success, it is imperative that they are given the critical analytical tools and practical skills to challenge deficit rhetoric and empower and sustain different

cultural backgrounds in the educational and professional context. School counselors need to challenge theories and practices that suggest educational failure is the result of cultural deficiency on the part of the student, the family, and the community (Duncan-Andrade, 2008). Seeing that school counselors are student advocates and social change agents, they are in a

great position to critically examine this deficit perspective, its implications, and how educators could create counternarratives more aligned with the truth that college access and success is attributed to cultural superiority or assimilation into culturally superior ways, which is much deeper systemic issue at play (Duncan-Andrade, 2008).

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

Limitations

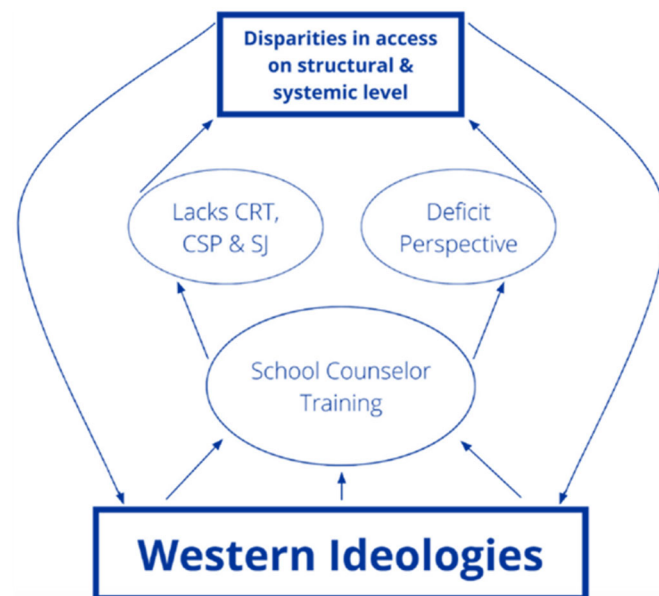
Even though this study provided a platform for much needed work in the field of school counseling, there are some limitations. This study only focused on the perspective of school counselors in one geographic location of southern California. Additionally, most of the participants were between the ages of 25 and 34, and fresh to the field with five or less years of experience. The interviews were also completed with no follow up to ask for clarification. Although this study has several limitations, it did help with the conceptualization of a model that we believe can guide future directions for research.

Future Direction

The following conceptual model was created to demonstrate the layers of the problem, with western ideologies being the root issue of systemic institutionalized racism that exists in disparities of college access and success. This model is connected to and drawing from the work of scholars dedicated to revolutionary education, especially that of Paris and Alim (2017), Smith (2012), Love (2019), and Atkins and Oglesby (2018).

Model 1.

Western Ideologies as Root Issue of Systemic Racism in Disparities of College Access and Success.



Western ideologies heavily influence school counselor training, which has resulted in a lack of CRT, CSP, and SJ and perpetuates a deficit-based perspective of anything that falls outside of white middle class norms (Paris & Alim, 2017). This cycle has caused the disparities in college access and success on a systemic level, which was historically done intentionally via redlining, segregation, and other discriminatory policies within U.S. colonial education. The problem we are seeing in current research is that too much focus is put on the symptom (disparities in access), with too little regard to the root of why (Smith, 2012). The root of why, western ideologies, is the missing piece that is being glossed over and unaddressed. Furthermore, given the fact that the research done on

Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

disparities in college access has mainly focused on financial and academic barriers, it is imperative that this scope is broadened and focuses more on what is actually causing those disparities: western ideologies. The field would make more progress getting to the root of the problem, rather than using energy putting band aids on the symptoms (disparities in access). This is an uncomfortable conversation because it requires calling out systems, structures, and the individuals that uphold them, but it is a necessary step.

Conclusion

The results allude to a call for action within school counselor education. School counselors should be trained on how to translate the theories of CRT, CSP, and SJ to practice. This can provide a deeper understanding of the systemic factors that affect students, and thus, support school counselors in providing the best and most appropriate anti-racist school counseling services for the students via removing barriers to higher education and beyond, challenging the status quo within schools, and creating change on a systemic level. This is especially important as the research also identified the school counselor as a gatekeeper for college access. The results allude to the possibility that students of color are continuing to be swayed away from higher education because school counselor training lacks the tools to empower and sustain diverse cultural

backgrounds and dig deeper into systemic racist issues. The research must continue, and we hope this study shines a brighter light on the problematic insidious issue of western ideologies and their application to the education field, the role it plays in college access, and its metrics through the colonial educational process and experience.



Promoting Equitable College Access and Success

REFERENCES

- American School Counselor Association. (2021). The school counselor and anti-racist practices. Alexandria, VA: Author.
- Atkins, R. & Oglesby, A. (2018). Interrupting racism. Equity and social justice in school counseling. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Childers-Mckee, C. D., & Hytten, K. (2015). Critical Race Feminism and the Complex Challenges of Educational Reform. *The Urban Review*, 47(3), 393-412. doi:10.1007/s11256-015-0323-z
- Dixson, A. D., & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). And we are still not saved: critical race theory in education ten years later. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 7–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000340971>
- Duncan-Andrade, J. M. (2008). Art of critical pedagogy: Possibilities for moving from theory to practice in urban schools.
- Grothaus, T., Johnson, K., & Edirmanasinghe, N. (2020). Culturally Sustaining School Counseling. American School Counseling Association.
- Hart, C. (2010). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Science*, 13-30. doi:10.1057/9780230299009_2
- Hiraldo, P. (2010). The role of critical race theory in higher education. *The Vermont Connection*, 31(1), 7.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2007). School counseling to close the achievement gap: A social justice framework for success. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Howard, T. C., & Navarro, O. (2016). Critical Race Theory 20 Years Later. *Urban Education*, 51(3), 253–273. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085915622541>
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2020). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *Critical Race Theory in Education*, 9–26. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003005995-2>
- La Guardia, A. C. (2020). Counselor Education and Supervision: 2019 Annual Review. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, 60(1), 2–21. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ceas.12192>
- Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic Analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1), 160940691773384. doi:10.1177/1609406917733847
- Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (2017). Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ratts, M. J., & Greenleaf, A. T. (2018). Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies: A Leadership Framework for Professional School Counselors. *Professional School Counseling*, 21(1b). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759x18773582>
- Shedd, C. (2015). Unequal city: Race, schools, and perceptions of injustice. New York, NY: Russel Sage.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Spooren, W., & Degand, L. (2010). Coding coherence relations: Reliability and validity. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 6(2). doi:10.1515/clt.2010.009
- Steward, D. L. (2019). Envisioning possibilities for innovations in higher education research on race and ethnicity. *Journal Committed to Social Change on Race and Ethnicity*, 5(1), 7-32.
- Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (2015). Foundations of Critical Race Theory in Education (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wilczenski, F. L., Cook, A. L., & Hayden, L. A. (2011). Conceptual and Curricular Frameworks for Infusing Social Justice in Urban School Counselor Education. *Journal of Counselor Preparation and Supervision*. <https://doi.org/10.7729/31.0004>

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach using Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality



Authored by
Andrea N. Hunt (*University of North Alabama*)
Tammy D. Rhodes (*University of North Alabama*)

ABSTRACT

Super's (1980, 1996) life-span, life-space approach of career development has had a major influence on the field of career counseling by shifting the focus beyond a 'singular point of entry' into to careers to one multiple transition points and trajectories. While Super's body of theoretical and empirical contributions to the field of career development are vast, the theory does not adequately address the experiences of Black youth. This article focuses on both theory and praxis by discussing the life-span, life-space approach in the context of career development of Black youth. We describe how critical race theory and intersectionality can be used as key organizing principles in an expanded framework along with Super's life-span, life-space approach to guide practices in college and career counseling. We end with a discussion of the implications for practice.

Keywords: career development, Black youth, life-span, life-space approach, Critical Race Theory, intersectionality

The basic premise in Super's (1980, 1996) life-span, life-space approach is that career development is a process that unfolds over the entire life span. Super's major emphasis is on the self-concept and how it changes over time with experience. His work had a major influence on the field of career counseling – it made counseling move past a 'singular point of entry' approach to careers or the thought that there is one transition point into careers (Herr, 1997). Because of Super's model, career counselors now see career development as a

life-span process with multiple transition points and trajectories. While Super's body of theoretical and empirical contributions to the field of career development are vast, the theory does not adequately address the experiences of Black youth. This article focuses on both theory and praxis by first providing an overview of the life-span, life-space approach and applying Super's approach to the career development of Black youth. Next, we describe how critical race theory and intersectionality can be used as key organizing principles in an expanded framework for college and career counseling. We end with a discussion of the implications for practice.

The Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

Much of Super's (1980, 1996) work centers around self-concept which involves both a personal and social identity. The self-concept is a function and result of one's career development. Super suggested that people have multiple self-concepts that lead to a self-concept system. Our vocational or work self-concept is shaped by the occupational images (i.e., mental schemas around who works in what types of jobs) that we carry around and is shaped by our early childhood experiences.



Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

Super thought that people have abilities, personality traits, and self-concepts which qualify them for a number of different occupations, and that certain occupations are more appropriate for some people although there is variability to accommodate differences.

Life Span Construct

An important concept in Super's theoretical model is the life span construct. Super (1980, 1996) uses the life span construct to account for the predictable or expected stages of development in the career role, one of which is adapting to work and different work environments. The developmental stages and tasks in the life span begin with growth (birth to age 15), followed by exploration (ages 15-24), establishment (ages 25-44), maintenance (ages 45-64), and decline (age 65+). Each of these stages in the life span illustrates the importance of work to self-concept and identity. As people navigate through these stages, they are growing in career maturity which coincides with psychosocial and cognitive development.

Growth Stage

The first two stages are of relevance for this article. The first stage is characterized with growth (birth to age 15) and this is where youth should be exposed to a range of careers and when image norms are formed. Giannantonio and Hurley-Hanson (2006) describe image norms as the belief that people must have a certain image that is consistent with occupational, organizational, or industry standards in order to be successful. Image

norms stem from institutionalized beliefs around the "American Dream," meritocracy, and professionalism all of which are constructed in relation to gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and ability. For example, Collins (2000) identified how gender schemas such as promiscuous Jezebel, asexual Mammy, breeding Welfare Mama, controlling Sapphire, and emasculating Matriarch which shape image norms of youth continue to serve as an ideological justification for the economic exploitation of Black women. Further, Hunt and Rhodes (2018) suggest that gendered and racialized expectations about appearance in the workplace are often used to convey messages about professionalism and what bodies belong in certain occupational spaces. While Black women are earning college degrees at increasing rates, they are still disproportionately in careers that are social service related (e.g., social work or nursing), which is an extension of their history as domestic laborers and continuing discrimination in hiring practices. Black men are stereotyped as hypermasculine and aggressive with dominant narratives portraying them as unemployable, drug dealers, hip hop artists, or athletes. These stereotypes are upheld by larger systems of oppression (i.e., racism) and continue to perpetuate occupational segregation, which leads to a lack of representation in careers for youth.

For Black youth, these larger narratives along with messages that they might receive from teachers regarding careers shape their image

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

norms, which are all formed within a larger racialized society. If youth do not have broad career exposure in their everyday setting, it is essential that they have access to career-related programs and interventions in school settings (Mariani et al., 2016). Many interventions such as *Real Game Series* (Anaca Technologies, 2014), *Career Cruising* (Career Cruising, 2015), and *Choices* (Choices Education Group, n.d.) are curriculums that provide students with general information about the world of work with the aim of increasing their awareness of college and career readiness (Pulliama & Barteka, 2018). However, these interventions were not normed with Black youth in mind and reinforce notions of respectability politics, perpetuate the myth of meritocracy, and do not address racialized image norms or social structures that Black youth may experience.

