"I think we're all teachers even though we're students": Examining Youth Perspectives of Peer Support for College Readiness in an Urban Public High School

Joanne E. Marciano
Michigan State University

Abstract

Youth of color enrolled in urban public high schools, particularly those students who seek to be the first in their families to graduate from college, frequently encounter barriers to their college readiness and access. This study engaged an analytic approach built with culturally relevant and sustaining theories of education to examine how 10 youth of color enrolled in 12th grade at a Title 1 public high school in New York City provided and/or received support from peers as they navigated such barriers. The study utilized a youth co-researcher methodology to amplify student voices about an issue directly connected to their lives. Two findings emerged across data analysis: (1) students asserted collective notions of academic achievement and (2) challenged what they perceived as inequitable access to resources and opportunities as they supported their peers' college readiness and access. Taken together these findings provide new insights into possibilities for building from students' interactions with peers across contexts of curriculum, teaching, and research in urban schools.
Keywords: youth, peers, college readiness, college access, culturally relevant peer interactions

"I think we're all teachers even though we're students because we're all learning from each other." —Cathy[1], 12th grade, Latina

Youth of color enrolled in urban public high schools, particularly students who seek to be the first in their families to pursue a college degree, frequently encounter barriers to their college readiness and access (Carey, 2019; Howard et al., 2016; McDonough, 1997). Cathy's comment above provides an example of how youth enrolled in one Title 1 public high school in New York City supported one another in navigating such barriers. As a first-generation Latina college applicant, Cathy was one of 10 youth of color who participated in a qualitative research study examining whether and how 12th grade students supported one another's college readiness and access. In noting how she and her peers are "learning from each other," Cathy draws attention to the important role students can play in providing the information and encouragement to support one another in taking steps to pursue a college education.

Examining youth's perspectives of how they support one another's college readiness and access is particularly urgent considering the limited interactions many youth enrolled in urban public high schools have with school counselors who are typically tasked with sharing information about college with students (Clayton, 2019; Farmer-Hinton & McCullough, 2008; McKillip et al. 2012). While education researchers have examined promising approaches for supporting students' college readiness and access to address this issue, less research exists that considers how students' informal interactions with peers can contribute to their understanding of whether and how to apply to college. For example, formal college readiness programs support students who seek to be the first in their families to graduate from college (Contreras, 2011; Kolbe et al., 2018; Watt et al., 2007). However, not all students who could benefit from these programs have access to them (Loza, 2003; McKillip et al., 2012). Additional approaches for increasing students' access to information about college include developing a culturally relevant school-wide college-going culture in urban schools that positions all adults who interact with students as responsible for supporting their college-going identities (Knight & Marciano, 2013; Knight-Manuel et al., 2019) or modifying eligibility requirements for college preparatory programs to provide access to additional students who would otherwise not be able to participate (Marciano & Watson, 2020). Yet opportunities exist for educators and school leaders to take additional action to

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[1] The names of youth participants and the school they attended are pseudonyms.

further support students in engaging in the college-going processes of preparing for, applying to, and/or enrolling in college (Duncheon & Relles, 2019; McKillip et al. 2012).

This paper examines how youths' interactions with their peers support students' college readiness and access, or as Cathy noted in her comment above, youth "are all teachers" as they learn from one another. Cathy and the nine additional youth who participated in the qualitative research study this paper examines provide clear examples of the urgent and necessary role youth may play in supporting one another's high school graduation and college enrollment. The students' considerations of their interactions with peers extend previous research about how youth of color support one another's college readiness and access (Carey, 2019; Gibbs Grey, 2018), particularly when it comes to developing college-going identities and navigating high school graduation requirements. Specifically, this paper examines the following research questions:

1. How do 10 youth of color enrolled in 12th grade at one urban public high school support one another's college readiness and access?

