

Rural Hispanic counselor and student perspectives and their roles in providing improved secondary guidance counseling

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ABSTRACT

School counselors can serve as agents of change in our nation's schools, particularly for marginalized students whose voices are frequently not heard. Historically, the role of the school counselor has been under-utilized and inaccurately defined. Research available on counselor role definition has been primarily quantitative. Research on counselor efficacy is not abundant, especially since a clear definition of the role has only recently been clarified by the American School Counselor Association and the national Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Programs. This qualitative study involved asking students who graduated from rural, low SES high schools, as well as counselors who served in those same types of schools, to share their perspectives regarding whether the role of the counselor factored into student college success. Results from this study provide information for a variety of stakeholders because it shares the little known perceptions of students and counselors regarding how their high school counselors influenced their postsecondary experiences.

Keywords: counselor, guidance, school counselor, Hispanic

INTRODUCTION

Cesar Chavez once said, “The end of all knowledge should surely be service to others” (Chavez Foundation, 2010). It is with Chavez’s righteous principle in mind that educators must take on the challenge of a lifetime—to strive to achieve educational excellence and equity for all students, regardless of background. School counselors, as school leaders, can play a pivotal role in this endeavor.

Our current period in history is one of unprecedented possibilities and educational opportunities for all United States citizens. Yet, current research data points to a continual, alarming trend of educational inequity in our country. According to the U.S. Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics (2011), young Hispanics and African Americans have made no appreciable progress in post-secondary attainment as compared to their older peers, and therefore, have fared no better educationally than the baby boom generation (Hennessey, 2010). With a booming national minority population and alarmingly high national and Texas high school minority dropout rates, current projections reflect that conditions are worsening. Crew (2007) tells us that our struggling school systems are not just an educational problem, they are a primary economic one with far reaching implications many Americans might not even realize (p. 19).

Until now, school counselors have been viewed as conspicuously peripheral in education reform efforts. Holley (2008) theorizes that “the school counselor is vitally important to the school community [to] help a diverse student population by advocating for their needs, empowering them in situations, and encouraging all students to achieve their best” (p.14). According to Guerra (1998), “counselors need to be role models and change agents which is more easily accomplished when they are seen in a leadership role in the schools” (p. 5). Paisley and Hayes (2003) note that “because they have a school-wide perspective on serving the needs of every student, school counselors are in an ideal position to serve as advocates for all students and as agents for removing systemic barriers to academic success” (p. 198). Additionally, some fortunate students have in-house resources, such as parents and siblings, to turn to for guidance while channeling through the college admissions process while less fortunate students have no such social capital or social networks (Spillane, Hallett, and Diamond (2003). Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin (2005) contend that we must facilitate the reframing of education politics to challenge disenfranchised and marginalized groups to “politics that goes beyond and outside of the hegemonic center” (p. 86).

RATIONALE

Multiple demands on school counselors, inaccurate job descriptions, and inappropriate task delegation can have potentially devastating time draining effects on direct counseling services to students. Because school counselors are often required to assume the role of test coordinator as a result of federal legislation (NCLB), in schools we often see “large numbers of practicing school counselors functioning as highly paid clerical staff, quasi-administrators, and /or inadequately trained therapeutic mental health providers with unmanageable client loads” (Martin, 2002, p. 150). In one research study a student reported that the counselor was “rarely readily available because [of] a shortage in the amount of faculty, particularly those in counseling” (Vela-Gude, Johnson, Cavazos and Fielding, 2009, p. 276). Further, Brown and Trusty (2005) suggest that “there is bound to be a diffusion of the effect of the school counseling

program because of foci other than improving academic performance and the inclusion of nonprofessional duties into the role of school counselors” (p. 6).

Today, many students and parents view college as impossible as it is so far removed from their frames of reference. Researchers Stone and Clark (2001) note that students and parents must develop a belief paradigm that college is a real possibility in order for the idea to manifest into reality. Stone and Clark (2001) further reflect upon the influence and power of a counselor when they describe them as human relations experts with the potential to change attitudes and beliefs of educational stakeholders.

