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A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Hbcus And Their Place In Science And Technology From 1979-80 As Told By Four National Newspapers

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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HBCUs AND THEIR PLACE IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FROM 1979-80 AS TOLD BY FOUR NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

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Dedication

To my village.

Acknowledgments

To stand in my truth, some may assume this dissertation is solely the product of the overwhelming support I received from faculty, friends, family, and colleagues–it's not. This dissertation is, in minor part, the product of my determination to prove to those who doubted me, from these same categories, that there is research outside of "surveys and interviews," that I am worthy of all the things I desire, and that I am a competent, Black researcher. I will continue to be unapologetic in my Black womanhood and I now know those who are not threatened by my strength will support me in all that I do. With all love, gratitude, and appreciation–thank you.

To those who have truly and fully supported me along this journey, I want you to know that without you there is no me. Rather than the task of listing every person, I will focus on those who played a major part in the realization of this study. First, I want to thank my committee: Dr. Latara Lampkin and Dr. Jody Allen for sharing their wisdom with me during this process. Next, I will thank my chair, Dr. Pamela Eddy, for being my foundation and seeing the greatness even during my most troubling times. I can think of no other person to have in my corner cheering me on through it all. Lastly, I want to thank my academic coach, Dr. Nancy Everson, for sticking with me through the entire process and always offering encouraging words even when I was unable to see the bigger picture. I am incredibly grateful for the time each of you have given me towards this process. Truthfully, this dissertation is a showing of my gratitude and appreciation for all that you all have poured into me during these past years.

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Abstract

This study was an investigation of how national newspapers contributed to the reproduction of racism as they reported on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and the need for more Black Americans in STEM programs. The existence of racism in newspaper discourse reaffirms the long-standing perception that HBCUs, and the Black Americans they serve, do not deserve full educational participation in society. The lack of diversity in STEM fields represents a key area where a critical exploration of how HBCUs are described is needed. Specifically, four national newspapers, the Los Angeles Times, the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post, printed during the period of March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980 were explored. Critical race theory provided the theoretical foundation of the study to explain why racism is a continued aspect of society that limits the STEM access of HBCUs. The research question for the study sought to understand the constructed images of HBCUs and Black students present in national newspaper discourse with respect to STEM topics. Using a critical discourse analysis approach, the study included 15 articles relevant to the topic. A key marker of relevant discourse was the passing of the 1980 National Science Foundation Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, which provided HBCU students with additional access to science and technology curriculums and degrees. The study found discourse that represented a battle for HBCU continued existence, images of Black students as academically incapable, and implicit uses of racism to uphold notions of White supremacy. Implications to the field include a need for a more critical lens to be taken when framing events about HBCUs and Black students as these contribute to the collective perception of these groups as inferior.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

We don't want to just increase the number of American students in STEM. We want to make sure everybody is involved. We want to increase the diversity of STEM programs, as well. And that's been a theme of this science fair. We get the most out of all our nation's talent—and that means reaching out to boys and girls, men and women of all races and all backgrounds. Science is for all of us. And we want our classrooms and labs and workplaces and media to reflect that.

-President Barack Obama, March 23, 2015, 5th White House Science Fair

The charge set forth by former President Barack Obama (2015) to diversify science technology, engineering, and math (STEM) programs was not a new one. In fact, such a stance was codified with the passing of the 1980 National Science Foundation (NSF) Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act. Against a backdrop of social unrest and forced integration plans occurring in the 1970s, the Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act of 1980 (the Act of 1980) marked a shift in access to science, engineering, and mathematics education to "ensure the full development and use of the scientific talent and technical skills of men and women, equally, of all ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds" (NSF Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, 1980, sec. 32). Looking back at the Act, it is important to understand the implications of providing access to these groups in comparison to White men who have historically been given access to education (Gasman & Nguyen, 2019). The Act of 1980 proposed to:

> undertake or support a comprehensive science education program to increase the participation of minorities in science and technology, *to support* activities to initiate research at minority-serving institutions, *and to submit* a report proposing a comprehensive and continuing program at the Foundation to promote the full participation of minorities in science and technology. (NSF Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, 1980, sec. 32; emphasis added)

These measures signaled a favorable opportunity for Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs) such as HBCUs and the Black Americans they were designed to serve by increasing their participation in "scientific, professional, and technical careers" (NSF Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, 1980, para. 1) as these individuals have a history of limited access to such fields.

Given the complexity of the policy process, several driving forces must converge for such a piece of legislation to be enacted (Fowler, 2013). Before policy formation occurs, the policy issue must be defined and placed on the agenda for consideration. Policies, as a whole, can only be enacted through discourse (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 2013; van Dijk et al., 1997). This study focused on how language use and rhetoric shaped the policy process of the Act of 1980 with regard to access to STEM for those historically denied such access.

Significance of the Act of 1980 as a Marker of Discourse

The Act of 1980 was an important piece of legislation that developed within a certain context and was informed by a wealth of sources that shaped its formation, including news articles from the time reporting on the standing of diversity in STEM. Given the reliance on discourse in policy creation (Fowler, 2013), it can be assumed that newspaper articles would inform the policy process by providing a review of key discussions on important topics.

Arguably unable to be purely objective, policy makers can influence and be influenced by news articles on the portrayal of various ways diversity in science and technology was presented in the public discourse of newspaper articles. Given the access granted to underserved populations, the Act of 1980 represents a significant marker to study discourse, especially given its focus on increasing the racial diversity of graduates in STEM and those served by the NSF.

Understanding How Discourse Informs Policy

Policy does not happen within a vacuum, rather it is influenced by discourse that sets the context for its creation (Fowler, 2013). Whether instant or over time, the perspectives of public figures, especially those from elite groups, shapes the policy process (Fowler, 2013; van Dijk, 1993). Just 10 years before the creation of the Act of 1980, President Richard M. Nixon declared the then 16-year-old decision of *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* to be "right in both constitutional and human terms" (Nixon, 1970, p. 1). This public assertion verbally reinforced that “separate but equal” facilities between Black and White educational institutions were unconstitutional and that action would be taken against those who opposed such integration. From a discursive standpoint, such an emphasis on the humanness of racial equality points to a long-standing ideological viewpoint that questions the humanness of Black Americans who continue to be positioned as second-class citizens (Gasman & Nguyen, 2009). In addition, the aftermath following Nixon’s assertion demonstrates the strength of discourse, when wielded by those in power, and its ability to spark policy changes.

Power, Racism, and Discourse

Attempting to study power as a concept is complex. According to Morgan (1997), “no really clear and consistent definition of power has emerged” (p. 171); however, for the purposes of this study, the definition of power builds on power dynamics as a collective essence shared

among individuals with some having more access to resources than others (Fairclough, 1989; Foucault, 2000; Fowler, 2013). “Because power is a relationship, it always exists in a concrete social context” (Fowler, 2013, p. 23). Pointedly, Foucault (2000) adds that power is not the most evenly distributed resource; thus, there are those who have more power than others. Power is “the ability of an actor to affect the behavior of another actor,” which includes both individuals and groups (Fowler, 2013, p. 27). Historically and continuing today, Black Americans have lacked the levels of power held by their White counterparts (Allan, 2010), which Whites maintain through policies that enforce their status.

Throughout history, White Americans have been the dominant group in the United States; thus, having and exerting more power over other racialized groups. The power of one group over another manifests itself in several ways. Focusing on the topic of discourse, the difference in power privileges the dominant group to not only speak about themselves (Us/We) but also characterize other groups (Others/Them) in ways that are not equally reciprocated (van Dijk, 1993, 1997b). In such characterizations, the differences between Us and Others are overemphasized whereas the differences within either group are ignored (van Dijk, 1997b). Such descriptions serve as the basis for how groups are named and stereotyped in ways that serve the interests of those in positions of power (Hilliard, 2001; van Dijk, 1993) and one such product of this discursive power is racism.

A simplistic, but no less important, conceptualization of racism is to view it as the mixture of “power” and “othering” that permeates American society through discourse. van Dijk et al. (1997) would add that notions that counter the embeddedness of racism within our society can be treated as “merely lip service” (p. 145) alluding to the perspective that the denial of racism is baseless. More pointedly, explicit forms of racism are not as accepted; therefore, the use of more

nuanced approaches or "everyday racism" are what makes its way into newspaper discourse (van Dijk, 1993, p. 5). As a whole, racism emerges from a system that denies non-Whites access to society's power resources, which includes access to the discursive power of mass media that privileges other elite groups in its creation (van Dijk, 1997b). Counter narratives for minorities exist; however, even the concept denotes the limited access minorities have regarding discourse in American society and the hegemonic norms of White discourse (Bridgeman, 2011). Chapter 2 offers an expansion of this topic.

Discourse in National Newspapers

Our knowledge about the social and political world around us comes in some part from the mass media (Myers & Caniglia, 2004), which represents one important area of discourse contributing to the context in which policy making occurs (Fowler, 2013). Since the media cannot report on every happening in the world, reporters and editors must decide on what content to include or exclude from their reporting; thus, our perception of the world around us or "collective reality" is influenced by such subjective filtering (Myers & Caniglia, 2004, p. 519). As a primary source of information, the media plays a leading and unchallenged role with regard to topics about minority affairs (van Dijk, 1993). Thus, the media holds responsibility for the shaping of the Act of 1980 context through what was reported in the press; how such information is represented in the media becomes critical to explore. For this study, a focus on national newspaper discourse provided information regarding the wide-reaching and influential stance of this form of influence and power.

The importance of studying national newspapers discourse lies in the mass media's ability to affect the opinions of other elite groups and the public (van Dijk, 1997b; van Dijk et al., 1997). Elites, as defined by van Dijk (1993), are groups that have the power and influence to

control public opinion. One such group includes national newspapers as they belong to the mass media elite group. With relation to policy, national newspapers represent a unique and complex policy actor because they both inform and are informed by the process and its actors through discourse (Fowler, 2013; van Dijk, 1993). To the point of media power, Ríos (2017) states, "there is little reason to believe that power in society would not be disturbingly aligned to media power" (pp. 31-32), therefore understanding how the media as an entity exercises power to elevate or diminish the importance of a particular issue becomes worthy of exploration.

With regards to HBCUs and the Black Americans they were created to educate, these groups are on the receiving end of those in power as these groups do not have access to the discursive power present within newspaper discourses. Therefore, it is important to understand how these institutions are portrayed in such media avenues as this portrayal affects the types of financial resources and policies that are enacted, as well as possible perspectives of Black students in higher education. It is not just the general public that is influenced by such filtering, but also academic scholars and government agencies who use the media as a reliable source of data (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). Such use by these two groups alone demonstrates the possibility of the media influencing decisions on education and policy (Fowler, 2013).

Significance of HBCUs as an Institution of Study

There are many areas of the Act of 1980 that could be studied; however, for the purposes of this research study, I focused on HBCUs as one minority-serving institution served by the Act of 1980. The focus on HBCUs was not an arbitrary choice. As a collective of institutions designated to educate Black Americans, HBCUs provided a context in which the steps outlined in the Act of 1980 could capitalize on the talent of those historically denied full access to STEM education. HBCUs have relied on the power of White Americans since their inception in 1835

and since then, Black Americans have been continuously denied access to equitable education (Kujovich, 1993). The doctrine of separate but equal never materialized for HBCUs. These institutions have relied primarily on public sources for funding, which have been inequitable when compared to their Historically White Institution (HWI) counterparts (Kujovich, 1993; Patton, 2016). These resource constraints limit the scope of what HBCUs can fully provide to their students. Without the sole power to fund their own schools, the curriculum and ability to educate their students have remained in the hands of their White counterparts. Different outcomes may occur if the White decision makers were faithful stewards of the education found in HBCUs and did not uphold the systems of power, privilege, and racism that come into play in policy making and institutionalized in college and university operations (Peeps, 1981).

The Act of 1980 emerged during a time in which many Black Americans were able to attend non-HBCUs. The ability for Black Americans to attend HWIs may be a victory for some; however, others would call the opening of these options a defeat for the continuously under-resourced HBCUs (Harper et al., 2009). The potential moving of the HBCUs top talent to HWIs would drain HBCUs of their highest caliber students as HWIs sought to increase diversity per federal mandates (Harper et al., 2009). Black Americans faced a double-edged sword: attend HWIs that merely tolerated their presence in the name of educational rights or attend the HBCUs that were considered unnecessary following legal desegregation (Gasman & Nguyen, 2019). As Gasman and Nguyen (2019) tell us, “Many Whites, even those with good intentions, assumed that anything Black would disappear and fold into the White world around it” (p. 7), thus representing one potential perspective with regard to HBCUs and their place in STEM—one where the educational landscape would no longer be occupied by HBCUs. However, what

remains to be explored is how the discursive context of such a policy represented the intersection of HBCUs, Black Americans, and STEM.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

The use of critical race theory (CRT) offers a framework for connecting racism, discourse, and the portrayals of HBCUs while also guiding the methodological selections of this study. CRT emphasizes that racism is a part of the lived experiences of minorities and that society is constructed in ways that protect the interests of Whites (Bell, 2004; Delgado, 1995; Harper et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Zamudio et al., 2011). This framework offers a perspective on the interplay between power, policy, racialized identity, and discourse and is further explored in Chapter 2.

Problem Statement

"Time and again, racist ideas have not been cooked up from the boiling pot of ignorance and hate. Time and again, powerful and brilliant men and women have produced racist ideas in order to justify the racist policies of their era, in order to redirect the blame for their era's racial disparities away from those policies and onto Black people."

-Ibram X. Kendi, Stamped From the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America, p. 9

Ibram X. Kendi (2016) called attention to the impact of policy on the lived experiences of Black people through not only the effects of policy implementation but also any attempts to challenge such effects. Such denial of these ill-effects is the direct cause of the continuation of racist ideas that uphold a society that privileges Whiteness (Kendi, 2016; van Dijk, 1993; van Dijk, 1997b). The dismantling of racism/White supremacy requires us to see it and name it for what it is (Pasque et al., 2022; Patton, 2016) and only then can corrective action be taken to stop

the reproduction of racism. On the surface, the Act of 1980 provided additional opportunities for HBCUs and their students in the fields of science and technology. The Act helped provide corrective action by Congress to support HBCUs in the critical areas of societal need in science and technology, a need which has existed at HBCUs since their inception (Kujovich, 1993; Patton, 2016). Given the generations of unequal funding provided to HBCUs in the areas of STEM education, a significant step toward equity to support options for HBCUs was, and still is, long overdue.

When reading a piece of legislation, such as the Act of 1980, it is important to note that such a document represents more than mere words on paper, and is also the product of a hidden, unpredictable, and value-laden policy processes (Fowler, 2013; K. B. Smith & Larimer, 2018). The actual policy is a product of an unknown number of compromises, revisions, and discourse exchanges within preexisting systems of inequality and power (Ball, 1993). A policy does not flow through a societal vacuum, protected from the influence and histories of its actors, but rather is shaped by these forces along its political journey (Ball, 1993; Fowler, 2013). The primary mechanism by which a policy is created and shaped is through the discourse of both text and talk. Policy *is* discourse and as Ball (1993) states, "discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (p. 14). Thus, policy and the policy process are directly tied to those who have the power to shape it—specifically, politicians, the public, and the mass media (Fowler, 2013). Of these influencers presented, the power held by the mass media holds a strong influence on the policy context that shaped the Act of 1980 (Fowler, 2013; K. B. Smith & Larimer, 2018).