2. Why do these 10 youth participants support one another's college readiness and access?

Culturally Relevant and Sustaining Education

This study draws from and extends theories of culturally relevant and sustaining education (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2017) to examine how youth take up aspects of these approaches to enact culturally relevant peer interactions (Marciano, 2017) in support of one another's college readiness and access. Culturally sustaining educational approaches (Paris & Alim, 2014) build from the tenets of culturally relevant education conceptualized by Ladson-Billings (1994): academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness. Such approaches are necessitated by persistent educational disparities experienced by students of color at a time when curriculum and teaching remain centered in whiteness, even as the US student population is increasingly racially and ethnically diverse (Love, 2019; Muhammad, 2020). This study's examination of youth's culturally relevant peer interactions (Marciano, 2017) examines how students of color support one another's college readiness and access in ways that consider their experiences and perspectives as strengths, acknowledges and extends their dynamic cultural experiences

as youth attending the same New York City public high school, and calls attention to youth's emerging sociopolitical consciousness.

Methodology

Data examined in this study are taken from a larger qualitative research study that engaged three youth of color as co-researchers to examine whether and how they and seven of their peers supported one another in navigating barriers to their college readiness and access.

Research Context

Students participating in this study all attended City Public, a public secondary school in New York City serving students in grades 6-12 with a focus on performing arts. Students enrolled in grades 6-8 live in the geographic area surrounding the school. High school students enrolled in the school either live in the geographic area surrounding the school or they audition to participate in the school's dance, drama, instrumental music, visual arts, or vocal music programs. At the time of data collection, 73% of students enrolled in the school were Black, 24% were Latinx, and more than 80% of students qualified for the US government's free or reduced-price lunch program (New York State Education Department, 2013a). In 2010, when students in this study were 9th graders, the median income of the census tract where the school is located was $9,001 (Venugopal, 2011). At the time of the study, the school had a four-year high school graduation rate of 79 percent (New York State Education Department, 2013b).

Author Positionality

I am a white woman who taught secondary English language arts at City Public for 13 years, from 2002 until 2015. During this time, I purposefully sought to build students' experiences and perspectives as strengths in curriculum and teaching. In so doing, I came to recognize and understand the important role students played in supporting one another in graduating from high school and enrolling in college. Specifically, I observed students collaborate with peers to navigate barriers to their college readiness and access, including: a lack of information about which high school courses would best prepare them to meet college admissions requirements; how to decide which colleges to apply to; and whether students would have the financial resources needed to attend college. My observations and

conversations with students informed the design and implementation of the research study examined in this paper.

Research Participants

To recruit participants for this study, I asked two 12th grade English language arts teachers at City Public to nominate as potential study participants 12th grade students who met the following selection criteria: they planned to attend college, collaborated with peers to support one another's college readiness and access, were first-generation college applicants, and qualified for free or reduced-price lunch. The teachers nominated three young women as potential participants: Cathy, Brianna, and Emmy. I invited the students to participate as "focal participants" in the study, and they agreed. Utilizing a snowball sampling technique (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), I asked Cathy, Brianna, and Emmy to each invite two peers who met the study's selection criteria to participate in the study as "peer participants." The peers did not need to be enrolled as students at City Public to be invited to participate in the study. Brianna and Emmy invited two peers who agreed to participate. Cathy advocated for the inclusion of three peers in the study. All three students she invited agreed to participate (see Table 1). The peer participants were all students enrolled at City Public. The study was approved by a university Institutional Review Board, and all participating students and their parent/guardian provided informed consent to participate in the study.

Data Collection

Data collection took place in five overlapping phases across six months after school and on weekends at times and locations convenient to participants, such as local coffee shops, public parks, and a university campus. The first phase consisted of semi-structured individual interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) between myself and "focal participants" Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy (approximately 45-60 minutes in length, see Appendix A). In phase two, Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy scheduled and facilitated interviews (approximately 15-20 minutes long) with the peers they invited to participate in the study using a semi-structured interview protocol I provided. They used digital voice recorders I gave them to record the interviews and returned the devices to me after each interview so I could upload the recording to a password-protected computer and delete the audio file from the device.