Brown and Trusty (2005) suggest that when school counselors construct and deliver strategic interventions aimed at increasing academic achievement, the likelihood that they will produce the hoped for outcome is substantial. Whitson and Sexton (1998) theorize that if specific strategic counselor interventions are utilized, based on empirical evidence, the desired student outcome should occur. Lapan, Gysbers, and Petroski (2001) conducted a study whose findings revealed that “students who attended schools with fully implemented comprehensive school counseling programs had better relationships with their teachers, were getting a more relevant education, and had a more positive view of their school environment” (p. 320).

While empirical studies exist in the research literature with regard to the role of school counselors in promoting student development in three domains—academic, career, and personal/social (Baker & Gerler, 2000; Paisley & Hays, 2003), Erickson and Schultz (1992) argue that “virtually no research has been done that places student experience at the center of attention” (p. 467). This research study provides first hand insight into what school counselors did to help students in their endeavors towards post-secondary education, and what their counselors could have done to have assisted them more. More specifically, it is a qualitative study which examines the link between counselor interventions and student outcomes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In 1997, the ASCA created a national model of general competencies for school counselors to follow which provided a mechanism for counselors and school counseling teams to design and manage their programs (Rakestraw, 2008, p. 64). Bowers, Hatch, and Schwallie-Giddis (2001) report that the ASCA national model of standards for school counseling programs currently serves as the most legitimizing document in the history of the counseling profession. Yet, despite the efforts of ASCA and CACREP to promote national counseling standards as well as a unified view of the profession, some studies reflect negatively upon counselor effectiveness.

Call for Social Justice and Critical Race Theory

Taylor (2006) contends that “CRT holds the potential to inform educational strategies, renew efforts of resistance, and to reinvigorate the goals of equitable education” (pp. 83-84). According to Taylor (2006), CRT scholars define racism not as the acts of individuals, but the larger, systemic structural conventions and customs which sustain oppressive group institutional practices unrecognized in the larger context. Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2005) argue that as a society we must challenge assumptions that underlie our policies “enacted by elites,” but also policy that is “unofficially created” (p. 276).

Deficit Thinking

Theoharis (2007) argues that “marginalized students do not receive the education they deserve unless purposeful steps are taken to change schools on their behalf with both equity and justice consciously in mind” (p. 250). Scheurich and Sklra (2003) contend that many teachers harbor cultural, racial, and class stereotypes, even when faced with factual evidence to the contrary. According to a study conducted by Vela-Gude, et al. (2009), Latino students who leave school before completion feel that school personnel have low expectations of them. Valencia (1997) explains that “there is current deficit thinking that uses genetic bases as explanations of human behavior, particularly racial and ethnic differences in intelligence” (p. 160). Further, according to Shields (2004) “based on socially constructed and stereotypical images, educators may unknowingly, and with the best of intentions, allocate blame for poor school performance to children from minority groups based on generalizations” (p. 111). Gerwitz (1998) provides a meaning of social justice centered on the idea of disrupting arrangements that promote marginalization and exclusionary practices and instead, promotes respect, care, and empathy.

Educators should become cognizant of the effects students experience via deficit thinking, especially because according to Swartz (1997), these ideas and beliefs are manifested “below the level of consciousness and language” (p. 105). Educators who foster deficit beliefs about students’ abilities can thwart student success rather than nurture it. Scheurich and Sklra (2003) argue that “in the place of the deficit view, we would suggest, as others have, an assets – oriented view toward all students” (p. 20). Shields (2004) concurs that “rejecting deficit thinking and adopting student-centered pedagogies [can] increase achievement” (p. 127).

The Counselor Role

According to the Texas Education Agency, currently the primary responsibility of school counselors is to assist students to develop to their fullest potentials—academically, personally and socially. Role identification and confusion may explain why school counselors are generally under-utilized. According to Culbreth (2005), school counselors are often beset with contradictory demands from various entities such as parents, community members, and school administrators. Echoing the ASCA’s recommendations for counselors, House and Hayes (2002) endorse the need to move school counseling from an ancillary, service-oriented profession to one that becomes a critical player in accomplishing the mission of facilitating increased student academic achievement. Currently, concerns regarding the counseling profession are being addressed by CACREP, whose standards represent the most up-to date criteria to measure excellence in counselor education to prepare qualified counseling practitioners (Ritchie and Bobby, 2011). According to Kaplan & Gladding (2011), the *Vision 20/20* initiative represents for the first time in history, a systematic effort to elevate the stature of the counseling profession.

