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THE STEREOTYPE THREAT EXPERIENCES OF MEN OF COLOR PERSISTING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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THE STEREOTYPE THREAT EXPERIENCES OF MEN
OF COLOR PERSISTING IN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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by

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ABSTRACT

THE STEREOTYPE THREAT EXPERIENCES OF MEN OF COLOR PERSISTING IN
COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Robert E. Cortes

The purpose of this qualitative narrative analysis was to explore how men of color have experienced stereotype threat in their lives and used community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success while persisting at a large urban community college. Racial tensions have manifested through blatant acts of racism, discrimination, and microaggressions across college campuses, threatening students of color who are marginalized and targeted. In consideration of the success of men of color attending community colleges in the United States, there is vast inequality and inequity when comparing their graduation, persistence, and retention rates to their White counterparts. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2019), the graduation, retention, and persistence rates of 15.1% for Black, 21.8% for Latino, and 18.1% for Pacific Islander male students were lower than the 30.5% rate for White male students at two-year public institutions. Research has shown that community cultural wealth helps men of color to be successful in college. The present study utilized purposeful sampling to recruit eight students who identified as men of color, experienced stereotype threat, were currently enrolled full-time at the All City Community College, attended at least one semester, and were academically successful. The study used one story-telling interview and two open-ended interviews to collect participants' stories. Four rounds of deductive and inductive coding were conducted to create a universal story. Through examination of participants' narratives, community college administrators, teachers, and staff will gain deeper insight into creating strengths-based

and culturally affirming resources and policies that support male students of color at their

institutions.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my beloved father Roberto R. Cortes who passed away on March 26, 2020. My whole life, my "pops" always said, "I want you to be better than me." This meant striving for academic excellence since his academic career ended after his first year of college, despite attending Ateneo De Manila, a Jesuit high school in the Philippines. It is with great pride that I celebrate this success in his honor as a true and living testament of his hard work and sacrifice to get me to this point. Secondly, I dedicate this dissertation to his wife of 49 years and my beloved mother, Cynthia Cortes, who has provided nothing but unconditional love and support throughout my 46 years of life. Thirdly, I give my deepest gratitude to my wife Lys Cortes, who has provided physical, social, mental and emotional support from my first semester, four and a half years ago with our first six-month old baby boy in our lives, through the birth of our second son in my second year of study, through the sudden loss of my father in my third year of study, and now through the completion of this dissertation in the midst of a global pandemic recovery. Without her love and support this would not be possible.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my beautiful and sweet children Alejandra, 16, Robertson, 5, and Julian, 3 whose safety, survival, and future livelihoods were always in the back of my mind through every research article I have read, and every word I have written in every single assignment that has been a part of this doctoral journey. My passion to explore racial equity, inclusion, and social justice issues in higher education has been fueled by my hope that someday, they will experience less stereotype threat, racism, and discrimination than I have had to in my lifetime.

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CHAPTER 1

The issue of race relations in the United States of America, historically and more recently, has created societal tensions that have permeated various political, social, and institutional settings. This tension has manifested itself through blatant acts of racism and discrimination as well as subtle microaggressions across college campuses in recent years. Despite increased efforts by educators, administrators, students, and staff to promote social justice and create a more egalitarian American society for all, racist messages and discriminatory acts continue to threaten the safety of those minoritized and marginalized groups of students who are targeted. On May 2017, at American University, the newly elected student government president, and first female African American student to hold that position, was targeted by hateful displays of discrimination as bananas with the name of her sorority written on them, were hung by nooses around campus (McLaughlin & Burnside, 2017). In other unrelated on-campus incidents that took place between August 11 to August 12, 2017, at the University of Virginia, violence erupted at the "Unite the Right Rally" hosted by White supremacists in a blatant display of power and hate against students of color resulting in deaths (Stolberg & Rosenthal, 2017). These incidents illustrate the urgent and critical need for administrators, faculty, and staff to create institutional interventions that will protect and support students of color. As messages of hate and segregation continue to threaten American society at large, the obligation of human agency to challenge and dismantle systemic and institutional racism and racist rhetoric, lies in the hands of higher education institutions.

When considering the student success of male students of color in higher education, there is vast inequality and inequity when comparing the graduation,

persistence, and retention rates of male students of color, attending community college institutions in the United States, to their White counterparts. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), an examination of two-year public institutions found that graduation, retention, and persistence rates for male students of color were lower than White male students (2019). Specifically, the NCES found these graduation, persistence, and retention rates of 15.1% for Black male students, 21.8% for Latino male students, and 18.1% for Pacific Islander male students were lower than the 30.5% rate for White male students. While these graduation, retention, and persistence rates seem to suggest that a deficit exists for male students of color, it is imperative that these rates be considered using a critical race theory lens (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002) to understand how historical, systemic, and individual racism has impacted the educational experiences of male students of color. It is equally imperative that we utilize the concept of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) to honor the strengths and value that men of color bring into higher education institutions.

One phenomenon that can affect the academic success of male students of color is stereotype threat. According to Steele and Aronson (1995), stereotype threat is defined as "being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group" (p.797). Stereotype threat is largely based on an individual's interpretation of how they are being perceived and treated by others and can include negative characteristics about one's group. Spencer et al. (2016) has also described stereotype threat as the ways that individuals are at risk of being judged or discriminated against as a result of negative stereotypes. The researchers also posited that stereotype threat is not

limited to the personal perception and experience of the individual but also the risks associated with racist and discriminatory actions resulting from the stereotype threat.

Furthermore, several studies have demonstrated the negative impact that stereotype threat can have on the emotional, mental, social and academic health of male students of color (Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Nadler & Komarraju, 2016; Walton& Taylor, 2011; Tyler et al., 2016; Spencer et al., 2016; Thomas & Coard, 2009; Appel & Weber, 2017; Mello et al.; 2012; Gomez & Huber 2019). Stereotype threat continues to percolate on college campuses and society nationwide, with the landscape of higher education reaching a fever pitch as racial and civil unrest and national responses to such actions have become more public in the United States during the Trump Administration. Institutional racism and systemic racism, fueled by modern-day stereotype threats, potentially disrupt the academic journey. Despite the academic, social, and psychological risks created by stereotype threat, many studies indicate that there is much to be learned by examining how community cultural wealth can equip male students of color to manage stereotype threat in colleges successfully (Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Guardia & Evans, 2008; Simmons III, 2012; Cerezo et al., 2013; Wilson, 2014; Harper, 2015; Kneiss et al., 2015; Perez, 2017; Sáenz et al., 2018; Brooms, 2018; Druery & Brooms, 2018).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this present qualitative narrative analysis is to explore how men of color have experienced stereotype threat in their lives and how they have used community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success while persisting at a large urban community college. In order to investigate stereotype

threat, the present study is aligned to the theoretical frameworks of critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002) and the community cultural wealth model (Yosso, 2005) exploring the historical, political, and social context that higher education institutions not only belong to, but also create for their students. By providing this opportunity for male students of color to share their stories and using a critical race theory lens to examine them, future support programs that address the systemic, historical, and engrained racism of higher education institutions will be better-informed to address students' academic and social needs effectively.

Theoretical Frameworks

For the present study, two theoretical frameworks are applicable in understanding how stereotype threat can impact male students of color and how it can be reduced. One such framework is critical race theory (CRT) which posits that race cannot be excluded when considering issues that impact students of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). According to Tate (1997), CRT "recognizes that racism is endemic in U.S. society, deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically" (p. 234). In this present study, using CRT will allow this researcher to explore how the "traditional interests and cultural artifacts [of White people] serve as vehicles to limit and bind the educational opportunities of students of color" (p. 234).

Using CRT as a theoretical framework for the present study aligns with three main goals of CRT which, according to Parker and Lynn (2002), are to propose the value of storytelling and narratives when examining race and racism in society, to argue for the eradication of racial subjugation while acknowledging race is a social construct, and to draw important relationships between race and dominant views. Using CRT as a

theoretical framework for this study is appropriate since one cannot examine the relationship between stereotype threat and male students of color without understanding the complexities of how those stereotypes based on race are constructed within the context of a United States that has a history of racism, violence, and oppression against men of color. Furthermore, Ladson-Billings (2010) posited that "adopting and adapting CRT as a framework for educational equity means that we will have to expose racism in education and propose radical solutions for addressing it. We will have to take bold and sometimes unpopular positions" (p. 22).

In addition to CRT, the present study will also utilize Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model (CCWM) as a theoretical framework. Yosso (2005) posited that, "as demonstrated through the concept of cultural wealth, CRT research begins with the perspective that Communities of Color are places with multiple strengths" (p.82). Previous research has yielded important findings on how male students of color utilize community cultural wealth to achieve academic success in higher education settings (Guardia & Evans, 2008; Simmons III, 2012; Cerezo et al., 2013; Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Wilson, 2014; Harper, 2015; Kneiss et al., 2015; Perez, 2017; Sáenz et al., 2018; Brooms, 2018; Druery & Brooms, 2018). According to Yosso (2005), students of color utilize various forms of capital to impact their educational environments. The researcher challenged and expanded traditional ideas of cultural capital to a concept of wealth which includes not just capital but resources and skills. Additionally, Yosso (2005) posited that, "community cultural wealth is an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (p. 77). Specifically, the researcher argued that students come

equipped with aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital, resistant capital to manage various challenges and situations they encounter at college. Using the CCWM guides this narrative study by inviting participants to reflect not just on stereotype threat, but also on the ways they may have used a form of community cultural wealth to manage the stereotype threat as they share their stories. Incorporating CRT and the CCWM in combination with one another allows for the acknowledgement of systemic causes leading to stereotype threat and how community cultural wealth might be used as a form of resistance to and protection from stereotype threat.

Significance of the Study

Stereotype threat has negative consequences that can affect the mental and academic health of male students of color. Negative consequences to mental health can include lower self-esteem, lower self-efficacy, and a lower sense of belonging for male students of color (Thomas & Coard, 2009; Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Appel & Weber, 2017; Spencer et al, 2016; Mello et al, 2012; Trytton et al, 2012; Garcia et al., 2019). Stereotype threat can also result in decreased academic performance for male students of color (Smith, 2003; Nadler & Komarraju, 2016; Walton & Taylor, 2011; Tyler et al., 2016; Spencer et al., 2016; McGee, 2018; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2013; Trytton, 2012). Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the NCES (2019) found that graduation, persistence, and retention rates of 15.1% for Black male students, 21.8% for Latino male students, and 18.1% for Pacific Islander male students, were lower than the 30.5% rate for White male students. These statistics demonstrate the need for higher education institutions to recognize the ways that stereotype threat can contribute to inequalities that

exist between male students of color and White students and that the responsibility to eradicate stereotype threat belongs to the institution. The present study is also related to work on race and equity issues being conducted nationwide by the non-profit organization Achieving the Dream whose mission is "to lead and support a national network of community colleges to achieve sustainable institutional transformation through sharing knowledge, innovative solutions and effective practices and policies leading to improved outcomes for all students" (Achieving the Dream, 2020). Specifically, the organization advocates to help community colleges "dismantle the barriers facing underserved students… by routinely scrutinizing structural barriers to equity and invest in equity-minded policies, practices, and behaviors that lead to success for all students" (Achieving the Dream, 2020).

This study contributes to and expands prior research on stereotype threat and male students of color, which have mainly been conducted in predominantly White, four-year higher education institutions, using a narrow scope that primarily defines male students of color as members of Black or Latino communities. Furthermore, exploring the different forms of cultural capital and collective community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) that male students of color have brought into the community college also challenges prior studies that have focused on the deficiencies of male students of color who have been labeled "at-risk". The present study examines the ways that institutions may have failed to recognize the strengths that men of color bring into higher education. Perhaps most importantly, the present study provides an opportunity for the voices of male students of color at community colleges to be included in policies designed to promote racial justice and reduce stereotype threat for students by providing fresh

narratives of their intimate experiences. Finally, the present study is related to the Vincentian mission in education which "strives to provide excellent education for all people, especially those lacking economic, physical, or social advantages" (St. John's University, 2020).

Research Questions

The present study investigated two research questions: 1) How have men of color attending an urban community college experienced stereotype threat in their lives? and 2) To what extent have men of color utilized community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success?

Design and Methods

For the present study, this researcher utilized a qualitative narrative analysis. This study was conducted with students attending the All City Community College (ACCC), but all research took place using the internet and online videoconferencing. The study incorporated purposeful sampling to invite participants of ACCC students who identified as men of color who experienced stereotype threat, are currently enrolled in classes at ACCC and have been enrolled for more than one semester and are considered to be in good academic standing by meeting minimum retention standards of a 2.0 grade point average (ACCC, 2021a). The researcher invited students who were affiliated with various academic and student affairs programs within ACCC by requesting permission from program directors to recruit students.

Data collection was conducted through a series of 3 individual, face-to-face, interviews that included semi-structured, open-ended questions and were conducted online via the Zoom platform where the researcher was in a private setting and ensured

participants were also in a private setting for the duration of the interviews. During one story-telling interview and two open-ended interview sessions, participants were asked questions related to stereotype threat they experienced in their lives and how they may have used community cultural wealth to successfully manage the threat. Interviews were recorded and shared with participants to review for accuracy. Following data collection, Dedoose software was used to conduct a narrative analysis and examine the participants' responses for common themes. These themes were used to describe a "universal" story.

Definition of Terms

Stereotype threat- being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group. (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 797).

Community cultural wealth- any combination of cultural capital including familial capital, linguistic capital, aspirational capital, social capital, resistance capital, and navigational capital as defined by the community cultural wealth model (Yosso, 2005).

Men of color- self-identification as "male" and a non-member of the White community.

Academic success- meeting ACCC's minimum retention standards of a 2.0 grade point average (ACCC, 2021a).

CHAPTER 2

Men of color attending higher education institutions face the potential opportunity to receive a meaningful and transformational educational experience that can contribute to a lifetime of academic achievement and success. At the same time, men of color also face the risk of encountering barriers and challenges resulting from racist microaggressions and stereotype threat that can originate from both inside and outside of the walls of colleges and universities. Contrary to the majority of research that focuses on the deficits of male students of color, it is essential that higher education administrators incorporate a growth mindset and investigate the deficits of programming and resources created with these students in mind.

Chapter 1 discussed an introduction to, as well as an overview of, the present study. The purpose of this present qualitative narrative analysis will be to explore how male students of color attending a large urban community college have experienced stereotype threat in their lives and how community cultural wealth has helped them achieve academic success. The present study will look to answer the following research questions: 1) How have men of color attending an urban community college experienced stereotype threat in their lives? and 2) To what extent have men of color utilized community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success?

This review of relevant literature will provide a meaningful context for the present study and offer valuable insight from the findings of past researchers committed to challenging the narratives that male students of color are "at-risk" or inferior to their White counterparts. This literature review will consist of the following sections and subsections: theoretical frameworks utilized- CRT (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and

the CCWM (Yosso, 2005), historical context of stereotype threat, sources of stereotype threat-mass media, microaggressions, impact of stereotype threat in education - poor academic functioning, poor mental health, and social isolation, and community cultural wealth as a protective factor. Appendix C contains details of studies incorporated in this review of the literature including the citation, the purpose, sample, instruments, procedures, and findings.

Theoretical Frameworks

Critical Race Theory

For the present study, CRT (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and the CCWM (Yosso, 2005) will be used as theoretical frameworks to help understand how stereotype threat can impact the experiences of male students of color in higher education institutions, and they can successfully manage those threats.

CRT is an essential framework when considering stereotype threat and the experiences of male students of color in education. Yosso (2005) argued that "in its post-1987 form, CRT emerged from criticisms of the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement. CLS scholars questioned the role of the traditional legal system in legitimizing oppressive social structures (p.71). Similarly, in education, a review of the prior literature regarding CRT posits that higher education institutions were not designed with male students of color in mind and as a result, have underserved them and contributed to the differences in graduation, persistence, and retention rates between male students of color and their White counterparts (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002). Using CRT as a theoretical framework in the present study will permit the examination of stereotype threat in the lives of male students of color within the context of higher

education institutions that have been created within United States of America that has historically racist roots. According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), CRT is based on three propositions. The first proposition is that race cannot be excluded when considering issues of social justice in education. The researchers argued that "race continues to be significant in explaining inequity in the United States [and] that class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the difference (or variance) in school experience and performance" (p. 51). Furthermore, gender and class alone "do not account for the extraordinarily high rates of school dropout, suspension, expulsion, and failure among African American and Latino males" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 51).

The second proposition of CRT is that the United States of America is and historically has been based on property rights that have always been valued over individual human rights (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The researchers argued that "the purpose of the government was to protect the main object of society-property" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, p. 53). In other words, the human rights of African Americans were desecrated as they became objectified and regarded as property through slavery. Additionally, the concept of property manifests itself in education when considering the types of higher education institutions that are accessible to members of affluent communities. Property has also been used to refer to intellectual property, manifested through curriculum that only includes stories that are consistent with White normative values.

The third proposition of CRT is, "the intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social and consequently, school inequity"

(Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 48). Specifically, CRT recognizes that this intersection results in White privilege manifested in different contexts within higher education. When present in classrooms, in policies, and in communication, this White privilege creates barriers for students of color.

Further research using CRT as a framework has found it to be effective when exploring stereotype threat and other racist offenses. Research by Solórzano et al. (2000) on critical race theory and microaggressions on college campuses utilized CRT and found it to be valuable when considering the social and academic experiences of African American students and how they dealt with microaggressions they encountered. Subsequent research by Solórzano and Yosso (2002) also found that CRT could be applicable to examining stereotype threat because it "names racist injuries and identifies their origins" (p. 27) and "recognizes the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" (p. 26). Research by Teranishi et al. (2009) also posited that, CRT could be valuable in examining the stereotypes associated with Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) in higher education. Specifically, the researchers argued that "given the extent to which stereotypes and assumptions may have driven the treatment of this population… an understanding of the educational experiences of AAPIs can be informed by CRT by acknowledging the unique racialized status of AAPIs, as well as their social, political, and structural positions in society" (Teranishi et al., p. 58). In other words, the Asian community consists of a vast heterogeneity that consists of various racial identities. Furthermore, CRT is also valuable when used as a methodology in the form of counter-storying. However, Dixon and Anderson (2018) posited that when using CRT as a

counter-narrative, it is important for "scholars to look beyond the story to develop and inform our understanding of how race and racism operate in education" (p. 125). Also, consistent with this strengths-based perspective is examining how cultural capital as community cultural wealth can be an effective way to challenge racist narratives and depictions of students of color (Yosso, 2005).