The power of the mass media, even outside of policy, is undeniable. In the context of policy, the mass media holds *indirect power*, or as K. B. Smith and Larimer (2018) called it "the

ability to decide what is to be decided upon" for the government agenda and is "more influential in determining policy outcomes than is *direct power*, or the ability to actually make policy decisions" (p. 94, emphasis in original). The media also holds the power to influence the perspectives of politicians and the public about the problem a policy aims to solve and is key in setting the agenda for a particular issue (K. B. Smith & Larimer, 2018). Therefore, the way a policy problem is framed by the mass media holds significant weight and can do much to shape our collective perspective.

When studying the national newspaper coverage of civil disorders from 1968-1969, Myers and Caniglia (2004) argued "that these recent studies make it plain that the media are far from transparent conduits of information about political events. The media uses various filtering mechanisms that produce substantial representation of some events while neglecting others" (p. 521), which leads to the need to question the image of objectivity held by journalists of national newspapers (Gasman, 2007). Gasman (2007) discovered during her review of the media's coverage of Morris Brown College's initial loss of accreditation, the institution regained accreditation in 2022, that the history of media coverage of HBCUs tends to question the capability and relevance of these institutions, a perspective not given to their historically White counterparts. Furthermore, she argued that "although the media have the full set of facts in front of them, they mold these facts into a form that results in a negative picture of Black colleges" (p. 31), thus calling into question the sort of perspectives mass media, or national newspapers, presented about HBCUs and their relationship with science and technology during the policy context of the Act of 1980.

A critical exploration of the national newspaper discourse surrounding the Act of 1980 is not arbitrary, but one to highlight the ways the mass media shapes our *collective reality* (Myers

& Caniglia, 2004) because the mass media serves as an influential form of discourse that reifies power and racism in its role of educating and re-educating members of American society. The creation of newsworthy content recycles words, phrases, and images that trigger the attention of its readership. In the process of drawing attention to an event, national newspapers generate perspectives that their carefully curated knowledge is both important and truthful. As Foucault (1986) reminds us, the most important power is the ability to control truth and knowledge and there is no better way to do so than through far-reaching discourse. It is naïve to believe that national newspaper discourse that references HBCUs would shy away from the sort of *othering* of the institutions and its students that reinforces negative, stereotypical views of the "other" group in order to maintain the dominant group as positive. It is this type of manipulation of discourse that is the backbone of racism (van Dijk, 1993).

There is no way to combat racism unless individuals can critically explore the taken-for-granted assumptions that the media uses as part of its power to influence society based on hegemonic norms. The larger significance of such an exploration lies in the understanding of how racism, even during times of access, is embedded within society. The discourse present in national newspapers serves as a glance into important events in society for elite groups such as the policy makers responsible for the Act of 1980 (Barker, 2018). Due to such a connection, it is likely that the writing of the Act was influenced by the media's selection of newsworthy content, which represented the norms of the time. As previously mentioned, this content selection by influential sources impacts the narrative of HBCUs and their role in advancing STEM. The window of opportunity to explore such discourse, March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980, represents when the Act was introduced and ultimately signed. The fact that the act was passed demonstrates that, according to Kingdon (1995), problems, solutions, and politics converged in

such a way that the Act of 1980 represented a solution to a defined problem. Understanding better how the media portrayed HBCUs and Black Americans relative to the need to diversify STEM can inform an understanding of how the Act was ultimately implemented.

Research Question

What remains to be discovered is how national newspapers of the time contributed to the discourse surrounding HBUCs and subsequently Black students with regard to their roles in STEM during the period leading up to the passage of the Act of 1980. As previously stated, such discourse for this study was bounded by the dates of March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980, which provided a span for sampling of discursive context that may have influenced the policy-making process and its actors. Focusing on this specific timeframe, the following research question was explored:

- What are the constructed images of HBCUs and Black students present in national newspaper discourse with respect to STEM topics?

Significance of the Study

The United States of America is a mixture of unique human resources that, if correctly maximized, can propel STEM innovation. However, such an aspiration of broad inclusion has yet to be achieved as evident in reoccurring policies and NSF funding initiatives aimed at strengthening STEM education in terms of both gender and race. These policies fail to remedy hidden challenges to true implementation. In the case of Black Americans, the permeance of racism in discourse creates perspectives of this group as subordinate to their White counterparts (Bell, 2004; van Dijk, 1997b; van Dijk et al., 1997). Such positioning maintains Black Americans as unable to fully take advantage of what opportunities may be provided. How this discourse is reified in the national news serves as an important point of study, as this presentation

in the press contributes to the context in which policies are formed. The findings of this study offer several significant implications.

Theory

This study contributes to the theoretical discussion of CRT by demonstrating its applicability to policy development. In doing so, the study expands knowledge of how the tenets of CRT can be applied in analyzing policy context. Furthermore, a critical analysis of racism (CAR) present and reinforced within national newspaper discourse highlights how methods of othering occur. These findings call to light the embeddedness of everyday racism through techniques of othering of Blacks relative to the norms of Whiteness (Bell, 2004; van Dijk, 1997b; van Dijk et al., 1997). The study also counters the negative perspectives of HBCUs and Black Americans and their contributions to the STEM field. This perspective allows for history to be understood from the lens of those historically marginalized and left out of this conversation.

Policy

The study contributes to the understanding of policy by demonstrating that even if not explicitly stated, every policy has a context created through discourse that reaches not only the eyes of elite groups, but also the eyes of the public. The study contributes to the understanding of policy context, more specifically, the media's contribution to such context. While hidden from the public view, the policy process involves discourse and information that is available in the public arena. Within the context of the United States, discourse within such a space also embodies systemic racism that shapes the policy process. And while the Act of 1980 represented a shift in the status quo because of its intention to broaden participation in STEM, it is worthy to explore whether the discourse in the national media was in favor of such a shift.

A secondary reason for understanding how national newspapers contributed to the formation of the Act of 1980 is through their potential to also serve as a key policy lever, or tool, the government could use to direct change by disseminating information to the public (Grossman, 2022). For this study, national newspapers are explored through the assumption of instances of White supremacist beliefs that alter the representation of HBCUs and Black Americans; however, it is worth noting that the mass media can also be used for the good of the public. For example, the media can also be critical in informing the public of key changes in policy, garnering support, and assisting with needed implementation strategies. The ability for mass media to serve in this capacity is not limited to policies at the national level but can apply to any media outlets that might affect institutional or state level policies.

The study cannot say for sure what information contributed to the final product of the Act of 1980, and yet, it is worth exploring the possibility of contributions. This research study opens an avenue for additional policy research by providing a starting point for additional studies centered on the Act of 1980, the constituents, and the implementation of the policy itself. The study serves as an opening for others to explore the results, contexts, actors, and public opinion, if present, within the policy. This study provides one of many angles to take to explore the context that gave rise to Act of 1980.

Practice

The study contributes to practice by putting forward a critical exploration of taken for granted assumption that can assist the NSF, HBCUs, and those teaching in the STEM disciplines in the movement towards racial equity. The opening of the NSF was a key starting point towards realizing the goal of using the full talent of this country. The findings of this study can assist this organization by providing an alternative view as to why gains in STEM have not met aspired

goals. The findings within this study can provide such insight as the NSF continues to increase the portrait of a diverse STEM workforce. As institutions of focus, HBCUs can benefit from suggestions on how to ensure appropriate institutional representation in the media along with understanding ways to combat negative representations. Also, HBCUs are well positioned to serve as partners with policymakers to promote racial equity and anti-racist perspectives. And lastly, those who teach in STEM disciplines can benefit from understanding how discourse contributes to a representation of who STEM is for and who it is not. Such positioning has direct influence on which students are successful in STEM programs. In addition, the findings of this study can assist in improving the critical perspective of all those involved in the continued diversification of STEM.

Literature

The study contributes to the research by offering a counter perspective on the objectivity of national newspapers. The significance of such a study lies in uncovering systems that impede equality in STEM areas. Critically exploring how discourse reinforces White norms will allow conversation about the essential role the mass media plays when shaping the ethnic consensus and how such a role can replicate existing bias. The study contributes to the understanding of why the United States continues to make marginal gains in the areas of diversity in STEM fields. By highlighting long-standing biases that, once challenged, can be changed to move the country forward in terms of equity for Black Americans. Such findings can also be explored with other racial groups.

Definition of Terms

This study covers a spectrum of content, and the following terms provide a basis for common understanding. A notation is made when a term is to be used interchangeably with another term.

- **African American.** An American of Black African descent (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a).
- **Black American.** Hilliard (2001) offered the use of Black American to emphasize how the use of African American is the appropriate term for the descendants of African enslaved people since the term focuses on shared ethnicity and heritage. However, the term Black American is used in place of African American as a reclamation and appreciation of a shared identity based on a person's skin color within American society. This contrast also upholds the duality expressed in society regarding White Americans.
- **Discourse.** Written, spoken, or textual communication embodies ideologies hidden from everyday view (Fairclough, 1989).
- **Elite.** An individual who belongs to a group with the ability to control discourse and public opinion (van Dijk, 1993). Such group membership includes politicians, mass media, educators, and corporate professionals and is comprised of primarily White members.
- **Ethnicity**. Often used interchangeably with race, describes an individual's cultural heritage (Hilliard, 2001; van Dijk et al., 1997). For example, the focus on race, as in racism, is actually a focus on ethnicity as race is a social construct (van Dijk, 1993).
- **Hegemony**. Dominance of one group over another through a process of constant reeducation through social interaction and discourse (van Belle, 2010).
- **Historically Black College & University (HBCU).** Institutions of higher education that were originally founded to provide primary education to Black Americans (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 1991).

- **Historically White Institution (HWI).** Institutions of higher education that were founded to educate White men or women. Such institutions are also typically predominately White as well (Brunsma et al., 2012). For this study, HWI refers to institutions founded to educate White Americans to juxtapose those founded to educate Black Americans.
- **Ideology.** The shared set of beliefs a group has about themselves, others, and society. (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-c). Ideology is also referred to as "common-sense assumptions" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2) that are hidden yet imbued in instances of discourse used to manufacture consent within society.
- **National Newspaper.** A newspaper with a distribution throughout the country that covers topics of interest to a larger readership (Pew Research Center, 1998). The four national newspapers that were reviewed for this study are: the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal,* and the *Washington Post*.
- **Mass Media.** The media outlets that serve as the primary channel that elites use to communicate with the general public; these outlets also serve as a primary means for information on ethnic affairs (van Dijk, 1993)
- **Minority.** A group that is culturally, ethnically, or racially distinguished from a more dominant group with such a distinction based on a subordinate status within society (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.-b). Within the United States, non-Whites are considered minorities. Population size is not a determining factor of this status; however, this term will take on new meaning within the United States as predictions state that the proportions will be swapped, thus minorities will be the majority ethnic identity by 2045 (Vespa et al., 2020).

- **Minority Affairs.** The topics and subjects that relate to race, ethnicity, and diversity (van Dijk, 1993).
- **Minority-Serving Institution (MSI)**. An institution that serves the educational needs of minorities (U.S. Department of the Interior Office of Civil Rights, n.d.). In this study, the focus was on HBCUs.
- **Othering.** The practice of creating distance between oneself and another person using language and serves as the primary mechanism by which elites position themselves as higher than minoritized groups (van Dijk, 1993).
- **Power.** A mechanism through which an individual or group is able to actively realize their needs and wants. Different groups have varied levels of power and while no one group can hold total power, it is not easily distributed (Foucault, 2000). A further examination of power and its role in this study will be covered in Chapter 2.
- **Predominately White Institution (PWI).** An institution in which most of its student body identifies as White and many institutions that are predominately White are also historically White (Brunsma et al., 2012; Lomotey, 2010). For this study, historically White is used to juxtapose historically Black where appropriate.
- **Race.** Merriam-Webster (n.d.-d) offers race to mean "any one of the groups that humans are often divided into based on physical traits regarded as common among people of shared ancestry" (para. 1). The concept of race is socially constructed to shift group membership from a difference in culture to one focused on physical features (Hilliard, 2001). Although the appropriate focus should be on ethnicity, the use of the term race for this study allows it to connect with concepts used in the general public and society.

- **Racism**. Structure and systematic practices founded in ideology (Hilliard, 2001). van Dijk (1993) offers the term everyday racism to denote racism that has been ingrained in common instances of communication; therefore, invisible to the general public.
- **Science, Engineering, and Mathematics.** A collective term used with the NSF Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act of 1980 to define areas that fell under the scope of the NSF. This term has transformed into what is commonly known as STEM.
- **Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM).** A collective term used for the education curriculum based in science, engineering, technology, and mathematics disciplines that was introduced by the NSF in 2001 (Hallinen, n.d.). An example of such exists within the Act of 1980, the acronym *SEM* for science, engineering, and mathematics was used; however, the language specifically mentions science and technology as the areas of focus for increased participation. For this study, STEM will be used throughout unless specifically noted for the context of the research question and policy context timeframe.
- **White Supremacy.** The ideological view that positions Whites as superior to their non-White counterparts by treating the constructed view of race as "the primary explanatory factor in human social behavior" (Hilliard, 2001, p. 21). Such a position serves as the foundation for racism's permeance through societal systems (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-e).

Chapter Summary

This chapter poses the proposition of how the Act of 1980 represents a unique opportunity to explore national newspaper discourse involving HBCUs and science and

technology. Through the method of discourse analysis situated within the theoretical frameworks of CRT and CAR, the hidden bias of everyday racism present in national media was explored. Chapter 2 provides an overview of relevant literature as it relates to the interplay of power, policy, and discourse. Next, a review of CRT provides more background to how this framework helps inform the study, in particular how CRT will be used for data analysis alongside CAR. And lastly, a history of HBCUs, the creation of STEM, and relevant educational policies.

Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature

A review of the literature provides greater context on the important concepts that frame the study; thus, the review includes an overview of the reproduction of racism through social, power, and discursive means with a focus on how newspapers are the product and creators of this intersection. From there, the literature review provides an overview of the two primary theoretical frameworks that guide the study. Next, a historical review occurs of the importance of HBCUs and their role as the first educators of Black Americans. Within this historical section, an overview of key policies related to science and technology (STEM) education for these institutions is also included.

The Reproduction of Racism

van Dijk (1993) stated that, "social and political events during the 1980s and early 1990s have shown that ethnicism and racism continue to be a major problem of White-dominated societies in Europe, North America, and other Europeanized countries" (p. 7) and more than 30 years later this statement still rings true. Pasque et al. (2022) further added that,

> I want to be clear here that issues of racism, discrimination and the like are not new in education and society but have intensified recently. We know from good research and our own experiences, that racism and anti-Black racism have been a part of education and systems of education for a really, really long time. (p. 6)

This "really, really long time" has meant 403 years of racism and dehumanization of Black Americans based on perceived differences among Blacks relative to White hegemonic norms and man-made policies.