Need for Counseling Oversight

A specific competency in the ASCA National Model: *A Framework for Counseling Programs* correlated to the TEA counseling model specifies that counselors must “use data to demonstrate the value the school counseling program adds to student achievement” (Rakestraw, 2008, p. 72). This specific competency clarifies the goal and purpose for this study which is to determine how what counselors do impacts student achievement. Researchers Stone and Dahir

(2004) report that school counselors have rarely been included in the conversations about how their contributions affect students.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Importantly, information gleaned in this study can provide insight into the views of those most affected by educational equity reform efforts—the students and the counselors who serve them. School counselors possess a special vantage point as both educator and caretaker to students which is unique to their critical roles in school settings.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study sought to address these overarching research questions:

1. What insight and perspectives can former Hispanic students, who are now successful professionals, provide to inform school leadership regarding their experiences and challenges?
2. What recommendations can current rural public high school counselors provide to inform school leadership and to redefine their role to improve education for all students?

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

According to Vela-Gude et al. (2009) “few studies have specifically addressed the role of school counselors in helping Latino students gain access to higher education” (p. 273) and the link between counselor access and student outcomes has not been effectively explored. To address this gap in the literature, this qualitative study was conducted which utilized the framework of the qualitative interview process which “involves unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants” (Creswell, 2009, p. 181). The purpose of allowing study respondents to provide elaboration on their responses was to illicit more insight into the respondents’ views regarding the role their school counselors played or did not play in helping them reach their goals of college completion.

Informants

This qualitative research study involved six participants, three of which were former Hispanic students who graduated from rural, low SES schools, and are now successful, college degreed professionals, while the other three were school counselors who also possess LPC (Licensed Professional Counselor) licenses which allow them to serve as independent, private practitioners in Texas. Five of the interview subjects were female with the exclusion of one former student who was male. The discussions with each of the study informants yielded findings which warrant scrutiny. Further, it is arguable that the experiences shared by the LPC’s in this study pool may lend an additional level of credibility or heightened sensitivity to the interpretation of this data.

Instrumentation and Procedures

This study utilized the qualitative methods of research and open ended interview questions which, according to Patton (2002), “yield in-depth responses about people’s experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge.” Individual interviews were conducted with all participants in the study and began with the following question: “What impact did your high school counselor have on your college experience?” Counselors were asked initially: “What impact do you have on the futures of the students you are currently serving?” The ensuing data consists of “verbatim quotations with sufficient context to be interpretable” (Patton, 2002, p. 4).

Data Analysis and Limitations

According to Creswell (2009), “in the entire qualitative research process, the researcher keeps a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring” (p. 175). Also, the research process for qualitative design is emergent, which according to Creswell (2009), means that “the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and all phases of the process may change or shift after the researcher enters the field and begins to collect data” (p. 176). Strategies such as coding and theme checks were applied to strengthen the trustworthiness and credibility of the study results. A cluster of meanings emerged from the data coding and sub-coding via the responses presented by the research participants. According to Erlandson, et al. (1993), “one of the characteristics of naturalist inquiry is that it empowers the various people who are involved in it” (p. 40). The personal stories told by these informants enhanced the impact of this study and opened a forum to increase understanding about the counselor role in impacting student achievement at the post-secondary level. Perspectives from both groups, former students and counselors, factored into the various sub-categories of data which emerged as themes via category designation as described by Erlandson, et al. (1993). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe this process as taking constructions gathered from the whole construct and reconstructing them into meaningful parts. Under the umbrella of these two primary information categories are various sub-categories.

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to provide former Hispanic students and current school counselors both a lens and a voice to reflect upon their experiences with the guidance counseling process. The literature that does exist is predominantly quantitative and focuses primarily on either counselors or students but not both. As the data shows that counselors and former students have thus far been precluded from the discourse, the findings may provide greater insight into the struggles of minority students as they navigate towards higher education goals. Appendix A provides a visual representation of the data gathered in the study.

