"I Was Going to Work Full-Time at Roses Department Store": The Need for College Readiness with Black and Latinx Students

Dana Griffin
UNC-Chapel Hill, dcgriffi@email.unc.edu

Nicole Birkenstock
Northwoods Elementary School, nicolesuehelton@gmail.com

"I Was Going to Work Full-Time at Roses Department Store": The Need for College Readiness with Black and Latinx Students

Authored by
Dana Griffin (*University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill*)
Nicole Birkenstock (*Northwoods Elementary School*)

ABSTRACT

This article provides a summary of the literature and research justifying the need for creating equitable college readiness practices in K-12 schools, particularly for Black and Latinx students who are at risk for not receiving college readiness knowledge and skills. Written in a style to provide a bricolage of personal narratives, literature, and research around postsecondary readiness, the authors shift between first and third person to demonstrate that the entire postsecondary process in K-12 schools is in dire need of an upheaval. From the dialectical exchange presented, the authors develop strategies for developing equity-focused college readiness practices.

Keywords: college and career readiness, elementary school, antiracist practices

*I*magine a Black female student, attending a rural Virginia high school. It is freshman year and all students are required to see the school counselor to plan out their four-year course schedule. The student has a visit with the school counselor to set up her four-year high school plan. As the student patiently sits and waits, the school counselor completes the high school planning sheet without once asking the student what her plans are for after high school, or her interests. The school counselor does not even engage in small talk with the student. When she is done with the planning sheet, the school counselor asks the student to sign it, signaling agreement to the four-year course plan. The school counselor puts the sheet in the student's cumulative folder, and sends the student back to class. This entire session lasts roughly 10 minutes. It is unknown whether this situation occurred for every student in this high school, but it is the experience of this particular student, who at this point, had no inclination of going to college. Her mother, only having a high school degree, only reinforced the notion of getting good grades, graduating from high school, and getting a good paying job. The school counselor never discussed college opportunities with this student, nor did she engage the student in college going activities that scholars have deemed to be necessary for first generation, low-income Black and brown students, such as taking a rigorous course schedule. This student's goal for after high school—to work at Roses, a major discount store prominent in the 1980's and 1990's, as this is where the student worked as a part-time employee and she assumed she would be able to transition to full-time after graduation. Because the school counselor never asked, or truly talked with this student, or got to know this student in any capacity other than a name on a list, even this goal of working at Roses went unexplored.

College Readiness with Black and Latinx Students

This special issue is on equity-based career development and postsecondary readiness. While we cannot attest that the above-mentioned scenario was inequitable based on race, gender, and socioeconomic status, the practice demonstrated by this school counselor was indeed inequitable. Other students from wealthier households, or with parents who attended college, may not have needed the school counselor to provide them with postsecondary readiness information. Other students may have had access to knowledge and resources that aided their career development and postsecondary readiness. Other students may have had discussions with their parents or teachers who encouraged them to enroll in advanced courses. Other students may have had the opportunity to take college entrance exam testing preparatory courses. In other words, other students may have had social capital around college preparation. However, the student described in this situation did not have social capital and as such, this practice by the school counselor was woefully inadequate in preparing the above-mentioned student for postsecondary opportunities.

I share this story of what passed for postsecondary planning as the first author is the Black female who had this experience with her school counselor. This event occurred over 30 years ago. Unfortunately, these inequitable practices remain and are pervasive in our schools. The inequities are well-known and national initiatives have been formed espousing the need for school counselors to be more proactive in exposing all students to postsecondary planning and addressing the college and career readiness needs of students in K-12 schools (Bryan et al., 2011; Bryan, Young, et al., 2015; Bryan, Williams, et al., 2020; McDonough, 2005). For example, the College Completion Goal 2020 and the Reach Higher campaign initiatives propose that higher standards are needed to prepare students for success in college as well as guide students toward developing self-regulated behaviors that help them complete high school, attend college, and pursue career opportunities (Bryan, Williams, et al., 2015; The White House, 2014). At the 2014 American School Counselor Association (ASCA) National Conference, First Lady Michelle Obama, creator of the Reach Higher initiative, highlighted the unique opportunity that school counselors have in promoting college readiness in students, stressing that school counselors have the training to support college and career readiness in schools (Hoyt & Wickwire, 2001; Knight, 2015; The White House, 2014). However, we see that in schools, these initiatives have not been put into practice. Indeed, this disconnect was noted by the second author while a school counseling intern at an elementary school in 2019. She recognized the discrepancy between what was taught in her school counseling program and what was occurring at her internship site. "The things you talk about and teach us do not happen at all. We are not discussing college readiness in meaningful ways at my school."

School counselors can be an important resource in addressing the college and career readiness needs of students, but they can also be responsible for the continuation of inequities in the college-going process. For students with parents who have not attended college, as well as working and lower-income parents who may not have the knowledge and resources needed to help their children be college-ready (Hill & Torres, 2010; Welton & Martinez, 2014), school counselors are particularly important as they may be the first point or only contact for college readiness information for these students (Griffin et al., 2011; McDonough & Calderone, 2006; McDonough & Fann, 2007). The knowledge and skills consistent with college and career readiness include academic knowledge, critical thinking, social emotional learning, resiliency, community involvement, knowledge of technology, and identity development (National Office of School Counselor Advocacy [NOSCA], 2012); all areas in which school counselors should be trained, according to the 2016 Counseling and Counseling Related Program (CACREP) Standards (CACREP, 2016). Therefore, the purpose of this article is to provide a summary of the literature and research justifying the need for creating an equitable college readiness culture in K-12 schools, focusing on the needs of Black and Latinx students who are particularly at risk for not receiving the academic preparation and college readiness skills they need. We write this article as a dialectical experience, in which the authors dialogue about their experiences and knowledge of the issues related to postsecondary readiness as opposed to providing contrasting viewpoints and reconciling them. Tracing the literature and research around postsecondary readiness, particularly around college readiness, alongside our own experiences, we shift between first and third person to weave a discourse to demonstrate that the entire postsecondary process is in dire need of an upheaval. We end with strategies for school counselors to address the inequities in their college readiness practices.