Community Cultural Wealth Model

The second theoretical framework that will be implemented in this present study is the CCWM (Yosso, 2005). Yosso (2005) posited that, "centering the research lens on the experiences of People of Color in critical historical context reveals accumulated assets and resources in the histories and lives of Communities of Color" (p.77). The CCWM challenged previous concepts of social capital as previously discussed by Bourdieu (2002). According to Bourdieu (2002), social capital is the sum of actual and potential resources connected to membership in a group. Where Bourdieu argued that students of color attained all their social capital from the college environment, Yosso (2005) argued that students bring unique and rich cultural beliefs, values, characteristics, and skills (wealth) with them before they arrive at college. Her research also challenged Bourdieu's definition and posited that his definition is deficit-based. Furthermore, she posited that there are six forms of cultural capital: aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital, and resistant capital. Aspirational capital is defined as "the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Linguistic capital refers to "the idea that Students of Color arrive at school with multiple language and communication

skills" (Yosso, 2005, p.78). Familial capital refers to cultural knowledge and history and a "commitment to community well-being and expands the concept of family to include a broader understanding of kinship" (Yosso, 2005, p 79). Social capital is described as "networks of people and community resources [that] People of Color have utilized to attain education, legal justice, employment and health care" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). Navigational capital "refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions. Historically, this infers the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind." (Yosso, 2005, p.80). Resistant capital is used to describe "those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80).

A vast amount of research on the CCWM has indicated a positive impact on academic outcomes and social well-being for male students of color attending higher education institutions by strengthening them to persist and graduate (Guardia & Evans, 2008; Simmons III, 2012; Cerezo et al., 2013; Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Wilson, 2014; Harper, 2015; Kneiss et al., 2015; Perez, 2017; Sáenz et al., 2018; Brooms, 2018; Druery & Brooms, 2018).

Review of Related Literature

Prior research has been conducted to examine the impact stereotype threat has on the academic experiences of male students of color, the barriers they face, and the ways in which they overcome these to achieve academic success. While this review of prior literature includes both qualitative and quantitative studies, most studies investigating the experiences of men of color in higher education are qualitative by design in order to explore the rich details of their lived experiences. Creswell and Poth (2016) posited that,

qualitative research provides an opportunity for the researcher "to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study" (p. 84). When examining stereotype threat and its consequences for male students of color in this present study, it is imperative that the power dynamic between researcher and students be minimized to create a safe space for conversation and exploration. As such, many studies conducted on the experiences of male students of color have been qualitative by design and utilized interviews or the survey method to extract those students' voices, thoughts, and feelings. To investigate how male students of color attending higher education institutions have experienced stereotype threat in their lives, a search was conducted in the Eric and ProQuest databases using the terms stereotype threat, male students of color at community colleges, cultural capital, and effects of stereotype threat. This literature review of prior research conducted on stereotype threat focuses on the historical context of stereotype threat, sources of stereotype threat, the impact of stereotype threat in education, and community cultural wealth as a protective factor.

Historical Context of Stereotype Threat

Stereotype threat is a phenomenon that has been largely researched when discussing the academic performance of Black students. To explore the impact of stereotype threat on academic performance, Steele and Aronson (1995) conducted four experiments that varied the level of stereotype threat that was presented to students in the study and then measured the performance of White and Black students on standardized Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) and Graduate Record Examinations (GRE). Steele and Aronson (1995) found that Black students performed worse than White students when

they were intentionally placed in a situation that threatened their identity as Black students by presenting a stereotype before they took the test. This study also found that the opposite was true and that the Black students performed better when they believed their performance was not being evaluated in relation to White students or related to their own identity as Black. Steele and Aronson's findings were critical because simply having to focus on one's identity as Black prior to taking the exams was enough to create stereotype threat for Black students and lead to lower test scores. Perhaps even more disturbing is that the findings suggest that these Black students' minds were already primed with thoughts of being at risk of potential prejudice, racism, and discrimination from White students or society at large, so when they were actually exposed to the stereotype threat, they were psychologically impacted to underperform.

Steele and Aronson's (1995) study was instrumental in defining stereotype threat. According to Steele and Aronson, "being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group" (p.797). While their historical definition of stereotype threat is still applicable to the experiences of male students of color today, the stereotype threat facing men of color can also include racist acts and discrimination that may be overt and covert in daily interactions that occur on college campuses. Stereotype threat poses increased psychological and social risks in addition to academic risks to male students of color who may be targeted. Spencer et al. (2016) also argued that stereotype threat includes the ways that individuals are put at risk of being judged or discriminated against, as result of negative stereotypes.

Sources of Stereotype Threat

Stereotype threats originate from many sources on a daily basis. These negative, racist, violent, exclusionary acts and messages of hate towards male students of color can originate from different sources both internal and external to higher education and its campuses. Regardless of their origin, they present psychological danger and harm that is not easily reversible by simply removing the threat. Stereotype threat can present itself in various degrees and can be both overt and subtle in the ways that it is presented to targeted groups.

Mass Media. Negative stereotypes related to young men of color are pervasive in mass media outlets where men of color continue to be portrayed and depicted more negatively than their White counterparts. In regard to African Americans, Hall et al. (2016) argued that "Black boys were perceived to be older and less innocent than White boys, and this 'adult-like' quality made them appear to be more appropriate candidates for greater use of police force" (p. 176). Additionally, research by Quaye (2017) and Appel and Weber (2017) found that stereotyped and racist depictions of males of color as being angry, defiant, suspicious, or violent criminals were being conveyed in the mass media. This can be seen on television, where local news broadcasts depict men of color as criminals, drug dealers, and capable of violence (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001). Hall et al. (2016) also found that stereotype threat can lead to increased police involvement and increased shooter bias which poses a direct risk to the physical safety of Black men.

Television also presents stereotype threat for members of Latino communities. Appel and Weber (2017) posited that Latino Americans are underrepresented in American English language television channels but when they are represented on

television and the news, they are done so according to negative stereotypes. They posited that "news about illegal immigration can activate the stereotype of a group of poor, dangerous, and criminal individuals" (p. 3). Additionally, with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, many members of Asian communities have also been impacted by negative media portrayals. Litam (2020) posited that, "the increased rates of sinophobic attitudes, behaviors, and racial slurs fueled by COVID-19 fears, internet activity, and media misinformation are specific stressors that may uniquely affect Asian American Pacific Islander groups" (p. 147). As a result, men of color face the potential for racism and discrimination resulting from stereotype threat that stems from these depictions in their daily lives. This stereotype threat can have serious and grave consequences for men of color who are criminalized.

Another dangerous example of stereotype threat in mass media can be seen in the way that certain genres of music associated with men of color are portrayed and interpreted. In a study by Dunbar et al. (2016), violent lyrics contained in gangsta rap were deemed to be "more offensive, in greater need of regulation, and more literal when characterized as rap compared with country" (p. 288). While other genres of music were viewed as artistic, rap lyrics were treated as non-fictional accounts of actual life events. This example of stereotype threat is detrimental and potentially harmful to males of color because the researchers found that "a review of cases reveals that prosecutors use multiple strategies to introduce rap lyrics and secure convictions" (Dunbar et al, 2016, p. 288). A third source of stereotype threat in mass media can be found in films. In films, men of color are depicted as consistent with racist stereotypes that portray West Indian and Black men as criminals, drug dealers, or athletes (Vickerman, 1999). This study

found that many West Indian characters in films are portrayed as Rastafarians who were members of drug mobs. The prevalence of these negative representations of men of color contributes to stereotype threat that can have life-threatening consequences regardless of wealth, status, or academic achievement. Tyler et al. (2016) also argued that "the very lives of Black American male adolescents are placed in jeopardy as soon as they emerge from their homes, whether at the hands of law enforcement, members of their communities, and from an academic standpoint, their teachers as well" (p. 8). This villainization and stereotype threat facing men of color in the news, music, film, and in their own communities, places their lives, let alone their academic performance, in immediate danger. Stereotype threat generated in mass media has also affected people of color from other racial and ethnic groups. These negative representations of men of color in mass media can also lead to daily microaggressions and other types of racist discrimination in daily interactions that take place both on and off campus.

Microaggressions. Another source of stereotype threat are microaggressions which are subtle racialized offenses that occur in daily interactions that take place between male students of color and other students (Morales, 2021). According to Harper (2015), the majority of stereotype threat came in the form of microaggressions directed at male students of color. This study investigated the impact of racist responses on Black male students with 143 Black male students who had a grade point average of over 3.0 attending 1 of 30 predominantly White Institutions. Specifically, common microaggressions assumed that the Black male student achievers could dance, listened to rap and hip-hop music, used slang when they spoke English, sold drugs or knew how to access them, came from poor socio-economic neighborhoods/ schools, and were naturally

athletically inclined. As a result of these microaggressions, students constantly felt pressure to disprove those stereotypes which created additional pressure for them to succeed socially and academically. Furthermore, even status as an executive member of the student government did not provide sufficient protection for one of the Black male student achievers in the study.

Solórzano et al. (2000) also found that microaggressions "in both academic and social spaces have real consequences" (p. 69). They conducted a study on the experiences of 34 African American college students at three elite predominantly White research institutions. They found that being exposed to microaggressions took a physical toll on the students who felt they were constantly prejudged and compared to negative preconceived notions about African Americans. These racial microaggressions were experienced both subtly and directly in their interactions with White students at the colleges.

Additional research by Yosso et al. (2009) also found stereotype threat can originate from individuals both inside the college environment and in the community external to the college. The researchers found that that Latina and Latino students experienced racial microaggressions in the forms of interpersonal microaggressions, racial jokes, and institutional microaggressions. Specifically, these microaggressions occurred through casual conversation, comments, or jokes related to race, ethnicity, or language (Yosso et al., 2009). Furthermore, these racist encounters and experiences caused students to feel increased stress from confronting them. Gomez & Huber (2019) conducted a study on the experiences of 10 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) students attending college in a Trump Era and posited that Latino students faced

microaggressions related to stereotypes that they were not "native" to the United States. Specifically, they argued these "racist nativist microaggressions examine the specific intersections of race/ethnicity and immigration status (real or perceived) that contribute to discursive constructions of Latinx people as non-native to the U.S. and justify their perceived subordinate status" (Gomez & Huber, 2019, p. 5).

Another study by Museus and Kiang (2009) found that microaggressions also affected students who identified as Asian American or Pacific Islander. They posited that Asian American and Pacific Islander students faced the most common microaggression related to the model minority myth which holds that, Asian Americans are all the same, are not really racial and ethnic minorities, do not encounter major challenges because of their race, do not seek or require resources or support, and that college degree completion is equivalent to success.

Impact of Stereotype Threat in Education

Prior research has also discussed the negative impact that stereotype threat has on male students of color in higher education institutions. Stereotype threats based on race and ethnicity have continued to impact students of color throughout colleges and universities through blatant and subtle acts of discrimination (Harper, 2015). Specifically, these acts of discrimination and stereotypes have threatened to stifle the personal, psychological, emotional, and intellectual growth of individuals affected and victimized by them. Within higher education, stereotype threat can be created by the direct and indirect messages that teachers and peers send through their interactions or lack thereof with male students of color in classroom or academic settings. Prior studies have found that implicit bias possessed by teachers can present stereotype threat to male students of

color, impacting teacher's expectations of students and the students' abilities directly. A study by Raible and Irizarry (2010) on pre-service teachers in a teacher preparation program found that educators lacked socio-cultural consciousness and failed to understand how life experiences of both educators and students can influence the lens through which they view and interpret the actions of their students. The researchers found that similar to the stereotypes that exist for males of color in the media, teachers in the pre-service program tended to classify emotional behavior expressed by male students of color in the classroom as angry and defiant, leading to a negative and almost criminal view of the behavior. This implicit bias could be also likely to lead to punishment and disciplinary action taken by teachers. Furthermore, Milner (2007) argued a similar point that teachers subconsciously hold stereotypes and misconceptions about Black males that perpetuate a deficit lens and prevent them from providing the best learning opportunities for students. Another qualitative study by Smith (2003) on 24 African American engineering students demonstrated this point and found that students were forced to adopt and utilize the prove-them-wrong-syndrome when facing stereotype threat that originated from White peers and teachers. One participant stated that, "A lot of times when I am in study groups or in the classroom, I feel like I have to prove myself to my White peers and professors" (Smith, 2003, p. 5). Similar findings were also found by Yosso et al. (2009) with Latina and Latino students who felt pressured to dispel stereotype threat when faced with racist microaggressions while attending three predominantly White research institutions. These studies illustrate that the implicit bias created in the classroom can impact students well beyond the classroom environment and even after they return home after school.

Additionally, negative stereotype threat can also affect students of color who identify as Asian and Pacific Islander. Research by Trytton et al. (2012) examined the impact of the model minority stereotype on Asian American engineering students. They defined the model minority stereotype as describing Asians and Asian Americans as "epitome of assimilation into U.S. society using hard work, intelligence, high educational attainment, and economic success to overcome the challenges of discrimination and recent immigration" (p. 439). The model minority stereotype can place additional pressure and a high expectation for Asian and Asian American students to succeed.

Poor Academic Functioning. One negative outcome resulting from stereotype threat is low academic performance and low self-efficacy for male students of color. Many researchers have found that stereotype threat creates academic identity issues, undermines academic performance, and leads to low levels of self-confidence. In a study by Taylor and Walton (2011) centered on 32 Black and 44 White female students, academic performance was examined in the context of stereotype threat conditions. In this study, an experimental design was used to examine the impact that race and stereotype threat conditions had on participants' ability to recall information. Using a 2x2x2 mixed-model design, the authors found that stereotype threat did impact academic performance as measured by student's lowered ability to recall information in stereotype threat learning conditions. They also found that stereotype threat contributed to difficulties in both the acquisition phase of learning as well as in the retrieval phase of recalling information.

Research conducted by Tyler et al. (2016) also suggests that the threat of racism can potentially harm Black males in the education setting. The researchers conducted a

quantitative study of 138 Black American male high school students and used data from a high school in an urban area in the Southeastern region of the United States. Using correlation and linear regression analysis, they concluded that internalized racist stereotypes were significantly associated with academic self-handicapping practices among Black male students in the study. These quantitative studies show the value of being able to explore the experiences of larger numbers of students but may also be limited in our ability to infer on the implications of the results without qualitative inquiry to further investigate. For example, a qualitative study by Spencer et al. (2016) also found that Black males in their study experienced extra pressure academically because they did not want to confirm the negative stereotype of their group's intellectual inferiority. Another qualitive study by McGee (2018) explored the impact of stereotype threat on high-achieving Black and Asian students in a STEM track. In this study, 23 Black and 23 Asian students were interviewed and the researcher found that stereotype threat was present in different, yet equally harmful ways. Specifically, McGee (2018) found that:

> high-achieving Black students seek to defy stereotypes of intellectual inferiority while Asian students strive to uphold the racial stereotype about their intellectual superiority, yet both racial groups expend extra labor—both materially and psychologically—as a result of being stereotyped and marginalized. (p. 2)

Another study by Johnson-Ahorlu (2013) explored the impact of stereotype threat and the academic performance of African American undergraduate students of color. This research was conducted using 16 focus groups with 94 self-identified African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, and White undergraduates. The study found that stereotype threat affected any social group in a context where a corresponding

stereotype was relevant. Johnson- Ahorlu (2013) posited that, "in educational environments, the anxiety of inadvertently confirming a stereotype has been shown to interfere with and depress academic achievement in many ways" (p. 383).

Despite these studies, there are some criticisms related to stereotype threat research conducted by Steele and Aronson (1995). Sackett et al. (2004) challenged Steele and Aronson's (1995) finding that test scores between Black and White students disappeared when stereotype threat was removed arguing that this finding was not plausible due to a statistical error. Helms (2005) also questioned Steele and Aronson (1995) and argued that the researchers "(a) used self-reported SAT scores as covariates in their design and (b) as seems to be typical of most subsequent race-related studies in this genre, they did not report enough descriptive information to permit computation of effect sizes of their findings" (p. 269). Additionally, a quantitative study conducted by Nadler and Komarraju (2016), centered on 190 African American college students at a medium-sized Midwestern university, sought to examine in stereotype threat conditions. The researchers sought to investigate if in stereotype threat conditions, would participants who have high academic identification perform worse than participants who have low academic identification? Furthermore, in autonomy support conditions, would participants with high academic identification perform better than participants with low academic identification? Using a 2x2 factorial design, the authors found that African American men who had a stronger academic identification performed worse than those with a weaker identification but African American women who had stronger academic identification performed better than those with a weaker identification. Perhaps most intriguing were findings that indicated both stereotype threat and autonomy support

situations improved test performance. These studies highlight the need for current

qualitative research to investigate the nuances involved in men of color's stereotype

threat experiences that have not been fully described by statistical data.

      Poor Mental Health and Social Isolation. While there are nuances that exist

between men of color from different racial and ethnic groups, due to the history of the

United States, stereotype threat can also lead to poor mental health and social isolation

from peers and teachers. Studies conducted by Thomas and Coard (2009) and Appel and

Weber (2017) found that stereotype threat can create poor mental health because it

imposes long-lasting psychological effects creating cognitive, emotional, and social

difficulties that ultimately weaken individual self-esteem. Specifically, Appel and Weber

(2017) argued that "stereotype threat is characterized by negative emotions and

cognitions, along with a physiological stress response and attempts at regulating these

aversive thoughts and feelings" (p. 4). In other words, stereotype threat not only impacts

students individually, but also creates difficulty relating to others and one's self-concept.