Hispanic Student Views on Counselor Efficacy

Availability of the school counselor as a resource

The general consensus of respondents' assessments was that their counselors worked hard to actively meet their needs. One respondent said of counselors that "they [counselors] are softer, nicer, and more approachable usually than principals." Additionally, the respondents reported that if the counselor could not meet their needs, they would refer them to someone who could. Because counselors are at the epicenter of schools, they are often the 'go to person' when students need information. All respondents also offered suggestions as to how their own school counselors were good time managers. One interviewee said "if I ever needed anything or needed to know something, she [the counselor] was the one I went to" while another stated "if my school counselor couldn't answer my questions, she would always tell me where I could go to maybe find some answers." Indeed another informant humbly expounded upon the suggestion of utilizing mentors such as himself and his colleagues as real-world examples of medical students advising prospective medical students in high school or undergraduate school. He offered:

I and a few other medical students have started participating in an outreach Program (MED ED) offered by our medical school to introduce students to the world of medicine. We make ourselves available maybe once or twice a month as a panel where students can come and ask questions. I sympathize with them because I walked into it blindly and it was really difficult. We are going to make that transition for them easier via this program.

He added, "I know this is an example of students in professional school but the mentor idea as a way to help minorities to access college could be applied to students of any age; mentors are resources who can help students in their endeavors to go to school."

Accessibility and communication

The data regarding challenges students encountered in accessing school counselors revolved around the theme of time constraints. For example, the students reported that in order to manage and structure their time, school counselors often strategized significantly to accomplish this. One interviewee weighed in on this topic when she said that "she [the counselor] had a schedule and would call us in alphabetically, in order of age so she always met with seniors first." Considering one of the key roles of school counselors is advising students on college and career path planning, it was logical that the counselors would start with seniors as older students apply for higher education or jobs sooner than younger students. Another respondent supported the need for hiring more counselors to increase accessibility. It is important to note that these same respondents suggested solutions such as counselors enlisting the aid of outside reinforcements such as grant counselors; increasing referrals to outside social service agencies; inviting guest speakers from nearby colleges and universities; and utilizing mentors from local communities to guide students onto career paths. Another respondent suggested inviting alumni from their high school who are in professional positions to speak at school functions. The important point made by all three respondents is that resourceful counselors utilized every means available to meet more students' needs. Other suggestions included utilizing technology (school web pages and other social media) to improve counselor communication and access, both for students and their parents.

Advising Tailored to the Student

Another recurrent topic of note was the need for counselor advising specific to the student. One respondent provided significant crystallization of specific advisement to student need when he articulated that “a counselor is a resource whose function varies on the student and their specific needs” and “it’s difficult to say the function of a counselor is A, B, and C because the needs of every student are not the same.”

Barriers

The barriers faced by minorities alluded to in the literature review were referenced by all three student respondents but not viewed as insurmountable. To one counselor respondent, the issue centered more on student motivation than access, which clearly emerged as a theme and is addressed in one of the sections to follow. The respondent stated that “education is color-blind; it’s gender-blind,” and “anyone can be educated; it’s been empirically proven.” She did concede however that “we [educators] sometimes perpetuate the ‘barriers myth’” as she described it and added that “educators should not do that.” However, she was purposeful in her response that in today’s society “we have Hispanic doctors, lawyers, and educators, and basically Hispanics in command” and that “we need to keep reminding students of this.” Further, she noted that it is inappropriate “to keep perpetuating barriers, in the classroom or as a counselor.”

In the respondents’ views, there are some perceived societal barriers attributable to race. Motivation and economics emerged as viable barriers to minority academic achievement and the issue of race emerged but not as a dominant theme. Another respondent expanded on the issue of access by suggesting that counselors need to let students know about “scholarship programs specific to their unique culture group” and that “it doesn’t have to be a four year university that they have to go to.”

Internal motivation factors

Internal motivation factors which can negatively impact student achievement alluded to by interview respondents included learning disabilities, pregnancy, family, peer pressure, and emotional problems. All student respondents noted that counselors can be instrumental in finding solutions to address internal motivation factors which negatively impact student achievement.

External motivation factors

According to the former student interview respondents, external motivation factors can also significantly impact student achievement. Some of these factors referenced included living in a rural setting and a lack of financial capital, either personal or that of one’s school. All three student respondents affirmed the view that a rural school setting as well as a school’s and an individual’s lack of financial capital can be negative external factors which can preclude minority student achievement.