Inequities in College Readiness Practices

Black and Latinx students are not provided with equitable access to knowledge, skills, and opportunities to prepare them for college as White, Asian, middle class and affluent students are (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000). This gap between students of color and low-income students and White, Asian and middle class and affluent students draw attention to the conditions and obstacles that students face throughout their educational careers. This is even more disconcerting as the data show that Black and Latinx populations are significantly less likely to be academically successful than other racial/ethnic populations, and these two groups fall behind on every academic achievement indicator, such as test scores, honors and advanced placements course enrollments, and student attendance (Bryan et al., 2020; Dulabaum, 2016; Lareau, 2011; Lee & Bowen, 2006). Factors that increase disparities in

postsecondary enrollment for some Black and Latinx students include low English proficiency, low income, and a marked lack of knowledge about steps to college, especially for first-generation college students (Dulabaum, 2016; McDonough, 1997; Nunez & Oliva, 2009; Perna 2000, 2006). On top of these contextual factors, these students are also the ones with little support or guidance around college and career readiness (Dulabaum, 2016; Perna, 2006). This is evident in the first author's experience of only receiving a four-year course taking plan.

I graduated high school with a 3.8 GPA and neither the school counselor, nor the teachers I had talked to me about postsecondary plans, let alone college. And according to my school counseling students, this still happens today. This is why we have our high school counseling interns conduct individual counseling sessions with students on college and career readiness. This includes more than just telling them the classes they need to take in order to meet state graduation requirements. It includes having meaningful conversations with these students about their futures.

Not only are Black and Latinx students less likely to be provided with the information they need for college planning, but their parents are often excluded from this information as well. If parents are included, the delivery of content and distribution of college information to them is marketed for parents who have a deeper understanding of the college readiness process than parents

from racialized and marginalized populations may possess (McDonough, 1997; Welton & Martinez, 2014). For example, college readiness information for immigrant Latinx families may need to include information regarding college costs and financial aid information as these families may be unable or reluctant to apply for loans to pay for college (Bettinger et al., 2012); however, financing college may not be a part of the college information disseminated by school counselors. Paying for college often falls outside of the information that is traditionally shared with parents.

Parent sharing of information amongst each other is another form of inequity in the college readiness process as research shows that parents social networks also perpetuate inequities in the college going process. Parents from racialized and marginalized backgrounds may be situated in networks where the knowledge, flow of and access to information around college readiness is more limited than those of White, Asian and affluent parents (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Li & Fisher, 2017; Quinn et al., 2020; Ryan & Ream, 2016), and school counselor practices fail to consider these differences when engaging with parents.

My mom's circle of friends included family and friends who they themselves did not attend college. From where was I supposed to turn to get the information I needed? How could my mom talk to me about preparing for college, applying to college, and getting to college if she herself had never done any of

these things? When you need extra help with academic work, the norm is to go to your teacher who has the expertise in the subject matter. When you need extra help with college planning, what is the norm? Even now, with the knowledge I have gained about the college going process, I still feel excluded from pivotal pieces of information when helping my own daughter get to college. I would be in the same spaces with white parents, but it was abundantly clear they were not as open to sharing information with me as they were with each other.

Another example of inequity involves the spaces and locations of where college information is disseminated. The majority of college information is school-based, meaning that parents must come to the school to receive it. This practice perpetuates inequities in the distribution of vital information, as many racialized and marginalized parents are not involved in school-based activities, instead being more involved in home-based activities (Baquedano-Lopez et al., 2013; Bower & Griffin, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 2013), pointing to the need for school counselors to be proactive in using school-family-community partnerships to reach families in spaces outside of school. School counselors must also be proactive in finding and using assets in the community and building partnerships with families and communities. This allows school counselors the opportunity to gain an understanding of communities of their student populations, so that they can build equitable college-going activities built around the needs of students and their

families, as opposed to the umbrella approach of having the same information provided to everyone in the school (Arriero & Griffin, 2018; Gonzalez, 2017).

The onus for these practices should be placed on school systems that allow for these inequities to flourish by blaming Black and brown students and their families for the lack of being college ready opposed to advocating against policies and practices that continue to oppress and exclude racialized and marginalized populations (Dulabaum, 2016; Nunez & Oliva, 2009), including, but not limited to a lack of role models or advocates for Black and Latinx students, stereotyping, low-expectations, miscommunication, lack of social support, lack of time management skill training, and lack of guidance on how to access college (Bryant, 2015; Dulabaum, 2016). Furthermore, these students are expected to persevere and persist despite these barriers, and when they do not, students and families are accused of not caring about their education, which allows this insidious and pervasive cycle of inequity to continue. Three of the most insidious practices harming our Black and brown students and creating barriers in college readiness include academic course work placement, discipline policies, and lowered teacher expectations (Bryan et al., 2020).

Inequities in Academic Course Work

Academic preparation for college includes several components. Taking higher level and challenging coursework is one part, but

students need the skills to do this coursework before they reach high school (Chlup et al., 2016; Conley, 2010; Nunez & Oliva, 2009). However, many students in low-income schools do not have access to rigorous courses, making it impossible for these students to gain the academic skills necessary to enter and be successful in college (Bryant, 2015; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Nunez et al., 2010; Schneider et al., 2006). Data show that only 57% of Black students attend schools with access to college-ready courses, and if schools do offer these higher-level courses, Black students are often under-enrolled in these courses (Bryant, 2015). In addition to Black students, low-income students are also excluded from and are underrepresented in higher-level courses. Indeed, because this issue was so prevalent in the state of North Carolina, a three-part series was dedicated to this in a local newspaper: "Every year across NC, thousands of low-income students who have superior math scores are left out of programs that could help them get to college. Data in NC show that bright young children from low-income families are much more likely to be excluded from the more rigorous classes than their peers from families with higher incomes" (Neff et al., 2017, p. 1A).

It hurts reading this data out of NC regarding students left out of academically rigorous coursework. I also was never referred for academically rigorous classes. I vividly remember asking one of my smart White friends what classes she would be taking the following year and seeing that her courses were different than mine, I went to the school counselor's office to ask to be put in those same classes. Immediate gate-keeping ensued with the school counselor telling me that the classes I wanted were only for gifted students. I asked how one becomes gifted and was informed I needed to test into the gifted classes. I then had to ask to take the test. Decades later, I had to repeat this process to get my own son enrolled in the gifted program[1]....

In addition to not having access or being blocked from taking more rigorous coursework, students who do enroll in college realize that they need academic strengthening before they can be ready for college-level courses, especially Black students (Bryant, 2015). Indeed, researchers have shown that college student success can be impeded due to not having the knowledge and skills for college-level work, which includes, but not limited to, having study skills and time management skills, but also extra and co-curricular involvement and social involvement with peers and faculty members (Strayhorn, 2010). However, students that are supported by highly qualified and experienced teachers have significantly less remediation rates entering college (Bryant, 2015).

---

[1] Griffin, D., & Wood, S. (2015). "Mommy, I'm Bored": A dialectical exploration of school-family-community approaches to working with gifted, black males in rural school environments. In S. M. Wood & T. Stambaugh (Eds.), *Serving Gifted Students in Rural Settings: A Framework for Bridging Gifted Education and Rural Classrooms* (pp. 289-315). Waco, TX: Prufrock Press.