Table 1

Youth Participants

Name	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Role in study
Alex	17	Black	Male	Peer participant (invited by Cathy)
Ashely	17	Black	Female	Peer participant (invited by Brianna)
Bea	17	Black	Female	Peer participant (invited by Emmy)
Brianna	17	Black	Female	Focal participant
Cathy	17	Latina	Female	Focal participant
Emmy	17	Latinx	Female	Focal participant
Melissa	17	Black	Female	Peer participant (invited by Brianna)
Nathan	19	Black	Male	Peer participant (invited by Cathy)
Shaniece	17	Black	Female	Peer participant (invited by Emmy)
Sherry	17	Black	Female	Peer participant (invited by Cathy)

In phase three, I interviewed Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy during a second individual interview (approximately 45-60 minutes in length). In phase four, I conducted semi-structured individual interviews (approximately 30-60 minutes long) with the peer participants: Alex, Ashley, Bea, Nathan, Melissa, Shaniece, and Sherry. The final phase consisted of semi-structured focus group interviews (approximately 60 minutes long each) that brought together focal participants with the peer participants they invited to participate in the study. All interviews were audio recorded. I transcribed all recordings verbatim. During data collection and analysis, I continued as the 11th grade English teacher at City Public. Participants were not enrolled in courses I taught at the time of data collection or analysis.

This data collection approach sought to amplify student voices in education research (Cook-Sather, 2018) by involving students as participants and co-researchers examining topics connected to their lives (Caraballo et al., 2017; Morrell, 2008). For example, Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy provided insight regarding the interview questions they asked of the peer participants. A limitation of this approach is that I developed the research study and generated research questions, guiding Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy as co-researchers to consider the role they played in one another's college readiness and access rather than focus on another topic they may have been interested in examining.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was iterative and ongoing (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). I read across the transcripts and used the software Dedoose to code data by drawing upon culturally relevant pedagogy as an analytic tool. Codes included "high expectations," "strengths-based," "cultural assets," "learning from peers," "enacting care," "academic achievement," and "sociopolitical consciousness." Codes were collapsed and refined. I generated themes connected to the research questions examined in this paper and wrote analytic memos in conversation with educational research literature (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). I also spoke with youth participants at various points throughout data analysis to share emerging themes and preliminary research findings. For example, while "focal participants" Brianna, Cathy, and Emmy were not involved in collecting data beyond conducting interviews with the "peer participants" they invited to participate in the study, I asked them in individual semi-structured interviews in phase three of the project what they learned from the interviews and how they interpreted their peers' responses. During the focus group interviews, I shared emerging themes and findings with all youth participants and sought their feedback about my interpretations.

Findings

In returning to the study's research questions, two findings emerged across data analysis. First, the youth asserted collective notions of academic achievement as they supported their peers' college readiness and access. Second, the youth challenged what they perceived as inequitable access to resources and opportunities. Together, these findings provide important insights into the ways youth of color attending an urban public high school sought to support one another as they navigated barriers to their college readiness and access.

Asserting Collective Notions of Academic Achievement

For Ashley, Brianna, and Melissa, being enrolled in the same classes together throughout the school day led to opportunities to ask one another whether they had completed assignments required for their successful negotiation of high school graduation requirements. For example, when asked in an individual interview why it was important to her that her friends achieve academically, Ashely talked about time she spent with peers during the school day. Ashley focused her response on her interactions with Brianna. She said,

Because we, we're friends. If I'm passing, you should pass. It should, it shouldn't be as I'm doing my essays and I'll be like you did your homework? And she'll say no. Oh, ok. No. Like if we're together majority, we've been together majority of the day. If I could sit and do my essays, you can sit and do your essays. It shouldn't be no reason why I pass and you fail. (Ashley, peer participant interview one)

In her response, Ashley noted that the amount of time she and her friends spent together throughout the school day facilitated her belief that she and her peers could achieve academically. While it is unclear in Ashley's statement when and where she "could sit and do my essays," she asserts that Brianna has access to the same time and space to similarly complete her assignments, and that Brianna is capable of doing so. Similar to youth in Harper et al.'s (2014) study of the experiences of Black and Latino male students enrolled in New York City public schools, this example speaks to the role that school structures, including decisions about which youth are enrolled in classes together and when and where they have opportunities to collaborate, may influence the extent to which youth are able to support one another in completing course assignments. City Public's schedule allowed all 12th graders to eat lunch at the same time, providing a shared time in the school day for Ashley, Brianna, and their peers to be in conversation.