The discussion of racism first requires an exploration of the term. Race, as it is commonly used, is a social construct based primarily on physical differences such as skin color (Hilliard, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). To use the term *racism* presupposes that these physical differences constitute significant differences among individuals with such shared characteristics, when in actuality such differences are grounded in culture and ethnicity (Hillard, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). As van Dijk (1993) argued, racism builds on "merely social constructions based on common-sense perceptions of superficial differences of appearance" (p. 24). Such differences are not biologically based, but the resulting racism is one rooted in "European group dominance exercised especially with respect to non-European (non-White) groups of peoples identified in terms of a complex set of attributed physical, cultural, and socioeconomic differences" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 24) that have real-world consequences such as "unequal access to material or symbolic social resources" (van Dijk et al., 1997, p. 165). The focus of racism is on group interactions rather than individual ones although individual actions contribute to the group as a whole (Turner & Myers, 2000).

Maintaining a focus on the group, there are many nuances to racism that create White group dominance over subordinated groups, which van Dijk (1993) coined as *everyday racism* or the "everyday, mundane, negative opinions, attitudes, and ideologies and the seemingly subtle acts and conditions of discrimination against minorities" (p. 5). Part of the everyday elements include the "social cognitions and social acts, processes, structures, or institutions" that create a system that continually positions minority groups as subordinate to their White counterparts (van Dijk, 1993, p. 5). This system functions as an ongoing process and it is the everyday occurrences that contribute to the ease with which such a system is maintained.

> This system of inequality is reproduced in many ways. Dominant White group members may engage in everyday discrimination against dominated groups and their members while at the same time acquiring and using the beliefs that form the mental basis of such discrimination. This double system of everyday action (discrimination) and cognition (prejudices, racist ideologies) at the micro level implements and sustains the macro-level system of group inequality and the role of organizations and institutions in the reproduction of racism." (van Dijk, 1997b, pp. 32-33)

Relevant to this study, national newspaper discourse is a key contributor to this everyday reeducation on the underlying beliefs that anything associated with Black Americans is seen as less than.

A powerful component of the pervasiveness of everyday racism is the denial of racism's existence (Kendi, 2016). The notion of "color-blind society" has ramifications that deny the lived experiences of those who experience racism as a regular part of their everyday life (Neville et al., 2016). The denial also absolves the need to fix or remedy the issue and may be direct or indirect in the form of ignorance or inaction.

> [With respect to everyday racism], if whites [*sic*] are not themselves actively involved in these modern forms of segregation, exclusion, aggression, interiorization, or marginalization, then their involvement in the problem of racism consists in their passivity, their acquiescence, their ignorance, and their indifference regarding ethnic or racial inequality. (van Dijk, 1993, p. 6)

The ability to deny the existence of racism is in itself an exercise of power by White Americans who have been socialized to desire and expect the privileges afforded to them through racism

(Bell, 2004). Therefore, exploring the role of socialization is yet another factor in the reproduction of racism.

The Role of Socialization

Another key aspect of the reproduction of racism is the role of social cognition. Humans are by nature social beings and have grouped themselves through shared ancestry which includes customs, language, and belief systems. When looking at knowledge shared at the group level, social cognition "treats human knowledge as a social product under shared ownership" (Condor & Antaki, 1997, p. 329); thus, how we come to perceive the world is a by-product of the interactions of individuals. The knowledge includes how the self, others, and social systems are structured. For racism to exist, there has to be a distinction made between different groups and a value judgment placed on which groups are dominant and which groups are subordinate. This distinction must be systematically attributed to the group based on easily identifiable characteristics such as ethnicity. The system of racism exists because "character, intelligence, morals, or characteristic actions, are assumed to be inherently related to the racial or ethnic identity of the group" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 23). Therefore, once particular characteristics are attributed to a group, it will be nearly impossible to disassociate those characteristics, whether they be positive or negative. For racism to exist, groups have to be positioned in ways that create a social hierarchy based on membership.

The process of group affiliation has both in-group and out-group dynamics that contribute to an individual's positive self-representation. Within the context of this study, the existence of racism presupposes that one group is inherently superior compared to other groups. In the context of the United States, racism has focused on White group membership's "inherent superiority" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 23) and has morphed towards a focus on group differences with

a perspective that factors attributed to White group membership, or Whiteness, receives preferential treatment (van Dijk, 1993). And if Whiteness is to be socially constructed as a needed privilege, then attributes that are non-white, as in the case of Blackness, have the opposite effect. The attribution to Whiteness in the form of power and privilege is another aspect of racism that is worthy of exploration.

The Role of Power

Power, in an absolute sense, is a complex construct that has several areas of consideration, which lends itself to several interpretations of what constitutes power and in what situations (Morgan, 1997). The use of power contributes to continued racism as it allows White group members to have rights and privileges not equally afforded to non-White members. Maintaining the focus on the group level, these privileges coupled with access to power results in the dominance of White group members over non-White group members. Such dominance allows for preferential access to several sources of power including the ability to create knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1986; Morgan, 1997). It is elite group members within this dominant group that play a significant role in the reproduction of the ethnic consensus, or rather, the way in which non-White groups are perceived; therefore, they play a key role in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk, 1997b). Furthermore, as van Dijk (1993) argued, such control is not limited to the dominant group, but also its members:

> Besides their control over the access to valued social resources, dominant groups may indirectly control the minds of others. They may do so through persuasive discourse and by other means that limit the acquisition and the use of relevant knowledge and beliefs necessary to act freely and in ones' own interests. (p. 21)

This ability to create knowledge and control truth about a group of people is the ultimate form of power (Foucault, 2000) and not only allows general consensus to be maintained about racialized groups, but also limits the ability for all group members to question even general aspects of truth.

The Role of Discourse

A key component in the reproduction of racism is the use of language, which in turn contributes to the emergence of discourse. Norman Fairclough (1989) is cited as one of the pioneers in the study of discourse, and he defined discourse as "language that is socially determined (p. 21). Many theorists have built upon his work to create their own views of discourse. For example, Riggins (1997) added, "A more technical definition [of discourse] might be to say that a discourse is a systematic, internally consistent body of representation [of language]" (p. 2). Discourse is the "language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 56). According to Fairclough (1989, 2003), the text of discourse is but one of three elements that comprise any instance of discourse: the text itself, the social event that shapes the production of the text, and the social practice in which both exist.

First Aspect of Discourse: Text and Spoken Language. The uniqueness of newspaper discourse is that it is text which also comprises excerpts of spoken language in the form of direct quotes used by journalists. It is also a mechanism to create a shared understanding and belief system that upholds the truth created by those with access to its discourse. The process of manufacturing truth is one that is created by the intersection of discourse and the maintenance of power relations in society across the globe (van Dijk, 1993). Within such discourse are "common-sense assumptions" that are taken for granted and hidden from common view. These assumptions are the basis for shared ideologies among group members. The existence of

ideology in language, and ultimately discourse, makes it a central component in power and the struggle for it (Fairclough, 1989). The maintenance of ideology has perspectives that are seen as truer than others. Those who have access to create and sustain ideology on a widespread level, such as through the mass media, are able to mold information to fit their version of the truth. Hyatt (2013) underscores how this process is in a constant state of transformation:

> The process of representing and constructing such transformations is discursive, where discourses are viewed as socially and culturally formed, but historically changing, ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and towards, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artifacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of affairs to come to seem or be taken as "normal" or "natural" and others to seem or be taken as "deviant" or "marginal." (p. 837)

Even as discourse changes over time, there is still a constant state of maintenance towards a consensus of normality. Thus, it is worth exploring how some discourse may be positioned as representing the truth given the consistent evolution of truth.

Second Aspect: Social Events That Shape Text Production. The second aspect of any instance of discourse is the social event, or reason for the creation of the text. In the case of a newspaper article, there is the original event that shaped the creation of the text and also the process of the journalist creating the article. Both of these social events are incorporated into the final production of the text. Once a text is created there are two key aspects to consider, the author and intended audience, as both have mental maps that aid in understanding along with assumptions about what is presented or omitted (van Dijk, 1993). Discourse in newspapers creates assumptions about the reader along with the subjects of the article, or rather "discourse

constructs and produces not only reality, but also our sense of self (subjectivity) in relation to these realities" (Allan, 2010, p. 15).

Third Aspect: Society as a Social Practice for Events and Text Production. Fairclough (1989) offers an important understanding of how language and society are intertwined when saying:

> My view is that there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena. (p. 23)

The relationship between discourse and society is one where they comprise and are composed of the other. Namely, discourse influences societal understanding of issues and the culture of society is reified in discourse. There is no true individualism within such a relationship unless one actively attempts to critically examine this relationship. Even then, changes as a result of this critical examination are subject to society as one interacts with others. People use language in ways that are subject to social convention and both its acquisition and use are subject to such conventions (Fairclough, 1989; Rios, 2017).

Fourth Aspect: Manufacturing Consent Through Newspaper Discourse. Discourse, given its social function, has the power to influence and shape perspectives across a large span of people in the form of manufacturing consent (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). Discourse has "mental, interactional and social functions" to accomplish the "doing" of "everyday racism" through "enact[ing] ethnic conflict, polarization and dominance by presenting others in negative terms and us in positive terms while downplaying our negative characteristics such as racism" (van Dijk et al., 1997, p. 165). Bonilla-Silva (2012) introduces the notion of a "racial grammar" that is

"acquired, transacted, and changed through social interaction and communication" (p. 174). Thus, newspaper discourse is a site where, social cognition, power, and discourse converge to uphold the reproduction of racism.

Section Summary

This section described how the reproduction of racism involves several different areas to include the social—cognition and group affiliation, power—dominance and maintenance, and language—discourse and grammar. The section provides an overview of the components that shape the reproduction of racism. These three components then exist in newspaper discourse and become a part of the racial grammar of society. The next section focuses on the theoretical frameworks that ground this study—critical race theory and critical analysis of racism.

Critical Race Theory

"Researchers need to acknowledge their own power, engage in dialogues, and use theory to interpret or illuminate social action" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 29). The use of CRT as the theoretical framework for this study served as a lens to "study and transform the relationship between race, racism, and power" (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012, p. 3) as it relates to the influence of newspaper discourse on the perspectives of both elite groups and the general population regarding HBCUs and their role in science in technology. Such perspectives are shaped by everyday racism, specifically racism that is so rooted in society that it is often taken for granted by those who are not the objects of it (van Dijk, 1993). CRT also calls forward the notion that those who experience racism as people of color, are best positioned to identify, critically examine, and call out such instances (L. Parker & Lynn, 2002; van Dijk, 1993). The ultimate goal of CRT is a call to action to change the structures that reproduce racism. Pasque and colleagues (2022) argued:

> When examining systemic oppression through the lens of critical race theory one can clearly see the permanence of racism and Whiteness as property. My point here is that when we don't use critical lenses to contextualize problems in society, we become short-sighted. As a result, we create solutions that don't really solve problems at their root, thus essentially perpetuating the problem instead of truly solving it. (p. 8)

In 1995, Ladson-Billings and Tate wrote *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education* that sparked the focus on the need for studies of educational inequity to foreground race and acknowledge the role of racism in education. Thus, the use of CRT in education was applied as a call to action for scholars and educators to engage in critical work to dismantle systems of oppression (Patton, 2016). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) outlined three areas for this CRT focused on the education system:

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the U.S.
2. U.S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and consequently, school) inequity. (p. 12)

Finding its origins in law, CRT sought to explore how the relationship between race and the outcomes of the legal system (Patton et al., 2007). Over time, CRT has expanded in the pursuit of understanding how race and racism impact the lived experiences of minoritized groups. Across the research, several tenets are considered important to an understanding of how CRT is used as a theoretical framework to guide this research study:

- Tenet #1: Racism is permanent and influences all aspects (political, economic, social, and education) of U.S. society. (Bell, 2005; Harper et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995)

- Tenet #2: People of color advance when their interests converge with those in power. (Bell, 2004; Harper et al., 2009)
- Tenet #3: People of color possess knowledge that is valid and critical to exploring their lived experiences.
- Tenet #4: Race intersects with other identities and forms of oppression to influence the lives of people of color.
- Tenet #5: Whiteness is a form of property and offers benefits to those who identify as White, and its use is protected and controlled. (Bell, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995)
- Tenet #6: Concepts such as meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality, and objectivity are challenged. (Harper et al., 2009)
- Tenet #7: All people should have equal access to resources and participation in society.

The central goal of this study was to understand better how the reproduction of racism in American society in the form of newspaper articles provided background information and context as policy makers formulated the 1980 Act. CRT offers a perspective to explore the "why" behind the reproduction of racism, to maintain Whiteness as property, but cannot fully explore the "how" behind it. As a theoretical framework for the study, CRT contributes the notion that not only does racism exist, but as a Black woman, I am uniquely and specifically positioned to identify instances of racism in national newspaper discourse because of it being my lived, everyday experience.

Critical Analysis of Racism

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the qualitative methods used in this study, which includes a review of Critical Discourse Analysis and complementing this method for data analysis was van Dijk's (1993) Critical Analysis of Racism (CAR) framework that provides the perspective that racism is reproduced in societies due to the discourse of elite group members. Elite discourse is also seen as a primary component of the *everyday racism* that marks the lives of people of color and directly ties into CRT's notion that racism is a regular part of the lived experiences of this group. van Dijk's (1993) framework positions *othering* as a primary means by which White elites recreate discourse that manufactures their perspective as the truth about the ethnic consensus. Furthermore, CAR provides a method to explore how Whiteness is normalized within the United States.

According to van Dijk (1993), the maintenance of ethnic consensus is maintained occurs through everyday or "common-sense assumptions" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 4) buried within accessible discourse. Such techniques place White group members (Us or Self) against minorities (Them or Others) in the good versus bad, right versus wrong dichotomy (Riggins, 1997; van Dijk, 1993, 1997b). What is hidden from view, unless a critical perspective is taken, is the implantation of ideologies that represent society's inability to divorce itself from the maintenance and reproduction of racism. Without such an understanding of these nuanced representations, change towards equal access to resources will not be obtainable.

Section Summary

CRT emphasizes that racism permeates the everyday life of racialized groups and using critical discourse analysis seeks to critically explore discourse with the understanding of its power in the production of racism. CAR takes this a step further and argues that such racism is

(re)produced by elites through a technique of othering when speaking on topics related to race and ethnicity.

The combination of CRT and CAR offers a foundation that positions racism as a common component of society and the lived experiences of minoritized groups. The use of these two theories positions the framing of the other as an important area to explore. The other, Black Americans/HBCUs, would be characterized by negative stereotyping that further creates an image of such individuals and institutions as inferior. Such positioning has existed since the first Africans were brought to what is now known as the United States and the next section offers an overview of how these eventually freed Africans were educated in a society based on their continued subordination.

HBCUs

The ending of the Civil War in 1865 marked the end of the Southern states' ability to legally enslave Black Americans for economic gain and created a complex set of circumstances aimed at 'reconstructing' the war-torn South. The Reconstruction Era that followed, 1865-1877, marked a period of "ambivalence and confusion" (Colby, 1985, p. 219) on the part of Congress who struggled with the appropriate course of action to ensure the welfare of those now labeled *freedmen.* These four million Black Americans, mostly illiterate, were cast into the hands of northern philanthropists who sought to educate them since the Southern states rejected the idea of educating Blacks in order to maintain their slave-master society. As Peeps (1981) explained, "any sort of education promised to poison the slave mentality" (p. 253) and destroy the caste system the South had fought so hard to maintain.