Exploration Stage

The second developmental stage, exploration (ages 15-24), is particularly interesting because this is where high school and college students try out different classes, interests, volunteer activities, and jobs (mostly part-time work) to help narrow down their interests and find possible career choices. School and career counselors working with high school and college students may encounter image norms in the exploration stage that affects students' ability to make effective career decisions. King and Madsen (2007) suggest that low-income Black youth may be more likely to initially consider careers in which they have seen other Black

people who appear to be successful (e.g., athletics). Even in settings (e.g., school or health care) where Black youth are likely to have interactions with professionals, they may not see people with similar identities beyond low-paying entry-level positions. These factors along with the lack of representation in certain fields of study (e.g., STEM) at the collegiate level may shape students' image norms and their desire or aspirations to explore or pursue different careers (Byars-Winston, 2014; Knight, 2015).

It is necessary that career counselors working with high school and college students continue to address occupational stereotypes even beyond the growth stage and how this may affect whether students see themselves as credible or competent in a field or profession. If not, students may not explore careers that are more suited for them or may be funneled into other majors or activities. Alliman-Brissett and Turner (2010) describe a glass ceiling in STEM fields for people of color that is an extension of educational preparation or lack thereof. More specifically, the choices made during middle and early high school regarding math and science classes can limit the opportunities for the more advanced classes that are needed for successful completion of a STEM college degree. As such, school counselors have a significant impact on youth prior to the 10th grade because they serve as a gateway to the course selection process that impacts trajectories beyond high school.

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

Counselors may inadvertently make assumptions about a students' ability based on their own implicit or unconscious biases and the image norms that they associate with careers, thus encouraging Black students to pursue areas where they are overrepresented and might not need the same level of math and science preparation (and also have low median earnings) such as human services, community organization/development, social work, criminal justice, and human relations. Because of this, Black youth may not feel the same level of support from school counselors as other youth. School counselors need to be well-versed in multicultural (see Byars-Winston, 2014) and culturally relevant practices and use these approaches in facilitating career exploration among Black youth. Career exploration also includes finding opportunities for job shadowing with Black professionals and creating inclusive spaces to discuss structural barriers and discrimination.

Life Space

One of the most fascinating concepts in Super's (1980, 1996) model is the life space. The life space encompasses all of the social positions and roles that we hold in society. The life space consists of the different areas that make us who we are and spaces in life that we occupy (i.e., inhabited social spaces). The life space is an important concept because it is the site of future-orientation and an ongoing career development process over the life span (Diemer & Blustein, 2006). Super (1980) suggests that the roles that people occupy within the life space may have

different meaning to people and that not everyone is going to play all of these roles. However, his research does not specifically address Black youth or how systemic racism affects the major roles or principle theaters that describe the life spaces that people occupy over their life course.

Super (1980) defines roles in terms of expectations and performances, and notes that earlier performances (e.g., roles held prior to an adult career) affect later positions, the way role expectations are met, and how those roles are performed. This shows how roles interact and shape each other. Diemer and Blustein (2006) clarify that taking on a vocational identity which is largely influenced by early life experiences in childhood including positive image norms is connected to the vocational futures and the work role salience in the life space of Black youth.

Super (1980) also provides some further clarification on the relationship between roles and theaters by suggesting that some people do not enter paid employment so home may be the location of their labor (although it is largely unpaid in the typical sense). People live in multiple environments and have many roles and these vary in their demands and significance (Herr, 1997) suggesting role salience (Super, 1996). This can lead to a push and pull factor for Black youth when they have to navigate multiple home, school, and work communities as they enter college and/or future careers that may lead them into other settings. Super's (1957) previous research also supported the notion of role

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

conflict where the demands of each role compete and/or come into conflict with each other. Role salience and role conflict factor into the decision points (e.g., before and at the time of taking on a new role, giving up an old role, or making significant changes in existing roles) and the myriad of personal and social determinants that have an effect on our decisions about the roles within our life space.

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

Super provides a detailed description of career development over time. However, this body of research scarcely mentions systemic racism, how this shapes developmental stages, and how people navigate image norms and the life space. This model does not fully capture the lived experiences of Black students and how different aspects of their identities intersect to shape persistence and retention in academic spaces. This requires insight from other theories to help conceptualize a model that leads to praxis. First, critical race theory brings attention to the social construction of race and how this is used to further certain economic and political goals that systematically disadvantage Black youth and shape their career development. Next, intersectionality addresses how systems of power such as racism and sexism intersect to shape people's lives (Crenshaw, 1991). Race, gender, sexuality, and so many other axes of oppression are part of an interlocking system of power that forms a matrix of domination against marginalized groups (Collins, 2000). Insights from social capital

theory are interwoven into the following discussion on critical race theory and intersectionality. Social capital refers to relationships within social networks, common values within these networks (e.g., trust and reciprocity), and how this constitutes a resource that becomes a form of capital. School counselors and advisors should serve as social capital for Black youth. Social capital involves both social support and information, which minoritized youth often lack as they transition from out of high school into college or careers. These theories combined illustrate how systems of power shape the social identities and lived experiences of students and how they navigate and negotiate meaning around careers and postsecondary education.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) was developed by a group of legal scholars who wanted to center the experiences of people of color in a critique of the prevailing notions of colorblindness in the law (Bell, 1995a, 1995b). This critique draws attention to the relationship between race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The main tenets of CRT include recognizing that racism is pervasive and built into how U.S. society operates and this is through ideologies around White supremacy that are embedded within most social structures and institutions (Lynn et al., 2013). These ideologies create a system of privilege around Whiteness that advantages some people who seem to remain invisible to their own privileges while disadvantaging others. For those who are minoritized, this leads to a

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

loss of power and creates increased marginalization and feelings of isolation and despair as they navigate major social institutions such as education (Haskins & Singh, 2015). CRT critiques existing scholarship that does not recognize the experiences of people of color and liberalism or colorblindness as the sole pathway for equality.

In the context of career counseling, integrating CRT with Super's life-span, life-space approach draws attention to how structural racism and poverty may serve as barriers for Black youth as they develop their career aspirations, understand the career expectations that people may have of them, and navigate different career trajectories (Diemer, 2007). Alliman-Brissett and Turner (2010) suggest that youth differentiate among the different types of racism experienced across life spaces, and the racism they experience related to career exploration (in schools or by others around them) was directly and negatively associated with math self-efficacy, math outcome expectations, and poor academic performance in math. This also accounts for the gap between early career aspirations and later expectations for Black youth, leading to negative career thinking (Diemer & Blustein, 2006).

The effects of institutional racism that youth experience over the life span perpetuates the racialization of different careers and the myth of meritocracy in careers such as STEM-related fields. This can lead to cultural mistrust between Black youth and White

counselors and educators who work within an educational system organized around Whiteness (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Bullock-Yowell et al., 2011), thus affecting the acquisition of social capital that often occurs while we are in school. Diemer and Blustein (2006) provide a solution grounded within the tenets of CRT that can help Black youth in the career development process. Their research shows that critical consciousness, namely sociopolitical control (i.e., the belief that actions within social and political systems can lead to change [Zimmerman et al., 1999]) is related to career commitment and work role salience for youth of color. Critical consciousness which can be seen throughout CRT can serve as a tool for Black youth in developing self-efficacy and a stronger racial identity while also analyzing how systemic inequality and oppression affects different roles in the life space and career development over the lifespan.

Intersectionality

The framework of intersectionality, coined by Kimberle' Crenshaw, is the belief that there are specific intersections that co-exist and construct the whole person, which create overlapping or intersecting systems of oppression and disadvantage. While intersectionality has similar roots as CRT (Bell, 1995a, 1995b) and has traditionally explored the ways that different identities intersect within the context of legal studies (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005), it has been expanded to explore various experiences of Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) in society. Intersectionality has much

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

to do with power similar to CRT – who exerts power and who is disadvantaged by it. Exploring the intersections of those who hold the power and wealth in society also sheds light on how systems of privilege and oppression are maintained. Quite often those who hold power do not belong to minoritized groups and they do not have to defend their position in society, which is how inequality is reproduced through racism, patriarchy and sexism, and classism.

Together with the life-span, life space approach and CRT, intersectionality highlights the importance of Black youth having a critical awareness of sociopolitical structures (racism, sexism, etc.) and how these systems intersect to shape their life chances. Without this awareness, Black youth may internalize their experiences and see a lack of opportunity as solely tied to their agency and individual merit. Black youth who are successful are often seen as “tokens” and have to defend their presence in spaces that are racialized and gendered. Students who do not have to defend or explain their presence are at an advantage in exploring different career opportunities, which is to say that taking up space without having to explain or prove that one belongs there removes some of the barriers related to aspirations, possibilities, and success. For example, Mayes and Hines (2014) suggest that the experiences of gifted Black girls are shaped by their racial and gender identities along with the larger cultural stereotypes and expectations surrounding those identities, which in turn

affect career aspirations. Because of this, they often do not see themselves represented in the curriculum, school-based programs, or in some careers. This can lead to feelings of isolation, academic disengagement, and changes in career aspirations. Howard et al. (2011) found a clear gender preference for occupational aspirations by race, and girls aspired to careers that required more education than did boys but that would result in similar median salaries.

While in college, Black students who attend predominantly White institutions (PWI) may potentially choose a major where they are likely to be the one student of color in their department, which could also eventually make them one of the only few persons of color in their career fields. Black students have to not only consider their race when entering into these spaces, but also how their other identities (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, social class, or ability) may intersect to create additional psychological, emotional, and social barriers along their educational and career paths. Unfortunately, the onus is often on BIPOC students and future professionals to learn how to best prepare, handle, and support themselves when faced with possible anti-intersectional sentiments in college and their everyday lives. While identity is important and creates a sense of empowerment, fighting to establish a sense of belonging can be defeating and rid youth of embracing all of their identities, especially when some identities are shunned in some spaces. This is why it is essential for

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

counselors on college campuses to provide services rooted in multicultural and intersectional frameworks that are not only for direct care, but that focus on advocacy and social change.

Implications for Practice

Various professional organizations and their corresponding standards for career counseling provide guidance for practice that aligns with the life-span, life-space approach. These practices along with work grounded in CRT and intersectionality provide a more holistic approach to career development for Black youth. The American School Counselors Association (ASCA; 2019) divides a school counselor's work into three areas (i.e., personal/social, academic, and career development) and suggest that career education should begin as early as kindergarten and be cumulative resulting in successful postsecondary or career transitions (Pulliama & Barteka, 2018). The National Career Development Association (NCDA) (2004) has guidelines for school counselors that increase a student's self-knowledge; encourage educational and occupational exploration; and focus on career planning. The College Board National Office for School Counselor Advocacy (NOSCA) also set standards in their *Eight Components of College and Career Readiness Counseling* (NOSCA, 2012) that provide a systematic approach for school counselors beginning in elementary school. These include emphasis on college aspiration early in childhood; academic planning for college and career readiness;

enrichment and extracurricular engagement that build leadership skills; college and career exploration and making informed decisions about the future; college and career assessments; college affordability planning; understanding the college and career admission processes; and making a successful transition from high school graduation to college enrollment (NOSCA, 2012; Pulliama & Barteka, 2018).

Based on these professional guidelines and the expanded life-span, life-space approach proposed in this article, school counselors at the elementary, middle-school, high-school, and college levels are all vital in the development of positive image norms and career exploration, both of which are connected to later college and career readiness. Knight (2015) provides a litany of recommendations for practice that include university and K-12 partnerships; a specific focus on elementary-school career development; more collaboration with stakeholders; the use of data-driven and developmentally appropriate interventions; and more training for counselors to deliver classroom guidance sessions around career development. Byars-Winston (2014) suggests expanding the boundaries beyond traditional career development activities and partnering with organizations that serve Black youth (e.g., Boys and Girls Clubs of America) and organizations that often have career awareness programming such as historically Black sororities and fraternities and local trade unions. At the collegiate level, more federal funding is needed for community

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

colleges and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) along with raising public awareness (and student awareness) around the importance of these institutions as viable educational pathways. Black students attending PWIs need more specific career resources that address their multiple identities such as those provided by Rice University's Center for Career Development and access to trained career counselors which are often not found in student counseling centers or career services at many institutions.