Inequities in Discipline Referrals

Data show an increased gap between Black and White student discipline rates over the last 50 years (Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Ritter & Anderson, 2018). Black students are found to have discipline consequences that exclude them socially, such as out of school suspension (OSS) and expulsion (Bryan et al., 2012; Ritter & Anderson, 2018). Researchers saw that the number of Black students attending a school influences discipline rates in that the more Black students, the higher the discipline rates (Ritter & Anderson, 2018). This data is disturbing, and the concern grows as outcomes are identified. Much of the current research proves there is a correlation between exclusionary discipline and low-test scores, dropout rates, grade retention, and involvement in the juvenile justice system (Morrison et al., 2001). However, researchers struggle to find a causal relationship in the data making it difficult to create systemic change (Anderson et al., 2017).

Ritter and Anderson (2018) also examined the difference within and between districts to determine the gap in discipline between Black and White students and found more variation between schools than within school districts. For example, some of the schools chose exclusionary discipline for guns, drugs, and alcohol, while others chose to respond differently for the same infraction (Ritter & Anderson, 2018). As their findings show, Black students were more than twice as likely,

across the state, to be disciplined for nonviolent and minor infractions compared to their White peers. Ritter and Anderson (2018) assert that an intentional effort to identify and document inequities in discipline is the first step in closing the academic gap for students of color. The insidious nature of these inequitable discipline practices is that they begin early, as evidenced by the second author: "Even in my elementary school, most of the students being suspended, or referred to the principal or counselor for discipline issues are my Black and Latinx male students."

Lowered Teacher Expectations

The expectations that teachers have of students can also play a role in college and career readiness, especially college aspirations (Bryan et al., 2012; Dulabaum, 2016; McDonough, 1997). Schools with large numbers of Black and Latinx students tend to have less certified teachers with less experience (Knight-Manuel et al., 2019). This can lead to students being less prepared for postsecondary success. For example, several "bad teaching" practices were recorded from students in low assistant and engagement schools (Dulabaum, 2016). Teachers were writing information on the board for students to passively read, not returning emails or calls, and creating a boring atmosphere by doing the same thing continuously in order to get a high passing rate (Dulabaum, 2016). Additionally, biased teacher views on Black and Latinx student motivation, work ethic,

and family support persist due to the lack of investment in relationships (Bryant, 2015). Teachers and other school stakeholders that actively and continuously challenge their beliefs, biases, and understanding of race, gender, class, and masculinity are key to understanding and educating students based on their strengths rather than their deficits (Bryan et al., 2020). Teachers must build genuine and respectful relationships with students and hold high expectations that students of color are capable of success (Bryant, 2015).

I often wonder why none of my teachers saw college potential in me, even though I was a straight A student and was not the proverbial "problem student"; I was not a troublemaker. I just didn't have access to what I needed to develop a well-thought out postsecondary plan, pointing to the importance of social capital in the college readiness process.

Social Capital in the College-Readiness Process

Currently, scholars are focusing on the role of social capital in the college readiness process (Ryan & Ream, 2016), one particularly exploring the role of school counselors as social capital (Bryan et al., 2011). Social capital refers to the pivotal relationships and networks that provide access to more favorable outcomes (Coleman, 1988; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Concentrating on social capital in the college-readiness process is important as research shows that students' whose social ties and networks are more limited have

reduced postsecondary options and are the ones most at risk for not receiving the college information and preparation they need; these students, more often than not, are lower SES, Latinx and African American, and first-generation college students (Perez & McDonough, 2008; Terenzini et al., 1996; Warbuton, et al., 2001).

Although research addresses the need for social capital, more research is needed around exploring the link between parent social capital and college enrollment (Horvat et al., 2003; Ryan & Ream, 2016). Studies show that marginalized populations need programs providing social capital through systematically supporting students and their families navigating the college process, which in turn narrows the achievement gap (Dulabaum, 2016). Further, Hill (2008) found that a combination of resources and college-going practices are influential in student decision-making around college-going. To account for the smaller and less resourced social networks, students may turn to those in schools for help in the college-going process. Indeed, in a study on where rural students turn to for college and career information, it was found that students often rely on school stakeholders, such as their counselors, teachers, and coaches (Griffin et al., 2011). In fact, Latinx students' social networks were found to be critically important in students gaining access to college information (Person & Rosenbaum, 2006). Furthermore, teachers have been found to have much influence on students' decision making around college, particularly African American students

(Bryan et al., 2009; McDonough & Calderone, 2006). Just as important as teachers are the role of school counselors. For many students from marginalized populations, school counselors are the source of social capital (Bryan et al, 2009; McDonough, 1997). Indeed, McDonough (1997) found that more time on college counseling and the counselor-student relationship are factors in student decision-making on college going.

In summary, research shows that racialized and marginalized students do not have the same access to college readiness practices (Orfield, 2004; Teranishi, et al., 2004), and this presents a critical issue for students, particularly Black and Latinx students. Further, most of the research and literature that does exist focuses on the high school context. Indeed, Engberg and Wolniak (2010) state that high schools are the epicenter of college access and readiness. While high school practices play a large role in the facilitation or prevention of students' college readiness and access (Conley, 2012; Engberg & Wolniak, 2010; Hill, 2008; Jackson & Knight-Manuel, 2019; Perna & Titus, 2005), postsecondary readiness should begin in elementary school, and that school counselors are instrumental in providing elementary aged students with the basic knowledge they need to raise awareness around their postsecondary options. As Engberg and Wolniak (2010) assert, "the challenge in promoting school environments most conducive for college readiness lie in determining how, when, and where to

allocate resources along the educational pipeline in order to address the complexities of achievement, participation, and involvement" (p. 150). We assert that truly creating a culture of college readiness for Black and Latinx students should begin in elementary school.

Theoretical Support for College Planning in Elementary School

Elementary school counselors are tasked with creating early awareness, knowledge, and skills that form the foundation for academic rigor, social and emotional development, and college and career readiness (NOSCA, 2012). While the Reach Higher initiative helped to strengthen postsecondary degree completion by pushing the creation of "career planning" as early as middle school (Reach Higher, 2015), more college and career planning is needed in elementary school settings. One of the most important reasons for creating a college-going environment in elementary schools is the amount of time it takes for planning and preparing for the future. Students need support and intentional exposure to college and career readiness interventions to develop aspirations for college and to make informed decisions. The National Office for School Counselor Advocacy (NOSCA) recommends producing a college-going culture early that is a part of schools and communities. Professional organizations and theorists would argue that not only should college and career readiness begin in elementary school, but it is also

critical to the development of self-concept. Further, elementary school counselors must become involved in the process (NOSCA, 2012). For instance, NOSCA's eight components of college and career readiness address the concern that lower SES students have far less social capital than those of higher SES, leaving them with less exposure to resources or skills (Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). NOSCA's sixth recommendation for college and career readiness states that college affordability planning is needed in elementary school, citing data that show early interventions increase financial literacy in planning for the expenses of a college education, and high school is too late to begin building a college-going culture (NOSCA, 2012).