Feelings of low self-concept and low self-efficacy are also born from stereotype threat.

This can result in the development of self-fulfilling prophecies for male students of color

and avoiding situations and contexts where they perceive stereotype threat to be present.

According to Spencer et al. (2016), stereotype threat not only causes negative emotions

but also decreases the stereotyped individual's perceptions of their own abilities in the

stereotyped environment. Furthermore, stereotyped individuals may respond more

defensively, contribute to dis-identification, and have uncertainty regarding the quality of

their social bonds with administrators, professors, and other students (Spencer et al.,

2016). In other words, students who have been exposed to stereotype threat often feel

isolated on their college campuses and feel they do not belong in higher education.

Another quantitative study by Mello et al. (2012) on 301 adolescents from racial/ethnic

minority backgrounds, such as African American, American Indian, and Latino reported

lower school belonging scores than their counterparts when faced with stereotype threat.

Similar to the findings of Steele and Aronson's study (1995), simply bringing to mind

one's membership in a group that is marginalized was associated with feeling excluded

from one's school by the students of color (Mello et al., 2012). This shows further

support that just being forced to consider one's membership as being at risk of stereotype

threat was enough to impact social connectedness to the institution. Huerta and Fishman

(2014) also conducted a study on how the social and academic experiences of urban

Latino male students attending college, could be considered through Schlossberg's theory

of marginality and mattering. The author's found that negative experiences from both

inside and outside the college environment impacted students' sense of belonging and

value. Another study by Trytton et al. (2012) also demonstrated how stereotype threat can

lead to social isolation between different racial and ethnic groups. Negative

consequences of stereotype threat for Asian and Asian American students may be

division and disunity from other students of color. The researchers conducted surveys

and semi-structured interviews with 24 male and 12 female students who identified as

Asian or Asian American and found that the model minority stereotype has been used to

prevent Asians and Asian Americans from maintaining solidarity with members of other

racial and ethnic minority groups. Trytton et al. (2012) also found that Asian and Asian

American students accepted certain aspects of the model minority stereotype threat such

as being hardworking, extremely intelligent, seeking economic attainment, seeking

educational prestige while rejecting the aspect of Asians and Asian Americans being uncomplaining.

Quantitative research by Garcia et al. (2019) on the relationship between internalized racial oppression and mental distress among 225 Asians and Pacific Islanders living in Alaska found that there was a statistically significant relationship between racial and ethnic discrimination and internalized inferiority when predicting mental distress. While this study was not conducted in higher education, it does provide evidence that stereotype threats can lead to poor mental health for members of Asian and Pacific Islander groups.

The aforementioned studies illustrate evidence that male students of color internalize stereotyped messages, feel less valuable, less capable, and less important to the student body and the higher education institution. This alienation can lead to withdrawal as well as anxiety to either reject or live up to stereotype threat and low levels of self-esteem. A lack of sense of belonging to higher education institutions can lead to lower levels of self-efficacy to succeed, motivation levels, academic performance, and ultimately graduation, retention, and persistence rates for male students of color.

Community Cultural Wealth as a Protective Factor

A vast body of research conducted on men of color attending higher education institutions has demonstrated that community cultural wealth can serve as a protective factor against stereotype threat and help achieve academic success. One such study conducted by Kneiss et al. (2015), examining the transition of 11 African American first-year students to their second year, at a predominantly White institution, found that Yosso's (2005) concepts of aspirational, social, and navigational capital were most

beneficial to helping students find a sense of belonging and in reporting positive experiences after transitioning to their second year at college. Another qualitative study by Wilson (2014) on the successful attainment of bachelor's degrees by 18 African American community college transfer students shows support for the impact of cultural wealth on academic achievement. The study sought to explore how African American community college students who transfer to four-year institutions and earn baccalaureate degrees experience that process. Using semi-structured protocol guided interviews at a large research university located in Texas with more than 30,000 students and one of the largest transfer student populations among four-year, baccalaureate-granting institutions in the United States, the researcher found that Yosso's (2005) concept of aspirational capital was effective in helping these students achieve their bachelor's degrees despite perceived barriers. Specifically, students practiced habits that supported achievement. The students in the study reported that staying focused, getting connected, being prepared, and doing your best were concepts that helped them persevere (Wilson, 2014). Additionally, Yosso et al. (2009) also found that Latina and Latino students exercised navigational and resistance capital and posited that Latina and Latino students "respond to the rejection they face from a negative campus racial climate by building communities that represent and reflect the cultural wealth of their home communities" (p. 680).

Many studies have also demonstrated the value that familial capital has in protecting students against stereotype threat. A phenomenological study by Sáenz et al. (2018) explored how Latino male students attending community college used familial capital as a resource to gain academic success. Sáenz et al (2018) utilized Bourdieu's (2002) concept of cultural capital and Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model

as theoretical frameworks for the study. The study utilized purposive sampling to recruit 130 Latino male students who were attending seven community colleges and conducted 23 semi-structured focus groups. The researchers found that Latino male students relied on familismo and familial capital to successfully manage family and academic responsibilities when faced with challenges. Secondly, they also found that despite an abundance of familial capital, college still felt difficult to navigate for the males in the study. A third finding was that familial capital was a major contributor to the students' levels of aspirational capital since familial capital helped build confidence and encouragement. Their study offers insight into how Latino males can utilize familial capital to increase their aspirational capital and commitment to academic achievement. In another qualitative study by Huerta and Fishman (2014) semi-structured interviews with 10 Latino male students from four different institution types yielded similar findings. The researchers found that the motivation to attend college, the importance of the college environment, the impact of mentorship, and feelings of mattering and marginality were themes that emerged. Specifically, the study found that family played a role in college goals and aspirations, the college campus was seen as a safe space for students to complete their academic responsibilities, receive social support, and that mentoring from other students, staff, or faculty helped keep students committed to their academic goals. Furthermore, feelings of mattering and marginality were instrumental to academic motivation and self-esteem.

Prior research has also indicated that there are many ways higher education administrators can help male students of color increase specific types of capital and a student's cultural wealth. For example, providing students of color with leadership

opportunities is a way to increase social capital by increasing self-efficacy and providing access to faculty, administrators, staff, and mentors and can provide a network of support for male students of color. Similarly, another way to foster social, familial, and navigational capital is to offer students membership into cultural organizations. Research shows that membership in cultural organizations provided students the opportunity to learn more about their own race and ethnicity, making cultural connections in the process (Harper, 2015; Simmons III, 2012). In turn, this creates a sense of identity for students facing stereotype threat. Further research by Brooms (2018) on peer mentoring programs with a cultural component found that being a part of the peer mentoring program fostered a sense of familial capital, social capital, and sense of belonging for male students of color. Additionally, the researcher found that membership in the Black male initiative program also increased students' social capital by granting them access to institutional social supports. Finally, the researcher also found that students in the program felt valued for their racial and gender identities. Similar, subsequent research by Druery & Brooms (2018) also found that participants' engagement in a Black Male Leadership Coalition (BMLC) was critical to their matriculation through college, provided an important space for associating and developing their cultural familiarity, and attributed brotherhood as the main hallmark of their BMLC engagement. Research conducted on the impact that membership in fraternities has for male students of color has also supported these non-conventional definitions of family and how they have contributed to academic success. A study by Guardia & Evans (2008) found that Latino male students who joined a Latino fraternity reported that the fraternity was an organization that embraced the Latino culture and provided them with a familial atmosphere on campus. They also demonstrated the

value of linguistic capital since speaking Spanish was reinforced and supported by

fraternity brothers and enhanced members' ethnic identity. Additionally, familial capital

involves the utilization and preservation of cultural traditions as a sense of pride and

capital, and the fraternities provided Latino male students of color the opportunity to

embrace their culture. This is a protective factor when facing negative challenges to

academic success such as stereotype threat or feeling alienated. Furthermore, fraternities

and ethnic student organizations also supported Latino students' emotional and academic

needs (Cerezo et al., 2013; Perez, 2017). These studies demonstrate the value that

different combinations of cultural wealth can have when viewed collectively as

community cultural wealth.

Conclusion

The studies included in this literature review demonstrate how the application of

CRT (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002) and the CCWM

(Yosso, 2005) can be useful when examining the stereotype threat experiences of male

students of color attending an urban community college. Based on the listed research in

Appendix B, CRT (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002)

provides the context for how stereotype threat has become embedded in the fabric of

higher education institutions while the community cultural wealth model (Yosso, 2005)

lends insight into possible success strategies male students of color could potentially

implement when faced with stereotype threat. The studies conducted on the CCWM

mentioned in this review of the literature suggest that community culture wealth can

serve as a protective factor when students are faced with stereotype threat and its

associated risks. Additionally, the CCWM incorporates a strengths-based approach that

sees male students of color as equipped to combat stereotype threat in spite of the serious harmful risks that stereotype threat presents. Furthermore, there has been substantial evidence that various combinations of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) can contribute to positive academic, social, and emotional outcomes for male students of color belonging to different racial and ethnic groups. The present study contributes to the existing research on male students of color and stereotype threat because it was conducted at a racially diverse community college. Since most research related to male students of color and stereotype threat has focused on their experiences at predominantly White institutions (PWIs), this study contributes to research on how male students of color attending community colleges experience the phenomenon of stereotype threat. Furthermore, with community colleges being open-access institutions, male students of color remain at risk of facing stereotype threat related to academic ability and negative stereotypes based on race or ethnicity. Future studies could also explore how the combination of stereotypes in conjunction with racist acts and discriminatory behavior impacts the lives of male students of color. This important insight provides higher education faculty and administrators insight to better serve, protect, and educate the male students of color attending their community colleges, leading to higher graduation rates and more gainful employment.

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 1 provided an introduction and overview of the present study, whose purpose is to explore how male students of color attending a large urban community college have experienced stereotype threat in their lives and how community cultural wealth has helped them achieve academic success. Chapter 2 provided a discussion of the two theoretical frameworks to be used: critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002) and the community cultural wealth model (Yosso, 2005). Additionally, Chapter 2 also included an extensive review of the literature related to stereotype threat, its negative impacts on male students of color, and the role that cultural community wealth can play in mitigating these experiences in college. Chapter 3 discusses the narrative analysis research design, the associated methods, ethical considerations, and procedures implemented in the present study.

The present study incorporated a narrative analysis framework which supports the purpose of this study for many reasons. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) posited that "the main claim of the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are story-telling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives" (p. 2). This position is critical in the research decision made to utilize a narrative analysis in the present study. Additionally, Wertz (2011) also stated that "the construction of the story reflects the current internal world of the narrator as well as aspects of the social world in which he or she lives" (p. 227). Using a narrative analysis framework permits the exploration of participants' thoughts and feelings regarding stereotype threat and provides a glimpse of how external social forces and higher education institutions contribute to stereotype threat. Further research by Creswell and Poth (2018) posited that narrative stories take

place at specific moments in time and the details contained in these stories provide

critical descriptions of physical, emotional, and social situations. Understanding these

details and asking questions allows the researcher to interpret and experience the world of

the participant rather than to "try to explain or predict that world" (Wang & Geale, 2015,

p. 196).

By exploring the participants' experiences, I developed a deeper understanding of

how participants were impacted by stereotype threat, mentally, emotionally, socially, and

academically over the course of their academic careers.   In turn, focusing on their stories

helped to bolster my accuracy when interpreting data since collaborative sense-making

and meaning comes from the participants' stories. Another benefit of using narrative

analysis as a research design in the present study is that the process involved in creating

the narrative analysis positively affected participants since it uses story-telling to uncover

nuances that may have otherwise remained unaware to the participants themselves as well

as to the researcher. Wang and Geale (2015) purported that in a narrative inquiry,

"stories heal and soothe the body and spirit, provide hope and courage to explore and

grow (p. 198). Lastly, using a narrative analysis helped me to identify "universal"

themes since "narrative researchers read texts for personal, social, and historical

conditions that mediate the story. Analysis is aimed at discovering both the themes that

unify the story and the disparate voices that carry, comment on, and disrupt the main

themes" (Wertz et al., 2011, p. 226).

Research Questions

The present study sought to answer two research questions: 1) How have men of

color attending an urban community college experienced stereotype threat in their lives?

and 2) To what extent have men color utilized community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success?

Setting

This study was conducted at the All City Community College (ACCC), one of the largest community colleges in New York State with an excess of 25,000 students representing over 156 countries, according to the most recent data provided by the college as of Spring 2019 (ACCC, 2021b). This site was selected due to the diverse population of male students of color who attend the college. In 2019, 91.1% of students identified as Black, Latino, Asian, or American Indian, with 37% of these students identifying as male, and 96% were eligible for federal financial aid. Despite most of the students commuting from New York City's outer boroughs, ACCC is located in a wealthy community in New York City where the median income per household was $193,900 (Statisticalatlas.com, 2021) and the median value of a home was $2,780,134 (Zillow.com, 2021). The local community surrounding ACCC presents a host of opportunities and challenges to the students attending ACCC. This discrepancy provided an ideal environment by which to examine stereotype threat because male students of color visit ACCC but may not feel a sense of belonging to the community where they come to receive an education. Research by Quillian and Pager (2001) found that, "in terms of neighborhoods, we suspect that racial stereotypes linked to crime are most likely to be activated by the presence of neighborhood residents who most closely approximate the profile of likely criminals" (p. 723). Although the ACCC male students of color did not reside in the ACCC community, they may be perceived according to negative stereotypes that portray men of color as criminals. Furthermore, research by Petrocelli et

al (2003) found that in New York City, "Blacks (23 percent more) and Hispanics (39 percent more) were still stopped more frequently than Whites across all crime categories" (p. 4). This can present an issue that exacerbates implicit bias and stereotype threat. As a staff member employed by ACCC, I had access to ACCC and its community of administrators, faculty, staff, and students. Prior to conducting any research, I gained authorization from the St. John's University Institutional Review Board and the All City Community College Institutional Review Board. To address any biases related to the physical college environment or its location in an affluent New York City neighborhood, and reduce the potential impact on student participants, the present study took place online using the Zoom platform.

Participants

The present study implemented purposeful sampling to select eight male students of color attending ACCC to participate in the study. Since this study sought to investigate stereotype threat within a specific population of male students, purposeful sampling ensured that students who had experiences with stereotype threat, as men of color, were included in the study. Creswell and Poth (2018) state that purposeful sampling, "intentionally samples a group of people that can best inform the researcher about the research problem under examination" (p. 210). For this study, students who met the following criteria were invited to participate: identified as men of color, experienced stereotype threat, were currently enrolled as full-time students at the All City Community College, had attended at least one semester, and were in good academic standing as defined by ACCC's minimum retention standards of a 2.0 grade point average. Recruitment resulted in eight male students of color who agreed to be interviewed.

As a group, the male students of color ranged in age from 18-26 with an average age of 21.8 years. They had completed a range of one to four semesters at ACCC with an average of 2.6 semesters collectively. Individually, their grade point averages (GPA) ranged from 2.79 to 4.00 with a group average of 3.62. All participants identified as men of color and self-reported that they had experienced stereotype threat at some point in their lifetime. Though it was not a requirement of the study, each participant was also connected to various student affairs success programs within ACCC. It is important to note that none of the male students of color in the study reported knowing anyone else who was participating in the present study meaning they were not connected to each other in any manner. The names of each participant have been redacted and a pseudonym of their choosing has been utilized in this study. Details are provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Participants' Demographics

Pseudonym*	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Semesters Completed	Grade Point Average
Jax	20	Afro-Caribbean Latino- Jamaican Cuban	4	2.78
Zaheen	22	Brown-South Asian-Bengali	2	3.94
Ako	18	Brown-South Asian-Bengali	2	3.23
Alex	23	Black-Caribbean- Guyanese	1	4.00
Jose	26	Black-Dominican	3	3.87
Isaac	25	Hispanic-Dominican	2	3.67
Bob	20	Asian American/ Pacific Islander- Filipino	4	3.40
Denzel	21	Black- African-Ghana	3	4.00

Note: Names changed to protect anonymity. The demographics represent the participant's

age, race/ethnicity, completed semesters at ACCC, and cumulative grade point average

(GPA).

Data Collection Procedures

Following confirmation of Institutional Review Board (IRB) acceptance from St.

John's University (Appendix A), I received permission from the ACCC's Director of

Research to conduct this study with ACCC students (Appendix B). The Director of

Research consulted with the ACCC Executive Cabinet and provided written authorization

for this research to begin collecting data. I then contacted program administrators from

both academic and student affairs programs in ACCC that serve male students from

diverse backgrounds and invited their students to participate in the present study. An

email containing details of the present study was sent to these program administrators

with a request to forward the email to their respective students. This email contained a

flyer with information related to the study and the criteria for participation (See Appendix

E). Students who responded with interest were directed to fill out a brief online pre-

screening questionnaire available online via Google Forms (See Appendix F). Those

who met the participant criteria were contacted by email and provided with a brief 15-

minute Zoom or phone conversation to review the study, the informed consent, and create

a schedule of interviews. Those students who did not meet the criteria for participation

were sent an email expressing gratitude for their interest in the study. All accepted

participants received an informed consent letter (Appendix D), outlining the study's

purpose, risks, and opportunities associated with participating in the research

electronically via email.

The present narrative analysis included a series of one story-telling session and two face-to-face, standardized open-ended interviews. All interviews were conducted with each participant using the online Zoom platform, a cloud-based video conferencing tool as a means of communication.