While these recommendations are extremely helpful for practitioners, one of the primary areas of concern is that very little career programming occurs at the elementary level with counselors reporting they spend the least amount of time in career development activities (Knight, 2015) and especially in schools with low resources. As a result, students attending under-resourced schools often report being unsure of how to navigate the many college and career choices that they have to make throughout their education (King and Madsen, 2007). These experiences can further exacerbate the cultural mistrust that Black students may have in predominantly White spaces or with White counselors. One way to remedy this is to connect college and career readiness in elementary and middle-schools to instruction in content areas such as literacy, which encourages school counselors and teachers to collaborate on initiatives in creative ways. Turner (2019) offers a Freirean-inspired approach that integrates literacy skills with college and career readiness, critical thinking,

and sociopolitical consciousness. This model provides multiple opportunities for Black youth to explore career aspirations with peers by reading different materials including books on successful Black adults, conducting research on future careers, and presenting on their career goals using multimodal strategies. This is a more culturally relevant approach to college and career readiness because it encourages the leveraging of Black students' community knowledge and career aspirations; center Black students' racial literacies and conventional literacies; and promote liberatory literacies through different forms of writing and sharing of knowledge (Turner, 2019).

Anctil, Klose Smith, Schenck, and Dahir (2012) found that school counselors are more likely to engage in career development when they believe it to be important. Counselor education programs need to integrate more multicultural career development training for school counselors at all levels that stresses the importance of career development for the overall well-being of youth (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Career development training also needs to move away from a deficit approach when working with Black youth to one that identifies more protective factors for positive career development such as stable and supportive extended family, kin, and community networks that provide social capital; a strong ethnic and/or cultural identity that is developed through critical consciousness (Diemer & Blustein, 2006); and community resources that support psychosocial and physical development. In

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

doing so, school counselors are able to more effectively engage Black youth in career exploration that increases their flexibility and career adaptability, helps create a vocational identity and future orientation, and encourages career self-efficacy and an internal locus of control (Knight, 2015). Most importantly, it teaches Black youth how to examine their lives and careers within the context of larger sociopolitical structures (Diemer & Blustein, 2006).

One way of doing this is by using career development group counseling in school settings with strategies that extend Super's model and reflect tenets of CRT and intersectionality. For example, Falco and Shaheed (2021) show how career decision making is an intentional process through their work with young women in high school by focusing on increasing general self-efficacy, career decision self-efficacy, and STEM self-efficacy. They use the first four sessions to focus on interests, social support, barriers, and beliefs all of which are linked to STEM motivation. The other four sessions focus more specifically on sources of self-efficacy and setting goals for after the group. Mostly importantly, the sessions highlight the larger sociocultural and sociopolitical context, how this affects STEM self-efficacy, how this creates systemic barriers for STEM engagement, and how to address all of this. Students complete reflection prompts, which are designed to increase self-efficacy, in a weekly journal about their reactions to the group discussion and how the group

discussions affect their decision-making regarding STEM careers.

Barclay and Stoltz (2016) use a similar narrative approach in their Life Design Group (LDG) with college students to see how the clients perceive their own strengths, interests, overall life goals, and career identity. They use the Career Construction Interview (CCI) (Savickas, 1998, 2011) which was influenced by Super's work. What is important here is paying attention to how the CCI can be used to guide group sessions with diverse populations through its focus on authoring a co-constructive story of identity and meaning. An approach like the LDG and CCI is further strengthened by considering how CRT and intersectionality can inform the collaborative and reflective process between a facilitator, individuals, and group members in addressing the varying cultural aspects of each students' story and the institutional or systemic barriers (e.g., discrimination) that have shaped their early life experiences. Insights from CRT and intersectionality along with the LDG and CCI used by Barclay and Stoltz (2016) can empower students to identify career pathways, make adaptive life decisions, and connect with campus and community resources that encourages their sociopolitical consciousness of education and the institutions that they are currently navigating while also increasing their likelihood of graduation.

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

Conclusion

Career counselors have long recognized the importance of Super's (1980, 1996) life-span, life-space approach because of its developmental focus and emphasis on how the self-concept changes over time with experience. Super's work changed how counselors thought about career transition and trajectories. However, the theory does not directly address the experiences of Black youth. This article sought to integrate CRT and intersectionality with the life-span, life-space approach for a more thorough framework of career development for Black youth. This framework is not only applicable for the career development interventions that are used in schools, but also can help redefine how we train career counselors and encourage increased reflexivity among White counselors who work with Black youth. CRT and intersectionality shift our thinking to systems of advantage and disadvantage and the ideologies that sustain those systems. This framework is also useful in critiquing existing practices and scholarship in counselor education that are often based on Eurocentric models and helps practitioners recognize that colorblindness does not lead to equity, inclusion, or justice for Black youth. As such,

this expanded theoretical model not only guides everyday practices with students but serves as a framework for how we conceptualize career counseling as social justice/change work in the 21st century.



“CRT and intersectionality shift our thinking to systems of advantage and disadvantage and the ideologies that sustain those systems. This framework also is useful in critiquing existing practices and scholarship in counselor education that are often based on Eurocentric models and helps practitioners recognize that colorblindness does not lead to equity, inclusion, or justice for Black youth.”

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

REFERENCES

- Alliman-Brissett, A. E., & Turner, S. L. (2010). Racism, parent support, and math-based career interests, efficacy, and outcome expectations among African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 36* (2), 197-225. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798409351830>
- Anaca Technologies. (2014). *Real game series*. <https://www.realgame.ca/en/>
- Anctil, T., Klose Smith, C., Schenck, P., & Dahir, C. (2012). Professional school counselors' career development practices and continuing education needs. *The Career Development Quarterly, 60*, 109-121. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2012.00009.x>
- American School Counselors Association. (2019). *The school counselor and academic development*. <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/Standards-Positions/Position-Statements/ASCA-Position-Statements/The-School-Counselor-and-Academic-Development>
- Barclay, S. R., & Stoltz, K. B. (2016). The life design group: A case study vignette in group career construction counseling. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice, 53*(1), 78-89. doi: 10.1080/19496591.2016.1087859
- Bell, D. (1995a). Racial realism. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*, (pp. 302-312). New Press.
- Bell, D. A. (1995b). Who's afraid of critical race theory? *University of Illinois Law Review, 4*, 893-910.
- Bullock-Yowell, E., Andrews, L., & Buzzetta, M. E. (2011). Explaining career decision-making self-efficacy: Personality, cognitions, and cultural mistrust. *The Career Development Quarterly September, 59*, 400-411. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2011.tb00967.x>
- Byars-Winston, A. (2014). Toward a framework for multicultural STEM-focused career interventions. *The Career Development Quarterly, 62*, 340-357. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2014.00087.x>
- Career Cruising. (2015). *Career cruising*. <https://public.careercruising.com/>
- Choices Education Group. (n.d.). *Choices*. <https://choices.org/>
- Collins, P.H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*, (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241-1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical race theory: An introduction*, (2nd ed.). University Press.
- Diemer, M. A., & Blustein, D. L. (2006). Critical consciousness and career development among urban youth. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 68*, 220-232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2005.07.001>
- Diemer, M. A. (2007). Parental and school influences upon the career development of poor youth of color. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 70*, 502-524. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2007.02.003>
- Falco, L. D., & Shaheed, C. (2021). Putting theory into practice: A conceptual framework for career group counseling in school settings. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 46*(1), 1-14. doi: 10.1080/01933922.2020.1867678
- Giannantonio, C. M., & Hurley-Hanson, A. E. (2006). Applying image norms across Super's career development stages. *The Career Development Quarterly, 54*, 318-330. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2006.tb00197.x>
- Haskins, N. H., & Singh, A. (2015). Critical race theory and counselor education pedagogy: Creating equitable training. *Counselor Education & Supervision, 54*, 288-301. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ceas.12027>
- Herr, E. L. (1997). Super's life-span, life-space approach and its outlook for refinement. *The Career Development Quarterly, 45*, 238-246.
- Howard, K. A. S., Carlstrom, A. H., Katz, A. D., Chew, A. Y., Ray, C. G., Laine, L., & Caulum, D. (2011). Career aspirations of youth: Untangling race/ethnicity, SES, and gender. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 79*, 98-109. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2010.12.002>
- Hunt, A. N., & Rhodes, T. (2018). Fat pedagogy and microaggressions: Experiences of professionals working in higher education settings. *Fat Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Body Weight and Society, 7*(1), 21-32.

Expanding the Life-Span, Life-Space Approach

- King, N. J., & Madsen, E. (2007). Contextual influences on the career development of low-income African American youth considering an ecological approach. *Journal of Career Development, 33*(4), 395-411. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0894845307300519>
- Knight, J. L. (2015). Preparing elementary school counselors to promote career development: Recommendations for school counselor education programs. *Journal of Career Development, 42*(2), 75-85. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0894845314533745>
- Lynn, M. Jennings, M. E., & Hughes, S. (2013). Critical race pedagogy 2.0: Lessons from Derrick Bell. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 16*(4), 603-628. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.817776>
- Mariani, M., Berger, C., Koerner, K., & Sandlin, C. (2016). Operation occupation: A college and career readiness intervention for elementary students (practitioner-focused research). *Professional School Counseling, 20*(1), 65-76. <https://doi.org/10.5330%2F1096-2409-20.1.65>
- Mayes, R. D., & Hines, E. M. (2014). College and career readiness for gifted African American girls: A call to school counselors. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning, 4*(1), 31-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2020.1789790>
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs, 30*(3), 1771-1800. <https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>
- National Career Development Association. (2004). *National career development guidelines (NCDG) framework*. <https://www.ncda.org/aws/NCDA/pt/sp/guidelines>
- National Office for School Counselor Advocacy. (2012). *Elementary school counselor's guide: NOSCA's eight components of college and career readiness counseling*. The College Board.
- Pulliamma, N., & Barteka, S. (2018). College and career readiness in elementary schools. *International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education, 10*(3), 355-360. <https://doi.org/10.26822/iejee.2018336193>
- Rice University Center for Career Development. (n.d.). *Black student resources*. <https://ccd.rice.edu/students/career-resources/identity-based-resources/resources-for-black-students>
- Savickas, M. L. (1998). Career style assessment and counseling. In T. J. Sweeney (Ed.), *Adlerian counseling: A practitioner's approach* (4th ed., pp. 329-359). Accelerated Development.
- Savickas, M. L. (2011). *Career counseling*. American Psychological Association.
- Super, D. E. (1957). *The psychology of careers; an introduction to vocational development*. Harper & Bros.
- Super, D. E. (1980). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 16*, 282-298. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-8791\(80\)90056-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-8791(80)90056-1)
- Super, D. E. (1996). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, and Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed., pp. 197-245). Jossey-Bass.
- Terrell, F., & Terrell, S. L. (1981). An inventory to measure cultural mistrust among Blacks. *Western Journal of Black Studies, 3*, 180-185.
- Turner, J. D. (2019). Improving Black students' college and career readiness through literacy instruction: A Freirean-inspired approach for K-8 classrooms. *The Journal of Negro Education, 88*(4), 443-453.
- Zimmerman, M. A., Ramírez-Valles, J., & Maton, K. I. (1999). Resilience among urban African American male adolescents: A study of the protective effects of sociopolitical control on their mental health. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 27*(6), 733-751. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1022205008237>

Black Male Collegiate Athletes' Perceptions of Their Career and Academic Preparation: A Mixed Methods Study



Authored by
Jennifer R. Curry (*Louisiana State University*)
Franklin A. Soares (*Louisiana State University*)
Justin E. Maclin (*Maclin Motivation*)
Imre Csaszar (*Louisiana State University*)

ABSTRACT

We employed a mixed methods approach with sequential explanatory design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) and a Social Capital Theory framework (Bourdieu, 1977) to investigate three research questions: (1) In what ways were participants' career and college readiness capital developed during high school? (2) How do participants view their academic and career growth and development prior to and after coming to college? (3) Who provided career and college development to participants in this study prior to their college entrance? Results revealed potential reasons why disparities existed between Black and White participants beginning in K-12 and continuing through college. Implications for anti-racist school counseling are given.