ASCA (2014) also created specific mindsets and behaviors that encourage elementary school counselors to develop college readiness practices by asserting that postsecondary education is necessary for long-term career success. The overarching goal of the mindsets and behaviors are to describe a comprehensive school counseling program that addresses the needs of children from pre-kindergarten through 12th grade in their academic, career, and personal/social goals (ASCA, 2014). Children begin making career choices that influence their future career goals as early as elementary school; therefore, elementary school counselors must become more involved in college and career related interventions (Mariani et al., 2016). However, ASCA must grapple with the disconnect

between the values espoused and how school counselors enact them. With the majority of school counselors being White, female, and middle class, ASCA needs to be more intentional in taking concerted steps to ensure that school counselors themselves do not enact and uphold racist ideologies in their practices.

The development of self-concept in children has been the focus of many theories, such as Erikson's psychosocial development (Erikson, 1968), Vygotsky's sociocultural development (Vygotsky, 1986), and Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). Career development theorists like Super and Gottfredson expand on these theories by exploring how a person's self-concept affects career choices. They also assert that the elementary years are critical to the development of self-concept.

Super (1990) was one of the first developmental theorists to see career development as a process that progresses gradually over a person's life span and he was interested in explaining how a person's self-concept affects their college and career readiness (Pulliam & Bartek, 2018). He considered self-awareness, self-esteem, self-concept, and self-knowledge as foundational to his approach. Super created nine dimensions of career development (Super, 1990). The first stage, Growth, is the period when students fantasize and develop likes, dislikes, and abilities related to future careers. This Growth period falls between birth and

age 14 (Super, 1990). This theory is often mentioned as an argument for college and career readiness in elementary school. In the growth stage, children develop their self-concepts according to their interrelationships with peers, teachers, and other adults. This helps to build a positive attitude toward making career decisions, building self-awareness, and gaining confidence in their early career choices (Pulliam & Bartek, 2018).

Like Super, Gottfredson (2002) also believed self-concept to be essential in career selection. Her theory of Circumscription and Compromise (2002) focused even more on elementary-aged children, suggesting that people make compromises and create boundaries of acceptable careers based on how others perceive them or how they see themselves. While Super dedicates one stage out of nine to career development in elementary-aged children, Gottfredson includes elementary-aged children in three out of four stages. Her first stage, orientation to size and power (ages 3-5), states that children learn much of what they can become through adults around them. Stage two, orientation to sex roles (ages 6-8) is heavily influenced by gender development. Stage three is orientation to social evaluation (9-13), where development of concepts such as social class and preferences for level of work develop. Using this theory to develop a college and career readiness culture can be important as children as early as elementary school begin to make decisions on college and careers based on their unclear self-concepts or

how others perceive them to be (Pulliam & Bartek, 2018).

What is often overlooked in these theoretical approaches and framework is the role of antiracism, and how schools and school stakeholders can perpetuate the anti-Black ideologies that continue to oppress Black and Latinx students and allows them to develop stereotypical beliefs around future selves. Further, despite being taught that there is inherent universality to these theories and frameworks, school counselors and counselor educators must acknowledge that Black and brown students have vastly different experiences, and blindly applying these frameworks, without understanding the lived experiences of the students is an inequitable practice that needs to be eradicated. For instance, the second author, interning as a school counselor in a small suburban elementary school, developed a career intervention for fifth graders which uncovered many unclear self-concepts about their ability to succeed. One of her young Black male students said he could never be a judge because he "was Black;" many of the Latinx students believed they could only be professional soccer players. These stereotypes around future aspirations can be held as truth in young minds and can negatively impact trajectories for the future (Pulliam & Bartek, 2018). Elementary students are developmentally ready to be exposed to career development and to build college aspirations during their development of self (Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Therefore, school

counselors should be in ideal positions to aid students with this process and help build self-concept while dispelling stereotypes and myths around future aspirations.

To underscore the importance of the school counselor's role in college readiness processes for Black and Latinx students, we apply McDonough's (1997) conceptualization of high school organizational habitus of college readiness, which draws from Bordieu's concept of habitus. McDonough's framework emphasizes that high school college readiness activities should reflect the structural and normative features of schools, which are shaped by the national, regional and local college admission processes, as well as the value of attaining a college degree based on employment opportunities available. These normative structures include how one identifies the students who are deemed college material and how parents are included in the college readiness process, as well as what information is disseminated to parents. Students of color and students from low-income families are often overlooked and dismissed from the college readiness process, even when students and families express high expectations around college-going (Arriero & Griffin, 2018; Auerbach, 2004).

McDonough (1997) asserts that high schools must have a formal college readiness curriculum, which includes the activities that help students and parents become college-ready by reflecting the experiences and academic profile students need for college admission, which are based on the admissions standards of the colleges and universities to which students plan to apply (e.g., course selection and grades; extracurricular involvement; standardized test scores) as well as knowledge around what students need to do for college admissions (e.g., personal essays; teacher and school counselor recommendations). The issue is that students waiting until high school to begin to develop an academic profile that is deemed college ready is too late, and school counselors often serve as "gate-keepers" (Hill Collins, 2009; McDonough & Fann, 2007) whereby they decide which college and university standards best applies to students, often using the terms, match school (student's academic profile matches to college admission standards); reach school (student's academic profile is not good enough for the college admission standards, and safety school (student's academic profile is above the college admission standards). This is extremely troubling as findings from a national study of rural high schools underscores the importance of school counselors' college readiness role enactment because they are a primary resource of information for students and families, particularly from low-income and members of racial-ethnic minority groups (Griffin et al., 2011). Indeed, another study found that students in high-poverty schools were more likely to see the school counselor for college information than teachers or other school personnel (Bryan et al., 2009), again, demonstrating the power of school counselors

in the college readiness process.