Story-telling Interviews

The story-telling interview allowed for the creation of the narrative to begin with scene and plot points based on where participants choose their stories to begin. Using storytelling allowed the participant to uniquely define plot points of prior to ACCC, while attending ACCC, and future at ACCC. This researcher conducted all interviews from a private and secure setting and ensured participants were also in a private setting for the duration of the interviews. The story-telling interview and the open-ended interview sessions were approximately 30-45 minutes in duration. All interview sessions were video and audio recorded with consent of the participants so that an accurate transcription could be created upon completion of sessions. During the story-telling interview each participant was provided with a definition of stereotype threat and definitions of cultural capital and were asked to tell a story related to a time they have encountered a stereotype threat in their life (either directly or indirectly) either prior to attending or while attending ACCC. The story generated served as the basis for continued conversation in the two additional interviews. The interview protocol for the story-telling interview can be seen in Appendix G.

Open-Ended Interviews

Two open-ended interviews were used to collect data and allowed participants to reflect and express their full lived experiences as ACCC students and men of color.

Turner (2010) argued that "this open-endedness allows the participants to contribute as much detailed information as they desire, and it also allows the researcher to ask probing questions as a means of follow-up" (p. 756). Both open-ended interviews included semi-structured, open-ended questions and were conducted online via the Zoom platform. During the first open-ended interview session (Interview Session I), each participant was asked questions about how the stereotype threat has affected them. During the second open-ended interview session (Interview Session II), each participant was asked questions related to how they responded to stereotype threat. Using the CCWM as a guide for questions, participants were asked how different forms of cultural capital (Yosso, 2005) helped them manage threats related to stereotypes. The interview protocol that was conducted in each session can be seen in Appendices H and I.

Finally, the story-telling interview and the two interview sessions were recorded. Following data collection, the story-telling session and the interviews were stored using an external hard drive.

Trustworthiness of the Design

As previously stated, the present study incorporated a narrative analysis research design. When considering the validity in narrative analysis, Polkinghorne (2007) suggested that the definition of validity differs from that in conventional research. This author also argued that "in conventional research, the issue is the question of how well the scores produced by instruments are representative of the intended construct. In narrative research, the concern is clarification of what the storied text is intended to represent" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 479). Additionally, in order for this researcher to make an "informed judgment about claims resting on the textual evidence, narrative

researchers need to spell out their understandings of the nature of their collected

evidence" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 479). To this end, I adopted a constructivist position,

focusing attention on listening for reality as defined by the participant throughout the

collection and analysis of their stories. Creswell & Miller (2000) posited that

"constructivists believe in pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended, and contextualized

perspectives towards reality" (p. 125).   In the present narrative analysis, the realities of

the participants' experiences must be constructed through the story-telling of their lived

experiences in partnership and collaboration with this researcher. In regard to reliability,

the authors argued that a narrative study should "focus on the individual, collect stories

about a significant issue, develop a chronology, tell a story, and embed reflexivity" (p.

361). To further ensure reliability and validity, the following methods seen in Table 2

will be utilized.

Table 2

Strategies for Establishing Reliability, Validity, and Credibility

Strategy	Description
Triangulation	Collecting data through two interview sessions and one story-telling session for each participant. Using more than one type of data collection to explore student experiences with stereotype threat, familial capital, and social capital will explore common themes from multiple data sources.
Researcher Reflexivity	To ensure trustworthiness and credibility I will critically examine my own personal, academic, and professional experiences and acknowledge the bias I bring to the study.
Reflection Journal	I will use a journal to record my thoughts and understanding of stories recorded during each interview session.
Member Checking	To ensure accuracy, I will provide a raw recorded video transcript of the interview session to each participant for review of accuracy.

| Thick, Rich Descriptions | Interview/Story-telling transcriptions will be entered into Dedoose software. Additionally, setting and participants have been described in rich detail |

(Polkinghorne, 2007; Johnson, 1997; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Creswell & Miller 2000)

Using the strategies in Table 2 offered me the opportunity to review the validity and integrity of the study. I consciously incorporated researcher self-reflection and "reflexivity" as a means to remain aware of my own biases. Research by Creswell & Miller (2000) and Johnson (1997) argued that the researcher must actively engage in critical self-reflection to remain aware of beliefs, values, assumptions, and biases that may potentially affect the narrative analysis. Maintaining a high level of self-awareness allowed me to separate the personal self from the researcher self when interpreting data, thus monitoring and attempting to control my biases during data analysis.

Research Ethics

Prior to recruiting any participants for the present study, I obtained authorization from the St. John's University Institutional Review Board and the ACCC Institutional Review Board. ACCC students were invited to participate in the study and all participation was voluntary. In order to ensure the safety and well-being of all research participants, interview participants were provided written informed consent with confidentiality explained (see Appendix C). Additional information and resources to address any unintended psychological, social, or emotional consequences was also provided to participants on the informed consent. Private individual face to face interviews took place using the Zoom platform to minimize any issues related to confidentiality. All video recordings were kept on an external hard drive that were kept under lock and key when data was not being analyzed.

To reduce these limitations, I identified differences between meaning derived from the participant and ideas co-constructed between researcher and participant, during the interview sessions, to establish accurate descriptions of participants' lived experiences. Additionally, I continued to engage in a reflexive process to separate researcher beliefs and preconceived notions about how male students of color define, describe, and internalize the issues outlined. In regard to the decision to use a narrative analysis, "storied evidence is gathered not to determine if events actually happened but about the meaning experienced by people whether or not the events are accurately described" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 479). In other words, though the study was limited to eight participants, the goal was to highlight the unique nuances described in the narratives of stereotype threat experiences by the men of color in the study.

Data Analysis Approach

Using the narrative analysis as a framework for data analysis is a dynamic process that involves collaboration between researcher and participant. The present study implemented the three-dimensional space approach (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002; Connelly and Clandinin, 2000) to guide data analysis and construction of the narrative from past, present, and future viewpoints. The three-dimensional space approach explores an interaction that occurs between the person and the social environment and then examines its continuity over time from the past to the present to the future (Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002). In exploring the personal stereotype threat experiences of male students of color in this study, this approach was valuable because as Ollerenshaw and Creswell stated, "to understand people…one examines their personal experiences as well as their interactions with other people. Continuity is related to

learning about these experiences, and experiences grow out of other experiences and lead

to new experiences. Furthermore, these interactions occur in a place or context" (p. 339).

This is consistent with Connelly and Clandinin (1990) who posited that when structuring

the narrative, "time and place, plot and scene, work together to create the experiential

quality of narrative" (p. 8).   In other words, time and place provide the reference points

when the experience takes place. Additionally, time sets the context's plot to develop in

the same way that a scene comprises the physical space's tangible details and the

characters who occupy that space. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) argued that when

considering plot, time can be structured in terms of past-present-future and that "the past

conveys significance, the present conveys value, and the future conveys intention" (p. 9).

In regard to experiences with stereotype threat and community cultural wealth,

this context was organized as prior to attending ACCC, present experience at ACCC, and

beliefs about persisting and graduating from ACCC. In an effort to remain aware of

researcher bias, I maintained a reflection journal to explicitly state interpretation and

understanding of the story being told by the participant. Throughout the story-telling

session and interview sessions, I made conscious efforts to reflect on participant

responses to questions and checked in with each participant to ensure that experiences

being shared through stories were being interpreted accurately. I was also mindful of

when and how particular information was shared. Recordings of the story-telling sessions

and individual interviews were transcribed using a combination of web-based software

Temi and Otter.ai. Personal information was removed, and redactions, omissions, and

pseudonyms were added to ensure no personally identifiable information was shared.

Transcripts were shared with study participants via email to be reviewed for accuracy and

to ensure member checking. All participants replied through email that they approved of the transcriptions. The transcripts were then uploaded to Dedoose, a cloud based qualitative analysis software for coding and data analysis.

Four rounds of coding were conducted using deductive and inductive methods. Deductive coding was utilized to create a list of start codes. Miles et al. (2014) posited that, "One method of creating codes is developing a provisional "start list" of codes prior to fieldwork —Deductive coding. That list comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and/or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (p.86). Since the research questions sought to examine stereotype threat as it has been experienced by men of color throughout their lives, preliminary codes were based on sources of stereotype threat identified in previous research from the literature review (Hall et al., 2016; Quaye, 2017; Appel & Weber, 2017; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001; Litam, 2020; Dunbar et al., 2016; Vickerman, 1999; Tyler et al., 2016; Morales, 2021; Harper, 2015; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso et al., 2009; Gomez & Huber, 2019; Museus & Kiang, 2009). Preliminary codes were also based on participants' stereotype threat experiences that originated before attending ACCC, while attending ACCC, or perceptions of stereotype threat beyond ACCC. These codes also examined these experiences across a continuum consistent with the three-dimensional model which examines past, present, and future. Second round codes were based on Yosso's CCWM (2005) and the six forms of cultural capital used by male students of color to succeed in college. These included aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital, resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). The third and fourth rounds of codes were generated by the inductive coding method of looking for

patterns within the data. Miles et al. (2014) stated that "Pattern codes can emerge from repeatedly observed behaviors, actions, norms, routines, and relationships; local meanings and explanations; commonsense explanations and more conceptual ones; inferential clusters and "metaphorical" ones; and single-case and cross-case observations (p.91). Exploring patterns of language and words used by participants in third round coding led to the creation of codes focused on the emotional, social, psychological, and academic impact of stereotype threat on these students. Seeking patterns in fourth round coding led to the creation of codes focused on unique ways students managed their stereotype threat experiences. At the end of this process, a total of 88 codes were applied 550 times within the written text until saturation was reached. A summary of the codes utilized can be seen in Appendix J.

Chapter 4 begins with brief background information of each male student of color as the research participants in this study. Each universal narrative was formulated after carefully considering the personal and social stereotype threat experiences of each participant prior to attending ACCC, while attending ACCC, and their future beliefs about themselves persisting and graduating from ACCC. Participants' individual stories and words were used to describe their collective experience during these specific contexts and situations. The final narrative was written in demonstration mode, meaning that, "data tend not to speak for themselves but instead are used in exemplary ways to illustrate the thoughts of the narrative writer" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 11). Excerpts from participants' interviews were used to tell their stories as male community college students of color who had experienced stereotype threat.

Researcher Role

Relevant Academic and Professional Experiences

As a researcher who identifies as a successful male scholar of color, it is crucial that I remained conscious of any implicit and explicit bias I may have related to my personal and professional beliefs, values, and academic experiences. Specifically, the most influential experiences have been my family context, my academic supports, my higher education journey, and my career as a Licensed Clinical Social Worker in a higher education setting.

 I grew up as an only child to first-generation Filipino parents in Queens, New York City, and having been subject to stereotype threat in my own life and having successfully graduated from college, now leads me to a positivist mentality that academic success is possible for other men of color. Additionally, my motivation to overcome academic challenges and succeed were deeply connected to the familial obligation I had to my mother and father to do so, since obtaining an education would ensure my own future financial survival and reflect their hard work and diligent efforts to raise a successful American citizen in the United States of America. This served as a form of familial capital for me.

My higher education journey also proved to be a very emotionally challenging experience for me. I attended a prestigious Jesuit high school in New York City and as a young man of color experienced stereotype threat related to my appearance as an Asian man of color. This affected my academic performance and I struggled academically. In this experience I utilized familial capital and social capital to successfully graduate. Following this experience, I attended a predominantly White institution located in a rural

part of northern New York State almost seven hours from my home. As I battled racist stereotypes that men of color from urban areas like me were criminals or came from an environment filled with drugs, violence, and police activity, I developed navigational, resistant, and social capital to manage them. After transferring to a college in New York City, I had gained the academic support of a psychology professor (social capital) who became my mentor, learned various strategies to battle stereotype threat (resistant capital) and had the support of my parents (familial capital) to improve my academic performance and graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree and subsequently a Master's degree.

Another potential challenge to my role of researcher in the present study is related to my professional role at ACCC. My position within the college as a staff member could also afford me privilege and impact participants' perceptions of me as an authority and the power I possess. Banks (1998) describes the role of the "indigenous-outsider" as one who "was socialized within his or her indigenous community but has experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into an outsider or oppositional culture (p. 8). My professional success and administrative function at ACCC could have served as both an advantage and disadvantage to the study by giving me access and granting certain privileges that may be afforded to me as a result.

Beliefs and Assumptions

As a result of the aforementioned familial, academic, and professional experiences, I am now inspired and energized to explore the ways that stereotype threat impacts male students of color in a community college setting and how these male students of color achieve academic success. Through my own academic and professional

success stemming from the familial, social, and resistant capital that I had available to me, I am biased to believe that success can be achieved in the face of negative stressors and stereotypes. I am also biased to believe that as educators, administrators, and staff, there are institutional changes that can and must be implemented to expand this success. These academic and social experiences now lead me to believe that environments where students feel like they belong are most conducive for them to learn and thrive. As a researcher, I am interested in the ways that educational administrators and leaders can create nurturing environments that promote the valuing the dignity and safety of all students.

Opportunities and Challenges

Reflecting on my role as the researcher, I believe that these aforementioned beliefs, experiences, and values served as an advantage in the present study with male students of color. These rich experiences allowed me to explore with genuineness, curiosity, empathy, and integrity as I interpreted these students' stories and lived experiences. Banks (1998) stated the importance of understanding the impact of one's cultural influence and posited, "individuals are socialized within ethnic, racial, and cultural communities in which they internalize localized values, perspectives, ways of knowing, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge that can differ in significant ways from those of individuals socialized within other microcultures" (Banks, 1998). On the other hand, my lived experiences and first-hand experiences facing stereotype threat challenged my ability to remain objective but I remained cognizant and mindful that my experiences are unique to my own cultural and racial identity and may have differed from the experiences of the men of color who participated in my study. I have also intentionally chosen a

narrative analysis research design to highlight the unique nuances of the study's participants, since the goal is to empower them to co-construct their stories, not interpret them. Lastly, to ensure that my positionality did not negatively affect my analysis of the data, I implemented triangulation, researcher reflexivity, a reflection journal, member checking, and thick, rich descriptions as strategies to establish the trustworthiness and credibility of the present study.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 discussed the methods and procedures, trustworthiness of design, research ethics, data analysis approach, and researcher role of the present study. A narrative analysis research design will add valuable perspectives of rich details through the counter stories as told by male students of color attending a large urban community college. Using the strategies discussed in Table 7 allowed this researcher to remain cognizant of potential risks to the present study. Chapter 4 will discuss the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 1 of the study provided an introduction, overview of the study, and a discussion of theoretical frameworks to being used: critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997; Parker & Lynn, 2002) and the community cultural wealth model (Yosso, 2005). Chapter 2, guided by this introduction and framing is a review of research related to stereotype threat, its negative impacts on male students of color, and the role that cultural community wealth may play in mitigating these experiences in college. Chapter 3 described the study's narrative analysis research design, the associated methods, ethical considerations, and procedures implemented in the study. Chapter 4 is a thematic analysis of the narrative data. Chapter 4 begins with a brief description of the backgrounds of each male scholar of color in the study, followed by the universal themes uncovered through their individual stories. Following this description, the chapter will align these findings to the research questions guiding the study.

Research Participants

As aforementioned in Chapter 3, the present study included eight male students of color who were attending the All City Community College (ACCC). Details of each participant are presented here:

Jax is a 20-year-old male who identified as Afro-Caribbean and Latino. He reported that he is ethnically Jamaican and Cuban. He was born and raised in the United States, and has lived in California, North Carolina, and Staten Island, New York. Jax has attended ACCC for four semesters and his GPA is 2.79.

Zaheen is a 22-year-old male who identified as Brown and South Asian. Ethnically, he identified as Bengali and was born in Bangladesh. He came to the United

States in 2019 and resides in Queens, NY. Zaheen has attended ACCC for two semesters and his GPA is 3.94.

Ako is an 18-year-old male who identified as Brown and South Asian. He identifies as Bengali ethnically, though he was born and raised in England until the age of 11 when his family moved to Bangladesh. Ako and his family moved to the United States in 2016 and he resides in Queens, NY. Ako has attended ACCC for two semesters and has a GPA of 3.24.

Alex is a 23-year-old male who identified as Black-Caribbean. He reported that he was born and raised in Guyana and came to the United States in 2017. Alex has completed one semester at ACCC and his GPA is 4.00.

Jose is a 26-year-old male who identified as Black. He was born and raised in the Dominican Republic and came to the United States in 2011. Jose has attended ACCC for three semesters and his GPA is 3.88.

Isaac is a 25-year-old- male who identified as Hispanic. He was born and raised in Washington Heights, New York and reported that his family is from the Dominican Republic. He identifies as Dominican. He has attended ACCC for two semesters and his GPA is 3.68.

Bob is a 20-year-old man who identified as Asian and Asian American. He was born and raised in Riverdale, NY and his parents are from the Philippines. He has attended ACCC for four semesters and his GPA is 3.41.

Denzel is a 21-year-old male who identified as Black and African. He was born and raised in Ghana and he came to the United States in 2018. He has attended ACCC for three semesters and his GPA is a 4.00.

The findings of the participant interviews yielded two elements: first, a story detailing a specific instance of stereotype threat in the men's lives, the role of the threat, and its impact- emotional, social, and academic impact, and secondly, how they navigate these experiences as current community college students. The findings introduced stories that capture the shared experiences of the students, and the themes derived from the remaining interviews organize the remaining data. After reading and re-reading the transcripts, four rounds of coding were conducted. After reviewing the written transcripts and applying deductive and pattern codes to saturation, the following three major themes emerged: 1. Being Perceived as "Other" 2. Negative Emotions, Social Effects, and Academic Effects 3. Family, Social Relationships, and Aspirations are Powerful (See Table 3).