Keywords: antiracist, school counseling, career development, college readiness, student-athletes, social capital

School counselors provide students with comprehensive school counseling programs including career, academic, and social emotional development (American School Counselor Association [ASCA], 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2019). Ethically, school counselors should promote culturally responsive schools that provide equitable education access opportunities for students through evidence-based practices such as antiracist school counseling (ASCA, 2016, 2019). Black, male student-athletes are an

underserved population compromised in their career and academic success due to educational system disparities.

Black male athletes are less likely than white male athletes, female athletes, and collegiate non-athlete peers to excel academically and in their careers (Vereen et al., 2015). However, the trajectory of educational problems for Black male athletes begins before their postsecondary experience (Curry & Milsom, 2017). In this manuscript, we review revenue generating college athletics, and career and academic outcomes for Black male athletes. We present results of a mixed methods study of a Division I football team in which we compared White and Black student athletes' perceptions of their K-12 academic and career preparation. Implications for antiracist school counseling practice are discussed.

Antiracist School Counseling

Education in the United States (U.S.) was built upon colonization. In spite of the myth that students excel meritoriously, Jim Crowe era practices of separate and unequal education persist: gerrymandered districts, voter suppression, and segregated housing add to the racial divide in education (Love, 2019).



Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

White school counselors may submit to notions of colorblindness and meritocracy, further reinforcing oppression for students of color by denying race, SES and academic achievement correlations (MacVeigh, 2012). For these reasons, school counselors are ethically bound to practice antiracism (ASCA, 2016). Yet, developing an anti-racist identity takes knowledge and skills including identifying and challenging racism, advocating for students of color, utilizing trauma informed care (TIC), and addressing policies that disadvantage students of color (Malott et al., 2018).

To integrate antiracist practice, school counselors must anticipate meeting resistance, denial of racism, and “white amnesia” (i.e., defining racism as a condition of the past only) (Joseph-Salisbury, 2019, p. 64). Challenges for antiracist counselors include ambiguity about how to address racism, worry about confronting others, balancing personal growth with antiracist action, and activism burn out (Gorski, 2019; Malott et al., 2018). Advocacy and action require knowledge, skill, courage, and wellness; advocacy might be a single act but it may also be a methodical, planned course of action leading to long-term transformative outcomes.

College Preparation by Race

Burnett et al. (2020) studied Black seventh, 10th, and 12th grade students' perceptions of academic and nonacademic race stereotypes.

Black males endorsed race stereotypes that positioned Blacks as better than Whites in non-academics (i.e., music, sports). Black girls endorsed stereotypes that Whites were better in academics than Blacks. Both Black males and females endorsed stereotypes favoring Whites in English, possibly injuring Black students' academic self-concepts (Burnett et al., 2020).

These stereotypes may be underscored by high school course rigor which matters for college success. In particular, the number of Advanced Placement (AP) and Dual Enrollment (DE) courses taken in high school correlated positively with college entrance, persistence, graduation, and grade point average (GPA), especially for STEM majors, first generation college students (FGCS) and underrepresented minorities (The College Board, 2016). Smith et al. (2018) found that AP STEM examination takers had 7% higher first year grades and were 13% more likely to graduate with STEM degrees than non-AP STEM majors. Yet, Black students from low-income households are largely excluded from AP coursework (Ed Trust, 2020). Black students represented 15% of eighth graders but represented only 10% of eighth grade Algebra I enrollment, and 15% of high school students were Black, but constituted only 9% of students enrolled in one AP course (Ed Trust, 2020).

Similarly, Black students scored a composite of 17.9 on the ACT respective to White students' composite of 23.3 (ACT, Inc., 2019).

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

In 2019, only 11% of Black students taking the ACT met three or more benchmarks respective to 47% of White students (ACT, 2019). These outcomes hurt African American students' career self-concepts; and ultimately, career aspirations follow perceived self-efficacy and patterns of achievement (Hall & Rathbun, 2020).

In a study conducted by McArdle et al. (2013), GPA and ACT/SAT scores had the largest effect for predicting college freshman GPA. Zeiser (2011) investigated 10th grade students' participation in varsity football and basketball and those same students' GPA and math test scores by race in 12th grade. Participation in varsity sports did not affect math test scores for Black or White men, but it did negatively affect Black mens' GPAs (Zeiser, 2011). School counselors should play a role in closing this education gap by working with administrators, coaches, teachers, families and students to highlight between groups differences (e.g., demonstrating through data) and by advocating for Black male athletes (ASCA, 2019).

College Athletes, Revenue, and Exploitation

College athletics have become ripe territory for ethical dilemmas. Olson (2019) noted how coaches and athletic directors create special admission policies for athletes so universities will have a better chance of winning games. For example, for the class of 2022, Georgetown University received 22,897

applications and accepted 3,327 (Top Tier Admissions, 2021). That same year, Georgetown University filed 158 special admissions in athletics (Olson, 2019). These problems are exacerbated macroculturally. Gurney et al. (2017) pointed to ethical concerns in Division I revenue generating athletics such as academic integrity, lack of health protection for athletes, and exorbitant pay for athletic directors and coaches. This inequitable structure is supported directly and indirectly by television and social media, conference leadership, and college administrators (Gurney et al., 2017; McDermand & Austin, 2018).

Revenue Generating Sports

The Knight Commission (2015) highlighted spending increases on collegiate athletics. In 2017-2018, full time equivalent (FTE) expenditures per student at public institutions averaged \$10,780 and \$18,710 at private, non-profit colleges (Hussar et al., 2020). Comparatively, in 2013, spending per athlete was \$190,536 (Knight Commission, 2015). These amounts included student and academic services and instruction.

The drive for revenue has very real consequences for student-athletes. Saffici and Pelligrino (2012) contended that the term athlete-students more accurately depicted the role of athletes first and students second. The authors evidenced coaches and advisors encouraging student-athletes to take courses leading to easier majors or degrees with less

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

rigorous curricula to maintain eligibility. Saffici and Pelligrino (2012) noted these efforts were meant to focus athletes on sports with academics serving primarily as a qualifier.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA; 2016) surveyed student-athletes to assess how much time student-athletes dedicated to athletics. Comparing similar findings from 2010 for each Division (Division I, Division II, and Division III sport teams respectively) they found that student-athletes' time devoted to athletics had increased across all Divisions. Division I student-athletes spent an average of 34 hours weekly devoted to their sport in 2015, an increase from 32 hours weekly in 2010 (NCAA, 2016). However, Division I football players averaged over 40 hours per week, including the off season (NCAA, 2016).

Beamon (2008) studied ex-collegiate, revenue generating athletes' perceptions of the costs and benefits of sports participation. Participants listed ways they had been disadvantaged by playing sports: (1) having degrees chosen for them, (2) unable to major in a specific program because the course schedule clashed with training or travel schedules, (3) encouraged to take less-demanding classes, and (4) having little to no income as their sports scholarships covered only basic necessities but their sport participation left no time for extra work. Beamon's (2008) participants acknowledged that athletics gave them a route to college but

lamented that the focus on athletics left them academically underdeveloped and underprepared for their careers.

Harrison et al. (2015) found that Black male, scholar-athletes at high rigor universities were motivated to succeed academically but identified times they lost confidence in their academic abilities. Student-athletes shared having "false dreams" (p. 86) presented by coaches when they were recruited, fans who turned on them, and pressure to take easy courses or majors to maintain eligibility (Harrison et al., 2015). In sum, student-athletes in revenue generating sports attend college with hopes for their athletic, academic and career futures; however, many leave feeling betrayed by their universities for profit.

Academic Outcomes for African American Athletes

Many colleges and universities have implemented academic support for athletes, but is such support effective? McCaffrey and Fouriez (2014) argued that students who are academically underprepared for university level work are disadvantaged, as evidenced by graduation rates. The authors cited University of Georgia which had an 82% graduation rate overall, yet football players had a 70% graduation rate. Similarly, Georgia Tech reported a graduation rate of 79% for the overall student body and just 53% for football players (McCaffrey & Fouriez, 2014).

Studies of athletics and academics have had mixed results. A 2020 Gallup survey

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

conducted on behalf of the NCAA, found Black student-athletes (not disaggregated by sport/gender) far outperformed their non-athlete peers in academic and career outcomes (Beamon, 2008; Gallup, 2020). However, Southall et al. (2016) evaluated graduation rates for White and Black football players compared to their full-time college attending peers (i.e., part-time peers excluded). Southall et al. (2016) found both White and Black football players academically underperformed their peers (-5.1% and -25.2% respectively). This gap was an important finding given the NCAA's consistent messaging contending that all athletes, including Black football players, have received a quality education and positive academic experience exceeding their peers (Beamon, 2008; Gallup, 2020). Yet, when data was disaggregated, Black football players had a significantly lower adjusted graduation rate (Southall et al., 2016).

In a study of longitudinal data, Routon and Walker (2014) reviewed over 18,000 teams and 444,000 student-athletes. The researchers found a negative effect for sport participation on student-athletes' GPA (Routon & Walker, 2014). Although significant, the effect was small, yet greatest among males playing football and basketball (Routon & Walker, 2014). In all, there is evidence to suggest that Black males in revenue generating sports constitute a subpopulation of athletes that appear to have reduced academic outcomes (e.g. GPA, graduation rates) compared to their collegiate peers.

Career Prospects for Collegiate Athletes

Harper (2016) reported that Black men comprised 2.5% of the undergraduate population but 56.3% of football teams and 60.8% of men's basketball teams. According to the NCAA (2020), there were 1,006,013 high school football players across the United States; of those students participating in high school football, approximately 7.3% went on to play in the NCAA in Division I, II, or III (2.9%, 1.9%, and 2.5% respectively). For those NCAA athletes in all divisions, the probability of playing football professionally was 1.6% (NCAA, 2020). For Black male student-athletes, the best question might be, does participation in college athletics expand or reduce/limit future career options? The answer: it depends.

Gallup (2020) noted Black collegiate athletes were 39% more likely to have a good job waiting for them after graduation than non-athlete Black peers (32%). However, Gallup (2020) did not define a good job (e.g., salary, benefits, job security) and did not disaggregate by sport or gender. Therefore, it is hard to deduce if Black males who were in revenue generating sports or those who were enrolled based on special admission policies fared as well as others.

Over one-third of student-athletes indicated that athletics limited their ability to take a desired course and an even greater number (the exact number was not provided) indicated that athletics precluded them from choosing a particular major (NCAA, 2016).

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

These barriers are concerning because students who are undeclared or change majors because they need career planning and decision-making support. College students need the opportunity to take classes that match their interests in order to explore and expand career possibilities (Fouad et al., 2016).

Equally concerning, many student-athletes viewed themselves predominantly as athletes, rather than students. Athletic identity superseding academic identity may be a critical factor in career and academic success (Beron & Piquero, 2016). Colleges and universities arguably shoulder blame for the focus on revenue at the expense of student-athletes' academic and career trajectories. However, school counselors should ensure that Black male student-athletes leave K-12 with the career and academic capital to make future-oriented choices.