Northern Philanthropy: American Missionary Association

One key organization that assisted in the creation of institutions to educate Black Americans was the American Missionary Association (AMA). In 1846, four established missionary associations unified to voice their anti-slavery views and to take a stand against more established societies that remained silent in the face of slavery (DuBois, 1901). Before the Civil War, the AMA used religious instruction to educate all Southern classes, White and Black, and was the first organization of its time to provide such services (Green, 1874).

In 1861, the AMA sent Reverend L.C Lockwood to Union-controlled Fort Monroe in Virginia to help establish educational services for General Butler's "contrabands of war" and provide an "intelligent Christian culture to the colored race in America" (Green, 1874, p. 12). After the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, Virginia, as a place of former enslaved people further engaged with the AMA to support Black citizens. According to Green (1874), the Freedmen's "physical destitution was no more manifested than was their eagerness for learning. Amid pinching want, amounting almost to starvation, they seemed more anxious for schools than food" (p. 14). These cries for help were answered. In 1864 the AMA dispatched 250 missionaries, mainly women, to Virginia and other states along the Mississippi river.

The AMA, nonsectarian in structure, wanted evangelical missionaries from all denominations to answer the call of the Freedmen. The National Council of Congregational Churches raised $250,000 for the association to employ 320 people and these missionaries were sent to schools throughout the South. Green (1894) stated that, "the Normal Schools were the greatest gift from the North because it fitted [Blacks] with their own educators" (p. 19). Because the U.S. society was still segregated and many Southern Whites refused to teach Black students, the work of the AMA to support opportunities for Freedmen to receive an education was critical.

Green (1874) reminds the reader, however, that in 1868 the Southern Rebellion was sleeping, but it was not dead.

Some Southerners, angered by Northern efforts to advance Blacks, killed both missionaries and Freedmen. Undeterred, the AMA sent more missionaries than the previous year for a total of 532 in 1865 (Green, 1874). The continuation of schools and churches for the Freedmen demonstrated the continued sympathy of the North, and more importantly, the sympathy of the AMA. As the Southern rebellion continued, the AMA realized the need for the Freedmen to become their own educators. Green (1874) noted the work of the AMA in the founding of Berea College (Kentucky), Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Virginia), Fisk University (Tennessee), Atlanta University (Georgia), Talladega College (Alabama), Tougaloo College (Mississippi), and Straight College (Louisiana). Today, the successors of these institutions remain pioneering HBCUs.

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

W.E.B. DuBois (1901) called the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands "the most singular and interesting of the attempts made by a great nation to grapple with the vast problems of race and social condition" (p. 354). Better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, the organization was established by an act of Congress on March 3, 1865, to provide services to the Freedmen of the Southern states and assist with their transition from slavery to freedom (Colby, 1985). Placed under the jurisdiction of the War Department, the Bureau was to be in existence for only one year. DuBois argued that the Bureau was a "hasty bit of legislation, vague and uncertain in outline" (DuBois, 1901, p. 357), which provided considerable freedom to the Bureau's leaders. Dubois (1901) further argued that this "national

crisis" needed a solider at the helm of the project for both the ability to serve in a time of need and to serve without pay as Congress had not provided a salary for the position.

The solider to answer the urgent call of duty was Major General Oliver O. Howard, the founder and third president of Howard University. General Howard was appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau on May 12, 1865, and assumed office on the 15th to fix the crisis that lay before him.

On May 19, 1865, assistant commissioners and sub-assistant commissioners were assigned to the seceded states and it was their duty to oversee all matters relating to the Freedmen and their welfare (DuBois, 1901). General Howard, whom others noted as "the Christian man, the indefatigable worker, and the impartial friend of White and Black" (Green, 1874, p. 17), defined the role of the Freedmen's Bureau as one that oversees educational programs, abandoned lands, and appropriate compensation of labor (Colby, 1985). Due to racial tensions, the appropriation and redistribution of abandoned lands to Freedmen was discontinued within six months (Colby, 1985).

Congressional debates over the Freedmen's Bureau were ongoing and threatened to end the work of the Freedmen's Bureau. Even in its beginnings, the Freedmen's Bureau received hefty criticism that questioned whether the federal government was infringing on state's rights, whether it had the authority to start a bureau to handle state-level concerns, and whether this would set a precedent for welfare agencies for other racial groups (Colby, 1985). Howard wanted to ensure that Congress continued the organization and outlined six areas the Bureau had discovered to justify its continuation:

- The land division issue would need an additional year for satisfactory resolution;
- Freedmen needed to have the continued protection offered by the Bureau;

- Additional time was required to complete the formal education of the Freedmen;
- The Freedmen found the Bureau to be their "only hope for justice;"
- The Bureau was the sole source of constant and reliable information for both the White and Black Southerners;
- The Bureau needed to provide encouragement to families to move to other states to secure employment and relocate families. (Colby, 1985)

Although the Bureau was continued during the 1866 Congressional session, President Andrew Johnson once again vetoed the Act stating that it was not in the best interest of the nation, and that the Bureau duplicated already existing liberties given to the Freedmen. In addition, the Bureau's leaders were accused of using their power to allocate funding disproportionately to help the Freedmen. Once again, the debate centered around whether the federal government had the jurisdiction to execute welfare programs at the state level (Colby, 1985).

President Johnson's veto was overruled; however, the Military Reconstruction Act in March of 1867 was established to limit the power of the Bureau. Howard was no longer able to develop the Bureau into what he thought was best for the Freedmen. Starting in 1868, Congress released Southern states from the power of the Bureau and diminished the overall authority of the Bureau. In 1869, the Bureau moved away from its role in providing educational services and instead solely focused on distributing money to former Black soldiers. Howard made one last attempt to restore congressional support by pleading for the assistance needed to support Blacks in the hostile Southern environment. His pleas fell on indifferent ears and the Freedmen's Bureau was officially closed in June of 1872 (Colby, 1985).

Once regarded as property, Freedmen faced obstacles as they shook off the bonds of slavery and entered a new life filled with uncertainty and continuous discrimination. The

preparation of learning how to teach themselves through the Normal Schools, supported by the AMA and the Freedmen's Bureau, would have provided an opportunity for Freedmen to acquire an education and increase their agency.

These budding institutions faced challenges from the beginning. As was the case with Fisk University, many teachers were threatened, physically harmed, and even killed by the local community who sought to deny Blacks from receiving any sort of education (Richardson, 1980). Even though Blacks were far behind their White counterparts in terms of education obtained, there were still attempts to deny them even the most basic education. As Peeps (1981) stated, most White Southerners were dedicated to destroying any progress made by Blacks after the Reconstruction Era.

Separate and Unequal Education

The purpose of the first HBCUs was to provide educational opportunities to Black Americans despite the continuous policies aimed at denying equal opportunities. The goal of this section is to provide an understanding of key policies that shaped higher education for Black Americans including the creation of land grant colleges and universities, maintenance of separate education facilities, and the eventual establishment of HBCUs as a designation recognized by Congress. These policies, starting with the Morrill Acts of 1890, were created in the context of legalized racial segregation and marginalization of Black Americans through Jim Crow laws that were enacted after the Civil War (History.com Editors, 2022). Although these laws are illegal today, the continued impact and reach of racism continues.

The intersection of HBCUs and STEM requires an understanding of the creation of such education at these institutions. The lack of formal education of the Freedmen led to many Black institutions of higher education serving as primary and secondary schools for their students

(Peeps, 1981; U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 1991). As such, the discussion of an appropriate curriculum was a constant topic and two key Black educators, W.E.B DuBois and Booker T. Washington, were at the center. Following the notion of Social Darwinism and the belief that Blacks were a genetically inferior race, Booker T. Washington, who Harlan (1971) labels as “The Great Assimilator" advocated for the teaching of vocational training to gain the respect of their White peers. His counterpart, W.E.B. Dubois desired the uplifting of the Black teacher who would then educate the “talented tenth” of the race (Peeps, 1981, p. 260). However, the relationship between these two educators is more complicated than is relevant to the framing of this study.

The vocational-based curriculum established by Booker T. Washington appealed to the Southern states and northern philanthropists who wanted to maintain the established caste system. Early funders of HBCUs, such as the philanthropists Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller gave their financial blessing to schools that were modeled after Washington’s vocational education and ignored schools that were not. For example, schools such as Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Washington’s alma mater) received Morrill Act funds from 1872-1929 to teach their students how to lay bricks, make butter, and sew dresses. Given the dependency of schools on external funding, many schools that upheld DuBois’s way of educating were forced to assume a vocational focus to survive (Peeps, 1981). As discussed by Breaux (2012), the fear and anxiety felt by the dominant group has historically manifested in a constant state of keeping the minority group in a subservient position, which in the case of HBCUs has manifested in selective and unequal funding.

The Black Land Grant: Inequality Continues. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided each state 30,000 acres of land based on its number of congressional seats to establish colleges that

specialized in “agriculture and the mechanical arts” or what are often known as land-grant universities (Act of July 2, 1862 [Morrill Act], 1862). Under this legislation, states could use the resources to establish schools or appropriate the funds to create agricultural and mechanical arts schools. A second Morrill Act, that of 1890 gave rise to 17 colleges that educated Black Americans as the former Confederate states were allowed to create separate institutions instead of admitting Black Americans to White schools. The decision to maintain separate educational facilities was upheld in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) where the courts determined that segregation laws did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment as long as they were of equal standing.

Despite the separate but equal doctrine, the 1890 Black land-grant universities systematically receive unequal funding when compared to their White counterparts. As Kujovich (1993) noted, in 1928, only 25% of $1.5 million in federal funds were received by the Black land grant colleges as Blacks at the time only made up 23 percent of the population. These funding discrepancies continued throughout the existence of the Black land-grants. From 2010-2012, “61 percent of 1890 land-grant institutions did not receive 100 percent of the one-to-one-matching funds from their respective states for extension or research funding,” and this resulted in HBCUs not receiving $57 million in funding (Lee & Keys, 2013, p. 1). This snapshot data highlights how these institutions have faced a history of financial neglect throughout their existence. Despite the lack of funding, “HBCUs thrived and provided refuge from laws and public policy that prohibited Black Americans from attending most colleges and universities” (HBCU First, n.d., para. 7).

The initial focus on agricultural and technical sciences by these founding land-grant institutions is the basis for what transformed into STEM education. As such, the most striking

reason for acknowledging the constant neglect of HBCUs is the inability of Black Americans to contribute equally to the knowledge base of STEM-related discoveries due to the continued neglect and under-resourcing of these institutions by state governments.

Integration: Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Beyond. The emphasis on separate educational facilities, in theory, ended with the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision; however, HWIs were slow to adopt the policy and would be required by federal court cases to integrate their schools. The year 1964 marked a turning point in the Civil Rights Movement that sought to end discrimination and segregation within the United States. The movement included not only a focus on racial disparities, but also gender and disability rights. During this period, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and prohibited discrimination on based on sex and race in workplace practices. The next year, Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 recognized HBCUs established before 1964 and with the original purpose of educating Black Americans with the specific designation of HBCU. The Higher Education Act of 1965 also provided colleges, universities, and students with needed resources and financial assistance through increasing federal aid money, creation of scholarship programs, and providing low-interest loans to students.

National Science Foundation

The National Science Foundation (NSF) was established on May 10, 1950, "to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense" (National Science Foundation, n.d.-a, para. 1). The NSF emerged after a three-year-long congressional debate and an initial veto by President Harry S. Truman due to a lack of presidential authority to select its director and membership (National Science Foundation, n.d.-

b). During its initial years, the NSF initiated its grant funding to include cancer research, predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships, and the establishment of undergraduate research programs (National Science Foundation, n.d.-b). Such funding furthered the U.S. in the areas of scientific research and enhancing equipment. The agency received an appropriation of $134 million, which tripled the funding for education, due to the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik I in late 1957 (National Science Foundation, n.d.-b). During the 60s and 70s the NSF continued to establish key divisions to include a focus on engineering and environmental sciences, with expansion of science teaching in undergraduate institutions. Ultimately, the United States would be the first, in competition with the Soviet Union, to successfully land on the moon in 1969. In 1971, NSF announced its commitment to improving science education and research at HBCUs (National Science Foundation, n.d.-b). In 1975, the United States and the Soviet Union joined together on a space mission. A decade later, President Ronald Reagan reduced funding for the agency and only graduate fellowships remained intact (National Science Foundation, n.d.-b). Even with this period of underfunding, the reach of the National Science Foundation would expand under the presidencies of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter (Mazuzan, 1994).

Section Summary

The history of the education of Black Americans is marked by inequality. The creation of the Black land-grant institution could have been a step closer to Blacks receiving equitable access to higher education; however, continued unequal funding limited what these institutions could accomplish during the time. What remains unknown because of the lack of access to higher education are the types of contributions Black Americans could have made over time to scientific revelations in the United States. Perhaps, the convergence of the NSF, the Civil Rights

Movement, and the subsequent Act of 1980 might yet prove to be the catalyst needed to move this nation forward.

Chapter Summary

The review of the literature provided an exploration of the key concepts, theoretical frameworks, and important historical context for the research study. Central threads within the literature reviewed the connection between society, power, discourse, and racism and national newspapers as a site of manifestation. From there, an exploration of the foundational theories for the study highlighted the interplay of CRT and CAR to demonstrate how racism permeates all parts of society. And finally, a review of the history of HBCUs and the NSF provided the context leading up to the writing of the Act of 1980. Next, Chapter 3 provides an overview of the methods used to explore the research question.

Chapter 3: Methods

The focus of this study was to explore the ways in which national newspapers contributed to the collective perception of HBCUs and how they reported on science and technology. Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the topic, the problem statement, and the significance of exploring this topic. Chapter 2 explored literature related to the intersection of racism, power, and discourse with a focus on media along with key theories for the study. Within this chapter, overviews of the history of HBCUs with a focus on STEM policies and of the historical context of the United States leading up to the chosen timeframe were provided. In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the methods used to focus on national newspaper discourse and how I critically explored the wide-reaching and influential stance of this form of influence and power.

I used a qualitative research method approach to explore the research question. The use of qualitative research was most appropriate and with a focus on the critical interpretation of discourse (Gasman, 2007). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to explore the text on instances of racism through othering within national newspaper articles. The use of CDA supports the research question because the study is a historical exploration of embedded ideologies that position HBCUs as not worthy of educational access, which the use of CDA can help illuminate (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Furthermore, the use and critique of discourse is a form of social action that aligns with the purpose of CRT which is used as the foundation of this study.

Research Question

The research question explored in this study was:

- What are the constructed images of HBCUs and Black students present in national newspaper discourse with respect to STEM topics?

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

Chapter 2 provided an in-depth overview of critical race theory (CRT) and the tenets generally sought as a part of the framework. This study used CRT as its theoretical framework as those who use CRT aim to "study and transform the relationship between race, racism, and power" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 3). Specifically, CRT was used to explore the influence of newspaper discourse on the perspectives of both elite groups and the general population regarding HBCUs and their role in science in technology. By critically examining this public discourse, a call to action to change the structures that support and reproduce racism as warranted by CRT occurred. The perspectives present in newspaper discourse are shaped by everyday racism, namely, racism that is so rooted in society that it is often taken for granted by those who are not the objects of it (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993). CRT also calls forward the notion that those who experience racism as minoritized groups are best positioned to critically examine and identify such instances (L. Parker & Lynn, 2002). For the purpose of this study, the focus was on the discourse used when discussing HBCUs with regard to science and technology that coincided with the timeframe of when the Act of 1980 made its way through Congress from March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980.