Table 3

Interpretive Themes

Theme	Data Source	Trustworthiness
Being Perceived as "Other"	1 Story-telling session and 2 interviews	Triangulation Researcher Reflexivity Reflection Journal Member Checking
Negative Emotional, Social, and Academic Effects	1 Story-telling session and 2 interviews	Triangulation Researcher Reflexivity Reflection Journal Member Checking
Family, Social Relationships, and Aspirations are Powerful	1 Story-telling session and 2 interviews	Triangulation Researcher Reflexivity Reflection Journal Member Checking

This narrative analysis found that the onset of the men's stereotype threat experiences varied by time, meaning that stereotype threat occurred both prior to attending ACCC and also while being enrolled as students there. Furthermore, some stereotype threat experiences occurred in late childhood when the participants were attending middle school. The stereotype threat also occurred in different contexts including the community and within school settings. Additionally, the stereotype threats included racial discrimination, microaggressions, and negative messages about one's racial or ethnic group.

Theme 1: Being Perceived as "Other"

The first theme to emerge from the study is that stereotype threat was present in settings and situations where the men themselves were being perceived as "other" based on their race and ethnic identities. In other words, when the men of color were in situations where they were being perceived as different by the individuals they encountered, they were presented with stereotype threat originating from those individuals. The study also found that stereotype threat occurred in three forms: racial or ethnic discrimination, microaggressions, and negative portrayals of race and ethnicity in the media and culture.

Racial/ Ethnic Discrimination

The most detrimental stereotype threat identified by the men of color in the study was racial and ethnic discrimination directed towards them. These incidents were not related to age and occurred as early as when the men attended middle school. For example, Ako, age 18, who identifies as Bengali and English, relocated from England to Bangladesh when he was 11 years old. Upon arrival in Bangladesh, Ako's first

experience with stereotype threat was when his Bengali teacher asked him where he was from. When he replied he was from England, his teacher began ridiculing him, causing his classmates to laugh at him. Ako was the victim of discrimination by his classmates because he was born in a foreign country and had difficulty speaking Bengali. Ako also recalled being perceived as a threat when he and his family moved to the United States in 2016. While attending the eighth grade in a public school in Queens, NY he was targeted by African American, White, and Guyanese classmates. He recalled, "since I identified as Muslim Brown kid when I came here, people would always say oh, I'm gonna bomb your house. Oh, he's a Muslim. He's a terrorist. I got harassed like this every single day." Ako received no support from the dean at the school who questioned him in an accusatory tone saying, "How am I supposed to know the terrorists aren't communicating to you?"

Negative perceptions related to the men being perceived as "other" were also present in the experiences of the other men in the study. Denzel, age 21, a Black and African ACCC student, arrived in New York City in 2018 and attempted to take the subway for the first time. Denzel had never ridden the subway before when he was accidentally separated from his brother. As the subway doors closed between them, Denzel did not have a phone and could not call his brother and did not know what to do. After trying to greet and engage five different White people for help, he was repeatedly ignored. He then approached a sixth person who was a Black female who offered to assist him. Denzel reflected, "that's when I remembered all these people I am asking, right, don't have my color. I'm Black. Then I was like what does it mean to be Black?" Denzel also subsequently experienced a similar situation when he attempted to ask White

people passing him, for directions when he was trying to figure out which direction to walk. He hoped that his ACCC student government t-shirt would reduce the perception that he was a threat, but it did not stop him from being ignored. He was eventually helped by an African street vendor who observed what was happening.

Being perceived negatively is an experience that was also shared by Zaheen, 22, who first experienced stereotype threat when he arrived in the United States from Bangladesh in 2019. Zaheen approached a White man in a store where visitors could try out different musical instruments. He asked the man if he had an extra guitar pick and while the man's response was very subtle, Zaheen remembered the man's attitude as being hostile. Zaheen recalled, "His tone was like, yes, I have. But why would I give you? Like get your own pick. He stared at me in a weird way, like his eyes went up from down. And I noticed that it was very short, one very short moment, but I noticed the way he looked like just for a millisecond. You know, you can sometimes sense it. No, he's not liking it."

Subtle expressions of discrimination were also evident in other community settings when the men were perceived as "other". Alex, 23, a Black Guyanese man who arrived in the United States in 2018, experienced stereotype threat in the form of racial discrimination. Prior to beginning his studies at ACCC, Alex and his male friend, who was also Black and West Indian, were walking near Times Square on New Year's Eve having fun, laughing, and speaking loudly when they encountered a White woman walking in front of them. Alex and his friend were perceived as a threat by the White woman who clutched her purse closer to her and began walking faster. Subsequently on another occasion, after Alex completed his first semester at ACCC, he and another Black

friend visited a community pool in New Jersey for a weekend getaway from Brooklyn where he resides. Alex immediately felt unwelcome due to the lack of people of color at the pool and the unwanted attention they received. He recounted, "As we walk in, everyone was staring at us like we look extraterrestrial. Everyone was staring at us. They weren't really saying anything. They weren't talking to us, they just looked at us like, why are they here?" Alex described his subtle feeling of being viewed differently, became him feeling discriminated against when a White woman called her child out of the pool after she began swimming near Alex and his friend. After leaving the pool, Alex was then pulled over by four White police officers in four separate police cars, for allegedly making an illegal U-turn. Despite apologizing and being civil, he was given a summons for a traffic violation.

Microaggressions

A second form of stereotype threat the men in the study experienced were microaggressions directed at them based on their racial and ethnic identities. Isaac, a 25-year-old Dominican man who attended public schools and grew up in Washington Heights, New York, described his first experience with a microaggression at age 11. Isaac's seventh grade social studies teacher who was White, made a comment directed to the whole class of students who were mostly from the Dominican Republic. Isaac said, "Ms. Waldner (pauses), I still remember her name, she was a pretty tough teacher. So one day, I'm not sure what was going on in the class, but like, you know how middle school, like kids being kids, right? And she just got up in the class. And she was like, you know, you Dominicans, all you know, is platanos and mangu." Isaac had not experienced stereotype threat and this was his first time being treated as different due to

his ethnic identity. This microaggression, related to a stereotype about foods common to the Dominican Republic, was used to antagonize Isaac's identity as a student. A similar microaggression was used against another participant, Jose, 26, who was born and raised in the Dominican Republic. Jose was a participant in a community support program prior to attending ACCC, when one of his peers, a Black male tried to belittle him. Jose recalled, "He was putting in differences between Dominicans and Black people. So he said oh Dominicans come here in a banana boat." Jose emphasized that they were not joking and his peer was trying to insult him.

Microaggressions based on perceptions of race and ethnicity also impacted men in this study. Jose recalled another experience as a student at ACCC. Jose was talking to a Colombian female classmate who began making negative generalizations about Black people. Jose reported, "she was talking about bad things about Black people. And I'm like damn, I'm Black and you doing that." Negative perceptions of Black people through microaggressions also affected Jax, a 20-year-old who identifies as Jamaican and Cuban, during his first day after transferring to a high school in North Carolina as a sophomore where the majority of students were Caucasian. Jax was walking during lunchtime on his first day looking for a seat in the cafeteria and was called over by a group of White students. He recalled, "A female student asked hey, do you have weed on you right now? I'm like I'm sorry? She's like, do you have weed on your right now? I'm like, I don't do that. I don't smoke. She's like, oh, yes you do. All you guys do. I'm like, all of us? She's like, yeah, your people, your kind of people. You guys always have drugs on you." Jax walked away confused and speechless.

The men in the study also described how these microaggressions, were subtle in the manner that they were presented to them. For example, Ako, viewed as foreign by native Bengali peers at age 11, was also the victim of microaggressions from his Bengali schoolmates related to his difficulty mastering the Bengali language but being expected to, since he shared the same ethnic identity as his peers. When he was unable to, he remembers being ridiculed describing, "They would make fun of me. How do you not know what this [Bengali] term is? How? Why are you stupid? Why don't you know this?" He recalled that he would cry almost every day. Similarly, Zaheen remembered experiencing a microaggression from his American-born Bengali cousins raised in the United States. Zaheen recalled being judged on his inability to speak English clearly, "when I used to talk to them, they were trying to keep their mouths shut, like they were trying to trying not to laugh, you know. But I felt humiliated." He also concluded that the microaggression toward him being a native Bengali was based on the stereotype that native Bengalis are not as technologically advanced as American-born Bengalis. During one occasion at a family gathering, "everyone was flicking family pictures" he recalled. "So I have my phone [and] my cousin, she gave me my phone and was showing me like, here is a camera, click here, click here." These microaggressions resulted in the men feeling inferior in those situations.

Another participant Bob, a 20-year-old male who identifies as Filipino and was born and raised in Riverdale, New York, also experienced stereotype threat through a microaggression presented to him while on a trip to Florida with his friend's family. Bob recalls that his friend's uncle, a White man, told him, "Hey, you're Filipino, right? And I said, yeah. [He said] I bet you want to be a nurse... I used to be the head of a hospital,

head doctor at a hospital. And most of the nurses working under me were Filipino." Bob reported having a confused reaction because he was, and currently is, a nursing student at ACCC. This microaggression was a form of stereotype threat since it was based on generalizations about professions that Filipino people pursue.

Negative Messages Related to Race and Ethnicity

Stereotype threat was also experienced by the men through negative messages that they felt were related to their race and ethnicity. These negative messages were present in the media, in cultures they were exposed to growing up, and from school experiences. One of these negative messages included negative portrayals of Black or Latino men. Alex shared his perspective of how Black men like himself are perceived in society and reported,

> We're young, we're Black, we're in college and we're doing good. They don't
> want us here. No one, they don't wanna see this. So something is gonna happen.
> There's something bad. Maybe like how I drive, like how I was pulled up on
> [during] the incident. One of these days you could be driving, you just get
> stopped, and here's the joke… right after you get diploma, you could die. You
> could be driving and then you get pulled up by a cop and you're so happy. You
> got your diploma that same day and next thing you know, you lost your life.

Jax also carried the weight of a similar sentiment stating that he too feels Black and Latino men will always be perceived as a threat in the United States. He expressed, "what's going on in the world is [that] police start pulling us African Americans and Latinos for no reason. You know, and it's personal because I'm part of those two ethnic groups. And we don't get questioned at all we just get like, pulled over and harassed for

no reason." Isaac also felt that similar negative stereotypes regarding Hispanic people also affected him. He described, "Yeah, well, I don't really watch the news that much. But when I do, I don't know why the media is always like, like they victimize Hispanics, or any person of color. In everything, if it's let's say a good stat, we have the lowest number, if it's a bad stat we will have the highest number." Additionally, these negative messages were experienced by the men in the study as being indirect, subtle, and oftentimes difficult to identify. Bob, a Filipino man born and raised in New York City, remembered feeling very out of place in a Florida airport when returning from his trip and suddenly being made aware of his race due to the lack of other people of color around him. While waiting for his flight back to New York with White people around him, he shared his worry in that moment, "They might not be racist but they may think differently of me and start thinking like, huh, that guy's got tan skin or something."

Other men in the study reported first hearing negative messages about race growing up in their countries of origin. Zaheen recalled his early exposure to messages related to race being manifested through colorism that he was taught in Bangladesh. He described, "from my very childhood, we have been taught that Black peoples are bad. So subconsciously when we see a White people, and when we have been raised, like, in a Brown culture, we subconsciously think that they are superior. So I had an anxiety over that White skin tone." Bob also reported pressures related to stereotypes resulting from the cultural expectations of his Filipino parents who instilled the idea that "Asians are supposed to be extremely bookish" and that he must achieve academic success like Indian and Chinese students. He also felt threatened by negative media portrayals of Asian people at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. He described his heightened

concern, "at the height of COVID, I heard my Asian coworkers complaining, [and one of them] said to us, me and my girlfriend, we had a sort of Asian hate crime put against us. And also my dad called me to say be careful going into the subway, because there's been attacks on Filipinos specifically."

Experiencing stereotype threat through exposure to subtle and indirect negative messages as a result of one's race and ethnicity was also experienced by the men during their academic experiences. For example, Jax felt that security guards at his California high school would "mostly expect us as Black people to do something wrong. We would just keep it to ourselves. And like, some security guards would just look at us differently." Ako also experienced negative subtle messages related to his being Brown and from Bangladesh, feeling that was one of the reasons he was repeatedly not selected for his high school volleyball team. The majority of the students who made the team were Latino and the volleyball coach was a Latina woman. Though he had no direct proof, Ako felt strongly that his exclusion was related to his ethnic identity.

Jose, during an art class he was taking at ACCC, described how his identity becoming known to classmates, changed the way his peers would evaluate his artwork during class. Jose said, "There was Americans, Asians, Hispanics. And they used to pick mine. They liked it and they used to pick it and then when they found out who I was they stopped doing that. And I remember my professor told me don't put your name too big cuz you will be attacked." The men reported feeling impacted though the stereotype threat was not directly communicated to them.

Theme 2: Negative Emotional, Social, and Academic Effects

The second theme that emerged from the male students' stories is that the stereotype threat experiences create negative emotional, social, and academic effects that can last long after the stereotype threat was experienced. All of the male students of color in the study reported being negatively impacted by their stereotype threat experiences and continue to battle their effects despite the stereotype threat occurring in the past.

Negative Emotional Effects

Stereotype threat in the present study resulted in negative emotions experienced by the men of color. One common emotion was feeling shocked and confused. The men reported difficulty making sense of what they were experiencing in those moments. Bob, who experienced a microaggression about Filipino people being nurses, shared his confusion saying "I didn't see it as hostile or anything. It was whatever. But my thought about it later was like, should I've been offended by that?" Similarly, Jax had a similar emotional response following his encounter with a microaggression in high school,

> It caught me. It put me within a confusing state of mind. And at the end of the day, I walked back to my house, it wasn't that far only like a 15-minute walk. And my father was home and asked me, hey, son, how's was your day? And I'm like, this classmate asked me a very open ended question that I didn't really know how to answer. I mean, I did know [how to answer] but I wasn't feeling comfortable being in that space.

Isaac described a similar initial reaction to his teacher's microaggression in seventh grade and expressed, "Like, you're just frozen. Like, okay, you said that, but I have no idea how

to respond." For both of these men, this was one of the first times they had experienced

stereotype threat and were shocked while trying to process the situation that had

occurred.

A second common emotion described by the men of color in the study following

their encounter with stereotype threat, was feeling insecure about their racial and ethnic

identity and themselves. Isaac described the cumulative effects of his stereotype threat

experience and how it has affected his self-image. He described,

> Later on in life you experience more negativity and then you start thinking to
>
> yourself, what? Why can't I learn this…and you start thinking that you're dumb.
>
> And you can't even figure out why this is happening. But it all started because
>
> increments of that type of negativity, of a teacher, disrespecting your intellect
>
> when you were young, it follows you when you're older. And then it's you doing
>
> it to yourself at that point, because, you know, she, she started the seed.

Isaac also described feeling helpless as a result of the stereotype threat, reflecting "if you

call me dumb because I'm Dominican, like, how can, how do I fix that? You know, I

can't change my race." In turn, this negative self-image led to imposter syndrome for

him which he referred to as a detriment. Denzel also shared feeling helpless during his

subway experience since it was his first time needing help after arriving in New York and

being ignored. Zaheen also described feeling insecure and unsure of himself in situations

that could present potential stereotype threat, "Sometimes when I engage in these kinds

of similar activities, I tend to be very cautious like, how I'm behaving? I don't feel, you

know, free to express myself." These examples illustrate how the men experienced self-

doubt as a result of stereotype threat encounters.

A third emotion experienced by the men was anger. Alex described feeling angry at the police officers who racially profiled him, ignored his efforts to do the right thing, and instilled fear in him by the number of officers involved in the encounter. He also felt anger at the White woman who perceived him as a threat when he was just trying to have a good time with his friend on New Year's Eve. Ako also expressed anger resulting from his stereotype threat experiences and reported that they have hardened him saying, "I lack empathy. So I'm not sure what happened through high school, along the way. I lost the sense of empathy and care for others."

Other emotions commonly shared by the men in the study were feeling fearful and unsafe. Alex shared that acting with caution in stereotype situations is not a choice, but a requirement for survival. Alex explained that his police encounter was very scary for him initially because there were four White police officers in four police cars which he found to be excessive. He then described the complexity of his fear and his thought process in that very moment,

> I could have got shot just because I have my phone. It's happened already. Like somebody got shot for a comb, somebody got shot for a phone, people got shot for way less. So like if I put my hands out, especially my phone is big and it's black. In my mind, you're already being mad aggressive to me. I don't want to make those types of movements, even though you told me to, and then you're going to be like, okay, probably was a mistake. I'm not…I was just scared. Like, I could really be shot. Maybe I could be a shot in my arm. Maybe they could have shot the whole car. Cause with multiple cops, I don't know how that situation would play it out, but I didn't want to take that risk.

Bob also shared his feelings of fear related to safety and his identity as Asian while travelling during the COVID-19 pandemic amidst Anti-Asian sentiments that had been circulating in the media. Bob said, "When I went farther from home, that's when I felt a little bit worried on taking the trains. So I made sure to go on like rush hour or when I think it might be more packed instead of like, going super late. That's what I was thinking about as I went out." Despite limited stereotype threat experiences, Zaheen also expressed future concerns related to stereotype threat, "I have a fear that someday it might happen. So I try to be defensive."

Negative Social Effects

Many of the men reported that experiencing stereotype threat resulted in negative social effects both in the moment and regarding their future social interactions. For example, Ako was unable to share his experiences with his mother initially after being bullied by the other Bengali students. Ako also felt alienated from his classmates in eight grade who labeled him a terrorist and the dean who failed to support him. Jose described his feelings of alienation in his art class and said, "I felt left alone. I used to be there. I felt left to the side. I wanted people to critique my work and like in two, three weeks, maybe one person will say something, and then nothing so I felt down. I felt isolated." Denzel also reported that his experience of being ignored based on his race, was something so different from his cultural values, that it made him question his place in America, describing, "this was something that was hurting me, this is something that I wasn't expecting from human at all. So when I experienced that in, I feel like I am in the wrong part of the world." The stereotype threat experiences resulted in social isolation and had participants questioning their self-worth and value.