Like Ashley, Bea similarly explained that supporting her friends' attainment of their academic and college-going goals was her responsibility, specifically because she sought to achieve the same goals herself. In an individual interview with me, Bea said,

If I see that one of my friends are um falling, like falling behind and they're not up to date on their work or doing what they have to do I feel as if like that I don't know, it would, it would affect me. Like, you know how they have the saying you're only as strong as your weakest link? I feel like that sometimes with me and my friends. Because if one of my friends suffers then I feel that I suffer as well. And I wouldn't want one of my friends to be left behind on like the track of work or like their average dropping or not finding certain colleges and just not go to college. Because college, getting an education, is one of the most important things for a child, or someone that's growing up and wanting to do something with their life. So I don't know. I feel that motivating my friends would help them be better in life and gain a successful life because if you, I don't know, if you don't do good in school and you don't like go to school you can't do much in America nowadays. So yeah, I think, I think that's mainly why I motivate them because I feel, I feel it kinda affects me as much as it affects them. (Bea, peer participant interview one)

Bea foregrounded a sociopolitical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 2002) as she positioned her peers' academic achievement as important as her own, noting that she

motivated her peers to go to college because without a college education it will be difficult for them to "do much in America nowadays." The comment points to the urgency with which Bea viewed the academic achievement of her peers, in this instance their graduation from high school and enrollment in college, propelling her own actions to support their collective achievement now and into the future. Bea is aware of the socioeconomic opportunities possible for youth who have graduated from college as compared to those who have not. Such an awareness fuels her decisions to talk with peers about "doing good" in school.

In another example of youth's collective notions of academic achievement, Melissa described encouraging her friend Tiffany to try again after experiencing academic failure. She said,

> One of my friends were failing, failed the marking period. And she was very, she was crying. She was very disappointed in herself. I told her, well now is the past. We have to live for the future and we, since we're graduating high school, we need to step our game up and actually represent 12th grade. So we need to get our act together and actually do what we have to do from this point on. We can't give up because giving up means failure and we don't, we're not failures. We need to graduate and actually move on to go to college. (Melissa, peer participant interview one)

In her comments, Melissa used the collective "we" to explain to Tiffany why she should "live for the future" and "step up our game." Rather than focus solely on her own academic achievement and college-going identity, Melissa instead reminded Tiffany that notions of achievement extend beyond their singular identities to include how they "represent 12th grade." Their identities as members of the City Public graduating class informed Melissa's decisions to continue to strive toward her goals, and to encourage Tiffany to do the same. This stance counters meritocratic notions of schooling that privilege individual achievement (Love, 2019). Further, in saying "we're not failures," Melissa reminded Tiffany that if she chose to give up, refusing to take the actions necessary to successfully pass the course and meet graduation requirements, she was marking not only herself but also Melissa as a failure, an identity to which Melissa did not ascribe. In further explaining why she views her peers' achievement as tied to her own, Melissa said of Tiffany,

> I don't want her to seem less than anybody. And I don't want her to seem like she's not smart enough or not good enough because she didn't graduate or something like that, so I wanted to encourage her to do the best that she can. (Melissa, peer participant interview one)

Melissa's awareness that Tiffany would likely confront deficit-oriented stereotypes associated with youth of color who did not graduate from high school demonstrated her awareness of broader societal structures and how they could influence Tiffany's future opportunities. As her friend, Melissa is familiar with Tiffany's characteristics and believes she is "smart enough" and "good enough" to graduate from high school and attend college. Melissa took action to demonstrate to Tiffany the high expectations she held for Tiffany's academic achievement. Melissa encouraged Tiffany to succeed despite experiencing failure, and to reconsider her understandings of what it meant to be college-bound. Such actions support Tiffany in enacting the culturally responsive-sustaining student action of "learning" from "mistakes, in order to grow academically and emotionally" (NYSED, 2018, p. 20). Melissa's actions are also aligned with Tierny's (2009) analysis of first-generation college applicants who made decisions about whether or not they were college bound at multiple points during their high school years, including after graduation. Melissa understands that Tiffany benefits from encouragement to attend college not only at the start of her senior year, but continuously as she encountered obstacles such as failing the marking period, as Melissa noted above.