Method: CDA

I did not solely focus on a single institution of higher education, but rather included a group of racialized institutions, specifically HBCUs, with a history embedded in racism, unequal treatment, and continued discursive attacks questioning their relevance (Gasman, 2007). CRT provided the theoretical positioning that one aspect of the continued mistreatment of HBCUs is

due to society's investment in upholding Whiteness as a standard (Bonilla-Silva, 2012), which ultimately positions Blackness as substandard. Thus, when White hegemonic norms rule, it is understandable why HBCUs, institutions founded to serve the educational needs of Black Americans, face continued attacks due to their racialized identity.

CDA was selected as the research method due to its focus on uncovering and addressing issues of power and inequality with the purpose of eradicating these issues (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Mullet, 2018). Those who employ CDA do not claim objectivity in their work; thus, my identity as a Black researcher uniquely positions and influences the lens through which I conducted this research. An expression of my positionality as the research instrument is available in Appendix A.

CDA served as a method to examine how discourse creates and maintains racism through unequal power relationships; therefore, the use of CDA brings to the forefront the racist ideologies that represent the commonplace assumptions of society (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). These ideologies are hidden from view and CDA provides steps to question what is taken for granted. In the case of the research study, CDA provided a systematic qualitative method to explore hidden representations of HBCUs and their connection to science and technology. The primary components of CDA emphasized several key points, namely that CDA addresses social problems, the link between text and society is mediated, and discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The use of CDA aligned well with theories that seek solutions to social problems rooted in power and privilege (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Mullet, 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The following sections expand on each of these areas most relevant to the research study.

CDA Addresses Social Problems

CDA addresses social problems because it focuses on areas of power, privilege, and injustice with the specific goal to enact change (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The stance of those who use CDA methods is not one of objectivity, but of one with the specific understanding that inequality manifests itself in discourse that must be critically explored to show societal differences in access, resources, and treatment of minoritized groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). As it relates to this study in particular, the exploration of the associations attributed to Black institutions and students demonstrates the differential treatment they received regarding newspaper coverage of events and circumstances in higher education during the timeframe around the passage of the Act of 1980.

CDA Mediates Links Between Text and Society

Another important aspect of CDA is the notion that the link between text and society is mediated by mental models of both the creator of the text and recipients (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1993, 1997a). This mediation means that the linking of words into phrases, phrases in sentences, and sentences into paragraphs is not arbitrary and is based on an inherited system of meaning-making. Allan et al. (2006) attributed this meaning-making to an understanding of subjectivity and how we construct an understanding of self, others, and the world around us. Thus, the discourse explored in this study is not only the product of a particular understanding of the world by both the writer and readers, but also its interpretation (van Dijk, 1997a). It is my responsibility as the researcher to explain the findings in such a way that readers can trust in my ability to accurately represent the data. Jointly, individuals create and are influenced by the collective reality. This historical nature of this discourse means my positionality is affected by the larger societal discourse present during the time of the study. The

main components of CRT, CAR, and CDA as they relate to the study are reviewed and presented in Appendix B.

CDA Framework Overview

The methodological model selected for this study was Mullet's (2018) general CDA framework that outlines a seven-staged method of CDA for researchers focused on educational research:

> The framework, designed for flexibility and simplicity, condenses many CDA approaches into a set of easily conceptualized levels of analysis without sacrificing the core principles of CDA. This makes possible use of the framework for a variety of research problems across disciplines including, but not limited to education, psychology, journalism, information technology, and science. (pp. 122–23)

The simplicity of the framework upholds the primary components of CDA and allows for the positioning relevant to CRT, while also incorporating elements crucial to exploring newspaper discourse. Complementing the CDA framework was the use of van Dijk's (1993) Critical Analysis of Racism (CAR) analytical lens. With respect to CAR, Mullet's (2018) framework provided direction on ways to look for othering in newspaper discourse as van Dijk (1993) does not provide a step-by-step approach on how to conduct such analysis. Given the many different types of CDA, Mullet's (2018) framework offered enough structure and open-endedness to assist with the completion of the study, and yet, her framework is not without its limitations. The framework "relies solely on the analyst's interpretation of the data, and the degree of systematicity for textual analysis is also left to the analyst" (Mullet, 2018, p. 123) which required careful selection of methods that enhanced the quality and rigor of the research study. Therefore, I incorporated other qualitative research sources to supplement in areas where Mullet (2018) left

those details up to the researcher. The following stages of the methods (see Figure 1) highlight in more detail the research design.

Figure 1

Mullet (2018)'s Stages of Critical Discourse Analysis

Data Collection	Data Analysis
● Stage 1: Select the Discourse. ● Stage 2: Locate and Prepare Data Sources	● Stage 3: Explore the Background of the Texts. ● Stage 4: Code Texts and Identify Overarching Themes. ● Stage 5: Analyze External Relations in the Text. ● Stage 6: Analyze the Internal Relations in the Texts. ● Stage 7: Interpret the Data.

Note. Stages are taken directly from Mullet (2018) and broken down into key areas. Stages 1 to 3 are further explained in the data collection section and stages 4 to 7 in the data analysis section.

Data Sources and Collection

The data sources selected for this study included documents, specifically, newspaper articles published in four national newspapers from the period of March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980. As guided by Mullet (2018), stages one and two informed the data collection for the

study. The first stage provided steps for selecting the discourse to be reviewed and the second stage overviewed the steps to find sources using selection criteria.

Stage 1: Select the Discourse

The first stage of Mullet's (2018) framework required the selection of discourse sources related to the study of inequity or injustice in society which in the case of this research study involved exploring discursive ways in which HBCUs and Black Americans were othered through national newspaper discourse, which contributes to the reproduction of racism. This othering can create representations of HBCUs as not belonging as institutions of higher education that produce student learning in science and technology which then furthered the lack of a place for Black Americans as well. The discourse selected for this study included national newspapers with articles published from the period of March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980. Upon reviewing the category of current newspapers at the national level (Caulfield, 2017; Cision Media Research, 2019; Agility PR Solutions, 2021), the following newspapers were used as the basis of discourse for the study. In making the selection of which newspapers to include, I prioritized the following four newspapers due to their current status as national newspapers with the highest circulation in the United States.

1. *Los Angeles Times*
2. *New York Times*
3. *Wall Street Journal*
4. *Washington Post*

A national newspaper is one that is distributed across the United States and has an event coverage of news occurring across the country (Caulfield, 2017). Such distribution implies that not only would the readership vary, but also the topics and stories covered would be of national

importance. The focus on national-level discourse is important because this level of distribution is more influential to the collective understanding of HBCUs and their connection to science and technology, an important context for the Act of 1980. As well, national discourse in newspapers provide a backdrop of media consumption by policymakers, which can influence how these actors set policy agendas and form policies to address prominent issues.

Los Angeles Times. *The Los Angeles Times*, founded on December 4, 1881, transformed from a regional to a national newspaper in the 1960s (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.-a), and represents the fifth largest circulation among U.S newspapers (Caulfield, 2017; Cision Media Research, 2019). The newspaper lists on its website, "We reach distinct, affluent and diverse audiences of multiple generations, demographics, preferences and interests," which contributed to its selection of a news source for this study (Los Angeles Times, n.d.).

New York Times. *The New York Times*, founded in 1851, represents the second-largest newspaper in circulation (Turvill, 2021). Due to its prestige, "an event reported in the Times is not just news, after all; it is important news" (Myers & Caniglia, 2004, pp. 519-520), which makes the *New York Times* an important source of influential discourse, not just for the public, but also other news sources due to the spin-off effects of its reporting (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). The newspaper promotes, "How we tell those stories has changed, but our mission to seek the truth and help people understand the world has remained constant" (The New York Times Company, n.d., para. 1)

Wall Street Journal. *The Wall Street Journal*, founded in July 1889, represents the largest U.S. newspaper in circulation with an average weekday circulation of 800,000 from October 2020 and March 2021; however, the newspaper has lost significant revenue due to the pandemic (Turvill, 2021). As an opening line, the newspaper boasts, "The Journal has led the

way in chronicling the rise of industries in America and around the world" (The Wall Street Journal, n.d., para. 1)

Washington Post. *The Washington Post*, founded in 1877 tends to rank just under the *Los Angeles Times* in terms of circulation (Caulfield, 2017; Cision Media Research, 2019) and lists "Democracy Dies in Darkness" as their primary tagline (Washington Post Staff, n.d.). Because the NSF is located in Washington, DC and the Act of 1980 is the central focus of this study, the selection of the *Washington Post* was important based on location as well. With the selection of the appropriate discourse and problem to be studied, next comes steps taken to locate and prepare the data sources for analysis.

Stage 2: Locate and Prepare Data Sources

During the second CDA stage, the data sources were selected and prepared for analysis. Mullet (2018) highlighted the use of existing texts as data sources, which coincides with the archival search that was used to find historic news articles in each of the four newspapers. The historical papers database of each newspaper was used due to its focus on historical newspaper archives, full-page articles, search criteria, date range selection, and downloadable PDF format. For a newspaper article to be considered as part of the study, the following criteria were used as parameters:

1. Published between March 7, 1979, and December 12, 1980.
2. Published in one of four national newspapers: the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Washington Post*.
3. Focus on HBCUs.
4. Focus on STEM or Black higher education.

In my preliminary search, I learned that there are various ways in which HBCUs were described in national newspapers during this time period. As such, the use of "historically Black," "HBCU," and "Black" served as the racial designation to search for a focus on HBCUs. For the strings not using HBCU, the singular and plural forms of "college," "university," "school," and "institution," were used. Next, this first phrase of HBCU was combined with "science", "technology," "engineering," or "mathematics" to yield newspaper articles that were reviewed for inclusion in the study. In addition, the term "Black" and "higher education" was used to gather articles that pertained to the context of higher education at this time. Table 1 provides an overview of the search terms.

Table 1

Search Criteria for Sample

HBCU Keyword	Connector	STEM Keyword
Historically Black HBCU (+ plural) Black college (+ plural) Black university (+ plural) Black school (+ plural) Black institution (+ plural)	AND	Science OR Technology OR Engineering OR Mathematics
Black	AND	Higher Education

Inclusion Criteria. For a newspaper article to be considered as part of the study, all of the following inclusion criteria were met:

- Refers to institutions or students in the United States.
- Refers to science, technology, engineering, mathematics, or higher education.
- If referenced, refers to a specific HBCU or HBCUs in general.

Review of Articles for Selection. The above search criteria produced 129 unique articles and I used ProQuest's spreadsheet export feature to download and save each article in a master spreadsheet for the study. In addition to an article's headline, the spreadsheet export also contained valuable information such as the leading statement, newspaper source, date, author, etc. Using this information, I reviewed each article by the headline and leading statements to determine whether it should be further reviewed for inclusion in the study based on the inclusion criteria. I focused on the headline and leading statements because these two areas provide a quick overview of the content of the article. After reviewing all 129 articles by headlines and leading statements, a second reading of 38 articles occurred where I read each article in its entirety the inclusion criteria as the guideline. This second round of review produced 15 articles that served as the basis for this study. The list of articles is included in Appendix C.

Storage of Articles. Mullet (2018) does not offer guidance on how to store articles once they are included as a data source. I used computer-based methods to keep track of and store articles for future retrieval to support the data analysis process (Flick, 2009). For this study, I used ProQuest's article export feature to download a PDF version of each article and upload it to a Google Drive folder specifically for the articles. Next, I put each article as an entry into the Article Storage Spreadsheet (see Figure 2), an Excel tab within the Excel project spreadsheet a larger document that served as a tracking tool and assisted in data analysis. As the primary

storage system, all articles and the Excel spreadsheet were stored in the project's Google Drive folder and each article was renamed with the date, newspaper acronym, and enough of the article title for reference. For example, the first article listed in Figure 2 was labeled as *3.14.19 WSJ Academic Irony*. All articles for the study are listed in chronological order in Appendix C.

Lastly, I used Zotero citation management software to input the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* citation for the articles for later referencing. In Zotero, I verified that key information such as date, source, title, and author was accurate along with tag the articles by newspaper. The tagging of articles served as an organizational tool for later retrieval. Zotero, Excel, and Google Drive are available across multiple devices and sync changes automatically which helped safeguard against loss of research progress.

Figure 2

Article Storage Spreadsheet for All Articles

#	Date	Newspaper	Headline	Writer
1	03/14/1979	Wall Street Journal	*Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate. Right Groups Oppose Them; Federal Aid Could End; Low Tuition for the Poor; 'I wanted a Black College'*	Deborah A. Randolph

Article Preparation for Analysis. While Mullet (2018) included article preparation as a part of stage two, the method for preparing the articles for further analysis is left up to the researcher. To prepare the articles for analysis, I ran each PDF file through OCR 2 Edit (https://www.ocr2edit.com/pdf-to-text), a free online tool to turn a PDF file into a downloadable text file. Once downloaded, I reviewed each article and corrected any spelling or spacing errors and formatted the articles so that paragraph and line spacings were intact. Each article was saved

as a Word document, upload to Google Drive, and printed three times for by-hand coding: one for review of contextual information and HBCUs, one for review of Black students, and one for final review and back-up if needed. The reason for multiple copies of an article was to compartmentalize each section of the review and maintain clean coding throughout. The decision to use manual coding, or hand-coding, methods versus using a qualitative data analysis software like Atlas.ti or NVivo was considered carefully. Such software can be effective for data management; however, it might not be the most suitable depending on the scope of the research project or preferences of the researcher (Saldaña, 2016). As a researcher, I preferred the hands-on manipulation of the data and elected to do my first round of coding using colored pens and highlighters on the printouts to better see how the discourse shaped meaning. These codes were then transferred to Excel where I could filter by column labels for code, code type, segment, area of focus, and article. It was easy to add additional columns as needed throughout the data analysis process.

Data Analysis

Drawing from the stages outlined in Mullet's (2018) framework, data analysis for this study spanned across several stages to provide an in-depth understanding of the context in which the specific descriptors about HBCUs and Black students, thus providing answers to the research question. More specifically, Stages 3-6 achieved this by exploring the historical and discursive context, overarching themes within the texts, and external relations with the text. I elected to use a mixed coding process during multiple readings of the data, coding at several levels and types, peer debriefing to assist with first-round coding, and analytical memoing to explore emerging themes (Mullet, 2018).

Stage 3: Explore Background of Texts

The purpose of Stage 3 was to explore the "social and historical context and producers of the texts" (Mullet, 2018, p. 123) with the purpose of providing context for the data sources. As such, an initial historical exploration of the assumed key political, economic, and social events leading up to the timeframe of March 7, 1979, and ending December 12, 1980, was provided in Chapter 2. Such historical context is part of a larger global context needed to understand the relevancy of newspaper discourse in relation to particular events as the context serves as the mental representations that influence discourse production and understanding (van Dijk, 2003). However, important areas of such context, to include specific societal events, cannot be fully understood until the data sources are compiled and reviewed for specific references and topics needed to understand what assumptions the writer has about the knowledge base of the reader. Therefore, I used Stage 3 as a point to update and refine the historical context of the discourse of the study.