I was in the 11th grade when someone finally mentioned college to me. And it was not my school counselor, nor my teachers. It was a special education teacher, a young Black woman, who came up to me in the hallway one day and handed me an application for a summer enrichment program at The College of William and Mary in Virginia. This program, called Student Transition Enrichment Program or STEP, was developed to expose more students of color to William and Mary. I had never heard of William and Mary and did not even know where it was. I was also surprised that this teacher even knew enough about me to share with me this opportunity. I filled out the application by myself, sent it in, and was accepted. If it were not for this teacher, I don't think I would have gone to college at all, only because it wasn't even on my radar to attend. College was not a part of my lexicon. I heard my white friends talking about going to college, but I did not think it was for me. You may think that my experience, while disheartening, happened 30 years ago, and these things no longer happen. My students tell me different. Sometimes, my students are the first ones to talk to or even mention college to Black and brown students, especially those who are deemed not 'college material.' The question, which then follows, is who gets to decide who is college ready?

This experience aligns with McDonough's (1997) emphasis on the need for a college readiness curriculum which positions school counselors, and their role enactment within the structural and normative features of their schools, as central to the college readiness process, but also needing to recognize that school counselor's roles are often established by the realities of their school norms as well as their own subjective interpretations of their students' and families' college readiness needs. In essence, school counselors' roles within the school positions them to control what information is transmitted to students and parents as well as how this information is disseminated. McDonough (1997) describes a "knowledge gap" that is often perpetuated for students of color and low-income students, reflecting misalignment in the information provided to parents, the means through which it is provided, and the practical information that parents actually need in order to support their children toward college readiness. The role of school counselors in implementing college readiness practices is crucial. Failure to directly address these inequities undermines the effective practice of school counseling (Baquedano-López et al., 2013; Bower & Griffin, 2011; Griffin & Bryan, 2010). Further, college readiness practices must begin in elementary school; starting this work in high school can create barriers for students in getting the courses and experiences they need for their postsecondary college and university choices.

The 11th grade was way too late for me to just begin to realize that college was a choice for me. I know why college was not discussed with me at home, but it should have been an

ethical violation to not discuss this with me at school. Not one conversation was had. Not one. Now that I am in a space where my words and my work places me in a position for change, I advocate for meaningful and intentional college readiness practices to begin in elementary school. These practices include working with parents. It goes beyond the traditional career day type of events nor do I want school counselors to ask the rote question, "What do you want to do when you grow up?" and count this as career exploration. I teach my students to talk to parents of their Black and brown students and ask them their goals for their children's futures. I tell them that Black, Latinx, and parents with limited economic resources maintain high expectations for their children to attend college, but often lack the knowledge needed to help their children through the college-going process (Auerbach, 2004; Bryan et al., 2017; Bryan et al., 2019; Chlup et al., 2018; Farmer-Hinton, 2008). I teach them that any comprehensive school counseling program, that is built on a foundation of equity, involves interacting with each of their student populations and their parents around college readiness. We want our students to know they can be more than sports professionals, and there is more to the medical field than just being a doctor. I tell them field trips for elementary students should also include trips to nearby colleges and universities, including community colleges. My first visit to a college campus did not happen until the summer before my senior year of high school. I did not know what the SAT was and only after attending

the program at William and Mary, did I realize it was something I needed for college acceptance. Start early and build on a strong foundation is a good first step in addressing inequitable practices in the college readiness process.

Toward this end, building on the work of McDonough (1997) and other scholars who provide strategies and practices for building college and career readiness cultures in schools, we present three strategies for school counselors beginning the work of developing an equity-focused postsecondary culture at their school.

Strategies for School Counselor Practice and Training

While Black and Latinx student access to college is increasing, there are still inequities in the college readiness process in schools (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Strayhorn, 2016). The data continue to show that students of color do not receive the same quality of college and career preparation as their White counterparts (Francis et al., 2019; Nunez et al., 2009). Coupled with the racial and ethnic stereotyped views of what their future holds, elementary school counselors must be more proactive in helping put Black and Latinx kids on the right path as it is even more difficult for students to get started with college readiness once in middle or high school (Bryan et al., 2019; Griffin et al., 2021).

School counselors should be more proactive in addressing the college and career readiness

of students, making it an integrated component of the school culture. One thing school counselors can do is showcase nearby universities and colleges, including Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), community colleges and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) in their counseling offices and around the school. Another, elementary school counselors could begin to have future-oriented conversations with all their students in every interaction. For example, when conducting classroom guidance lessons on character traits, they could discuss how those traits are useful in future careers. Further, school counselors need to start to combat the stereotypical beliefs that Black and Latinx students begin to accept as truth as early as Kindergarten. School counselors should also be proactive in partnering with the community in bringing college and career resources into the school. Community members can be instrumental in providing information about college and careers. However, it is important to solicit community members with various college degrees and different careers. Traditionally, parents of kids in traditional careers are invited into the school to share about their work—police officers, doctors, professors, lawyers. School counselors must be sure that all guests coming into the school should be racially, ethnically diverse, and include all genders, as well as all types of careers, from professional careers to those considered blue-collar jobs. Further, to prevent racial stereotyping, school counselors must work hard to prevent having only White individuals representing the professional careers, and people of color representing the more blue-collar jobs. This needs to happen in elementary, middle, and high schools.

> **JCA**
>
> **"School counselors should be more proactive in addressing the college and career readiness of students, making it an integrated component of the school culture."**

My senior year after realizing I was going to college, I was asked what did I want to do. Be a doctor was my response. By the end of my senior year, my answer became more sophisticated, a general practitioner; I came across this field when I heard it mentioned on a TV show I watched, but really did not have a clue of what that meant. The more shocking part was when my friends laughed at me saying that Black people don't become doctors.

Counselor educators need to provide more resources and training around career and college readiness. Further, in order for students to graduate from graduate preparation programs prepared to implement equity-focused college and career training activities in their schools, counselor educators need to provide more assignments around

postsecondary readiness. There is an abundance of activities that can be created using readily accessible materials, and students need to be taught how to create lesson plans from these materials. Due to lack of funding in schools, students need to be taught how to be creative in developing activities to meet the needs of their population.

Counselor educators also need to teach students how to develop community asset maps to find resources that can aid them in developing equity-focused career and college cultures in their schools (Arriero & Griffin, 2019; Griffin & Farris, 2010; Mitchell & Bryan, 2007). Community asset mapping can help school counselors locate, obtain, and map resources from various people and settings, such as businesses, educational institutions, and even individuals from the community (Dorfman, 1998; Jasek-Rysdahl, 2001; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Community asset mapping can be used to help school counselors in high poverty schools, as they often work with large caseloads and have limited time to provide to working parents with students around college planning (Engberg & Gilbert, 2014; Gast, 2016; Perna et al., 2008). Arriero and Griffin (2019) utilized community asset mapping to build a college-going culture for Latinx students in a rural high school, and both parents and students were more aware of their options and held higher expectations for their futures after the program than before. The same can be done to train students going into elementary school

counselors as well.