A second negative social effect evident from the men's personal stories was social withdrawal. The men reported that their stereotype threat experiences led to defensive behaviors that included intentionally withdrawing themselves from the groups that presented the stereotype threat to them. Zaheen described, "when I'm in a in a social situation, you know, I still stay quiet, because deep down, I feel afraid that they're gonna laugh at my accent." Additionally, Zaheen, strategically and intentionally chose ACCC after researching other community colleges and deciding that ACCC had the least number of Bengali students. He explained, "That's why I chose ACCC where, no one can understand my cultural aspects." This was also evident with other participants. Isaac expressed how at times, his insecurity related to his intelligence being threatened in seventh grade resurfaces and described his reaction, "I'll just get that beta feeling like I want to stay away. Kind of like that dog, you ever seen packs of dogs? And got that one dog in the corner that doesn't want to play, like, what's wrong with this dog? That's how I would feel like I don't belong. I want to isolate myself." Isaac described feeling "beta", a slang term meaning inferior or weak, which leads to his wanting to socially withdraw from others he perceives as more intelligent or academically skilled than him. These examples indicate that stereotype threat can have prolonged effects, including men's decisions to engage in particular situations or withdraw from them.

A third social effect identified by the men in the study was feeling that their stereotype threat experiences have led them to become more distrustful of the groups who presented the stereotype threat. Ako described," being exposed to these racial environments have made me so prejudiced to my own race and Americans alone…I hate that they bring prejudice to me, but I build that prejudice to them." He also reported that

he finds himself only befriending certain ethnic Asian groups such Vietnamese, Chinese, or Filipino people who he considers to share similar values as himself. Alex described his feelings towards police and White people and reported, "I don't wanna say hatred, but the way I feel about a certain group. Just cause of what they did, their stereotypes caused me to feel as if I'm racist, because now I classify all of them as you're bad and you wanna harm me. So I just have that mindset." Though Ako and Alex described themselves as more "prejudiced" and "racist" following their stereotype threat experiences, it appears this apprehension served as a protective strategy to prevent further racism and discrimination from occurring to them. Denzel also reported that he developed a distrust of White people as a way to protect himself and expressed, "So I can work with them [White people] alright but I will not trust them. I know that at any moment in life, so if I am working with them, I try to do whatever is expected of me, I try to do the right thing, I don't want to wrong them so they can punish me or so that they can base on that to hurt me." These examples indicate how the men's stereotype threat experiences have led them to be increasingly cautious when interacting with perceived members of the original groups who presented the stereotype threat to them.

Negative Academic Effects

The men's stereotype threat experiences also resulted in negative academic effects. Some of these negative effects included doubting the purpose of completing college. Alex described, "To be honest, it's crazy that I feel that I'm Black and I'm doing all this, I'm doing something in my life. I'm doing the standard as it's called and yet still that's not good enough. So it really makes me think, do I really want to be good enough? Do I want to be to standard?" This self-doubt has also resurfaced in Isaac's academic

journey causing a direct decline in his academic performance from middle school throughout high school. He explained,

> Because I've had a racial experience in middle school, with that teacher saying hey you Dominicans only know platanos and mangu and that planted the seed of like, hey, you know, you're not smart. Now, when another teacher comes along, even though it's not racially-based, and just disrespects my intellect, it just adds on to that seed, of hey, you're not smart. And it just compounds.

Theme 3: Family, Social Relationships, and Aspirations are Powerful

The third emergent theme from the men's stories is that: Family, social relationships, and aspirations are powerful. The male students of color in the study used familial capital resistant capital, social capital, navigational capital, and aspirational capital to manage the stereotype experiences they encountered and continue to encounter in their lives.

Familial and Resistant Capital

All men of color in the study credited their families as being a main source of support through their encounters with stereotype threat as well as with their academic and professional goals. The familial capital gained through family support included values, aspirations, and cultural lessons and this was strongly related to resistant capital they developed.

In regard to values, the men described how their mothers and fathers instilled values that have helped them manage stereotype threat and recognize the value of pursuing their education. Jax described valuable talks that his father would give him describing potential conflicts he might encounter as an African American male in the

United States and preparing him with strategies to manage them wisely by remaining calm, regardless of the situation. He recalled, "So my dad would always say surround yourself with people that will help you build mentally, physically, emotionally, spiritually and financially. Yeah. So that's how it is. So like, I'm still putting myself around people that can help me in those areas itself." Jax also mentioned the "Golden Rule" or treating others as you would want to be treated led to his ability to remain positive. Jax also felt inspired to excel academically since his father was also in college pursuing a doctoral degree.

Isaac also discussed the role that family values have had in helping him to deal with future conflicts. He described the power of his spiritual values and recalled being taught, "It's important to just be you and have faith in God and don't get too carried up about what's happening in the world. Because, for the most part, the world is wrong." Isaac's family has served as a major support in his academic progress through the financial support they have provided him. He described how living with his family gives him financial support so he can focus on his education.

Bob also credits family values and his close friend group as providing support during academic and social challenges and stated, "My friends [help], because you know, it sucks on the grind. Got them, gotta relax a little bit. And yeah, that's my close circle of friends and family that always helped me stay here." Bob also discussed the family values he learned about work ethic and said, "Filipinos are very logical too. They're very hardworking also and I think my mom is very symbolic of that and that was passed down to me." Jose also attributed his academic success to early memories of his mother and her commitment to his education even at an early age. Jose remembered how his mother

would sit next to him and do homework with him, him pay attention, explaining, teaching vocabulary, and how to read and write. The values described by these men were instrumental to the men's resilience and resistant capital in conflict situations as well as in developing their work ethic.

The men also described how their academic identities, future academic and professional success was connected to their family's success. Zaheen said, "They always say to me that if you are successful, we are successful. We all have sacrificed everything for you. Like you, you guys are our real asset. Nothing else matters." Isaac mentioned that he wanted to be successful as a way to repay his family for this support and stated, "I don't want to be financially independent, financially stable just for me… I don't want a million dollars for me. What the heck am I gonna do with a million dollars? For myself it's meaningless. I want it first for my family. I want it for the kids because for me, I don't care about me like that." Denzel also expressed the value of his mother as his source of motivation. He described how his mother was a great student with aspirations to be a nurse. However education was very expensive in Africa and she only completed high school. Denzel expressed how her story encourages him to succeed academically saying, "what she couldn't get, she didn't enjoy, I should take the opportunity, right? I should utilize every single opportunity and make her proud." Ako also described his mother as a driving force in combatting stereotype threat as well as with his academic and career aspirations as an ACCC student. He recalled how his mother came to his school and demanded to speak to the parents of the other children who were bullying him in the eighth grade. He described his mother: "My force, my mom is a big part of this because she sacrificed a lot for me…to be successful." Ako also described how his

mother has been instrumental in mapping out his academic plan to first attend ACCC, then University of Texas, with a goal of attending MIT. Alex also described the value that family has had when battling stereotype threat as well as pursuing his academic goals. Alex defined family not only as his biological family but the close group of friends he confides in. He mentioned that having a space to talk with his close friends through online video games has helped him deal with stereotype threat experiences. He also described his responsibility to the collective success of his family. He mentioned, "I want us as a family to do better. I want us as a family to have a reputation and hold a name. So a lot of times what I do and some of the decision I make in life is because I think about them first and then I'll make my decision. I just want us as a family to get better and do better, like actually to say, like make it out the gutter. And if I could do that, and college is the way at least partially the way, then that's what it is." These findings indicate that aspirational capital was closely tied to the men's familial capital since their families were a motivating factor towards their academic and professional success.

The men in the study also described how familial capital gained from cultural knowledge helped increase their resistant capital and their ability to ward off stereotype threat and the value of education for them. Denzel mentioned how influential leaders such as Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela have played a role in their efforts to overcome adversity and succeed. Denzel said, "Malcolm said education is the passport to the future. Education is key. Nelson Mandela also said, education is the most powerful weapon that we can use to change the world. Yeah. I'm not a guy who go ahead and protest, then you're gonna shoot me, then I lose my life. The solution is education. If you

know more, you can do more." Alex also described a similar sentiment, "I would say history was one of the driving forces that helped me respond to it. And it helps me with like what my response was to them. Because what happened to me or what I've experienced is not something that only I've experienced but has happened throughout history. So I can say like, that was a driving force to some of the decisions I made going into it." Jose also expressed the value in learning from, "not my situation, but other people's situations. I been reading stories and how people react to it. Violence is not a way. For me violence is not a way. You see Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, they achieved great things and their motto was to fight for equality, without violence. So they accomplished a lot. So I see that." The men in the study utilized the experiences of leaders before them as a form of resistant capital as they encountered stereotype threat.

Social and Navigational Capital

Related to the benefits of familial support, all eight men of color in the study received social support through individuals they were connected with in school and community settings. The men described how these individuals played a key role in helping them navigate stereotype threat situations and maintain academic success. Social capital also helped men in the study to navigate new academic experiences and settings, increasing their levels of navigational capital through the relationships formed. One common characteristic the men identified was that these individuals were authentic which made them feel supported and resulted in a positive impact on their social and academic experiences.

One group of social supports the men mentioned were high school teachers. Isaac described his high school English teacher as a "cool African American man with dreads"

who inspired confidence in the students by sending a powerful message saying, "don't ever tell me that you can't do something." Isaac attributed this message to helping him get through moments of self-doubt in his academic journey. Jax also described a positive encounter he had with his high school biology teacher Ms. Jacobs who was the only African American teacher he ever had. Jax reported that Ms. Jacobs helped him feel welcome in his new school by pulling him aside on his first day in her class, reviewed the syllabus, and directly told him, "I don't want you to think I'm putting pressure on you but this is how I am. I want you to succeed. And if you have any questions within anything, within the lesson or topic, please feel free to raise your hand or just come to office hours, which are later on today." Denzel also recounted a positive experience he had with his high school math teacher in Africa. Denzel attributed the value of not giving up to this teacher who challenged him when he wanted to give up on solving a math problem, saying, "So ever since that time, whatever I do in life is always keep trying until I get whatever I want."

In addition to teachers, the men in the study described the value that peer support has had in helping them feel like they were a part of the school community. Jax recalled his teammates on different high school track teams as providing guidance and a sense of belonging. He said "Track was in all schools really. Track was in California, in Victory H.S. and at Fort Tillman. I always felt connected in those different ways because mostly when it came to sports, I felt much more connected if I knew that teammate on a team and off in school as another classmate." At ACCC, Jax describes a strong connection to his friend he met in his first semester who provides words of encouragement and reminders to keep working hard while staying positive. Ako also described how middle

school and high school peers protected him from stereotype threat he experienced and they have become lifelong friends to the present day. He reported that similarities in cultural experiences of being ethnically Bengali but growing up outside of Bangladesh, helped the Ako and his peers connect to each other. Ako also described this close relationship, "We would protect each other. Like if someone was prejudiced to us we would stand up for each other. Like we, we had each other's back." Ako explained how he and his friend still motivate one another in their college career and described how his friend was responsible for helping him memorize the periodic table, describing, "Whenever we have classes together, we would sit at the very front of the class, and work things together, study together after school." Alex also described how his intimate network of friends from both Guyana and in the United States offer academic and social support through playing online video games and discuss life challenges while playing the video games. Alex reported that he and his peers discuss difficult life challenges including encounters with racism and being successful academically and professionally.

The men in the study also credited various people and programs at ACCC as having a positive impact on them by increasing their self-esteem and sense of belonging. This group of individuals included ACCC college professors, students, staff members, counselors, and advisors. At ACCC, Isaac described a positive encounter he had with his with his English professor via zoom. He described how his professor, a Puerto Rican woman originally from Queens, NY, was an inspiration to him when he asked about what appeared to be a view of the Statue of Liberty from her apartment window, in the Zoom background. Isaac reported that his professor acknowledged that it was and that he could have an apartment with a view like that also if he just worked hard. He responded how

those simple words inspired him because he said, "I can work hard so that means I can do it too. I try to keep those, when I do get negativity, I try to keep those moments in my mind more than negativity." Jax also reported how a speech professor at ACCC, Jason Alexander, had a similar effect on him. Jax mentioned, "he was so cool, so outgoing, he was always positive within the class… He always had full of energy for us to feel." Jax reported how this motivated him to remain engaged in the class. Denzel also reported that positive relationships with professors at ACCC have helped him significantly. He recounted, "At ACCC, my teachers play major roles…they are supporting me. They are doing more than what they are supposed to do with support, encouragement. They're always trying…always telling me to keep on pushing. And I remember one of my teachers said she cannot wait to see me become a doctor. So she calls me her son and I call her my mom." In addition to these professors, Denzel also described relationships with his mentor from a career exploration program that he is a member of.

Bob described participation in a mentoring program as helping to guide him, since he first arrived as an incoming student. He recounted, "CHANGE, for one was the biggest thing [for me from] high school going to college, I had no idea what I wanted to do, or how to get through college." Zaheen also described that being affiliated with the same mentoring program, in addition to, his cohort program has also helped him remain connected. His cohort program counselor has been very supportive and helped him take advantage of different opportunities. Zaheen recounted,

 And so I had my counselor help me. I had no idea about anything. I barely knew English. So I got an invitation from CHANGE also. On my first semester, they assigned me as a student mentor. I was a mentee first. She helped me, then [my

counselor] Mr. Smith helped me. I needed someone to talk to who won't judge

me. So that helped me. Then on my second semester, I applied for being a mentor

and I got the job. And then then also, like, I wanted to challenge myself more. So

I became the vice president of Accounting Club.

Zaheen's words described the cumulative effect that his initial social support had as he

subsequently became more involved in various programs and networking opportunities.

Ako also credited his academic advisor as having helped him to stay on track as he

continues to navigate ACCC through assistance selecting classes as well as by providing

genuine interest and positive feedback.

Another source of social support for men in the study was members of community

programs the men were affiliated with. Specifically, Jose discussed his mentor and other

staff from a community based program he is connected to, crediting them with

contributing to his motivation, offering sound advice, positive feedback, and even

financial support. Jose mentioned, "I remember when I started college, they motivated

me to apply to college. I wanted to only get an Associate's and then Jasmine, she

motivated me to get a Bachelors. Now I want to get a Bachelors, now she's telling me to

get a Master's." These valuable programs and individuals exposed the men in the study

to resources, opportunities, and ideas they had not previously considered.

Aspirational Capital

Another factor contributing to the academic success of the male students of color

in this study was a commitment to their dreams and aspirations. All participants had very

clear aspirations and goals for their futures which were personal to them and also

connected to a larger purpose. Jax described, "In my household [success] means that I

am able to do like, I come from a strong lineage of people that have done great things within their lives, that I'm able to continue it." Ako proclaimed, "the only thing that's getting me through school and everything is just my goal. Just that passion that drive for computer science, wanting to be a data scientist pursuing my master's. I want to get the University of Texas Austin so my grades need to be their best." Bob expressed, "I think I've always made it a goal to be a nurse ever since I grew up." Jose also expressed, "What keeps me going is my goal. I have a goal. I want to be a comic animator. I want to make comic books also in my free time, and then work as a handyman to make money. But my main goal is to make comic books." These specific goals helped these men stay focused and motivated to successfully complete their academic responsibilities at high levels.

Other men described how specific career goals were tied to larger opportunities for success and growth. For example, Alex shared, "One thing I am aspiring to be is a computer scientist. Personally, becoming a computer scientist is more on a learning basis for me, more than it is career. So my aspirations and career is still open because what I'm going to be doing is something that… might evolve to something else." Zaheen also reported that his aspirations are layered and can lead to social mobility for him. He stated,

> I study to get financially stable, to get back on my feet, to feel one day to get into
> their position. I don't know if that is like directly associated with stereotypical
> threat. But I have no other options. My mom and dad left their job…So I have to
> overcome it at any cost…I see at the end of my graduation, I'll have plenty of
> money, free financial aid, and also a degree which can get me a good job. So
> that's the motivation.

Denzel also shared powerful aspirations that can have global impact,

I'm doing it for my mom, for my people, and for the world. Because if I end up as

one of the powerful people, I can help change the world make the world a better

place for us to live. These people have been fighting over racial discrimination

for years. What can I do to help with fame, power and money? These three

things, I can help change things.

Isaac shared his aspirations as protecting him and how they will serve as a moral victory

when he achieves them,

I still get goosebumps when I think about what I want to achieve. You ever watch

winners anywhere whether it be in sports, like on the field or when they talk?...I

want to be like that! You know, when you see a basketball player dunk the ball

and the crowd goes crazy and you see that guy screaming, it's like, man, I want

that same feeling of like, I'm winning. The reason why I have a 3.8 GPA, right,

and, like, the reason why I hope to continue to have a 3.8 GPA, is because of one

thing: it's just that I worked. And I believe, as long as I work hard, the racial slurs

that I had in the past, or hopefully don't have in the future, but if they do happen

in the future, they won't matter.

The men in this study share a common desire and passion to achieve their aspirations

which contributed to their commitment to academic success despite negative stereotype

threat experiences they encountered in their lives.

Based on the findings mentioned above, the stories of the men were consistent

with the research questions of this study. The present study sought to answer the: How

have men of color attending an urban community college experienced stereotype threat in

their lives? The findings described in Theme 1: Being perceived as "other" and Theme 2:

Negative emotional, social, and academic effects provided specific and clear insight into the lived experiences of the male students of color. The second research question in the study was: To what extent have men of color utilized community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success? The findings described in Theme 3: Family, social relationships, and aspirations are powerful directly align with community cultural wealth as defined by Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model. It is important to note that linguistic capital was not found to be a main factor in the stories of the men in this study when managing stereotype threat.