Theoretical Framework for Current Study

Bourdieu's (Social Capital Theory) (1977, 1986) asserted that people have resources and assets (capital) that they leverage within relationships and spheres of influence. Individuals have various types of capital: economic (i.e., money, material goods), social (e.g., such as friendship or power), and symbolic such as a title or rank (e.g., coach, football player). Individuals may be born into capital (e.g., high family SES), or may acquire capital through gains in knowledge, skills, and networks (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986).

Capital may be formally cultivated through structures like schools, workplaces, churches, social organizations, and sports. Capital may also be gained informally through relationships with coaches, advisors, and educators (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986). For college bound students without familial capital (e.g., FGCS), college capital may be gained through school counselors who provide career and academic information. For Black student-athletes, opportunities for academic and career development (e.g., ACT test preparation, assessment, work-based learning) to increase their career and college readiness capital are important. Students with limited contact with school personnel or limited academic experiences outside of the classroom, are not likely to develop a full range of career options (Curry & Milsom, 2017) and they may not have the mindset to look for such opportunities (ASCA, 2014). When school counselors observe that such opportunity gaps exist, they are obligated to address the root causes (ASCA, 2016, 2019).

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

In what ways were male student-athletes career and college readiness capital developed during high school?

How do male student-athletes view their academic and career growth and development prior to coming to college?

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Who provided career and college development to male student-athletes in this study prior to their college entrance?

Methods

We employed a mixed methods approach with a sequential explanatory design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). Sequential explanatory designs utilize quantitative data collection followed by qualitative data collection (Creswell et al., 2017). We chose Social Capital Theory (Bourdieu, 1977) as our framework to investigate the research questions. To answer these questions, we used a questionnaire followed by a multicase study.

Case studies investigate phenomena, bounded by time and context (Stake, 2006). In this multicase study, we researched the perceptions of the career and academic capital of members of a football team (the case). We used multicase design to study similarities, as well as uniqueness and variations, based on race and individual preparation and capital (Yin, 2018). We collected interviews and questionnaire data as well as students' schedules and transcripts.

Research Team

Two members of our research team were Black, two were White. One member was female, three were male. One is a prior school counselor, and two are counselor educators, one is a coordinator of campus Black Male Leadership, and one is a motivational

speaker, author and former collegiate athlete. We chose to do this research because we all are interested in career development and underrepresentation of Black males.

Procedures

We obtained Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval and were given permission by the Director of Football Operations to collect data for the study. The study was conducted during the spring (off season). A questionnaire was distributed to football team members prior to a mandatory team meeting. Research associates explained the study purpose and asked student-athletes to participate. Participants were given a questionnaire and a pencil to fill out answers.

Instrumentation. The questionnaire had 28 items: demographics questions (n=9) and questions related to participants' perceived academic preparation, perceived career preparation, and college major and outcomes attribution (n=19). Items were either forced choice (i.e., yes/no) or Likert scale (i.e., strongly agree to strongly disagree) (see Appendix A). The multicase study included semi-structured interviews with two research team members (described in detail in the case study section).

Institution

Participants in this study were members of a Southeastern Conference (SEC), Division I football team. The university is located in an urban area, in a capital city. The university's profile was: Doctoral Granting, Highest Research Activity, Public, Enrollment >

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

30,000. At data collection, demographics included: White, not Hispanic (76.5%), Asian students (3.5%), African American students (11.2%), Hispanic students (5.3% overall), multiracial students (2.2%), and undisclosed (1.2%). Incoming first year students had an average high school GPA of 3.4, and average ACT of 25.6. First-generation college student (FGCS) status was 36.9%.

Questionnaire participants. Of the 119 members of the SEC football team, 61 participated (51%). However, only 53 of the 61 participants accurately completed all 3 forms (informed consent, demographic information, and questionnaire). All were male. Ages ranged from 17 years to 26 years ($M=20$). The total number of team members (119) identified racially as 83 African American, 34 White, and three of mixed race or ethnicity. Of the 53 included participants, 37 identified as African American/Black and 16 identified as White, non-Hispanic; no other races or ethnicities were identified. University classification level included: 18 freshmen, 16 sophomores, nine juniors, eight seniors, and two graduate students. In addition, 13 out of 37 (37%) of the Black student-athletes identified as FGCS, none of the White questionnaire completers identified as FGCS. For the Black participants, this result nearly matched the university's overall student demographic of FGCS. However, for White participants, the FGCS percent did not match the university's overall demographic in respect to FGCS status. The four individuals chosen for the multicase study interviews were based on a

convenience sample from the questionnaires. More information is given in the case study section.

Results

All participants reported their majors (see Table 1 on the next page), and a pattern emerged among Black student-athletes. Of the 37 Black participants completing the questionnaire, 19 (52%) identified as majoring in sport fields: Sport Administration, Sport Management, Sport Commerce, or Kinesiology. Comparatively, only three of 16 (19%) White participants claimed these majors. Two Black participants were undecided (4%).

Forced Choice Questions

The questionnaire results underscored problems of differential academic and career preparation for African American football players compared to White football players during high school. For example, in response to the question, "While in high school I was pushed to take honors and Advanced Placement (AP) courses," 27 participants responded Yes, 14 Black students (38%) and 13 White students (81%). Of the 26 responding No, 23 (62%) were Black and three (19%) were White. This result is important because rigorous coursework has been consistently recommended for college preparation.

Another item with a demonstrated disparity included, "I had at least one teacher tell me

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Table 1.
Self Reported Majors.

Major	N	Demographic Breakdown	
		N (%) participants identified as White	N (%) participants identified as African American
Architect	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Business	9	3 (5.7%)	6 (11.3%)
Business Management	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Business-Marketing	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Computer Engineering	2	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.8%)
Construction Management	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Criminal Justice	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Economics	2	2 (3.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Education	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Environmental Engineering	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Finance	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Geography	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Geology	1	1 (1.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Interdisciplinary Studies	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Kinesiology	4	2 (3.8%)	2 (3.8%)
Petroleum Engineering	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Pre-law	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Psychology	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Sports Administration	17	3 (5.7%)	14 (26.4%)
Sports Commerce	2	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.8%)
Sports Management	1	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)
Undecided	1	0 (0.0%)	2 (3.8%)
Total	53	16 (30.2%)	37 (69.8%)

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

about a career outside of athletics that I might have an aptitude for". In total, 22 (59%) Black participants compared to 15 (94%) of White participants responded Yes. Conversely, 15 (41%) of Black participants responded No compared to only 1 (6%) of White student athletes. This result underscored how often Black students were primarily viewed as athletes by faculty.

In response to, "While I was in high school I had the opportunity to participate in extracurricular research or learning activities (such as robotics team, debate team, 4H)" only 10 participants responded Yes. Of those, seven (19%) were Black, and three (19%) were White. This is the only time that both groups had an even response. In regard to No responses, 30 (81%) Black participants responded No, and 13 (81%) White participants responded No. This result demonstrated, regardless of race, athletics participation limited other learning activities. Other concerns included 26% of student-athletes in this sample reported not having career exploration opportunities (e.g. career activities, curriculum). In addition, 29% reported not taking a career assessment during high school and 21% reported not receiving information on scholarships beyond athletic scholarships (i.e., merit or need-based scholarships). Finally, only 22 honors or AP courses were taken by the entire group during high school.

Results of Likert Scale Questions

The first Likert Scale item, "I wish I had more opportunity before coming to college to develop as a scholar" demonstrated a gap between Black and White student-athletes in this sample. Black student-athletes somewhat agreed (9), agreed (14), or strongly agreed (7) for a total of 30 cases or 81%. White students somewhat agreed (4) or agreed (4) for a total of 8 cases or 50%. Another questionnaire item showed a great disparity, "If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have made a different choice in regard to my degree." Black student-athletes somewhat agreed (8), agreed (4), or strongly agreed (8) for a total of 20 cases or 81%. Only two White students agreed 13%. For the item, "If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have prepared differently while still in high school" students responded disparately. Black student-athletes somewhat agreed (9), agreed (6), or strongly agreed (4) for a total of 19 cases or 51%. Meanwhile, White students somewhat agreed (3) or agreed (2) for a total of 8 cases or 31%. Finally, the item, "If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have prepared differently while still in high school" revealed variation between Black and White student athletes. Black participants somewhat agreed (7), agreed (6), or strongly agreed (7) for a total of 20 cases or 54%. White participants somewhat agreed (5) or agreed (1) for a total of 8 cases or 38%. These results were important because they demonstrated that Black participants perceived themselves as less career and academically prepared.

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Statistical Analysis

This study passed assumptions for linear regression; we wanted to determine if participants' race was an ACT predictor. We ran a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and calculated Black and White participants mean ACT. We found a positive, moderate correlation ($r=.643$) between race and ACT score with a coefficient of determination for the variables of .414. The regression linear equation for this analysis was $Y=ax+b$, or $Y=5.206x+16.214$, $p<.05$. Results of the ANOVA indicated that there were significant differences in ACT scores between groups ($F(1,45) = 31.75$, $p = .00$) (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2.
Correlation Model Summary.

R	Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
.643 ^a	.414	.401	3.001

Table 3.
ANOVA.

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Regression	285.978	1	285.978	31.752	.000 ^b
Residual	405.298	45	9.007		
Total	691.277	46			

Dependent Variable: ACT Score, Independent: Race

Findings: Multicase Study

In this section, we describe the multicase study design, analysis procedures, research team reflectivity, and participants. Following, we review the findings of the multicase study. We examine our cross-case comparison and shared themes.

Multicase Study Design

Case studies are popular qualitative designs; they are holistic and allow for thick descriptions (Yin, 2018). The common binding for this study is SEC, Division I, revenue-generating football players at a university in the Southeast. In a multicase study, a quintain, or phenomenon is studied (Stake, 2006); in this study, the quintain is the perceived career and academic preparation of the participants. We anticipated both similarities and differences among participants based on race and pre-college supports.

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Analysis

We analyzed the data through an interpretivist lens and included researchers' written artifacts (i.e., analytic memos, field notes), transcripts, open ended interviews and participants' artifacts (Morrison, 2012). Interviews involved two members of the research team. After, field notes were written, including researchers' impressions about the interview (e.g., participants' mannerisms, beliefs/values shared). Interviews were recorded and transcribed by a research team member. We then sent transcripts to participants for member checking (Creswell & Poth, 2018). After transcript confirmation, we began coding. First cycle coding was completed by the first and fourth authors and involved finding words, phrases, and elements within the transcripts that answered the initial research questions. Codes were placed in an excel file.

Second level coding was conducted while also instructing members of the research team, as graduate learners, about coding and creating a system of checks and balances. A shared excel file was used for each transcript. A lead researcher, and one graduate student, co-coded. Researchers used codes established during first level coding and reviewed codes alongside the transcript. The goal was to view each code through an interpretivist lens and grapple with participants' meanings. If a team member did not agree with a code, the code was discussed to see if consensus could be reached, whether to include the coded item, and the meaning shared by the participant. If

consensus was not reached, the code was removed for the quote in question.

To establish themes (third level analysis), the research team met three times. We explored the data set including our codes (19 total codes). We reviewed code patterns within and across cases (cross case analysis). This allowed us to explore the uniqueness of each story and the quintain of the whole case. Three major themes of the quintain emerged (i.e., the focus of this study). Following, we give a detailed account of each participant. Our triangulated data was used to aid in writing descriptions of each participant's experience (Yin, 2018).

Reflectivity. We discussed our views on antiracism, social justice, and social capital frequently to bracket our own biases in the data collection and analysis processes. We also discussed inequity in educational systems throughout K-12, higher education, and the exploitation of athletes for monetary gain. We interrogated how are views shaped the way we perceived our participants' stories, their beliefs and values, and how our own paradigms shaped our researcher lenses. One question we liked to ask each other often is, "Whose story are we telling?" The purpose of this question was to nuance the ways in which we influence our own stories, the stories we tell through research, and how the participants' impacted us.

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Participants

Four participants were interviewed for the multicase study: two Black, two White. All four completed the questionnaire portion of the study. Each participant was assigned a pseudonym and a title that described their experience.