Finally, school counselors need to be trained on how to evaluate the quality of their college and career readiness practices in the school as well as assess inequitable practices that exist. It is important that school counselors begin by strengthening their data driven program and assessing the culture of their school. All school counseling students and even practicing school counselors should be taught the evaluation skills to ensure that they are indeed, creating a robust college and career going culture in their schools, one devoid of stereotypes, and ensuring equity in the college and career going activities.

I personally fear that what happened to me 30 years ago, is pervasive and continues to permeate our school systems. Results of a recent national survey of over 2000 school counselors suggest that many maintain limited confidence in their capacity to effectively engage in college readiness practices. Of relevance to many rural schools, such as the school I attended, a sense of efficacy for college advising was significantly lower for school counselors in small schools (i.e., student bodies fewer than 1000 students). Over one-third of school counselors reported receiving no professional training in college and career readiness advising, and the majority reported receiving only a moderate level of training, which could contribute to minimal commitment to comprehensive college readiness support to students and parents (Parikh-Foxx, Martinez, Baker, & Olson, 2020). Moreover, over two-thirds of school counselors reported challenges in delivering college readiness activities,

reflecting factors such as minimal time and lack of administrator support. We must do better. No student should still be experiencing what I experienced 30 years ago.

Summary

We presented a dialogical exchange between research and personal experiences with the goal of impressing the dire state of affairs as it relates to postsecondary readiness with Black and Latinx students. These students continue to experience racism and violence, discrimination, prejudice, classism, and oppression in every system in the United States, especially in education. The effects of these oppressive systems on Black and Latinx students are many: decreased outcomes in a number of different areas, including, but not limited to, decreased wealth, more physical and mental health problems, and lowered educational attainment. Often, the blame for the lack of their educational access and success is placed on the shoulders of these students, often citing poor parent involvement or not caring about education as the main factors for the educational inequities. Overlooked are the racist attitudes of teachers, the disproportionality of Black children being suspended, or put in lower track classes, the increased propensity for Black and Latinx children to attend schools with lower number of high qualified teachers or school counselors, and attend schools without access to high quality education, such as gifted programming or advanced placement courses. School counselors must have a paramount role in addressing some of

these inequities, and as scholars have demonstrated, one such way is to place these students on the path to college and career readiness early, and expose these students to a variety of careers before they begin to adopt limited views of their futures. "I was going to work full-time at Roses Department Store." JCA

REFERENCES

American School Counselor Association (2014). Mindsets and behaviors for student success: K-12 college- and career-readiness standards for every student. Alexandria, VA: Author.

Anderson, K. P., Ritter, G. W., & Zamarro, G. (2017). Understanding a vicious cycle: Do out-of-school suspensions impact student test scores? (EDRE Working Paper 2017-09). Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2944346

Arriero, E., & Griffin, D. (2019). ¡Adelante! A community asset mapping approach to increase college and career readiness for rural Latinx high school students. Professional School Counseling, 22(1), 1-9. doi: 10.1177/2156759X18800279

Auerbach, S. (2004). Engaging Latino parents in supporting college pathways: Lessons from a college access program. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 3(2), 125-145. doi: 10.1177/1538192703262514

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. Psychological Review, 84(2), 191–215. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191

Baquedano-Lopez, P., Alexander, R. A., & Hernandez, S. J. (2013). Equity issues in parental and community involvement in schools: What teacher educators need to know. Review of Research in Education, 37, 149-182. doi: 10.3102/0091732X12459718

Bettinger, E. P., Long, B. T., Oreopoulos, P. & Sanbonmatsu, L. (2012). The role of application assistance and information in college decisions: Results from the H&R Block FAFSA experiment. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 127(3), 1205-1242. Retrieved September 1, 2020, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/23251984

Bower, & Griffin, D. (2011). Can the Epstein model of parent involvement work in a high minority, high-poverty elementary school? A case study. Professional School Counseling, 15(2), 77-87.

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, 280-291.

Bryan, J., Moore-Thomas, C., Day-Vines, N. L., & Holcomb-McCoy, C. (2011). School Counselors as Social Capital: The Effects of High School College Counseling on College Application Rates. Journal of Counseling & Development, 89 (2), 190–199. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2011.tb00077.x

Bryan, J., Day-Vines, N., Griffin, D., & Moore-Thomas, C. (2012). The disproportionality dilemma: patterns of teacher referrals to school counselors for disruptive behavior. Journal of Counseling & Development, 90, 177-190.

Bryan, J., Williams, J. M., & Griffin, D. (2015). Fostering school-family-community partnerships in urban areas: Implications for closing black male students' opportunity gaps. In M. S. Henfield & A. R. Washington (Eds.), School Counseling for Black Male Student Success in 21st Century Urban Schools. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Bryan, J., Young, A., Griffin, D., & Henry, L. (2015). The role of school counselors in fostering college readiness and access. In J. L. DeVitis, & P. A. Sasso (Eds.). Higher Education and Society. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Bryan, J., Farmer-Hinton, R., Rawls, A., & Woods, C. S. (2017). Social capital and college-going culture in high schools: The effects of college expectations and college talk on students' postsecondary attendance. Professional School Counseling, 21, 95-107. doi:10.5330/1096-2409-21.1.95

Bryan, J., Griffin, D., Henry, L., & Gilfillan, B. (2019). Building culturally relevant school-family-community partnerships that promote college readiness and access. In NACAC (Ed.), Fundamentals of College Admission Counseling (5th ed.) (pp. 466-488). Arlington, VA: National Association of College Admission Counseling.

Bryan, J. A., Williams, J. M., & Griffin, D. (2020). Fostering resilience in urban schools through equity-focused school-family-community partnerships. Professional School Counseling, 23,1-14.

Bryant, R. T.-A.-F. (2015). College preparation for African American students: Gaps in the high school educational experience. CLASP: Washington, DC.

Cabrera, A. F., & La Nasa, S. (2000). Understanding the college choice of disadvantaged students. New Directions for Institutional Research. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Program. (2015). 2016 CACREP Standards. Retrieved from http://www.cacrep.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/2016-Standards-with-Glossary-2.2016.pdf

Chlup, D. T., Gonzalez, E. M., Gonzalez, J. E., Aldape, H. F., Guerra, M., Lagunas, B., Yu, Q., Manzano, H., & Zorn, D. R. (2016). Nuestros hijos van a la Universidad [Our sons and daughters are going to college]: Latina parents' perceptions and experiences related to building college readiness, college knowledge, and college access for their children – A qualitative analysis. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 1-21. doi: 10.1177/1538192716652501

College Board. (2010). Eight components of college and career readiness counseling. Retrieved from http://media.collegeboard.com/digitalServices/pdf/nosca/10b_2217_EightComponentsWEB_100625.pdf

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. American Journal of Sociology, 94, S95-120.