Conclusion

Chapter 4 discussed the three themes to emerge from the men's stories: 1. Being perceived as "other" 2. Negative emotional, social, and academic effects and 3. Family, social relationships, and aspirations are powerful. The details within each individual's lived experience were collectively analyzed and interpreted to provide the universal narrative of their stereotype threat experiences, their thoughts, feelings, and emotions, and their academic and professional aspirations. Chapter 5 discusses the implications of these findings, the study's relationship to prior research, limitations of the study, recommendations for future practice, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 5

In Chapter 4, a narrative analysis was used to present the powerful stories shared by the male students of color in the study. The research participants spoke about the social, emotional, and psychological effects of their stereotype threat experiences. They also discussed the extent to which they utilized community cultural wealth at various points in their lives and how doing so has helped alleviate some of the painful emotions and memories they carry with them as they persist and achieve at ACCC. From their stories, three themes emerged: 1. Being perceived as "other", 2. Negative emotional, social, and academic effects, 3. Family, social relationships, and aspirations are powerful.

Chapter 5 discusses the implications of these findings, their relationship to prior research, the limitation of them and how they may be used to better understand, support, and serve the needs of males students of color attending urban community colleges.

Implications of Findings

After being privileged and honored to hear the powerful and painful stories of the male students of color in this study, the first theme to emerge from the study was: Being perceived as "other". This theme directly aligns with the critical race theory (CRT) framework. According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), the first proposition of CRT is that race cannot be excluded when considering issues of social justice in education. Stereotype threat experienced by the men in this study originated in community settings such as the street, the subway, in a store, at a community pool, as well as in school settings such as the classroom, the cafeteria, and on school grounds.

While location varied, all stereotype threats existed when the men of color were being perceived as "other" based on their racial or ethnic identities and appearances. Being perceived as "other" was something that led to negative perceptions of the men as threats, drug dealers, or ignorant.

The second theme: Negative emotional, social, and academic effects, is also related to CRT. For some of the men in the study, the stereotype threat occurred as early in their educational journeys as middle school and for them, they were not even aware of how their identities might have been perceived by others. When they were presented with the stereotype threat, it was the first time they had been made to question their racial, ethnic, and cultural identities. Through their participation in this study, many of the men reported this was the first time they had ever talked about these painful incidents with someone and they expressed appreciation for having the opportunity to tell their stories. One of the goals of CRT is to propose the value of storytelling and narratives when examining race and racism in society (Tate, 2002). By allowing the men to discuss the rich and painful details of their stereotype threat experiences and using their words to demonstrate the negative emotional, social, and academic impact it has had on them, this study honors and recognized the power and value their voices and insight offer this research on race, equity, and inclusion in education.

The third theme: Family, social relationships, and aspirations are powerful, is directly related to Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model (CCWM), the second theoretical framework used in the study. The men in the study identified familial capital, resistant capital, social capital, navigational capital and aspirational capital as helping them manage difficult emotions during and after stereotype threat

experiences and maintaining their academic focus on their goals despite threats related to stereotypes about their race and ethnicity. Having a sense of community, feeling supported by allies, and having clear educational and career goals helped the men stay committed to achieving academic and professional success despite racism and discrimination that was present along the way. Furthermore, being a part of valuable programs or connected to authentic individuals (social capital) increased the men's levels of navigational capital. The men in the study attributed lessons and values they learned from family members as helping them disarm stereotype threat. Familial capital is defined as cultural knowledge and history and a "commitment to community well-being and expands the concept of family to include a more broad understanding of kinship" (Yosso, 2005, p 79). Additionally, the men also attributed cultural lessons to historical world leaders and activists who they had studied or been taught through their families which was a form of resistant capital. This is also directly related to two goals of CRT which are to argue for the eradication of racial subjugation while acknowledging race is a social construct and to draw important relationships between race and dominant views (Tate, 2002). By recognizing the valuable contributions of historical male leaders before them, the men in the study were able to gain a deeper understanding of how their racial and ethnic identities were being viewed in the United States and the potential risks they could face beyond their time of study at ACCC.

Relationship to Prior Research

Prior research discussed in this study has focused on sources of stereotype threat, the impact of stereotype threat in education, and community cultural wealth as a protective factor. The findings discussed in Chapter 4 of this study are consistent with

prior research discussed in the literature review. Studies have found that Black men were commonly portrayed as criminals, drug dealers, and capable of violence and that this portrayal can lead to increased police involvement and potential physical danger for them (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001; Vickerman; 1999; Hall, 2016). This research is consistent with the experiences of the men in this study who identified as Black and were perceived as threat by strangers, schoolmates, and police officers who were in some situations White, and in other situations, Black and Latino themselves. The men felt physically unsafe in these situations which led to negative emotional, social, and academic effects. Research by Litam (2020) described increased bias against Asian American Pacific Islander groups with the rise of the COVID-19 pandemic. For one man in the study, Bob, the concern regarding stereotype threat was related to his identity as a Filipino-American man and his concerns over taking the subway while there were media stories of heightened crimes against Asian people. The findings in the study were consistent with research by Yosso et al. (2009) on Latino students and research by Harper (2015) on Black male students who felt pressured to dispel stereotype threat when faced with racist microaggressions.

The findings of the present study are consistent with prior research that has found stereotype threat to result in decreased academic performance for male students of color (Smith, 2003; Nadler & Komarraju, 2016; Walton & Taylor, 2011; Tyler et al., 2016; Spencer et al., 2016; McGee, 2018; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2013; Trytton, 2012). Men in the present study reported that their grades declined during the school year when the stereotype threat existed and that they had long-term difficulties with self-doubt stemming from the original stereotype threat experience.

Stereotype threat consequences to mental health can also result in lower self-esteem, lower self-efficacy, and a lower sense of belonging for male students of color (Thomas & Coard, 2009; Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Appel & Weber, 2017; Spencer et al, 2016; Mello et al, 2012; Trytton et al, 2012; Garcia et al., 2019). This was also evident in the findings of the current study. All male students of color experienced negative emotions and were affected socially by their stereotype threat experiences which made them more defensive, distrustful, and prejudiced against the groups of people that initiated the stereotype threat against them. The men also reported feeling distrustful of White people who at any moment can turn and find a reason to harm them. Others discussed the importance of avoiding members of the groups who initiated stereotype threat against them in order to minimize future risk.

The findings of this study were also consistent with prior research centered on the value community cultural wealth has for students of color. A study by Saenz et Al (2018) found that familial capital was closely connected to the students' levels of aspirational capital and that familial capital helped build confidence and encouragement. The men in this present study expressed that their aspirations were directly connected to their families, meaning that achieving their aspirations would also benefit their families. Furthermore all participants recalled their families playing a part in their academic and personal success up until this point in their lives.

Prior research also suggested that community cultural wealth can equip male students of color to manage stereotype threat in colleges successfully (Huerta & Fishman, 2014; Guardia & Evans, 2008; Simmons III, 2012; Cerezo et al., 2013; Wilson, 2014; Harper, 2015; Kneiss et al., 2015; Perez, 2017; Sáenz et al., 2018; Brooms, 2018; Druery

& Brooms, 2018). Focusing on academic and career goals (aspirational capital) while using lessons and values (resistant capital) learned through their families (familial capital) and having supportive individuals (social capital) to help guide them (navigational capital) was a valuable combination of community cultural wealth that allowed the men of color to be successful while studying. In other words, resistant capital and aspirational capital was closely related to family while navigational capital was closely related to social capital the men had available in their lives.

Limitations of the Study

In consideration of the present study, there are some limitations. One limitation of this study is related to small sample size. This study is not generalizable, and narratives from participants from different backgrounds may describe their experiences in alternative ways. Another limitation is that the study was only conducted at the All City Community College that has unique qualities such as it being a large urban diverse environment located in an affluent community with most students commuting to school from outside that immediate community. A third limitation is related to my personal and professional beliefs, values, and academic experiences. My own identity as a man of color who has utilized various forms of the CCWM (Yosso, 2005) to manage stereotype threat, graduate from college and become a licensed clinical social worker, as well as a professional staff member of ACCC, could serve as a potential bias in my interpretation of participants' responses. Additionally, the unique characteristics of ACCC related to the racial and ethnic make-up of staff as well as students could have impacted the experiences of the men in the study. Though most stereotype threat occurred outside of

ACCC, it is important to note that omission should not be taken as a finding that the students do not experience these things on campus.

Recommendations for Future Practice

The present study found that stereotype threat experienced by the men of color occurred in environments where students were being perceived as "other" based on their racial and ethnic identities in the form of overt racism and discrimination, through microaggressions, and through subtle negative messages. One recommendation for future practice is to create learning and social environments that are racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse through intentional messaging and marketing that welcome students of color and increase sense of belonging for them physically or virtually. Additionally, higher education institutions must also review their policies, formal practices, and informal practices to ensure that men of color in their institution are treated as equitably and justly as other students. Furthermore, these environments must include multi-cultural experiences and events where differences are celebrated and embraced through daily interactions, not solely during monthly celebrations highlighting a particular racial or ethnic group.

A second finding was that stereotype threat created negative emotional, social, and academic effects and that the men had not spoken about these experiences prior to the study. A related recommendation for practice is to offer space for men of color to discuss their experiences with racism, discrimination, and stereotype threat that may have occurred in their lives. Many of the men in the study indicated this was the first time they had ever disclosed their experiences with stereotype threat. Space for these conversations could be provided to students in a number of ways including events, peer

groups, programs, classrooms, and counseling and would serve to validate, honor, and value their experiences and their presence in higher education. Additionally, it is imperative that faculty and staff recognize the imminent danger that stereotype threat can impose on men of color and reexamine their own implicit biases related to race, ethnicity, and gender. Higher education institutions should require new faculty and staff to participate in implicit bias and microaggressions trainings and mandate refresher trainings for longstanding faculty and staff members. Additionally, opportunities to collaborate and create new ideas related to creating a racially equitable and inclusive college campus should be created regularly.

A third finding was that familial capital, resistant capital, social capital, navigational capital were valuable tools to buffer some of the negative effects experienced by the men. A recommendation for practice related to this finding is to increase the ways that men of color can include their families in their academic journey since so many of their aspirations involved obtaining success not solely for themselves but for the communal benefit of their families well-being as well. This could include welcoming families to events such as open houses or other social events. In regard to social capital, another recommendation is to create specific programs that connect men of color to supportive and authentic individuals who recognize the talents, strengths, skills, and value that male students of color bring into community colleges. In other words, these programs should be created with these potential stereotype threat experiences in mind and staff, faculty, and peer ambassadors involved, should be trained with an awareness of these findings.

Finally, the men of color were committed to their academic, career, and financial aspirations which motivated them to focus on their goals and minimized the impact of stereotype threats against them. A recommendation related to this finding is to help male students of color explore and identify their aspirations early as they enter community colleges, then provide support and incentives for them to remain committed to their aspirations and themselves. It is essential that higher education institutions promote its value in preparing men of color to achieve their dreams and aspirations by welcoming them, embracing them, and facilitating their academic journey through community and building on their pre-existing strengths and abilities.

Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of the present study suggest that there are opportunities to extend the study in the future. One recommendation for future research is to conduct quantitative research to examine the relationship between various types of cultural capital and the impact of stereotype threat. Using a survey method would allow a larger sample of students to be included in research and examine the strength and direction of the relationship. Another recommendation for future research is to conduct a mixed-methods study to investigate the effects of mental health services on the academic performance of male students of color at community colleges. A final recommendation is to conduct qualitative research that explores familial and cultural values that foster resilience for males students of color who encounter racism and discrimination.

<div align="center">

Conclusion

</div>

The purpose of this present qualitative narrative analysis was to explore how men of color have experienced stereotype threat in their lives and how they have used

community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success while persisting at a large urban community college. The study sought to answer the following research questions: 1) How have men of color attending an urban community college experienced stereotype threat in their lives? and 2) To what extent have men of color utilized community cultural wealth to manage stereotype threat and achieve academic success?

The male students of color in the study provided personal and invaluable insight into their academic journeys while managing stereotype threat experiences that arose at different times, settings, and contexts throughout their lives. The negative emotional, social, and academic effects of stereotype threat experiences were long-lasting and harmful to the men of color and their overall sense of safety and well-being. Despite stereotype threat experiences in the form of racial discrimination, microaggressions, and negative messages related to race and ethnicity, the men remain committed to their academic and professional aspirations and have achieved academic excellence at ACCC while carrying the burden of painful emotions and memories. In an effort to support, promote, and enhance persistence, retention, and graduation rates for men of color attending community colleges, it is the responsibility of higher education institutions to acknowledge the lived stories of these students and create real and authentic changes in institutional culture that value, honor, and embrace them.

APPENDIX A: SJU IRB Approval

Date: 5-13-2021

IRB #: IRB-FY2021-438
Title: The Stereotype Threat Experiences of Men of Color Persisting in Community College
Creation Date: 4-23-2021
End Date: 5-10-2022
Status: Approved
Principal Investigator: Robert Cortes
Review Board: St John's University Institutional Review Board
Sponsor:

Study History

Submission Type Initial	Review Type Expedited	Decision Approved
Key Study Contacts		
Member Ceceilia Parnther	Role Co-Principal Investigator	Contact parnthec@stjohns.edu
Member Robert Cortes	Role Principal Investigator	Contact robert.cortes17@stjohns.edu
Member Robert Cortes	Role Primary Contact	Contact robert.cortes17@stjohns.edu

APPENDIX B: ACCC IRB APPROVAL

↩ Reply | ∨   🗑 Delete   Junk | ∨   •••   ✕

Re: Dissertation Study

Siddharth Ramakrishnan   🎺   ↩ Reply | ∨
Thu 6/3/2021, 12:52 PM
Robert E. Cortes ⌄

Inbox

You forwarded this message on 3/30/2022 3:41 PM

Hi Robert!

Perfect timing.

Your project is approved!

You can go ahead with the data collection

Thanks!
Siddharth

_____

Siddharth Ramakrishnan, PhD
Director of Research

From: Robert E. Cortes
Sent: Thursday, June 3, 2021 12:48:17 PM
To: Siddharth Ramakrishnan
Subject: Re: Dissertation Study

Good Morning Siddharth,

I am writing to inquire about how long the process usually takes to get cabinet approval and following up.
Thank you for your support and assistance!

Kind Regards,
Robert
Robert E. Cortes, LCSW
Assistant Director of Outreach

APPENDIX C: LITERATURE REVIEW RESEARCH STUDIES

Citation	Purpose	Sample	Instruments	Procedures	Findings
Appel & Weber (2017)	To explore the impact of stereotype threat and stereotype lift on members of negatively portrayed groups.	33 experiments (n=1831) of participants who were members of a negatively stereotyped group	Meta-analysis	A meta-analysis was conducted. Cohen's d was chosen as the effect size measure. Analyses were based on descriptive data for the treatment group and the control group.	Negative stereotypes and devaluing content in the media impair members of negatively stereotyped groups, whereas nonmembers are not affected.
Brooms (2018)	To explore the role of a Black Male Initiative (BMI) program on Black male students' college experiences across three separate campuses.	63 Black male students	Interviews	Strayhorn's sense of belonging and Yosso's community cultural wealth models were employed as a theoretical frame to investigate how the participants made meaning from their engagement.	BMI program enhanced the students' sense of mattering and belonging on campus through helping them access sociocultural capital, providing holistic support, focusing on Black male identities, and engendering students' persistence.
Cerezo et al. (2013)	To explore how educational systems, family systems, and the neighborhood community impacted Mexican American male students' access to, and retention in college.	11 self-identified as Latino, male, and were enrolled at the public university	Semi-structured Interviews	The researchers utilized a qualitative research design and data was collected using a demographic questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.	Two themes emerged: pre-college factors that supported or hindered men's ability to attend college, and factors that contributed to or hindered their persistence once in college. Pre-college factors that hindered college attendance included microaggressions by teachers. In college, familismo increased sense of belonging while financial hardship threatened academic success the most.
Druery & Brooms (2018)	To identify the benefits Black male collegians receive through engagement in a Black male-centered programs	5 Black male students	Focus-group Interview	Semi-structured focus group interview conducted	While providing personal narratives, the students expressed how the BMLC served as a culturally enriching environment and contributed positively to their overall college experience. Students attributed their participation in the BMLC to three critical factors that

					improved their college tenures: gaining brotherhood through their Black male peer-to-peer bonding, being provided with and enmeshed in a support network, and enhancing their personal development.
Dunbar et al. (2016)	To examine the impact of genre-specific stereotypes on the evaluation of violent song lyrics by manipulating the musical genre (rap vs. country) while holding constant the actual lyric	126 U.S. residents	Survey	3 studies were conducted during which participants were given violent lyrics to read and answer a survey.	Participants deemed identical lyrics more literal, offensive, and in greater need of regulation when they were characterized as rap compared with country.
Fries-Britt & Turner (2001)	To explore the academic social and racial experiences of 15 Black students persisting towards degree completion at a PWI.	15 academically successful Black students attending PWIs	Focus Groups and Interviews	Students were asked questions about their academic, social, and racial experiences.	The central theme that emerged from the data was that Black students faced stereotypes that eroded their academic sense of self.
Garcia et al.(2019)	To examine the relationship of racial/ethnic discrimination and internalized racial oppression with mental distress in a sample of Asians and Pacific Islanders (APIs) in Alaska.	225 adult Asian Pacific Islanders	Survey	A cross-sectional, self-administered survey of adult APIs in three Alaskan communities with large API populations.	Results were statistically significant that both for racial/ethnic discrimination, with increasing levels of internalized inferiority, the link between racial/ ethnic discrimination and mental distress was amplified.
Gomez & Huber (2019)	To examine racist nativist microaggressions in the higher education experiences of Latinx DACAmented college students.	10 self-identified Latinx DACA students	Interviews	Ten interviews were conducted with students to create their testimonios.	The context in which the participants experienced racist nativist microaggressions varied, happening mostly in school settings, but also included other contexts, such as public space. Exposure to racist nativist microaggressions impacted the participants in various ways from being more cautious in public settings, having a sense of fear, and feeling defeated to others feeling empowered to tell their stories and to pursue their

					academic and career goals.
Guardia & Evans (2008)	To understand how membership in a Latino fraternity at a Hispanic Serving Institution enhanced members' ethnic identity development.	7 members of a Latino fraternity	Semi-structured interviews and focus group	Three interview sessions were conducted along with one focus group.	Membership in a Latino fraternity at an HSI enhanced members' ethnic identity development.
Harper (2015)	To investigate how Black male students attending predominantly White institutions resisted stereotypes about their race and achieved academic success.	219 Black male students from 42 higher education institutions	Interviews	Harper (2015) conducted face to face, semi-structured interviews with each participant.	Despite achiever status, Black male students were subjected to racist stereotypes by White peers and professors. Black male students utilized activism, engagement in student organizations, and pursuing leadership positions to resist and debunk those racist stereotypes. Black male students became more aware of racist stereotypes and more skillful at confronting them.
Huerta and Fishman (2014)	To examine how the social and academic experiences of urban Latino male students attending college could be considered through Schlossberg's theory of marginality and mattering.	10 Latino male students from 4 institution types	Interviews	Researchers utilized a qualitative research design and conducted semi-structured interviews and reflexive field notes to collect data.	The motivation to attend college, the importance of the college environment, the impact of mentorship, and feelings of mattering and marginality were themes that emerged.
Johnson-Ahorlu (2013)	To explore the impact of stereotype threat and the academic performance of African American undergraduate students of color.	94 self-identified African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, and White undergraduates.	Focus groups	Researchers used a cross-case analysis to compare groups.	Stereotype threat affected any social group in a context where a corresponding stereotype was relevant.
Kneiss et al (2015)	To examine the overall second-year experience for African American students.	11 African American students in their second year at a PWI	Focus Groups and Interviews	Two focus groups were conducted during the fall 2012 and spring 2013 semesters.	Four themes emerged: finding my community, the power of commitments, quest for balance, and strategizing for second-year academic success.
McGee (2018)	To describes the role of race-based stereotypes in shaping the experiences of high-achieving Black and	The study participants included 23 Asian	Interviews	Semi-structured, open-ended Interviews were conducted and a two-page demographic questionnaire was given.	The findings reveal that high-achieving Black and Asian STEM college students react to racial stereotypes in