Another contributing barrier negatively impacting minority student achievement referenced in the literature review emerged as a barrier in the interview discussions. This specific barrier is the familial one but specifically implicated the parents of minority students. One

interviewee advised that it would be good if “the counselor could seek out those parents who have not had a college education because those are the ones that don’t want to be involved” and that, in a group setting, some parents “are going to hold back or be intimidated by the group.” Therefore the interview respondents reported that counselors might need to target uneducated parents by initiating meetings and conferences specifically with them. Finally, all former student respondents discussed having a goal of obtaining a college degree, feeling in control of their academic futures, gleaning support and encouragement from their families, and having tremendous ambition and confidence in their academic abilities. These resilience factors facilitated each student respondent with the means by which to overcome college access barriers.

Counselor Recommendations to Improve Student Services

Assets versus deficits student view

All counselor respondents acknowledged educational disparities between Hispanics individuals and their non-Hispanic counterparts and cautioned that educators must be cognizant of this. The respondent reviews reflect that through authenticity, respect, empathy, effective communication and networking strategies, school counselors are positioned to affect change in schools by taking on leadership roles and challenging preconceived biased student views to advance positive or asset school wide student views in an effort to promote student achievement.

Academic versus therapeutic counseling model

Historically, because of legislative mandates and parental pressure to provide appropriate public education for all students, our public school system has increasingly dealt with students with serious behavioral problems by placing them in special education, rather than removing them from schools. However, as a point of fact, there is no formulaic protocol to provide appropriate education and the debate continues as to a best practices approach. If a counselor has a student with Asperger’s syndrome or ADHD, the counselor is ultimately charged with meeting the needs of that student as well as the others. The research data reflects however that academic advancement is not possible without counselors providing responsive services, which is attention given to the whole student, including their psychological and emotional well-being. A counselor respondent reflected on this discussion of the medical versus academic model when she said that:

It’s very different now. Back in the beginning (the 1970’s), counselors had time to address personal and social issues with students and could focus on the mental health aspects of their students. Now, there’s too much of a concern on academics and less of a concern for the well-being of a child and that is not as it should be.

Counselor impact on academic achievement

The counselors interviewed had favorable views about their ability to impact a student’s academic achievement. On this notion, one counselor articulated that “we need more counselors and counseling programs to positively impact academics” and further, that “we also need to better utilize our time to serve our students.” Another postulated that “counselors should have a

paraprofessional as well as a secretary and should not have to do clerical work.” Further, some respondents spoke of counseling programs specifically suited to the purpose of facilitating higher education goals. One counselor spoke of students being assisted into practicums, internships, and job placement with appropriate mentors.

Role clarification and autonomy

The topic of the counselor role and the need for autonomy elicited strong responses from all three counselor respondents. One interviewee stated that “counselors should not be aligned with or rather thought of as administrators” but rather need to be viewed “on the same importance level as administrators, just with a different level of expertise.”

Allies-Principals and Parents/Guardians

All three respondents indicated that the issue of autonomy is problematic for counselors but can be helped through a collaborative relationship with their administrators. One respondent commented that if the counselor and principal better understand each other’s roles in the school setting, they can engage in more collaborative leadership. An important respondent message to administrators is the recommendation that counselors be afforded more autonomy and discretion to prioritize student centered issues above clerical tasks not aligned to their level of professional expertise. Additionally, respondents noted that parents can be allies to impact student achievement if counselors can achieve buy in from this important group.

National LPC Initiative

The CACREP national LPC initiative, which is the requirement that all school counselors become Licensed Professional Counselors by the year 2020, was met with mixed reviews by the three counselor respondents in this study. One respondent stated that “trying to make school counseling therapeutic won’t work because of the sheer numbers of students who attend schools.” Whereas another counselor’s response was that “as an LPC, we become more sensitive to the kids’ needs.”