Conley, D. T. (2010). College and career ready: Helping all students succeed beyond high school. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Conley, D. T. (2012). A complete definition of college and career readiness. Eugene, OR: Educational Policy Improvement Center.

Dorfman, D. (1998). Mapping community assets workbook: Strengthening community education: The basis for sustainable renewal. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED426499).

Dulabaum, N. L., (2016). Barriers to academic success: A qualitative study of African American and Latino male students. Innovation Showcase, 11(6). Retrieved from https://www.league.org/innovation-showcase/barriers-academic-success-qualitative-study-african-american-and-latino-male

Engberg, M. E., & Gilbert, A. J. (2014). The counseling opportunity structure: Examining correlates of four-year college-going rates. Research in Higher Education, 55, 219-244. doi: 10.1007/s11162-013-9309-4

Engberg, M. E., & Wolniak, G. C. (2010). Examining the effects of high school contexts on postsecondary enrollment. Research in Higher Education, 51, 132-153. doi: 10.1007/s11162-009-9150-y.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity, youth, and crisis. New York: W. W. Norton.

Farmer-Hinton, R. L. (2008). Creating opportunities for college access: Examining a school model designed to prepare students of color for college. Multicultural Perspectives, 10(2), 73-81. doi: 10.1080/15210960802039148

Francis, D. V., De Oliveira, A. C. M., & Dimmitt, C. (2019). Do school counselors exhibit bias in recommending students for advanced coursework? The BE journal of Economic Analysis & Policy, 19 (4), 10.1515/bejeap-2018-0189

Gast, M. J. (2016). "You're supposed to help me": The perils of mass counseling norms for working-class Black students. Urban Education, 1-27. Doi: 10.1177/0042085916652178

Gonzalez, L. M., Borders, L. D., Hines, E. M., Villalba, J. A., & Henderson, A. (2013). Parental involvement in children's education: Considerations for school counselors working with Latino immigrant families. Professional School Counseling, 16(3), 185-193.

Gonzalez, L. (2017). A college knowledge outreach program for Latino immigrant parents: Process and evaluation. Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology, 9(1), 38-54.

Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. A. (2010). The achievement gap and the discipline gap: Two sides of the same coin? Educational Researcher, 39, 59-68.

Griffin, D., & Bryan, J. A. (2010). Overcoming negative school experiences for African American adolescents: What school counselors can do to eradicate ethnocentrism in the schools. In J. L. DeVitis & L. I. DeVitis (Eds.), Adolescent Education: A Reader (pp. 209-222). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Griffin, D., & Farris, A. (2010). School counselors and collaboration: Finding resources through community asset mapping. Professional School Counseling, 13, 248-256.
Griffin, D., Hutchins, B. C., & Meece, J. L. (2011). Where do rural high school students go to find information about their careers? Journal of Counseling & Development, 89, 172–181. doi:10.1002/ j.1556-6678.2011.tb00075.x

Griffin, D., Bryan, J. A., & Williams, J. M. (2021). School-family-community partnerships for educational success and equity for Black male students. Professional School Counseling, 25(1). doi: https://doi.org/10/1177/2156759X211040036

Gottfredson, L. S. (2002). Gottfredson's theory of circumscription, compromise, and self-creation. In D. Brown (Ed.), Career choice and development (pp. 85-148). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hill, L. D. (2008). School strategies and the "college-linking" process: Reconsidering the effects of high schools on college enrollment. Sociology of Education, 81(1), 53-76.

Hill, N. E., & Torres, K. (2010). Negotiating the American dream: The paradox of aspirations and achievement among Latino students and engagement between their families and schools. Journal of Social Issues, 66(1), 95-112. doi: https://doiorg.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01635x

Hill Collins, P. (2009). Another kind of public education: Race, school, the media, and democratic possibilities. Boston: Beacon Press.

Horvat, E. M., Weininger, E. B., & Lareau, A. (2003). From social ties to social capital: Class differences in the relations between schools and parent networks. American Educational Research Journal, 40(2), 319-351.

Hoyt, K. B., & Wickwire, P. (2001). Knowledge-information-service era changes in work and education and the changing role of the school counselor in career education. Career Development Quarterly, 49, 238-249.

Jackson, I., & Knight-Manuel, M. (2019). "Color does not equal consciousness": Educators of color learning to enact a sociopolitical consciousness. Journal of Teacher Education, 70(1), 65-78. doi: 10.1177/0022487118783189

Jasek-Rysdahl, K. (2001). Applying Sen's capabilities framework to neighborhoods: Using local asset maps to deepen our understanding of well-being. Review of Social Economy, 59, 313–329. doi:10.1080/00346760122948

Knight, J. L. (2015). Preparing elementary school counselors to promote career development: Recommendations for school counselor education programs. Journal of Career Development, 42, 75-85.
Knight-Manuel, M. G., Marciano, J. E., Wilson, M., Jackson, I., Vernikoff, L., Zuckerman, K.G., & Watson, V. W. M. (2019). "It's all possible": Urban educators' perspectives on creating a culturally relevant, schoolwide, college-going culture for Black and Latino male students. Urban

Education, 54(1), 35–64. doi.org/10.1177/0042085916651320

Kretzmann, J. P., & McKnight, J. L. (1993). Building communities from the inside out: A path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets. Evanston, IL: Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University.

Lareau, A. (2011). Unequal Childhoods (2nd ed.). Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. M. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion: Race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. Sociology of Education, 72(1), 37-53. doi:10.2307/2673185.

Lee, J-S., & Bowen, N. K. (2006). Parent involvement, cultural capital, and the achievement gap among elementary school children. American Educational Research Journal, 43(2), 193-218.