To provide historical context, I used additional articles beyond those selected for the study since they provided newsworthy representations of recent events. These articles were those that came up during my keyword searches but were not relevant to the study itself. By using these additional sources, I gleaned that part of the context for this discourse centered on topics such as the integration of secondary schools, the use of busing to achieve this goal, views on the results of integration, and possible consequences of integration at the secondary level. Even though a focus on secondary education was not a part of this study, it was a relevant topic as graduates from these newly integrated schools were a part of the educational pipeline that could later attend an HBCU and perhaps with a STEM focus once enrolled. Therefore, a section on the integration of secondary schools was included as part of the relevant context.

Once I reviewed the historical context set of articles, I then turned my focus to the 15 printed articles included in the study. The use of print material allowed me to conduct multiple readings of the articles, to notate the articles, and to organize the articles during this initial comprehension stage. To achieve this goal, I conducted a primary read of each article to understand its content along with exploring the following question:

- What historical context is needed to understand the framing of this article?

The answers to this question were recorded by hand and transferred to a Google Document. The main categories were included in Excel as an additional column in the Article Storage spreadsheet which is represented in Table 2.

Table 2

Sample of Historical Context Column

Publication Date	Newspaper	Article Headline	Writer	Context
3/14/1979	*Wall Street Journal*	Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate. Right Groups Oppose Them; Federal Aid Could End; Low Tuition for the Poor; 'I wanted a Black College'	Deborah A. Randolph	Desegregation via dual college system. Loss of funding (White students associated with increase). Black college identity and need for Black schools. Reasons for course duplication. President Carter's directive for funding of HBCUs. UMES, NSU, ODU mentioned
3/29/1979	*Washington Post*	Renewed Academic Spirit At Eastern Shore Campus: Renewed Spirit Takes Hold at UMES	Bart Barnes	Academic standing and probation. Threat of school closure. New academic programs cited. UMES mentioned.

Note. HBCUs = Historically Black Colleges and Universities; UMES = University of Maryland, Eastern Shore; NSU = Norfolk State University; ODU = Old Dominion University.

These answers were compiled into one memo to serve as a basis for a summary of the relevant historical background information and is presented in Chapter 4.

Stage 4: Code Texts and Identify Overarching Themes

Mullet (2018) described Stage 4 as where "major themes and subthemes in the texts are identified through established qualitative coding methods" (p. 124); however, a critique of the framework is that specific rationale for the exploration of overarching themes at this stage is not presented. When considering the discourse to be explored is newspaper discourse, van Dijk (1993) offered a focus on the importance of topics and themes as they are crucial to the subconscious mental maps used by writers to produce the articles. Such models represent personal and social belief systems, along with what is assumed to be known by the reader (van Dijk, 2003). It is the link between the mental model and the production of discourse that represents how HBCUs and Black students are viewed at the societal level (van Dijk, 1993, 2001).

van Dijk (1988) argued that journalists "routinely take into account what they assume the average reader will understand" which results in "writ[ing] according to their intuitive beliefs about middle-class readers" (p. 76). According to CAR, the topics covered in newspaper discourse are of utmost importance as this information is what is retained by the reader. Thus, headline and leading statements are crucial as they "conventionally express the main topics" and "express the most important information of the cognitive model of journalists, that is, how they see and define the news event" which in turn influences how readers view the event (van Dijk, 1993, p. 248). Exploring the topics that are present within the study's data revealed what themes are associated with the combination of HBCUs, Black students, and STEM.

For this stage articles were placed in five groups based on chronological order, topics and themes were explored using the headlines, leading statements, and then a paragraph review. Holistic coding served as a general coding method because it allowed for segments of text to be

coded with an overarching code (Saldaña, 2016). The importance of attributing one code to large segments of data provides a macro-level understanding of the framing of the article for its readers.

Initial Codebook. Mullet (2018) recommended the use of several coding methods and I elected to use both deductive and inductive coding methods. Deductive coding allowed for a starting set of codes guided by my theoretical framework, analytical lens, or aims of the research study (Saldaña, 2016). To this end, I used a small set of a priori codes as the starting coding scheme (See Appendix D, Table D1) that are based on expected findings in the data representative of struggles of power, privilege, and racism through othering (van Dijk, 1993). However, inductive coding was the primary coding method to allow for emerging codes to represent findings housed in the data. The use of both methods considered the expectation set forth by both CRT and CAR that HBCUs and Black students would be positioned in negative ways while maintaining the perspective that qualitative research cannot be predetermined. Throughout the process, I documented emerging thoughts in a memo specifically designated for Stage 4. Both the a priori and emerging codes for the study were maintained in an Excel spreadsheet.

Peer Debriefing to Create Initial Coding Scheme. The use of a codebook allowed for a set of coding standards as I participated in peer debriefing to create the initial coding scheme (Saldaña, 2016). Lincoln and Guba (1985) introduced the notion of peer debriefing as, “[the] process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytic session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308). The use of peer debriefers served as a method to ensure my initial codes, and thus later findings, emerged with predictable application

from the data itself. Furthermore, the discussion of initial ideas and findings lead to new insights on the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Saldaña, 2016).

The process for the peer debriefing component of this study was structured to provide guidance and allow each peer debriefer and me the ability to review the articles as a collective. The peer debriefers were provided research materials via a shared Google Drive folder that included the proposed Chapter 3, an overview of the stages with instructions for completion, a copy of the Articles Spreadsheet for personal use, and the first three articles for review in the original PDF and formatted Word document for analysis. The selection of the first three articles, or 20% of the total articles for the study, was based on recommendations that such an amount is appropriate for peer debriefing (Barber & Walczak, 2009; Neuendorf, 2002); therefore, the peer debriefers and I reviewed the first of five total groups for the study.

The peer debriefing process occurred at several intervals and the primary function was to assist with the creation of the initial coding scheme that would be used to review the remaining 80% of the articles. Two peer debriefers and I simultaneously followed the processes outlined for Stages 4-6 for all three articles, documented thoughts that arose, documented emerging codes in a shared spreadsheet, and met after each article review via Zoom to discuss our observations (see Appendix E).

The presence of the peer debriefers contributed to the creation of a more robust study as the peer debriefers brought up the need to acknowledge that a discussion of HBCUs could not fully happen without a parallel discussion of Black students. Therefore, after the first meeting the research materials for coding were updated to reflect this added focus. The result was the addition of a priori codes to accommodate when Black students were mentioned in the articles. Using a free word cloud generator (Word It Out; https://worditout.com/word-cloud/create), a

word cloud was generated for Stages 4-6 and reviewed together with the peer debriefers after the second meeting. Through discussion, a consensus was generated about which codes accurately represented the data and in the third meeting the coding scheme was created.

The third meeting happened separately with each peer debriefer due to unforeseen scheduling conflicts and notes from the third review were shared across meetings. Using the word cloud as the starting point, all codes were entered and a visual was presented, from there, each peer debriefer stated which codes they believe most represent their interpretation of the data. These were notated and a map of codes was created as the initial coding scheme that served as the basis for my review of the remaining articles in the study and interpretation process for Stage 7.

Stage 5: Analyze External Relations Present in Text

The external relationships present in newspaper discourse are those that influence and are influenced by social practices (Mullet, 2018). As a form of mass media text, newspaper discourse "can be seen as instantiating the blurring of boundaries of various sorts: fact and fiction, news and entertainment, drama and documentary, and so forth" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 35) which lends itself to replication of ideological perspectives found in other discourses. van Dijk (1993) argued that ideologies are "merely the most fundamental social representations shared by a group, namely, those representations that embody its overall interests and goals" (p. 41) and within the context of CRT, these ideological perspectives are those that uphold Whiteness as a standard and Blackness as sub-standard. Therefore, it can be inferred that such discourse houses perspectives qualifying the status of HBCUs and Black Americans as inferior, incapable, or in need (van Dijk, 1993). Following the guidelines set by Mullet (2018), I found fragments of text that infer a dichotomized status for HBCUs in comparison to other institutional types including

value judgments about HBCUs' capacity, relevance, merit, or self-sufficiency (Gasman, 2007) and are in conflict with achieving education equality. The same structure was paralleled for Black Americans. These fragments were placed in an Excel project spreadsheet along with newspaper, fragment location within the newspaper article, and my reflection on the expressed ideology using the ideas expressed via CRT as the marker (Mullet, 2018).

To move the fragments towards categories, I used versus coding as I anticipated "strong conflicts, microaggressions, or competing goals" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 137) with respect to the external relations explored in Stage 5. The possible conflict in the discourse paired with versus coding also allowed for initial exploration of othering as Saldaña (2016) recommends three starting categories for codes: stakeholders, perceptions or actions, and issues. However, this trio of items for versus coding is only a suggestion as the use of analytic memos further refined the codes into relevant categories focused on observable conflicts in the discourse (Saldaña, 2016). Starting with the codes developed during the peer debriefing, I reviewed each fragment of text and versus code and assigned an initial code based on the conflict present. If a fragment had a secondary code, that was also included. Once all primary codes were created, I put them all into a word cloud to visualize what were the most frequently identified codes and wrote a summary document on the most salient topics to be used as a part of the interpretation process for Stage 7.

Stage 6: Analyze Internal Relations Present in Text

Mullet (2018) describes Stage 6 as a process in which the text is explored for "patterns, words, and linguistic devices that represent power relations, social context, or speakers' positionalities" and of relevance are "headlines and leading statements, structural organization, use of quoted material, vocabulary, grammar, voice, and linguistic devices" (p. 124) and such a structure for analyzing internal relations is aligned with the areas outlined by CAR. While

specifically analyzing newspaper discourse, CAR prioritizes newspaper topics, schemata or structure, quotations, and local semantics as key areas to analyze as these areas are key "for the formation of mental models... and the eventual shaping and changing of shared social representations" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 256) or rather, these are the areas that shape a shared understanding of HBCUs and Black Americans and their association with STEM. A complete analysis of every element within a large corpus text is not a viable option; therefore, the specific areas identified as salient to reproduction of racism in newspaper discourse were reviewed to include news schemata, quotations, and local semantics.

News Schemata. Except for the headline and leading statements, how an article is organized differs among journalists; however, such organization emphasizes the information that a reader should pay attention to (van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, the organization of the article provides a framing for the reader on how to interpret the remaining aspects of the article. Once the headings and leading statements were pulled, then I memoed on the framing of the article and included that as a memo in the Google document for the study.

Quotations. The use of quoted material highlights the importance of who is quoted along with the journalist's evaluation of the quoted segment as there are many ways to represent the quote (van Dijk, 1993). The use of quotation marks or distancing words, for example, signals an evaluation of the quoted statement. This use of wording and presentation is of importance also based on who is being quoted and how the journalist evaluates that quote. The quotations used for the study were those referring to HBCUs or Black Americans in the specific or general sense. In addition, quotations can also be in the form of paraphrases where the journalist summarizes the words of the speaker. To code the fragments selected throughout this stage, I used in vivo coding to maintain the perspectives in the actual words of the journalists and quoted sources

(Saldaña, 2016) which allows for a portrayal of how the newspaper discourse on HBCUs and Black Americans supports meaning-making. While Mullet (2018) outlines a seven-stage model for CDA, these stages are not to be treated as isolated looks into the data; therefore, I used codes generated during Stages 4-5 as a basis for the codes to be used to categorize in-vivo codes during Stage 6.

Local Semantics. Of particular importance was how HBCUs and Black students are described within an article because this demonstrates the social representation of either within the framework of the newspaper (van Dijk, 1993). The specific lexical choices, vocabulary, or meaning expressed "by the words of a natural language" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 34) used to describe HBCUs and Black students are not only significant in addressing the research question, but also with respect to how they control the topics presented in the article.

Mullet (2018) suggests that a table or journal be used to facilitate Stage 6's analysis process. As such, I used Excel as the place to house the segments in this stage due to its ability to sort, tally, and group several segments at once. I pulled all the words used to name and describe a specific or general sense use of HBCU and Black Americans and placed them in an Excel spreadsheet by article. Next, I compiled all of the names and utilized the COUNTIF function to generate tallies of word groupings. In addition to the data segments, Mullet (2018) advised that the "locations in the text, several lines of surrounding text, and the analyst's initial reflections on the meaning" (p. 124) and these items were recorded in the Excel spreadsheet.

Not only are the actual words critical to understanding a newspaper's perspective on HBCUs and Black Americans, but also what is not said but can be inferred. Such implications in this "ideological icebergs" offers the reader a glance at the perspective of the newspaper (van Dijk, 1993 p. 256). Semantic moves, or ways to counter a negative or biased statement, are also

important indicators of a newspaper's attempt to downplay its stance about minority groups. van Dijk (1993) described moves of denial, mitigation, reversal, or blaming the victim as key in othering minoritized groups; thus, reproducing racism within society. As such, I reviewed each article using the a priori codes and peer debriefing codes in Appendix D, Table D2 to explore such instances of othering and noted ways in which the group was othered to be put in the Excel spreadsheet. For all instances found within Stage 6, I used a tab in the Excel project spreadsheet for segments review during this stage and an example is provided in Appendix F.

Stage 7: Interpret the Data

The final stage of Mullet's (2018) framework required that I interpret the meaning of major themes, external relations, and internal relations found in Stages 4-6 using analytical memos and reflections on the overarching meaning expressed. The use of analytical memos during each stage of the process allowed me to reflect on and explore the coding process, emerging codes, categories, and ultimate themes during the research process (Saldaña, 2016). The process of writing as thinking enabled me to reflect on the meaning of any given portion of the research process along with how it helps to answer the research question. Each memo, housed in Google Drive, has a date, descriptive title, and subtitle to allow me to use the search feature to retrieve and group it for incorporation into the final analysis (Saldaña, 2016).

The process of moving from findings to codes was iterative and required multiple dives into the data at each stage to produce categories of codes (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Mullet, 2018; Saldaña, 2016; see Appendix G). After a stage for each article group was completed, analytical memos exploring coding were created and a map was updated on how the codes were connected. Next, the respective set of codes were pulled from the codebook, placed in the word cloud, and I reflected on the meaning of the codes as related to the research question. Using these reflections,

codes were condensed, updated and grouped into arrangements until an appropriate structure was formed that allowed for categorizing of the codes. Using this virtual *tabletop method* allowed me to organize the codes to better interpret the connections and hierarchies between codes (Saldaña, 2016). Once these categories were created, they were then combined as relevant to form meta categories using analytic memos as the sites for reflection and processing (see Appendix H for word clouds for Stages 4-6). During this process, I repeatedly pulled groupings of categories and their associated fragments to memo on what images were present and what was assumed about the connection between HBCUs, Black students, and STEM topics using CAR as my lens for analysis. The final transition from categories to themes served as a method to place the fragments into a structure of meaning that connected to a broader context that answers the research question.