	Asian STEM college students.	and 23 Black STEM college students.			unhealthy and debilitating ways.
Mello et al. (2012)	To extend research on stereotype threat to adolescents and to school belonging	301 adolescents in self-reported racial/ethnic groups	Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Survey)	Stereotype threat was activated by varying the sequence of questions in the survey. Participants completed a survey with a demographic form soliciting their racial/ethnic group, SES, and a measure of ethnic identity either before or after reporting school belonging	Adolescents from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds, such as African American, American Indian, and Latino reported lower school belonging scores than their counterparts when stereotype threat was activated.
Nadler & Komarraju (2016)	To examine the effects of stereotype threat and autonomy support on the test performance.	190 African American college students	Survey	2X2 between subjects factorial design was used. Stereotype threat was manipulated and assessed using the Perceptions of Stereotype Threat Scale.	Both stereotype threat and autonomy support improved test performance for all participants (on easy items). The effect of stereotype threat is not consistent, and performance may be boosted by providing greater autonomy support and strengthening academic identification.
Perez (2017)	To understand how Latino males' academic determination was nurtured and sustained by cultural wealth at selective institutions.	21 Latino males at a private and state university	Interviews	Each student participated in a 2-3 hour face-to face interview.	Four themes were presented regarding Latino males' academic determination: unclear but evolving goals, being the ideal college student, absence of faculty and administrative mentors, and [over]reliance on peers.
Quaye (2017)	To blend personal stories, poetry, song lyrics, and analysis to subvert the angry Black man mantra and explore the productive use of anger to stimulate change.	The researcher as a Black man	Autoethnography	The researcher used creative writing to express his perception of being subjected to racism in America.	Combating racism means acknowledging individual oppression and systemic oppression. Although stories matter, on their own, they are insufficient for dismantling racism. Stories must be tied with systemic oppression.
Sáenz et al. (2018)	To apply Yosso's community cultural wealth framework to the experiences of Latino male community college students to understand how they balance family obligations, work, and academics while	130 Latino male students enrolled full- and part-time at seven distinct community colleges in Texas.	Focus Groups	23 semi-structured focus groups were conducted	Family members played important role in the educational pathway of Latino males. Despite entering community college with multiple sources of community cultural wealth, Latino males had a difficult time

	also navigating their educational pathways.				navigating their educational experiences due to their first in family, first-generation status, and their apprehension around help-seeking.
Simmons III (2012)	To explore the experiences of African American males from urban communities attending Jesuit high schools.	10 African American males at a Jesuit high school	Interviews and Focus Groups	All of the participants participated in an in-depth, one-on-one interview; six participants also participated in two separate focus groups as a follow-up task.	The daily interactions between White students and their suburban African American peers in the study indicated that the African American students were navigating bifurcated notions of racial interactions—both inter- and intra-racial.
Smith (2003)	To explore the attitudes, perceptions, and experiences of persistent African American males majoring in engineering.	24 African American males majoring in engineering	Survey and Interviews	The biological questionnaire was used to gather demographic information and interviews were conducted.	Grounded theory approach was used to recommend the prove-them-wrong syndrome as a way to explain the persistence of the African American males in the study.
Solórzano et al. (2000)	To explore the experiences of African American students and the impact that racial climate and racial discrimination had on the students.	34 African American students attending PWI, Research I universities.	Focus-group	Using CRT as a framework a focus group was conducted	Racial microaggressions in the classroom resulted in the African American students feeling invisible and ignored. Microaggressions originated from both peers and faculty in academic departments and the campus library. Repeated exposure to microaggressions was experienced as exhausting for African American students and led to self-doubt, discouragement, frustration, isolation, and negative beliefs about academic abilities. African American students created counter-spaces off and on campus in the form of student organizations.
Steele & Aronson (1995)	To explore the impact of stereotype threat on academic performance	114 randomly selected Black and White male and female undergraduate students	2X3 and 2x2 factorial design	4 experiments varied the level of stereotype threat presented to students and then the performance of White and Black students	Black students performed worse than White students when they were intentionally placed in a situation that

					on standardized SAT and GREs was measured	threatened their identity as Black students by presenting a stereotype before they took the test. Black students performed better when they believed their performance was not being evaluated in relation to White students or related to their own identity as Black.
Taylor & Walton (2011)	To investigate the role of stereotype threat in learning and performance environments.	Experiment 1: 32 Black and 44 White students. Experiment II: 36 Black undergraduates.	2 x 2 x 2 mixed-model design a 2 x 2 mixed-model design with	Researchers conducted two experiments to examine the impact that stereotype threat had on academic learning.	Stereotype threat undermines academic learning. Experiment I found that Black students presented with stereotype threat while preparing for the test, scored lower that their White counterparts. Experiment 2 found that a value affirmation eliminated the negative effect of stereotype threat on learning among Black students who scored higher on the test.	
Thomas & Coard (2009)	To investigate the predictive influence of students' reactive emotional coping and racial socialization experiences on teachers' perceptions of classroom behavior adjustment problems.	148 African American male youth attending secondary school	Adjustment Scales for Children and Adolescents (ASCA)	Students participated in a program developed to reduce aggressive behavior problems in African American male youth. Teachers then completed the ASCA.	Hierarchical regression analyses show that measures of social rejection sensitivity, anger expression, and racial socialization predict teacher-observed behavioral overactivity, with overt anger expression being the most powerful predictor. Findings suggest that racial socialization and particular styles of emotional coping are important determinants for teachers' impressions of classroom behavior for some African American adolescent males.	
Trytton et al. (2012)	To what degree do academic data support the assertion that Asian American engineering	39 Self-identified Asian Americans	Transcripts Surveys Interviews	Participants filled out surveys related to racial and ethnic background and participated in interviews	Nineteen of 33 participants discussed one or more facets of the MMS, although few of these students	

	students conform to the Model Minority Stereotype (MMS)?				have the vocabulary and racial awareness to discuss the stereotype directly by name. Most participants reported experiences that the researchers recognized were influenced by facets of the MMS, even though the students claimed MMS was untrue for other Asians or Asian Americans.
Tyler et al. (2016)	To determine whether Black American male high school students internalized racist stereotypes. To examine whether such reports were associated with academic self-handicapping.	138 Black American male high school	Surveys	Students completed the Nadanolitization Scale and the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales.	Results showed that internalization of racist stereotypes were predictive of academic self-handicapping behaviors, but not grade point average.
Wilson (2014)	To explore the experiences of African American community college students who transfer to four-year institutions and earn baccalaureate degrees.	18 African American community college students who transferred to a research university and earned baccalaureate degrees.	Interviews	11 females and seven males completed interviews.	Students practiced habits that supported achievement and utilized aspirational capital to earn four-year degrees. Students offered four key pieces of advice to others following their path: stay focused, get connected, be prepared, and do your best.
Yosso et al. (2009)	To explore and understand incidents of racial microaggressions as experienced by Latino/a students at three selective universities.	37 Latino students	Focus groups	Eight focus groups were conducted in 3 PWI research institutions	Through building community and developing critical navigation skills, Latina/o students claim empowerment from the margins.

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

Title of Research Project: The Stereotype Threat Experiences of Men of Color Persisting at Community College

Researcher: Robert E. Cortes

Institution: St: John's University School of Education

Introduction: I am a third-year doctoral student at St. John's University. I am doing research on male students attending community college who have experienced stereotype threat in their lifetime. Stereotype threat is defined as "being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group". Because you attend BMCC, identify as a "man color" and have a GPA of 2.0 or higher, I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

Procedures: In this study, I will be conducting 3 separate 45-minute interviews with you. I will be asking you questions about your personal and academic experiences in your life and while attending BMCC. I will also ask you about your experiences with stereotype threat and how you responded to that threat.

Possible Risks or Benefits: While there is no direct risk involved in your participation in this study. I will be asking you to reflect on some experiences which may bring up some emotions or memories. The benefit of your participation in my study is that you will be informing research about your experiences as a male student of color who is currently academically successful at a community college. This research will help community college institutions create programs that will meet the needs of future students. Should you need them, mental health resources can be found here: https://nycwell.cityofnewyork.us/en/.

Confidentiality:

As a participant in this study, I promise to keep your name and information that you have provided, confidential. Your name and identity will not be disclosed at any time and you will be provided an alias.

_____I agree to participate in the above-described study.

_____I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____I agree to be video and audio recorded during the interview.

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   Date

If you would like further information or have questions or concerns, please contact:
Mr. Robert E. Cortes, Principal Investigator (PI): robert.cortes17@my.stjohns.edu
Dr. Ceceilia Parnther, Ph.D., Faculty Advisor and Co-PI: parnthec@stjohns.edu
Dr. Raymond DiGiuseppe, Ph.D., IRB Chair: irbstjohns@stjohns.edu

APPENDIX E: RESEARCH INVITATION FLYER

This research invitation flyer was sent via email to administrators of Student Affairs and Academic Affairs programs that serve male students of color. The flyer was sent in a PDF format with a clickable "Sign up here" button for interested students to sign up. The button was hyperlinked to a pre-screening questionnaire located at https://forms.gle/otGbffFYuMYF1Bys5.

APPENDIX F: PRE-SCREENING PROTOCOL QUESTIONNAIRE

Pre-Screening Questions:

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1.   Name
2.   CUNY Empl ID
3.   Cell Phone Number
4.   Email Address
5.   How do you identify your gender?
6.   Have you completed at least one semester at BMCC?
7.   What is your current GPA?
8.   In this study, a person of color is someone who identifies as non-White. Based on this
     definition do you identify as a person of color?
9.   What is your race/ethnic identity?
10.   In this study, stereotype threat is "being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a
     negative stereotype about one's group" (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 797).
     Based on this definition have you experienced stereotype threat?

APPENDIX G: PROTOCOL FOR STORYTELLING INTERVIEW I

| Session	Interview Questions	Related Theoretical Framework
Story-telling Session I	*Introduction Script:* Hello, my name is Robert, and I would like to thank you for participating in my research study. The purpose of this study is to explore how male students of color attending a large urban community college experience stereotype threat and may have used community cultural wealth to achieve academic success. Do you have any questions about the informed consent? Today I will be asking you questions about your experiences with stereotype threat and community cultural wealth. Stereotype threat is defined as "being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group" (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) is defined as any combination of cultural capital including: 1. Aspirational capital-the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. 2. Linguistic capital-the idea that Students of Color arrive at school with multiple language and communication skills. 3. Familial capital-cultural knowledge and history and a commitment to community well-being. 4. Social capital- networks of people and community resources. 5. Navigational capital-skills of maneuvering through social institutions. 6. Resistance capital-knowledge and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality. Your answers are very important to me because your perspective can help the college understand how to best support future male students of color to succeed academically. Our conversation will last no more than an hour. *Story-telling Prompt:* Please tell me a story about a time when you experienced a racially negative stereotype either directly or indirectly, either prior to you being a student at ACCC or while you have been a student at ACCC.	Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings &Tate, 1995)

APPENDIX H: PROTOCOL FOR INTERVIEW SESSION I

Session	Interview Questions	Related Theoretical Framework
Interview Session I	1. Thinking about the time you experienced stereotype threat, how were you impacted? *Follow-Up Questions (if needed):* 1. What were you thinking? 2. What were you feeling? 3. Was your academic performance affected? 4. Did your experience affect you socially or how you related to others? If so how?	Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995)

APPENDIX I: PROTOCOL FOR INTERVIEW SESSION II

Session	Interview Questions	Related Theoretical Framework
Interview Session II	1. Thinking about the time (s) you experienced stereotype threat, how did you respond to it? *Follow-Up Questions (if needed):* 1. Where did it happen? 2. Who was with you? 3. Were there any previous life experiences that helped you in that moment? 4. Were there resources you found helpful in coping with these negative stereotypes? 5. Please tell me about any people or programs that helped you cope with these negative stereotypes. 6. What has helped you to stay in school?	Community Cultural Wealth Model (Yosso, 2005**)**

APPENDIX J: CODES WORD-CLOUD

This image contains codes used to analyze the written transcriptions of research participant interviews. The codes and image were generated using Dedoose Software.
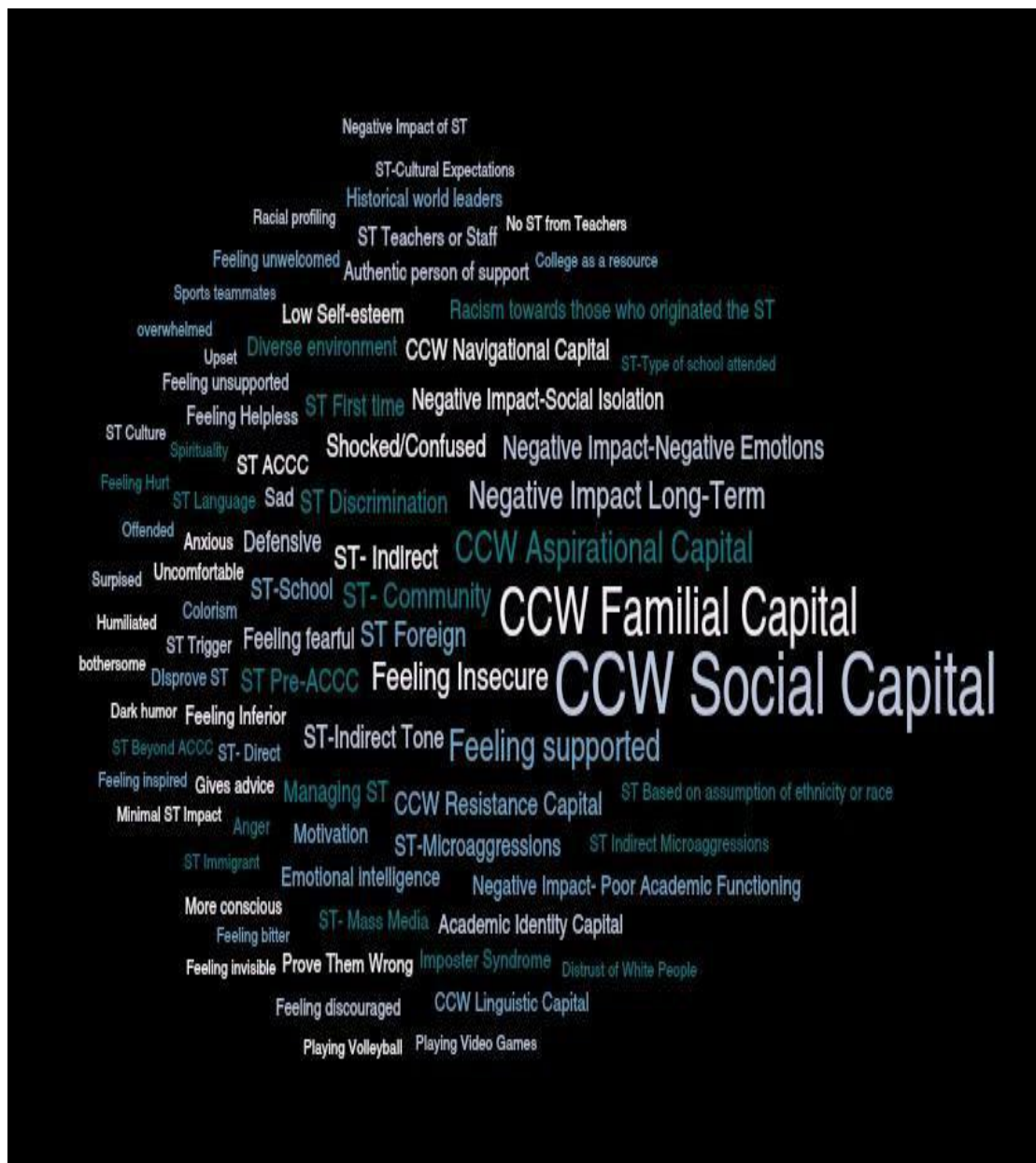
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