Participant 1: (Jason, “The Regretful Traveler”) identified as a Black, walk-on collegiate football player. Jason was a 21-year-old junior, majoring in Sport Administration, with a concentration in Sport Leadership. He planned to join the military when he graduated, although he was not active in Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (ROTC). He noted he did not know of any other career path, so he was choosing the military due to uncertainty.

Participant 2: (Rex, “The Academic All-Star”) was a White, non-Hispanic, walk-on collegiate football player who earned an athletic scholarship for his last two years of eligible play. He was a 21-year-old junior, Architecture major, and planned on being an architect.

Participant 3: (Finn, “The Indomitable Spirit”) was a Black, collegiate football player on full athletic scholarship. He was a 22-year-old junior majoring in Interdisciplinary Studies (i.e., three undergraduate minors combined in one degree). He had a 3-year-old daughter who lived with him while he was in school. He planned on becoming a teacher, but his degree would not lead to teaching

certification.

Participant 4: (Tyler, “The Drifter”) was a White, collegiate football player on full scholarship. He was a sophomore, and during our interview, he claimed to have struggled academically. Tyler began college as an Engineering major but changed his major at his father’s urging. He did not enjoy his second major, Business, and felt academically underprepared.

Participant 1: Jason, The Regretful Traveler.

Jason described himself as a quick learner who easily applied information from the classroom to real world scenarios. He mentioned having teachers who noted his strengths as a learner, particularly in science, beginning in elementary school, until he became very involved in sports. Jason grew up in a notably agricultural area and attended a high school with a robust agriculture program. He had a strong interest in horticulture and veterinary sciences. He stated, “I learned how to cultivate, how to grow strawberries, we have an outstanding Ag department... It’s where my love for animals stems from.” Jason joined 4-H in middle school. He remarked, “I’m not the kind of person you normally see in 4-H” explaining the majority of students in 4-H were White. The extracurricular opportunities provided by 4-H enhanced his love of agriculture and fueled his desire for an agriculture career. He shared a 4-H example that shaped his love for agriculture:

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

In eighth grade we restored the wetlands. I found that interesting... That's when my love for animals and farming, the real hands-on work, began. In high school, I was the only football player who took those classes. I was engaged, excited, every time I was in class. Jason took three AP courses in high school (Physics, English, and Algebra). When asked if his career path might be different had he taken more AP courses in high school, Jason stated, "You had to put a lot more time in studying than with regular classes, and it started to interfere with me playing football in high school. I just felt like I was being overwhelmed with the AP courses. When I look back, I guess I took the easy way.

Jason described his academics and football as a dichotomy in which he had to choose one area of success. He chose football. He lamented, "It was a tough decision, especially with me being so young. I didn't want to do anything that interfered with football." Jason believed that if he had learned to balance both the academics and football, he would have taken harder courses. He did not know how to manage his time, stress, and how to make everything work together. He stated, "...you only have so many hours in a day".

When asked about his major, Jason said he would advise other athletes not to take easy majors or classes, but instead to follow their real passion. Jason wanted to be a veterinarian but pursued a degree in Business when he came to college and then changed to Sport Administration. Finally, he decided to join the military after graduation if he was not drafted by the National Football League

(NFL). He stated that the military will give him the opportunity to lead, and he would be an officer. Yet, we had the sense that Jason was still unsure about his future.

When asked if he would play football if he had to make the choice again, Jason said no. He instead would pursue his career and academic goals. Jason appeared to be regretful, looking back on what might have been. As a hobby in his spare time, Jason bred dogs. He stated in the interview, "It's the closest I can get to where I really wanted to be professionally."

Participant 2: Rex, Academic All-Star

Rex represented an outlier in our data in almost every way. Rex was a White, walk-on football player, with two educated parents. Rex was very successful academically. In high school, he took nine AP courses and had an ACT score of 32. Rex majored in Architecture and was satisfied with his choice. However, even with all of his success, Rex was not completely prepared when entering college. He mentioned that he did not understand the real-world applications of his degree when he chose his major. He explained, "It is not well communicated what exactly an architect does in the real world. I have had to discover for myself what all is possible with an architecture degree." Rex was clear that he had no regrets about choosing Architecture. We asked if there was any other information he needed to make career decisions. He stated, "I now know most of what I want to know about my major at this point in my education because I'm four years into it."

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Although Rex was clearly a stand-out scholar, choosing to play football had cost him some opportunities. We reviewed the Architecture curriculum at Rex's university and noticed two field-based courses (i.e., internship). We asked Rex if he participated in this type of off-campus experience. He responded:

No, internships are not possible because the summer [class] I have to take prevents me from having time during those months to do an internship when the rest of my classmates do. It puts me at a slight disadvantage, but the connections I have through football provides me an equal advantage over my peers.

Rex had learned to leverage connections through football in lieu of his internship. By utilizing his symbolic and social capital as an athlete, he demonstrated how adept he was at navigating capital to his advantage, something his peers with less capital had less proficiency with.

Participant 3: Finn, The Indomitable Spirit

Finn is a Black, FGCS, on full scholarship. He was offered 56 scholarships coming out of high school to play collegiate football. His top three choices of colleges to attend were Division I teams.

Finn attended an inner-city high school in Memphis, Tennessee. He described his school as having low academic requirements for all students; not just student-athletes. Finn's lack of academic preparation was evidenced by his ACT score. He attempted the ACT three times, took an ACT prep course, and

concluded with a top composite score of 17. This lack of academic preparation caused him to struggle in college.

Finn's transition to college was also impacted by having an infant daughter. However, Finn was a committed father and wanted to be present in his child's life, so he lived off campus in family housing with his child. This daily balance of academics, athletics, and parenting was an added difficulty for Finn. Yet, in many ways, he was the picture of perseverance and determination. When discussing his matriculation through the college environment he stated:

I had a number of setbacks at this university. Setbacks I caused by the decisions I decided to make. But I have to overcome these obstacles because of my family and my daughter, no matter what prior preparation I had before attending.

Finn majored in Interdisciplinary Studies; yet, his long-term career goal was to become a teacher. Unfortunately, his major would not lead to teacher certification. Moreover, his football schedule did not permit him to do student teaching. And, due to NCAA regulations, he was unable to change his major to education (NCAA, 2017a)¹. Ultimately, to earn a teaching certificate, Finn would need alternative certification.

¹ To maintain eligibility, student-athletes are required to meet benchmarks prior to each year of enrollment regarding hours completed toward their designated degree. For example, prior to the fourth year of enrollment, 60% of the designated degree must be completed (NCAA, 2017a).

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Finn wanted to improve his life and take advantage of opportunities offered to him by the university. He participated in a NCAA Life Skills program with specific goals such as the personal growth of student-athletes, civic and social engagement opportunities, leadership, and helping student-athletes to apply skill sets to real world experiences. Finn also participated in a program designed specifically at his university for student-athletes' college and career success. He credited these programs for his success in the classroom, field of play, and home life. Finn spoke about how he would do things differently if he were to go back to high school. He said he would take more rigorous courses, focus more on academics, and use his football "as a way into college, but not as a way of life". In sum, he would plan to be more academically inclined in his approach towards college. He stated, "I would own my future through books, not football."

Participant 4: Tyler, The Drifter

Tyler was a White, sophomore Business major. Tyler attended public high school in Texas. Although Tyler identified as a continuing generation college student, during our interview, we learned his father had an Associate's degree and his mother did not have a degree. So, by federal definition, Tyler was a FGCS. Tyler was on full football scholarship, but admitted he no longer saw a future in football. He suffered two injuries which left him in constant pain. Tyler stated:

Sometimes it's hard to think of how I'll get through another season. I injured my shoulder and after surgery I thought I would be okay. Then, this year I hurt my knee... (long silence and tears in his eyes) ... I'm just...hurting all the time...Everyday I'm in pain and I don't like to complain. I know I won't get drafted (pause) so this isn't going to be a future for me. (long pause) Now I don't know what to do. I thought football was my thing. College was something I needed to get to football and now it's like the opposite.

Tyler expressed disappointment with college, sharing that he originally majored in Engineering but switched to Business. He explained that Engineering, "was pushed by my high school, everything was STEM." He commented that he didn't really know what engineers do or much about the degree and the more he learned the less interested he was. Tyler had taken two honors courses and one AP History class in high school, but admitted the courses were hard. When asked about his switch to Business, Tyler stated, I don't really understand Business either. I'm not great at math or finance. I don't think I'm going to want to run our family business. But since I probably won't play football long term.....I don't know.

Tyler was counting on two more years of college to figure out his future. We asked him, "How might you go about figuring out your future?" Tyler seemed overwhelmed by the question. He didn't seem to have a direction or a process. He answered, "I guess I could ask my advisor. I'm not really sure because I can't change majors again." Tyler did not

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

know how to resolve this career moratorium or how to approach the decision-making process.

Tyler mentioned he loved music in middle school. He played multiple instruments in the band. However, he did not have time for band after ninth grade because of football. He still loved music and said if he could have another career, it would have been music. He stated, "I wish I didn't have to give up so many other things for football." When asked about other career activities, Tyler could not remember any. His main career advisement had come from his coach and the only time he received counseling was "to have papers signed". He did not know who his school counselor was. Tyler seemed to be drifting, hoping things would somehow workout.

Cross-Case Analysis

We conducted cross-case analysis and three themes emerged: (1) low overall career and college readiness capital, (2) football regrets, and (3) potential strengths and supports.

Theme #1: Low overall career and college readiness capital. This theme applied to three out of four of our multicase participants (all but Rex). Jason, Finn, and Tyler struggled to find a major, and all three described coming from schools where they were not pushed to take more rigorous courses. Jason and Finn, both Black student-athletes, felt pushed toward majors they perceived as easier. Jason mentioned his degree was "the easy way out". Finn stressed that the low academic

expectations and lack of academic and career preparation he experienced were endemic at his high school. Conversely, Tyler came from a school that heavily stressed STEM as was reflected in his initial major, Engineering. So even within this common theme, there were differences among the Black student-athletes and the White student-athlete.

Theme #2: Football regrets.

For Jason, Finn, and Tyler, there appeared to be an undercurrent of regret related to football. This regret was on a spectrum and was expressed in varying degrees with Jason saying if he could go back in time, he would not play football, whereas Finn would place more emphasis on academics. Tyler, who had not contemplated a future without football, appeared to be in the early stages of grieving but moving toward accepting a new reality of his future. As such, he was still sorting out his feelings.

Although Tyler may not have regretted playing football, he missed his hobbies and interests, specifically music. The Black student-athletes had long-term consequences for their decisions to play football. For example, Jason, was settling for a military career as he could not think of any other career options based on his degree (Sport Administration). We were unclear if Finn understood that his current degree (Interdisciplinary Studies) would not lead to teacher certification. Finn would also need to pass the PRAXIS exam to qualify to teach. Tyler seemed unclear about his pathway forward or where to start.

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Theme #3: Potential strengths and supports.

All participants displayed strengths and supports. Finn and Tyler mentioned accessing resources (i.e., career program, academic advisor). Finn, Jason, and Tyler noted the use of external supports; Finn's daughter served as a motivator, Jason's dogs became a hobby that replaced his initial career interest, and Tyler's dad gave him advice he leaned into. Although Finn appeared to come to college with the least career and college capital, he seemed the most determined to persevere and used his struggles to learn, reflect, and grow. He wanted to be a father even if it meant having to make sacrifices. Similarly, Rex seemed to use his opportunities to capitalize on his strengths. Although Rex came with high career and college capital, he easily identified his growth edges so he could grow even more. For example, Rex did not have time to do an internship, but had enough social savvy to use his football connections to leverage career opportunities in his field.