Trustworthiness, Validity, & Rigor

Unlike quantitative research in which an instrument is developed and then tested, qualitative research employs methods that use the researcher as the research instrument. Therefore, the ways to determine sound and rigorous research focuses on processes that allow the reader to believe in the trustworthiness of the researcher's interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2014). Mullet (2018) stated that "there is little discussion of specific criteria that define qualitative rigor in the field of CDA" (p. 120), which requires the researcher to select appropriate areas to ensure rigor in their research. Determining whether a qualitative study is valid is a matter of evaluating the methods used to ensure rigor as in, what steps were employed to conduct a sound research study. From the guidelines outlined by Mullet (2018), the following were selected as a part of the study due to their applicability to the research study: adequacy of

interpretation and reflexivity. These criteria are part of not only sound CDA research, but also qualitative research as a whole (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Adequacy of Interpretation

The first aspect of ensuring qualitative rigor is through an adequate interpretation of the data in relation to the research question. I employed several methods to include an audit trail, peer debriefers, deviant case analysis, and the use of rich description.

Audit Trail. Using an audit trail as a primary component of this research study enhances the trustworthiness of my findings because it allowed others to understand the decisions I made as the researcher through the study (Rudestam & Newton, 2015). I used a spreadsheet in the Excel project spreadsheet to log steps taken throughout the research study. The entries included the date, key actions I took, and notes about why such actions were taken. These entries corresponded with key steps and data housed in Google Drive and enhance the evaluation of the research process.

Peer Debriefer. Next, the use of peer debriefing during data analysis served as a second aspect to enhance the interpretation of the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) introduced the notion of peer debriefing as "[the] process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytic session and to explore aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (p. 308). Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasized that the peer debriefer "must be someone who is in every sense the inquirer's peer" (p. 309) and cautions against doctoral studies using committee members to serve in this capacity due to the authority relationship. The goal of the peer debriefing session was to allow me to be totally open and honest without fear or repercussions of such honesty. As noted above, the peer debriefers aided

in construction of the initial coding scheme and also as a check on the ways in which this coding occurred of the newspaper articles.

Initially, the peer debriefer was responsible for helping me be aware of not only of my positionality with regard to the data analysis, but also the process in which they are going about such analysis. I was expected to be able to explain the why and how behind the data analysis as the peer debriefers asked probing questions. Next, the debriefing sessions allowed me to explore emerging connections and themes within the research along with consider the next steps in the methodological process. As discussed in the data analysis section, the peer debriefers assisted with ensuring my coding scheme was generated from the data. Lastly, debriefing sessions allowed me "an opportunity for catharsis" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308) which in turn helped me move forward in the research process. This process of peer review is especially important given the focus of the research study is uncovering racism within mass media (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Rudestam & Newton, 2015).

Selection of Peer Debriefer. I carefully considered the characteristics of those who could serve as peer debriefers to allow me to be open, honest, and vulnerable during the research process. Furthermore, it is important that those who serve in this capacity share an understanding of the research focus, methods, and significance of studying instances of racism. Given these two concerns, I requested two colleagues to serve in the role of peer debriefer for my research study.

My first peer debriefer identifies as a Black woman, doctoral student, and a scholar who uses CRT as a crucial component in her research. Our shared identities as Black women who uphold CRT provided me with the support of having a peer who offers a similar, yet critical lens to explore the reproduction of racism with respect to HBCUs. To offer an additional, yet complementary perspective, my second peer debriefer identifies as a White woman and educator

with an earned doctorate degree. She is not only versed in qualitative research, but also takes on a critical perspective regarding inequity in higher education. By her serving in this role, I had the support of a lens unlike my own, but still, the person has an understanding of how racism is reproduced in society.

Sessions. Except for recommending that notes be taken during the debriefing sessions, Lincoln and Guba (1985) do not offer explicit guidelines for a peer debriefing session, only the purpose of such sessions. As such, the peer debriefing sessions for this study took place at the beginning of the study and the steps of these sessions are provided in Appendix E. The peer debriefers received materials 2 weeks before the scheduled meeting. The meeting was scheduled for 2 hours, recorded, and notes were taken during each session.

The use of peer debriefers guided the study in adding a more specific exploration of Black students within the discourse. After the first session, it was noted that a discussion of HBCUs could not happen fully without a parallel review of Black students which the research materials did not provide a space for documentation. Therefore, the research materials were updated to provide a parallel exploration of Black students which in turn created a more robust study.

Deviant Case Analysis. A key aspect of the research process was to obtain trustworthiness through the discovery of outlying evidence that counters the primary assumption of the existence of negative views of HBCUs and Black students that contributes to the continuation of racism (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Rudestam & Newton, 2015). Mullet (2018) includes this as "deliberating searching for potentially disconfirming instances and comparing them with confirming instances" (p. 121) and this work was supported by the use of intentional searching through the research process. As I explored the data and worked towards themes and

findings, I questioned what in the data did not fit the assumptions within CRT, CAR, and the commonly shared perspectives within the articles themselves. I intentionally included any counter evidence as a part of the findings explored in Chapter 5.

Rich Description. In addition to the areas outlined by Mullet (2018), a hallmark of qualitative research is the use of rich description (Creswell & Poth, 2018) and the use of newspaper discourse required me to provide the exact data and context used to assert my findings. Whenever possible, I focused on the precise word choices and explained the reasoning behind my interpretation of its meaning. Furthermore, CRT advocates for research to be available in a format accessible to others, as such, the language used is appropriate for the purpose of the study while focusing on its accessibility to those not versed in the research topic, process, or methods.

Reflexivity

Critical reflection is a hallmark characteristic of sound qualitative research. Such reflection includes reflection on the data, study, themes (data analysis), and self-reflection as the researcher as the primary instrument. Reflection across areas includes the use of analytic memos and understanding the need for transparency of the researcher's positionality. Reflexivity as a component of rigor is done as "critical self-reflection" (Rudestam & Newton, 2015, p. 134) or "purposeful, often challenging reflection about ourselves, how we identify, and what we take for granted as true or right" (Call-Cummings & Ross, 2019, p. 4). I practiced reflexivity using analytical memos, a self-reflective journal, and the use of a positionality statement.

Analytical Memos. One component of reflexivity used through the study was analytical memos as these memos served as a place to explore all levels of the research process (Saldaña, 2016). This process of use of memos is also highlighted by Mullet (2018) when she stated that

"throughout the interpretation, the analyst records memos describing gaps, questions, and insights discovered during the analysis process, and reflections on personal perspective that may have influenced the analysis" (p. 125); however, I elected to keep my reflections on my personal perspective in a self-reflective journal that was kept as a separate document in Google Drive folder. The journal served as a space to reflect on my connection to the research topic due to its focus on racism and the potential for anti-Blackness to surface during the data analysis process (Pasque et al., 2022). Throughout the study, I was able to express unexpected thoughts and feelings about the data in a manner that provided both catharsis and also use the journal as a space to explore my connection with the research topic.

Positionality Statement. The use of qualitative research for this study required an upfront expression of the perspectives that influence my researcher's lens (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Fairclough, 1989). By engaging in such expression, I provided an understanding of the complex perspective that has shaped the problem being explored, the design of the research study, and ultimately the interpretation and discussion of the research findings. It is through my individual lens that historical records were interpreted; thus, all data was filtered through my experiences of being a Black woman. Appendix A provides the researcher as instrument statement.

The second component of reflexivity focused on the understanding of subjectivity through the process and required clarifying researcher bias (Creswell & Poth, 2018), which for the sake of this study highlighted positionality. The use of CRT and CDA does not allow me to take an objective view or bracket my lived experiences from the research. van Dijk (1993) highlighted the importance of those who experience racism as the best positioned within society to critically analyze its existence. Therefore, my identity as a Black woman allows me to see the

nuances of racism that were present within the discourse of this study. My researcher's lens is especially attuned to the nuances of othering that seek to maintain the divide between Blacks and Whites and my theoretical views align with that of CRT as described in Chapter 2. More specifically, two important beliefs serve as the foundation for my perspective: (a) racism is a fixed part of not only American society, but also the lived experiences of Black Americans, and (b) American history should be reexamined through the lens of those discriminated against. It is through these two perspectives that I explored the discourse of the study.

Finally, I uphold the belief that critically examining the use of language serves as a steppingstone to understanding and ultimately countering the bias present in written discourse. The critical examination of media discourse can serve as a monumental shift in the direction toward equity for those historically denied equal access to participate in American society.

Delimitations, Limitations, Assumptions, and Ethical Considerations

A final aspect of the study involved an understanding of the study's delimitation, limitations, assumptions, and ethical considerations. The sections that follow explore each of these elements to provide additional context as to ways in which the study uses specific criteria, has specific constraints, its underlying assumptions, and considerations of ethics.

Delimitations

The study was delimitated by a focus on HBCUs within the United States. Another delimitation was that the discourse studied included only articles from four national newspapers active during the time period of the Act of 1980. The timeline for the data collection also delimited the study with a focus on newspaper article during the time of March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980.

Limitations

CDA serves as an important method to explore this study's research question because it examines struggles of power and privilege present within the discourse that may be hidden from the eye of the everyday reader (Fairclough, 1989; Foucault, 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). There are several ways in which a researcher could employ this method; therefore, there exists difficulty in defining this approach. To address this limitation, I employed a framework that allowed for application to educational research and supplemented my research methods using other qualitative sources to strengthen the study's rigor. Furthermore, a limitation is use of newspaper discourse versus other forms of text. The discourse studied is subject to the biases present not only for the writer, but also the editors of the newspaper and the influence of acceptable discourse at the time. However, the use of newspaper discourse is beneficial to the study because it is not subject to the influence of the researcher in its creation (Merriam, 1998). It cannot be said precisely what level of influence journalists, editors, or acceptable language in newspapers have on the final production of newspaper discourse. To mitigate this limitation, I focused my study on national newspaper discourse as a whole and did not attribute the findings to individual journalists or newspapers. Next, the use of CDA allows for varied interpretations of the same discourse; therefore, it is important to understand that the interpretations presented are only one possible interpretation as seen through my researcher's lens which is presented in Appendix A. The use of CDA as a qualitative research method are best suited for this study; however, this also entails that the findings are not generalizable outside of the focus of this study.

Assumptions

An article that is present in a newspaper, and more so at the national level, is assumed to be of importance, contain factual information, and be written with a lens focused on relaying key information about the event. However, this does not assume that the article is free of bias,

context constraints due to space limitations, or the need to prioritize the publication of one article over another. Therefore, it is assumed that the articles within this study provided a sampling of those deemed important and necessary by the editors, which represent what was signaled to be of importance to readers.

Ethical Considerations

The data explored in this study relies on the analysis of documents created by people who are the products of their lived experiences which includes being a part of American society. The same can be said for editors who help shape the discourse used in national newspapers, alongside the people and organizations that may be cited or quoted within such discourse. The aim of this study was to explore discourse within the confines of our society created by a specific power group, not to attribute these findings to individuals or specific organizations. These discourses are but representation of a larger societal concern. It is important to understand that the subsequent analysis is representative of one perspective, through one set of articles, from a particular place and time. Even though author and source information were included, this did not pinpoint a particular entity as racist. On the contrary, the study explored the unnoticed racism that permeates societal discourse and offered a counter to its continuation.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the methods used to identify, prepare, and analyze the discourse for this study using Mullet's (2018) CDA framework. Using this framework as a guide, searches were conducted to final relevant articles from four national newspapers: the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*. In total, 15 articles were included in the study, and each was reviewed for historical context. Then, headlines, leading statements, and paragraphs were reviewed using holistic coding methods to

understand the framing of the articles. Instances of both HBCUs and Black students in the discourse were explored using versus coding with a focus on a dichotomized stance. And lastly, in-vivo coding was used to find specific word choices. During the initial review of the first three articles, peer debriefers assisted in creating the initial coding scheme that was used to explore the remaining twelve articles.

Next, Chapter 4 provides a review of the context at the time of publication of the articles included in this study. Chapter 5 includes a review of the key findings and themes from the analysis, and Chapter 6 provides a discussion of these findings relative to understanding the implications the discourse has for the policy context for the Act of 1980.

Chapter 4: Situating the Discourse

A primary component of understanding discourse requires an understanding of its historical context (Mullet, 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). An initial review of the overarching historical context was presented in Chapter 2. However, the use of Mullet's (2018) CDA framework required situating the discourse of this study within its specific context during the historical exploration in Stage 3. Therefore, the historical information presented in this chapter provides an overview of the salient topics needed to situate the findings discussed in Chapter 5. Not every aspect of relevant context can be discussed; therefore, context related to political, social, and economic factors are presented due to their relevance to this study and their reference in the discourse of the 15 articles reviewed. While information is provided under separate categories, it should be noted that political, economic, and social factors are not so easily separated (Fowler, 2013).

Political Context

Prior to 1980, there were several policies aimed at opening up opportunities for access to higher education to Black students and for desegregation in the educational sector. The history of HBCUs has been continuously affected by policies, legislators, and public figures. In the case of the discourse present within this study, several pieces of legislation, federal departments, and political figures were mentioned that focused on desegregation.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was an extension of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which originally made discrimination in housing on account of race, religion, national origin, and sex

unconstitutional. Urged by President Lyndon Johnson after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968, this act provided one solution to address the rising fallout from the Vietnam War for many veterans who were poor Black and Hispanic men who were unable to secure adequate housing due to their race. With mounting social unrest following King, Jr.'s death, the U.S. government promptly signed the act into law (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, n.d.). This act was cited by Joseph A. Califano, Jr., special assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson, as one of many that helped Black Americans gain more equitable treatment during this time (Eaton, 1979).

Los Angeles Desegregation via Busing

A prominent topic during the period, but outside of the scope of this study, was the coverage of the desegregation of the elementary and secondary school systems via busing. The busing of Los Angeles schools was directly cited in the discourse used in this study. *The Los Angeles Times* searches provided several articles alongside those included in this study that focused on the stance of school board officials and the results of various desegregation methods.

Backed by the National Associate for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), busing was used as a means to desegregate the Los Angeles Unified School Districts starting in 1970; however, a plan to implement it would not begin until 1978 and would end in 1979 with the passing of the Robbin's Amendment that stated schools boards were not responsible for exceeding the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment regarding student assignment or transportation (CSUN University Library, 2018). The idea of forced desegregation of public schools caused several protests and White-flight as White parents took their students out of the school district.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was created in 1953 as a cabinet-level department to replace and assume all the functions of the Federal Security Agency. The HEW was tasked with ensuring the proper execution of federal programs related to health, education, and social security (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972). During the Civil Rights era of the early to mid-1960s, the HEW was tasked with reporting on the impact of discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin concerning opportunities at public institutions. The civil rights compliance program that stemmed from this assignment was eventually moved to the Office of the Secretary for more effective enforcement. In 1979, the Department of Education Organization Act split the functions of the HEW into the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Services. During the periods of discourse analysis for this study, Joseph A. Califano, Jr. (1977-1979) and Patricia Roberts Harris (1979-1981) held the positions of Secretary of HEW under the leadership of President Carter.

The most prominent HEW contribution to the discourse was the threat of elimination of federal funding for public dual college systems. Given the authority from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the HEW required public schools of higher education to submit plans to desegregate their school systems. However, as Califano stated, "We asked our schools too much…we sat back surprised" by the lack of understanding of the deeply seated racism that has permeated through the U.S. (Eaton, 1979, p. 6). The request to eliminate public dual college systems put yet another strain on HBCUs as they fought for relevancy.