Li, A., & Fisher, M. J. (2017). Advantaged/disadvantaged school neighborhoods, parent networks, and parent involvement at elementary school. Sociology of Education, 90(4), 355-377. doi: https://doi-org.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.1177/0038040717732332

Mariani, M., Berger, C., Koerner, K., & Sandlin, C. (2016). Operation occupation: A college and career readiness intervention for elementary students. Professional School Counseling, 20(1), 65-76. doi:10.5330/1096-2409-20.1.65

McDonough, P. M. (1997). Choosing colleges: How social class and schools structure opportunity. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

McDonough, P. M. (2005). Counseling matters: Knowledge, assistance, and organizational commitment in college preparation. In W. G. Tierney, Z. B. Corwin, & J. E. Colyar (Eds.), Preparing for college: Nine elements of effective outreach (pp. 69-87). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

McDonough, P. M., & Calderone, S. (2006). The meaning of money: Perceptual differences between college counselors and low-income families about college costs and financial aid. American Behavioral Scientist, 49, 1703-1718.
McDonough, P. M., & Fann, A. J. (2007). The study of inequality. In P. Gumport (Ed.). Sociology of Higher Education: Contributions and Their Contexts (pp. 53-93). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Mendez, L., & Knoff, H. (2003). Who gets suspended from school and why: A demographic analysis of schools and disciplinary infractions in a large school district. Education and Treatment of Children, 26, 30-51.

Mitchell, N. A., & Bryan, J. (2007). School-family-community partnerships: Strategies for school counselors working with Caribbean immigrant families. Professional School Counseling, 10, 399–409.

Morrison, G. M., Anthony, S., Storino, M., & Dillon, C. (2001). An examination of the disciplinary histories and the individual and educational characteristics of students who participate in an in-school suspension program. Education and Treatment of Children, 24(3), 276-293.

National Office for School Counselor Advocacy. (2012). Elementary school counselor's guide: NOSCA's eight components of college and career readiness counseling [Data file]. Retrieved from http://media.collegeboard.com/digitalServices/pdf/advocacy/nosca/11b4383_ES_Counselor_Guide_WEB_120213.pdf

Neff, J., Helms, A. D., & Raynor, D. (2017, May 22). Mother battles to keep her son on college track. The News & Observer, 153(142), pp. 1A, 6A-7A.

Núñez, A.-M., & Oliva, M. (2009). Organizational collaboration to promote college access: A P-20 framework. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 8(4), 322-339. doi: 10.1177/15381927093478944

Nunez, A., Sparks, P. J., & Hernandez, E. A. (2010). Latina/o access to community colleges and Hispanic-serving institutions: A national study. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 10, 18-40. doi: 10.1177/1538192710391801

Orfield, G. (2004). Brown at 50: King's dream or Pless's nightmare? Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

Parikh-Foxx, S., Martinez, R.R., Baker, S.B., & Olsen, J. (2020). Self-efficacy for enhancing students' career and college readiness: A survey of professional school counselors. Journal of Counseling & Development, 98(2), 183-192. doi:10.1002/jcad.12312

Perez, P. A., & McDonough, P. M. (2008). Understanding Latina and Latino college choice: A social capital and chain migration analysis. Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 7, 249-265.
Perna, L. W. (2000). Differences in the decision to enroll in collge among African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. Journal of Higher Education, 71(2), 117-141.

Perna, L. W. (2006). Studying college access and choice: A

proposed conceptual model. In J. C. Smart (Ed.)., Higher education: Handbook of theory and research (pp. 99-157). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Perna, L. W., Rowan-Kenyon, H. T., Thomas, S. L., Bell, A., Anderson, R., & Li, C. (2008). The role of college counseling in shaping college opportunity: Variations across high schools. The Review of Higher Education, 31(2), 131-159.

Perna, L. W., & Titus, M. A. (2005). The relationship between parental involvement as social capital and college enrollment: An examination of racial/ethnic group differences. The Journal of Higher Education, 76(5), 485-518.

Person, A. E., & Rosenbaum, J. E. (2006). Chain enrollment and college enclaves: Benefits and drawbacks of Latino college students' enrollment decisions. New Directions for Community Colleges, 133, 51-60.

Pulliam, N., & Bartek, S. (2018). College and career readiness in elementary schools. International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education, 3(10), 355-360.

Quinn, R., Cox, A. B., & Steinbugler, A. (2020). Social position or school participation? Access and mobilization of social capital in a school-based network. Educational Researcher, 49(1), 44-55. doi: 10.3102/0013189X19898700

Reach Higher. (2015). Reach Higher Initiative. Retrieved from https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/reach-higher

Ritter, G. W., & Anderson, K. P. (2018). Examining disparities in student discipline: Mapping inequities from infractions to consequences. Peabody Journal of Education, 93(2), 161-173. doi:10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435038

Ryan, S., & Ream, R. K. (2016). Variation Across Hispanic immigrant generations in parent social capital, college-aligned actions, and four-year college enrollment. American Educational Research Journal, 53(4), 953–986. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831216656395

Schneider, B., Martinez, S., & Owens, A. (2006). Barriers to educational opportunities for Hispanics in the United States. In F. Mitchell & M. Tienda (Eds.), Hispanics and the future of America (pp. 179-227). Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Stanton-Salazar, R. (1997). A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and. Youths. Harvard Educational Review, 67(1), 1-40.

Strayhorn, T. L. (2016). Factors that influence the

persistence and success of Black men in urban public universities. Urban Education, 52(9), 1106-1128. doi: 10.1177/0042085915623347

Strayhorn, T. L. (2010). When race and gender collide: Social and cultural capital's influence on the academic achievement of African American and Latino males. The Review of Higher Education, 33(3), 307-332. doi:10.1353/rhe.0.0147.

Super, D. E. (1990). A life span, life-space approach to career development. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), Career choice and development (2nd ed., pp. 197-261). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Teranishi, R., Allen, W., & Solorzano, D. (2004). Opportunity at the crossroads: Racial inequality, school segregation, and higher education in California. Teachers College Record, 106, 2224-2245.

Terenzini, P. T., Springer, L., Yaeger, P. M., Pascarella, E. T., & Nora, A. (1996). First-generation college students: Characteristics, experiences, and cognitive development. Research in Higher Education, 37, 1-22.

The White House Office. (2014). Remarks by the First Lady to the American School Counselor Association Annual Conference – Orlando, Fl. Retrieved from https://www.whitehousegov/the-press-office/2014/07/01/remarks-first-lady-american-school-counselor-association-annual-conference

Vygotsky, L., (1986). Thought and language. Cambridge, MA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Wahl, K. H., & Blackhurst, A. (2000). Factors affecting the occupational and educational aspirations of children and adolescents. Professional School Counseling, 3(5), 367-374. Retrieved from http://www.schoolcounselor.org/content.asp?contentid=235

Warbuton, E. C., Bugarin, R., & Nunex, A. (2001). Bridging the gap: Academic preparation and postsecondary success of first-generation students (NCES Rep. No. 2001-153). Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Statistics.

Welton, A. D., & Martinez, M. A. (2014). Coloring the college pathway: A more culturally responsive approach to college readiness and access for students of color in secondary schools. Urban Review, 46, 197-223. doi: https://doiorg.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.1007/s11256-013-0252-7