Discussion

There are benefits to athletic participation; yet, the downside of sports for some students is the distraction from learning and career development. Similar to prior researchers (Vereen, et al., 2015; Zeiser, 2011), our data reflected discrepancies in the academic and career preparation of Black and White participants. Black participants had sports heavily promoted at the expense of their academics (Beamon, 2008; Routon & Walker, 2014). And, similar to Harrison et al. (2015), the Black participants in this study were

academically motivated but faced roadblocks. Black participants found that the focus on revenue-driven winning in Division I football was time consuming and did not allow them to make up inequities in K-12 academic preparation.

We set out to answer three research questions. The first was: In what ways were male student-athletes' career and college readiness capital developed during high school? Participants disclosed details about their college preparation such as whether they had been encouraged to take high rigor courses (i.e., AP, DE), participated in extracurricular activities outside of football, and taken career assessments. Black participants were less likely to be encouraged to take AP and honors courses in high school than White participants (38% and 81% respectively). More concerning, only 59% of Black participants had a teacher tell them about a career outside of athletics they had an aptitude for compared with 94% of White football players. For students to build career capital they need to hear about careers they may have aptitude for or enjoy, and teachers are critical for helping students identify such possibilities.

The first theme from our multicase study helped us answer research question one. The theme: Low overall career and college readiness capital, helped us explore the results from our questionnaire a bit deeper. Based on the questionnaire results, Black participants reported they had lower career and college capital. Likewise, in our multicase study, this lack of capital appeared to have a

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

more pronounced impact on two of the participants: Finn and Jason. Both had career ideas (teacher and veterinarian) but neither majored in their career aspiration field. Jason was a Sport Administration major and Finn was an Interdisciplinary Studies major. Both indicated their majors were chosen for them by academic advisors. While this may have been well meaning, Finn and Jason noted they had not received a career assessment in high school. Thus, it might have been more helpful to give them both a career assessment rather than assigning them a major.

Jason was not interested in pursuing a career related to his major and Finn did not seem to realize that his degree would not lead to teacher certification. Notably, Finn was an ACT exception and as mentioned in his profile, he had received over 50 scholarship offers from universities. But this begets the question: who benefits from such an offer? The student-athlete or the university? Finn will graduate with a degree, but not in his chosen field, and with a low GPA, so he may never be able to get alternatively certified as a teacher. Is it possible that if he had never played football with such a rigorous schedule that he might have excelled in college?

Our second research question was: How do male student-athletes view their academic and career growth and development prior to and after coming to college? Our case studies answered this question, but we also learned a lot from the questionnaire. Black student-athletes reported they had not been pushed to take AP or DE courses, and teachers had not

suggested a career they had an aptitude for outside of sports. Moreover, many wished they had more development as high school scholars, and that they had learned more about degrees and majors. More Black participants agreed or strongly agreed that if they had more information prior to coming to college they might have prepared differently while in high school compared to White participants who agreed or strongly agreed (51%, 31%). Only 13% of the White participants agreed that having more information prior to college might have led to a different choice in degree compared to 81% of Black participants. Further, there was a statistically significant difference for Black and White student-athletes on the ACT, another indicator of academic preparation. We concluded that Black participants perceived they had significantly less career and college preparation (Research Question #2). This lack of preparation manifested for our multicase study participants as well, including choice of major or degree, feeling unsure about what to do after college, and wishing they had chosen other degrees or majors or having prepared differently for college. The multicase study theme, Football Regrets, corroborated the quantitative results for this research question.

Football Regrets underscored feelings three of our participants expressed (primarily Finn and Jason, but an emerging feeling for Tyler) that their football identities had superseded their academic identities and had compromised their futures. The compromised academic identity appeared most pronounced

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

for Jason as he recognized he had the talent and skills necessary to become a veterinarian but had forfeited that career for football. Tyler noted loving music and not pursuing that passion due to football. He recognized that football had led to foreclosure of music opportunities, but we wondered if he might revisit those opportunities in the future. We noted a spectrum of grief and remorse for Finn, Jason, and Tyler as they lost their football dreams and agonized over not investing more in their academic and career development. The upside for Finn was an undeniable hopefulness, courage, and resilience he developed through his struggles as a college student and father. He had grit, strength, and fortitude.

Our third research question was: Who provided career and college development to male student-athletes in this study prior to their college entrance? Nearly 75% of the participants took a career assessment and 70% reported access to a high school career curriculum. Yet, coaches and family members were the main influence on career decision-making. A problem in the scope of our data set is that we did not measure the career and college interventions received by participants in high school. In other words, they might have received a robust career and college planning curriculum or very little. The other concern we had in lieu of these results, is that perhaps, by the time student-athletes are in high school, their primary identity as athletes may be solidified which might preclude their career and college planning.

In our sample, Black participants had lower career and college readiness capital than their White peers prior to coming to college and this trend continued once in college as evidenced by their overall majors and regrets. Our findings corroborated results of similar research (Farmer-Hinton & McCullough, 2008; Beamon, 2008). The contrast between White and Black participants was more nuanced in the multicase study where White participants discussed the involvement of parents (Tyler) to help them figure out a major and the potential use of networking for career opportunities (Rex). Neither of these were mentioned by the Black multicase participants, both of whom were FGCS.

Career and college capital readiness may be raised and leveraged by all students with support; however, creating and maintaining accessible support systems in the transition to college is another key area that needs to be explored. In regard to question three, we found Finn to have the least career and college readiness capital, but his child provided motivation. Of all four participants, he appeared most determined. This was noteworthy as determination is different from grit or resilience, and a true asset.

Notably, fixing the problems we found in this research is possible. Black males should be challenged earlier in K-12 schooling to partake in the highest rigor courses available and understanding and addressing implicit bias against athletes needs to be an integral part of training for school counselors, teachers, and coaches (Foy & Ray, 2019;

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Moskowitz & Carter, 2018; Obert, 2019). As part of an anti-racist paradigm, school counselors need to ensure that school cultures foster a student-first education for Black males throughout K-12 and that they are comprehensively providing career and college preparation (ASCA, 2016, 2019). The NCAA, colleges, and universities might consider providing school counselors and secondary school coaches training that delineates the minimal requirements of eligibility for athletic participation and expounds on the realistic expectations of college play, limitations of matriculation from collegiate to professional sport careers, and the importance of students choosing a major that aligns to long-term career aspirations based on career assessments. For incoming high school athletes (eighth to ninth grade), school counselors and coaches might want to consider an intense career development seminar that puts academics first and sends the message that all students are scholars. In addition to working with coaches, as part of antiracist practices, school counselors should consider training teachers to ensure that they are knowledgeable of trauma informed classroom models and are not perpetuating racial stereotypes. Simple acts, such as acknowledging students' scholastic talents and aptitudes can have a large impact. Inviting Black male student-athletes to engage in short term projects such as science fairs, internships, cooperative learning, encouraging job shadowing, and volunteer work related to a particular career path can send the message that students are scholars first.

Student-athletes should be given in-depth career assessments to ensure they understand how their interests, values, personalities, and aptitudes align with career choices (Curry & Milsom, 2017). Moreover student-athletes need opportunities to discuss how their majors will prepare them for a career after sports. Harris et al. (2020) provided suggestions for a school counseling group intervention for Black male student-athletes to mitigate over-identification with sport identities. The curriculum was designed to help participants explore aspects of themselves and their purpose. Two themes emerged: a greater sense of self and a connection to brotherhood. This group demonstrated that efforts by school counselors to support Black male student-athletes had positive outcomes that mitigated sport over-identification (Harris et al., 2020). Supports for Black male athletes might include foci on stress management, time management, and anxiety reduction. Our case study participants noted challenges finding balance with difficult course work and football. Understanding and effectively applying time and stress management strategies may have helped our participants feel more efficacious to pursue majors they had passion for. These same skills could be helpful for students in the college transition as sports demand a great deal of time and personal resources.

School counselors and college advisors can advocate for a reasoned approach to college athletics. Such an approach would be collaborative, encourage players to have time

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

to rest in the off season, ensure career assessment and exploration beginning in elementary school, and all students would have access to credentialed school counselors. All athletes transitioning to college would have quality career development prior to choosing a major.

Ultimately, for such an approach to work, a cultural shift must occur. Coaches, athletic directors, the NCAA, and institutional structures that support athletes, must decide that the long-term health, success, and development of athletes is more important than winning. During the covid-19 pandemic, student-athletes and parents demanded that the well-being of athletes become a primary concern of college athletics. This type of advocacy may shift how policies and practices around collegiate athletics are implemented. It is our hope that school counselors, college counselors, and student affairs professionals will actively support such measures.

Limitations

As with all research this data set comes with precautions. The sample size was limited to one SEC, Division I football team and only to players who chose to participate. As such, we cannot generalize based on the data garnered.

However, this data does add to the ongoing discussion regarding revenue generating sports and the impact on Black male student-athletes.

Implications

A social capital framework, as proposed by Farmer-Hinton and McCullough (2008), proved useful for this study. Black participants in this study demonstrated less academic and career capital than White peers leaving high school. This lower capital appeared to follow the Black athletes in this study through their university and collegiate athletics experience.

Based on this data, we have concerns regarding the career and academic development of Black student-athletes. School counselors should implement antiracist practices including working

to create a culturally competent and welcoming school environment, providing access to a career and college going culture for all students, and providing academically rigorous programming for all students. Furthermore, providing faculty with training and resources for trauma informed teaching, such as identification of students who may need support, and recognizing faculty and staff behaviors that have the potential to re-traumatize students (Malott et al., 2018).




“Black participants in this study demonstrated less academic and career capital than White peers leaving high school. This lower capital appeared to follow the Black athletes in this study through their university and collegiate athletics experience.”

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

School counselors should analyze school data for opportunity gaps among student groups and address gaps through programming, services, and advocacy (ASCA, 2016, 2019). College counselors and student affairs staff might consider ways to bridge athletic student support, mental health, and career services for student athletes to promote access. Division I, revenue generating athletes are busy and may need services delivered in unconventional ways (e.g., in the residential hall) in order to fully access support. Through a coordinated effort among professionals, these services might become available in meaningful ways to student-athletes. Future research could include expanding studies on the mental health, career, and academic outcomes of revenue generating sport participation on African American males. Moreover, research on how to prevent sport identity foreclosure for African American males during middle school and high school would be helpful. It also remains difficult to discern if Black males in revenue generating sports who were underprepared or those who were enrolled based on special admission policies fared as well as their Black male scholar-athlete peers. Finally, research to improve academic and career efficacy for African American athletes who will not matriculate to post-collegiate professional athletics would be helpful.

Conclusions

We reported a mixed-methods, sequential explanatory study of a SEC, Division I football team. Disparities in academic and

career capital were found between Black and White participants. Participants left K-12 with differential educational outcomes and disparities continued at the university in the form of majors chosen and career satisfaction. The social capital framework appeared to fit the results/findings of this study and may be useful in future research. School counselors are obliged to address inequity in K-12 education as indicated by the ASCA National Model (2019). Implications for antiracist school counseling practice were given. 