Challenging Inequitable Access to Resources and Opportunities

Inequitable access to educational resources and opportunities also led youth participants to support their peers' college readiness and access. Brianna's friendship with Ashley, for example, provided opportunities for the youth to interact with one another both inside and outside of school as they shared personal information about their lives, perspectives, and experiences in a variety of contexts across the nearly four years of their friendship. It is through these opportunities that Brianna developed an awareness that she and Ashley experienced differing levels of encouragement toward achieving their shared goal of attending college. Brianna said,

> Ashley lives in a house where it's just one of her parents. And um, sometimes I don't feel like that parent pushes her as much. So, because she's really smart and talented so it's like it's not fair. And then her mom passed away. So it's like, I feel like she needs the support from her friends and because it's not like she's one of those students that just does whatever she want to do, she actually tries to do what she wants to do. So, for me, that gives me, like, all I need to motivate her, cause I know that she's able to do anything. So I motivate her because she doesn't have that. (Brianna, focal participant interview one)

Three different notions are braided together in Brianna's reason for why she provides encouragement, or "motivates," Ashley. First, Brianna shared her belief that her friend is "really smart and talented," demonstrating an assets-based perspective of her friend's academic abilities. Second, Brianna's understanding that Ashley's mother died reflects her knowledge of Ashley's personal experiences outside of school and how the loss of her mother may limit Ashley's access to encouragement to attend college. Finally, Brianna noted her perception that Ashley's father didn't "push" Ashley that much, even as Brianna understood that Ashley sometimes needed support to achieve her goals.

Brianna further explained that she viewed Ashley's situation in juxtaposition to her own. Although Brianna's father was incarcerated, she had regular visits with him and he encouraged her to achieve her goal of attending college. Brianna's mother played an extremely active and important role in her life, as did her stepfather, encouraging her to do well in school and guiding her through the college application process. "It's like, it's not fair," Brianna said when considering how Ashley did not receive the same support. Brianna took action in support of Ashley's college readiness and access by telling her everything she learned about college campuses she visited and by assisting Ashley in staying on top of class assignments so that she could meet high school graduation requirements. Brianna's actions are aligned with tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2002). Brianna held high expectations for Ashley's academic achievement, built from their shared cultural experiences as students seeking to graduate from high school, and considered the inequities Ashley experienced in accessing information about preparing for, applying to, and enrolling in college. These actions further reflect urgent calls for students to enact culturally responsive-sustaining stances with peers by "work[ing] cooperatively toward goals and hold[ing] each other accountable in supportive ways" (NYSED, 2018, p. 21).

For Alex, his participation in an out-of-school college readiness program gave him insight into the schooling experiences of students enrolled in schools across New York City. He learned that some students received more support for college readiness than he and his peers at City Public. For example, Alex described learning that calculus was a pre-requisite course for many of the colleges he planned to apply to. However, City Public did not offer calculus to students even though other high schools in New York City offered the course. Alex was among a group of students who repeatedly asked City Public's school counselor to make a calculus course accessible to them. Alex recalled the situation in a youth co-researcher interview with Cathy. When Cathy asked him about obstacles he encountered in preparing for college, Alex said,

I guess an obstacle I face is just not having as much of the resources as some people from other schools have. Some people get classes that they want. As in my case and my friends' case, we have to kind-of beg for some classes. For example, in calculus. Our school doesn't offer it, and we had to like beg for the class and other resources that our school doesn't have. So that's one of the big obstacles that kind-of give us a disadvantage for applying to colleges because some of the other schools could be taking calculus classes, could be taking philosophy, and if I want to be, for example, I want to be a computer science major I'm at a disadvantage because I don't get the chances. If I wouldn't have gone back for the class, I wouldn't be able to have an experience with calculus which is a class I have to take in college anyway. So that kind of puts us at a disadvantage which could discourage us from going to college. (Alex, youth co-researcher interview conducted by Cathy)

In noting his lack of access also to courses in philosophy, and "other resources our school doesn't have," Alex highlighted his awareness of broader societal inequities, such as access to resources within schools, that affected his college readiness (Carey, 2018; Duncheon & Relles, 2019). Yet rather than resign himself to the fact that he would not be able to take a calculus course, Alex explained in a subsequent interview that he took collective action with his peers to advocate for access to the class. Cathy was one of the students who eventually benefitted from Alex's efforts after a math teacher at the school agreed to teach a calculus course to a small group of students during his and students' shared lunch period.