Foucault (2000) spoke of knowledge as “perspectival, requiring multiple viewpoints to interpret a heterogeneous reality.” Clearly the views presented by all six study respondents are as varied as their personalities, ages, and levels of life experiences. However, these views are worthy of and entitled to thoughtful examination and consideration. The information assembled from this study can be extrapolated to improve counseling efficacy towards the goal of improving educational outcomes for minority students. Kozol (1991) noted when referring to educational inequity that “people get used to what they have; they figure that’s the way it’s supposed to be and they don’t think it’s going to change” (p. 228). Arguably, school counselors can be the most powerful allies students will ever encounter in their quests towards post-secondary educational achievement as they possess the specialized education and training to enable students to utilize strategies and coping mechanisms to overcome life adversities and fully realize educational opportunities presented to them.

FINDINGS

The findings in this study shed light on the critical link between efficacious counseling and progressive student outcomes. The many facets of their position give school counselors the vantage point to facilitate educational equity for students, particularly those traditionally underserved by the system (Education Trust, 2009). Also, the counselors' connection to academic achievement is juxtaposed to the roles of others in the educational setting. The counselor is the nurturer, mediator, and student advocate with a unique professional skill set. School counselors, whose power is underestimated, can have an enormous impact on student achievement.

Bandura's (1977) social learning theory advanced in the 1970's affirms the point that we learn by watching others. Bandura theorized external environmental reinforcement is not the only factor to influence learning and behavior. He argued that intrinsic (internal) motivation in students can be impacted by positive educator role models, such as counselors. Bandura's (1986) social learning theory had important implications in the field of education. Today, many educators and parents recognize the importance of modeling good behavior. Another significant point revealed in this study by both the research data as well as the respondent results is that counselor efficacy can improve if counselors are more accessible and communicative with students and parents. Simply put, students and their parents/guardians need more time with their school counselors.

The three counselor informants' responses support the data that was disclosed in the Comptroller's Report *How Texas School Counselors Spend Their Time* (2002). Despite the implementation of TEC §§33.005-33.007, which mandates that the school counselor shall follow the directives of the Model Comprehensive Developmental Guidance and Counseling Program, counselors still spend the majority of their day in non-counseling activities. One proposed informant recommendation is that TEA oversight be implemented to ensure compliance.

This study has sought to elevate counseling to its appropriate stature, one where the school counselor functions autonomously within the school setting. All three counselor informants indicated that school counselors have master's degrees in their own right, just as principals, and expressed the view that counselors should be placed on an equal organizational, hierarchal plane as principals. One group does not have more schooling or more exams to take than the other. The only distinction between counselor and principal education preparation is in the coursework that they study and the exams that they take. According to the study respondent views', counselors and principals have, on par, the same level of professional expertise.

The three former student respondents honed in on the issue of family, but not necessarily culture, as a barrier to minority academic achievement. Respondents specifically implicated the parents of minority students who lack education and may feel intimidated or fearful of schools, viewing schools as 'the enemy' which in turns leads to their lack of involvement or apathy. Conversely, the respondents also referenced parents of minority students as strong allies to enlist the aid of in efforts to change the tide of educational inequity.

Currently, Licensed Professional Counselors must take the NBCC Exam although school counselors do not. In the respondents' views, the LPC license does improve the quality of counseling services. Based on these outcome results, the future LPC/*Vision 2020* mandate could improve counselor efficacy and services to all students and especially minority student populations. Results from this study also provided insight into the perception of school counselors as social justice advocates for students.

CONCLUSION

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963) once said that “the time is always right to do what is right.” Counseling is not a precise practice, but rather a malleable practice which must be adapted to the subjects of service, particularly minority student populations. Arguably, school counselors are scholars of human behavior, in an educational setting, who can help lift students to a better place. New and visionary developments within the profession hold promise for the future and hope for students served by school counselors. Counselors are positioned as the best advocates to advance student achievement by virtue of their role in the school setting as they can take circuitous routes to achieve this goal. Also, a “pathways component, the ability to develop multiple routes to one’s goals,” (Pedrotti, Edwards, and Lopez, 2008, p. 100) has also been linked to academic success. Finally, counselor role ambiguity can potentially be turned into an advantage as it can allow school counselors flexibility in their attempts to advance minority students’ inherent human rights and pursuits toward equality and fairness in education. Answering the call to service from a unique vantage point enables school counselors to do, according to Scheurich and Skrla (2003) “our sacred democratic duty” (p. 139).

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APPENDIX A