REFERENCES

- ACT, Inc. (2019). *The condition of college and career readiness 2019*. <https://www.act.org/content/dam/act/unsecured/documents/cccr-2019/National-CCCR-2019.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association. (2014). *Mindsets and behaviors for student success: K-12 college- and career-readiness standards for every student* (4th ed.). Author. Retrieved from <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/7428a787-a452-4abb-afec-d78ec77870cd/Mindsets-Behaviors.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association. (2016). *ASCA Ethical Standards for school counselors*. Author. Retrieved from <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/f041cbd0-7004-47a5-ba01-3a5d657c6743/Ethical-Standards.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association. (2017a). *The school counselor and academic development*. <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/d597c40b-7684-445f-b5ed-713388478486/Position-Statements.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association. (2017b). *The school counselor and career development*. Retrieved from <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/d597c40b-7684-445f-b5ed-713388478486/Position-Statements.pdf>
- American School Counselor Association. (2017c). *The school counselor and social/emotional development*. <https://www.schoolcounselor.org/getmedia/d597c40b-7684-445f-b5ed-713388478486/Position-Statements.pdf>

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

- American School Counselor Association. (2019). *The ASCA national model: A framework for school counseling programs* (4th ed.). Author.
- Beamon, K. K. (2008). "Used goods": Former African American college student athletes' perception of exploitation by Division I universities. *Journal of Negro Education*, 77(4), 352-364. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25608704>
- Beron, K. J., & Piquero, A. R. (2016). Studying the determinants of student-athlete grade point average: The roles of identity, context, and academic interests. *Social Science Quarterly*, 97(2), 142-160. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12235>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood Press.
- Burnett, M., Kurtz-Costes, B., Vuletich, H.A., & Rowley, S.J. (2020). The development of academic and nonacademic race stereotypes in African American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 56(9), 1750-1759. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dev0001071>
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2017). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.) Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.
- Curry, J., & Milsom, A. (2017). *Career and college readiness counseling in P-12 schools* (2nd ed.). Springer.
- Farmer-Hinton, R. L., & McCullough, R. G. (2008). College counseling in charter high schools: Examining the opportunities and challenges. *The High School Journal*, 91(4), 77-90. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hsj.0.0006>
- Fouad, N.A., Ghosh, A., Chang, W, Figueiredo, C.; Bachhuber, T., (2016). Career exploration among college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 57(4), 60-64. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/619496>
- Foy, S.L. & Ray, R. (2019). Skin in the game: Colorism and the subtle operation of stereotypes in men's college basketball. *American Journal of Sociology*, 125(3)730-785. Retrieved from <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/707243>
- Gallup. (2020). *A study of NCAA student-athletes: Undergraduate experiences and post-college outcomes*. <https://www.gallup.com/education/312941/ncaa-student-athlete-outcomes-2020.aspx>
- Gorski, P.C. (2019). Fighting racism, battling burnout: causes of activist burnout in US racial justice activists. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(5), 667-687. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1439981>
- Gurney, G., Lopiano, D.A., & Zimbalist, A. (2017). *Unwinding madness: What went wrong with college sports and how to fix it*. Brookings Institution Press, Inc.
- Hall, M., & Rathbun, A. (2020). *Health and STEM career expectations and science literacy achievement of U.S. 15-year-old students*. *NCES 2020-034 Stats in Brief*. National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubspubs2020/2020034.pdf>
- Harper, S. R. (2016). *Black male student-athletes and racial inequities in NCAA Division I college sports: 2016 edition*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race & Equity in Education. [https://web-app.usc.edu/web/rossier/publications/231/Harper%20Sports%20\(2016\).pdf](https://web-app.usc.edu/web/rossier/publications/231/Harper%20Sports%20(2016).pdf)
- Harris, P. C., Mayes, R. D., Freeman, C., Eberly, B., Tatby, N. & Wiener, S. (2020). Men passionately pursuing purpose (MP3): A group counseling intervention for Black male student athletes. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work*, 45(2), 146-164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2019.1679931>
- Harrison, C. K., Martin, B. E., & Fuller, R. (2015). "Eagles don't fly with sparrows": Self-Determination Theory, African American male scholar-athletes and peer group influences on motivation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 84(1), 80-93. <https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.84.1.0080>
- Hussar, B., Zhang, J., Hein, S., Wang, K., Roberts, A., Cui, J., Smith, M., Bullock Mann, F., Barmer, A., & Dilig, R. (2020). *The conditions of education 2020*. National Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/pdf/coe_cue.pdf
- Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2019). 'Does anybody really care what a racist says?' Anti-racism in 'post-racial' times. *The Sociological Review*, 67(1) 63- 78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118807672>

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

- Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics. (2015). *Knight Commission updates athletic and academic spending database*. <https://www.knightcommission.org/2015/03/knight-commission-updates-athletic-and-academic-spending-database/>
- Love, D.A. (March 26, 2019). U.S. higher education: A system of meritocracy that never was. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/3/26/us-higher-education-a-system-of-meritocracy-that-never-was>
- MacVeigh, T. (2012). Can a meritocratic education system deliver equality? *Irish Marxists Review*, 1(4), 27-36. <file:///C:/Users/jcurry/Downloads/41-170-1-PB.pdf>
- Malott, K.M., Schaeffle, S., Paone, T.R., Cates, J., & Haizlip, B. (2018). Challenges and coping mechanisms of Whites committed to antiracism. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 97(1), 86-97. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12238>
- McArdle, J. J., Paskus, T. S., & Boker, S. M. (2013). A multilevel multivariate analysis of academic performances in college based on NCAA student-athletes. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 48(1), 57-95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00273171.2012.715836>
- McCaffrey, S., & Fouriezos, N. (2014). *Academic scores lag at Division I colleges*. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. <http://investigations.myajc.com/football-admissions/>
- McDermid, R.D. & Austin, S.F. (2018). Book review Gurney, Lopiano, & Zimbalist (2017). *Unwinding Madness: What Went Wrong with College Sports - and How to Fix It*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. *Journal of Higher Education Athletics & Innovation*, 1(3), 78-81.
- Morrison, M. (2012). Understanding methodology. In A. R. Briggs M. Coleman & M. Morrison (Eds.), *Research methods in educational leadership & management* (pp. 14-28). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957695.n2>
- Moskowitz, G. & Carter, D. (2018). Confirmation bias and the stereotype of the black athlete. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 36, 139-146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2018.02.010>
- National Collegiate Athletic Association [NCAA]. (2016). *2016 GOALS study of the student athlete experience initial summary of findings*. https://www.ncaa.org/sites/default/files/GOALS_2015_summary_jan2016_final_20160627.pdf
- National Collegiate Athletic Association [NCAA]. (2017a). *Division I progress-toward-degree requirements*. <http://www.ncaa.org/about/division-i-progress-toward-degree-requirements>
- National Collegiate Athletic Association. (2020). *2020 Probability of competing beyond high school figures and methodology*. https://ncaaorg.s3.amazonaws.com/research/pro_beyond/2020RES_ProbabilityBeyondHSFiguresMethod.pdf
- Obert, B. (September 19, 2019). Implicit bias: Athletes of color talk about how they are seen. Prep News. Retrieved from <http://student.sluh.org/prepnews/index.php/pastarticles2/item/2603-implicit-bias>
- Olson, E. (2019, March 16). *Special admissions called the 'original sin' of college sports*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/a842ec11faa645b7adf5e75034e8bbf4>
- Routon, P. W., & Walker, J. K. (2014). Student-athletes? The impact of intercollegiate sports participation on academic outcomes. *Eastern Economic Journal*, 41(4), 592-611. [doi:10.1057/ej.2014.32](https://doi.org/10.1057/ej.2014.32)
- Saffici, C., & Pelligrino, R. (2012). Intercollegiate athletics vs. academics: The student-athlete or the athlete-student. *The Sport Journal*, 19. Retrieved from <http://thesportjournal.org/?s=Intercollegiate+athletics+vs.+academics%3A+the+student-athlete+or+the+athlete-studen>
- Smith, K., Jagesic, S., Wyatt, J., & Ewing, M. (2018). *AP STEM participation and postsecondary STEM outcomes: Focus on underrepresented minorities, first-generation, and female students*. College Board. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED581514.pdf>
- Southall, R. M., Woodrow, E., Nagel, M. S., Kidd, V., Thompson, A. M., & Langston, E. (2016). *2016 Adjusted Graduation Gap Report: NCAA FBS Football*. https://www.sc.edu/study/colleges_schools/hrsm/research/centers/college_sport_research_institute/agg_reports/gap_reports/2016-football-agg-report_publish_final_10-19-2016.pdf
- Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple case study analysis*. The Guilford Press.
- The College Board. (2016). *Performance and success: 2015 program results*. Author. Retrieved from <https://www.collegeboard.org/program-results/2015/performance>

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

The Education Trust. (2020, January 9). *Black and Latino Students shut out of advanced coursework opportunities*. <https://edtrust.org/press-release/black-and-latino-students-shut-out-of-advanced-coursework-opportunities/>

Top Tier Admissions. (2021). *Georgetown University admissions overall*. <https://www.toptieradmissions.com/resources/college-admissions-statistics/georgetown-university-acceptance-rates/>

Vereen, L. G., Hill, N. R., & Lopez, M. (2015). African Americans and career and college readiness. In J. Curry & A. Shillingford (Eds.), *African American students' career and college readiness: The journey unraveled* (pp. 309-340). Lexington Publishers.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Zeiser, K. L. (2011). Examining racial differences in the effect of popular sports participation on academic achievement. *Social Science Research*, 40(4), 1142-1169. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2011.03.002>

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

APPENDIX

Sport: _____

Age: _____

Major: _____

ACT Score: _____

Year in College

Freshman

Sophomore

Junior

Senior

Graduate Student

Race

African American/Black

White, Non-Hispanic

Asian/Pacific Islander

Native American/Alaskan Native

Hispanic/Latino

Self-Identify: _____

Mother's highest education level

some high school

high school diploma or equivalent

some college

college degree

post-graduate studies

professional degree (e.g., MD, JD)

Unknown

Father's highest education level

some high school

high school diploma or equivalent

some college

college degree

post-graduate studies

professional degree (e.g., MD, JD)

Unknown

Hometown (City, State): _____

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

My elementary, middle, and/or high school offered advanced math, English or Science course work.

Yes

No

Unsure

If yes, did you take any of those advanced courses?

Yes

No

Unsure

In middle school, I was told by a teacher or school counselor what my academic strengths were in the areas of math, English or Science (for example, I was told my reading comprehension skills were advanced).

Yes

No

In high school, I was told by a teacher or school counselor what my academic strengths were in the areas of math, English or Science.

Yes

No

I had at least one teacher tell me about a career outside of athletics that I might enjoy and have an aptitude for (for example, "*You might enjoy being a marine biologist since you seem to really like cell biology*").

Yes

No

I was given at least one career assessment in middle or high school and the results were fully explained to me.

Yes

No

Unsure

I was recruited to attend a middle school outside of my regular school because of athletics and I chose to attend that school.

Yes

No

I was recruited to attend a high school outside of my regular school because of athletics and I chose to attend that school.

Yes

No

While in high school, I was pushed to take as many honors and AP courses as I could handle taking.

Yes

No

Number of honors courses taken in high school: _____

Number of AP courses taken in high school: _____

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

I took the ACT at least one time during my sophomore year of high school.

Yes

No

Although I knew I would potentially qualify for an athletic scholarship, someone at my high school still explained to me how to apply for academic, merit, or need based scholarships.

Yes

No

I had opportunities to explore career options through my high school curriculum so that I was certain to choose a degree program in college that fit my future career plans.

Yes

No

While in high school, I had the opportunity to participate in extracurricular research or learning activities (such as robotics team, debate team, Olympics of the mind).

Yes

No

If yes, what extracurricular activities did you participate in? [text box for answers]

I will be the first person in my immediate family to earn a college degree.

Yes

No

In high school I had the opportunity to attend career and college exploration events such as career fairs, college fairs and campus visits.

Yes

No

Black Male Athletes' Career and College Preparation

Please answer the following questions on a scale from *Strongly agree* to *Strongly disagree*.

25. I wish I had more opportunity before coming to college to develop as a scholar.	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
26. If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have made a different career choice (<i>for example, I may have wanted to be a broadcaster instead of a teacher</i>).	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
27. If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have made a different choice in regard to my degree (<i>for example, I might have majored in Kinesiology instead of Biology</i>).	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
28. If I had more information prior to coming to college, I might have prepared differently while still in high school (<i>for example, I might have taken different electives or chosen a different academic track</i>).	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Based upon your answer to the previous question, please elaborate on how you might have prepared differently while still in high school.

Who did you discuss your college and career choices with (list all):