Discussion

Throughout the findings examined above, youth participants provided examples reflective of Cathy's statement at the opening of this paper: "I think we're all teachers even though we're students because we're all learning from each other." The youth enacted tenets of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1994; 2002) as culturally relevant peer interactions (Marciano, 2017), asserting collective notions of academic achievement and challenging inequitable access to resources and opportunities. Ashley, Bea, and Melissa, for example, discussed how they encouraged peers to do well in school, refusing to give them "permission to fail" (Ladson-Billings, 2002, p. 110). Brianna built from her understandings of Ashley's lived experiences and familial and cultural practices as she shared information about colleges she toured that Ashley did not have access to attend. Alex understood his lack of access to a calculus class as part of broader systemic inequities affecting him and his peers at City Public, demonstrating a sociopolitical consciousness and taking up the call for

students to enact culturally responsive-sustaining approaches to their own education by "voic[ing] and express[ing] the need for challenging work and extension activities" (NYSED, 2018, p. 21). The youth's actions demonstrate the important role students' peers may play as they seek to navigate challenges experienced as urban public school students seeking to graduate from high school and enroll in college.

Youth participants in this study also challenged meritocratic understandings of education as they privileged collective notions of academic achievement in support of one another's college readiness and access. For example, Melissa's noting that she and Tiffany represented the rest of their 12th grade classmates pushed back against ideas of individual achievement often present in schools (Love, 2019). The youth further demonstrated their awareness of the barriers affecting their pursuit of a college education (Carey, 2018; Duncheon & Relles, 2019). Brianna, for example, explained that she had access to information about college that Ashley did not. Rather than keep this information to herself, Brianna shared what she learned with Ashley in an attempt to support Ashley in navigating barriers to her college readiness and access.

Conclusion

The findings shared in this paper extend research examining how youth in college preparatory programs support one another's college readiness and access (Contreras, 2011; Kolbe et al., 2018; Watt et al., 2007) by moving past the boundaries created between and among students who have access to such programs (Loza, 2003; McKillip et al., 2012). This study generates new insights into how and why youth are supporting the college readiness and access of their peers in informal contexts. While the experiences of youth participants in this study are not generalizable, insights gained from this examination of their perspectives may inform the work of teachers and researchers in urban contexts. For example, teachers may develop curriculum that asks students to collaborate with peers in varied and dynamic ways as they learn course content. Teachers may also enact pedagogical approaches that privilege collective notions of achievement rather than individual notions of success.

Educational researchers may continue to examine how youth of color attending urban schools collaborate with peers to navigate and address educational disparities that limit their postsecondary education opportunities. Taken together, this work may lead to new

understandings and possibilities supportive of youth's interactions with peers as strengths across contexts of curriculum, teaching, and research in urban schools.

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*Joanne E. Marciano (she/her) is assistant professor of English education in the Department of
Teacher Education at Michigan State University, and a former New York City public high school
English teacher.* ORCID: 0000-0003-2035-5063

Appendix A

Protocol for Focal Participant Interview One

1. What is your name?

    a. What name would you like to be called as a pseudonym?

2. Where do you currently live?

3. What school do you attend?

    a. Where is the school located?

    b. What grade are you in?

    c. How old are you?

4. Tell me about what happens on a typical day at school.

    a. Tell me about who you are friends with at school.

    b. Tell me about how you and your friends usually spend time together at school.

5. Describe the role your friends play in your academic achievement.

    a. Tell me a story about a time your friends helped you to do well in school.

    b. Explain why you think your friends did that (helped you to do well in school)?

6. Tell me about why you want to go to college.

    a. Tell me a story about when you decided you wanted to go to college.

    b. Has anyone in your family gone to college?

7. Describe how you know whether or not your friends want to go to college.

    a. Tell me about how your friends know you want to go to college.

8. Explain what you need to do to get into college

    a. Tell me a story about how you learned this.

9. What obstacles might prevent you and your friends from going to college?

     a. Explain how you know those obstacles exist.

     b. Can you share a story about a time you and your friends helped each other to get over one of those obstacles?

     c. Explain why you and your friends help each other in getting over obstacles that could stop you from going to college.

10. Tell me a story about a time you told a friend something they didn't already know about going to college.

     a. What specifically did you tell them?

     b. Why did you tell them?

11. Describe a time one of your friends told you something you didn't already know about going to college.

     a. What specifically did they tell you?

     b. Why did they tell you?

     c. How did you react to what they told you? What did you do, say, etc.?

12. Are there any questions that I should change before I interview the next person?

13. Are there any questions you think I should add before I interview the next person?