President Jimmy Carter

Considered a supporter of human rights, Jimmy Carter served as the 39th President of the United States from 1977 to 1981. His political achievements focused on creating agreements

between the United States and other powerhouses such as the Soviet Union (now Russia), the People's Republic of China (now China), and a treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel. Domestically, he focused on educational programs, energy regulations, and wildlife conservation (The Carter Center, n.d.). Carter was the president tasked with signing the Act of 1980 into existence and the one who personally urged the first Black American to take the position of NSF Chief (P. Parker, 1980).

Economic Context

An important context for the discourse was the focus on Black student enrollment and the pursuit of traditional versus growth disciplinary fields. According to the articles reviewed for this research study, the fields directly in STEM or business were considered important growth fields and desired places for Black student enrollment as students continued to enroll in traditional fields like medicine, law, and education. The primary reason for this attention to the growth fields was the monetary gains possible for individuals with careers in these fields; however, present within the discourse reviewed was also a focus on the unemployment rate and questioning the importance of higher education. By and large, local communities were not a focal point in the discourse discussed. However, related to the topic of unemployment and the importance of college education, it was deemed important to understand the references to the Shaw and Anacostia-Congress Heights communities in Washington, D.C., and their influence on perceptions of the value of higher education.

In 1980, Black Americans made up 70% of the population in D.C., which was a slight decline from 71.1% the decade prior (Feinberg, 1981). Three reasons were cited as possible causes contributing to this decline. First, Whites residents had "visibly increased in some inner-city areas" such as the Shaw community; second, middle-class Black families were moving to

surrounding suburbs; and third, there was an increase in those belonging to other races (Feinberg, 1981, para. 5). The Anacostia-Congress Heights neighborhood discussed in the articles reviewed represents two adjacent neighborhoods. Anacostia, once a predominantly White neighborhood, abruptly saw both its residents and associated resources leave after the case of *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954), which made the judgment that segregated schools in the District of Columbia were unconstitutional (B. L. Smith, 2018). According to Samir Meghelli, museum curator of the 2018 Smithsonian's' "A Right to the City," the predominately black neighborhood was further plagued by government neglect, poverty, and housing issues (B. L. Smith, 2018). The creation of the I-295 and Suitland Parkway further isolated the area. In this 2018 article, Meghelli reminds us that, "Urban development isn't natural…It results from decisions people make" (B. L. Smith, 2018). This is one example of how the economies of communities and the resources for public education changed as a result of national policies on desegregation.

Social Context

An important aspect of the economic context is its impact on the social fabric of society. After the fight for civil rights in the mid-1960s and the series of legislative actions to desegregate education, attention on enrollment of Black students in institutions of higher education across the country affected student choice and HBCUs that historically enrolled Black students. Not only were federal dollars at stake, but also the revenue generated by attendees and the fight for prestige for graduating the most (if any) Black students ramped up the competition for these students. Another contributing factor to the focus on enrollment was the broader economic influence of the recession of the early 1980s (Auxier, 2010). Institutions of higher education sought multiple venues to get more students through their doors, and those students who were knowledgeable about the admissions process and had the requisite admission test scores were

particularly sought out. The College Board and GED were mentioned in the discourse of the articles included in this study as they provided important gateways into higher education.

The College Board

The College Board (originally founded as the College Entrance Examination Board) created the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) in 1926, and institutions of higher education used it as an admissions tool to gauge a student's readiness to enter higher education. Although widely used at the time, declining scores for college-bound high school seniors (starting in 1963, but held stable in 1980) signaled for some the inability for schools to prepare their students (Mirga, 1981). Additional criticism of the SAT being biased toward non-White students emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (White, 2023). Taking the SAT in high school assumed that students would enroll in an institution of higher education with both a high school diploma and sufficient SAT score as a means to do so.

For those students unable to complete a high school diploma, as was the case of some students discussed within the study, the General Educational Development Test (GED) was an available option administered by the American Council on Education to test the minimum skills and knowledge required for high school. Created in 1942 for veterans who entered service before high school completion and broadened in the 1950s to include anyone unable to complete their high school requirements, the use of the GED resulted in "millions of credentials" issued by early 1985 (Tugend, 1985, para. 5). In 1980, the inaugural national survey of GED test takers was administered and found that 79% identified as White and 58% identified as female. The average profile was a "21-year-old white woman, born in the United States, who worked in some type of service job, perhaps as a beautician, a teacher's aide, a waitress, or a janitor" (Tugend, 1985, para. 15). This sort of profile paints a striking picture of the individuals who took the GED

during the time of the Act of 1980 and the survey findings cited various reasons cited for individuals taking the test including job-related (39%), college admissions (30%), or personal satisfaction (25%; Tugend, 1985). Pointedly, few Blacks used the GED as a gateway into higher education at the time the Act of 1980 was formed, thus the GED provided scant support as a point of access to higher education and STEM programs as a result.

Named Institutions of Higher Education

Once a student (ignoring race) successfully passed the required examinations, they had the choice of applying to either an HBCU or HWI institution. Several institutions were named in the discourse reviewed for this study, and a summary of each state listed in an article is provided for context. For many of the institutions listed, a comparison institution was often used as a contrast. Institutions from the states of Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., were mentioned in the articles reviewed.

Alabama. Talladega College, founded in 1865 as Swayne School, is Alabama's first private historically Black liberal arts college and offered its first bachelor's degrees in 1895. Cited in one article as "one of the finest black colleges in the South" (Ginott, 1980, p. 9), the enrollment has increased from 760 students in 1980 to a current total of 1300 (Talladega College, n.d.).

Georgia. Founded in 1881 as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, Spelman College received its charter and current name in 1924. As the second oldest private historically Black liberal arts college for women, the college currently has an enrollment of 2,360 students (Spelman College, n.d.). Spelman College was contrasted with another women's college, Wheaton College in Massachusetts. Wheaton is a PWI founded in 1834.

Maryland. Now known as Bowie State University, Bowie State College was founded in 1865 as a teaching school and became the Baltimore Normal School for Colored Teachers in 1867 (Bowie State, n.d.). Bowie State is Maryland's oldest historically Black university and currently enrolls 6,275 students in both undergraduate and graduate programs.

The University of Maryland, Eastern Shore (UMES) is a public historically Black land-grant institution founded in 1886 as the Delaware Conference Academy under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1890, the school became known as Morgan College and later received funding under the Morrill Act of 1890. It was not until 1970 (and three name changes later) that UMES received its current name (University of Maryland Eastern Shore, n.d.-b). Represented in the discourse as an institution on the brink of closure in 1980, UMES was under pressure to downgrade its course offerings or merge with nearby Salisbury College, which ultimately did not occur. Today, UMES is now "a teaching, research, and doctoral institution that nurtures and launches leaders in a student-centered environment" (University of Maryland Eastern Shore, n.d.-a). UMES has a current enrollment of 2,518 students (University System of Maryland, n.d.).

Founded in 1925 as the Maryland State Normal School (as an HWI), Salisbury State College (now known as Salisbury University after a name change in 2001), was contrasted with UMES as the site of a potential merger for the historically Black institution. Created to meet the shortage of teachers in rural areas, Salisbury now enrolls 6,286 in its undergraduate and graduate programs (Salisbury University, n.d.-a, n.d.-b).

Massachusetts. Wheaton College, founded in 1834 as a female seminary, was an all-women's college until 1987 when the board of trustees approved the recommendation to admit

men (Wheaton College Massachusetts, (n.d.-b). Now, Wheaton College enrolls 1,700 students with 64% of its study body identifying as female (Wheaton College Massachusetts, (n.d.-a).

North Carolina. Colleges in the North Carolina system were the focal point in the discourse due to the state's inability to submit their desegregation plan as quickly as Florida, Georgia, and Virginia, states considered less racially progressive ("Still Separate in North Carolina," 1979). North Carolina was late in desegregating its educational system and ending their dual college system.

North Carolina Agricultural and Technical [State] College was founded in 1891 as the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race under the Morrill Act of 1890 and represents the first access point to higher education for Black Americans in North Carolina. Cited in the discourse due to the disproportionate number of White students enrolled in a new industrial engineering and safety course at the HBCU (Randolph, 1979), the school was renamed North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in 1967. Currently, the institution enrolls 13,322 students with 88% of those students identified as an underrepresented minority (North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, n.d.).

Contrasted with North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State College, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro was founded in 1891 as a women's college with a focus on industrial education and later became co-educational in 1962. It was one of the first branches of the Consolidated University of North Carolina and would join other state-supported institutions in 1971 under one education system, namely the University of North Carolina (UNC Greensboro, n.d.). Currently, the institution has 17,978 students in both undergraduate and graduate degree programs (UNC Greensboro Office of Institutional Research and Enterprise Data Management, n.d.).

Ohio. Founded in 1870 as The Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College (Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center, n.d.), The Ohio State University was cited in the discourse as having awarded more doctorates to Black students in all fields than any other institution at the time (Rue, 1980b). With its current name officially recognized in 1878, The Ohio State University enrolled 65,795 undergraduate, graduate, and professional students in Fall 2022, with 26% of those students from a minoritized group (Orr, 2022).

Pennsylvania. Cheyney State College, now known as Cheyney University of Pennsylvania as of 1983, is the oldest institution out of all HBCUs. Founded in 1837 as the African Institute and shortly thereafter renamed the Institute for Colored Youth (Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, n.d.-b), Cheyney currently enrolls 706 students (Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, n.d.-a).

Tennessee. Fisk, founded in 1866 as the Fisk Free Colored School, was renamed Fisk University in 1876 (Fisk University, n.d.). The discourse reviewed for this study contrasts this institution with Vanderbilt University as the two institutions had a collaboration to increase the number of Black engineering students. Currently, this private historically Black liberal arts institution enrolls 1,053 students. On the other side, Vanderbilt University was founded in 1873 and was originally an all-male institution except it did not fully prohibit the attendance of women, only denied access to dormitories (Vanderbilt University, n.d.)

Virginia. Norfolk State University faced the potential elimination of courses during the HEW's push to end financing for dual public college systems in the United States. Founded in 1935 as the Norfolk Unit of Virginia Union University (Norfolk State University, n.d.), this institution was contrasted with nearby Old Dominion University in the discourse reviewed for this study. The argument in the article centered on Norfolk State University having duplicate

courses and separate enrollment from Old Dominion University. In 1979, Norfolk State University the institution received its university designation, 23 years after it was able to offer its first bachelor's degrees. Currently, the institution enrolls 5,786 students (Norfolk State University, 2022).

Founded in 1930 by William & Mary as an extension campus collaboration with Virginia Tech, Old Dominion University started as a 2-year school for teachers and engineers (Old Dominion University, n.d.-a). Due to growth, it was granted 4-year institution status in 1962 and become the independent Old Dominion College. In1969, Old Dominion received university status. The discourse reviewed for this study cites required cross-over attendance with nearby Norfolk State University as part of the push to end dual college systems for public institutions. Currently, the institution enrolls 23,494 students in its undergraduate and graduate programs (Old Dominion University, n.d.-b).

Both schools worked together to create joint programs in health education and mental health in 1978 (Bookman, 2020). In 2021, both schools and Eastern Virginia Medical School signed a memorandum of understanding to create the Commonwealth of Virginia's first School of Public Health (Norfolk State University, 2021).

Washington, D.C. Howard University was founded in 1867 by General Oliver O. Howard, leader of the Freedman's Bureau. Discussions of this university in the discourse reviewed for this study focused on its medical school and currently, the institution offers 130 areas of study (Howard University, n.d.). In 2022, the institution had a student enrollment of 9,689 undergraduate, graduate, and professional students.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the key areas that were identified in the discourse. Such areas included key political knowledge such as the opening up of housing rights and the continued fight for desegregation at the elementary and secondary levels. Economic factors also played a role including backlash for desegregating the Shaw Community and a recession in early 1980. Lastly, the use of the SAT exam as part of admissions created a gateway for students to demonstrate readiness for college enrollment. Both HBCUs and HWI were mentioned in the discourse and a brief history of them was provided to prepare the reader for the upcoming findings presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Findings

The combination of research topic, theory, and methods used in this study presupposed the othering of HBCUs and Black students is present in national newspaper articles given the positioning of Black Americans as counter to the established norms of White supremacy. The purpose of this presentation of findings is not to counter such a perspective, but rather, find instances that both support and oppose such a perspective. In focusing on the duality of the discourse, it is one that I hope will demonstrate the duality of the world in which these articles were created. Pointedly, such a duality is rooted in a system of power and privilege not afforded equally to Black Americans in this national discourse. There are many perspectives prevalent in American society, however, only a few are able to come forward to be the dominant perspective in these articles.

The articles found within the parameters of this study represent a snapshot combination of the above factors. This chapter starts with an overview of the general framing of the articles found within this study. Following the framing, three major themes are explored: the creation of the other, the battle for HBCU existence, and the image of Black academic merit. Each finding section is divided in two with a focus on HBCUs and Black students followed by examples present within the discourse that counter the presented themes.

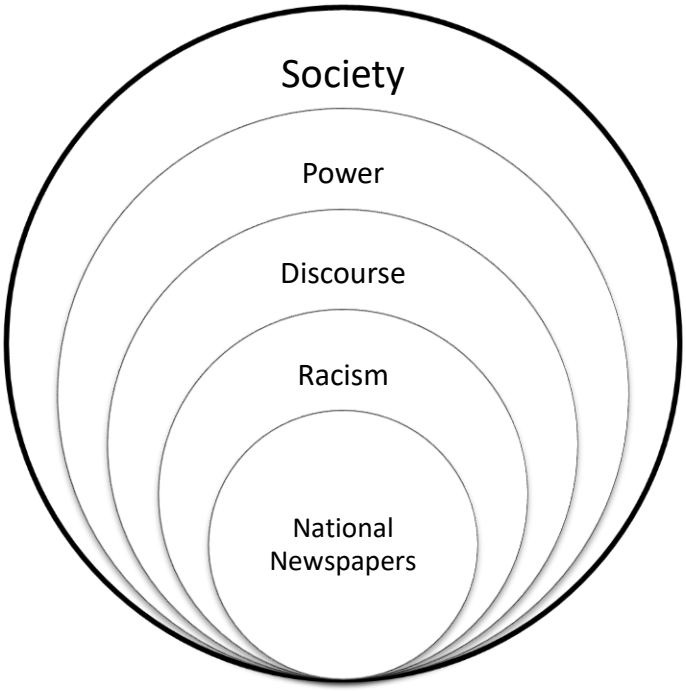
Mental Framing: The Use of Headlines, Leading Statements, and Paragraphs

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are several factors that contribute to the context of this study. One primary factor is the manifestation of aspects of racism in national newspaper discourse through the interplay of society, power, and discourse. Figure 3 shows how national

newspapers are the product of the interaction between society, discourse, power, and racism. This embedded influence results in the reification of hegemonic societal norms within the national newspaper discourse.

Figure 3

The Intersection of Society, Power, Discourse, and Racism as Expressed in National Newspapers



Understanding the embeddedness of power and racism in society is crucial to explore because this context shapes how HBCUs and Black students are viewed by society. The first set of findings highlight how headlines and leading statements set the stage for how readers understand the content and how particular word choice influences perspective. As a starting point, headlines provide a glimpse into what readers can expect in the article, often with an eye-

catching motif to draw in the reader. The example by Randolph (1979) demonstrates such an example (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Headline for Randolph's (1979) Article as it Appears in the Wall Street Journal


Academic Irony
Black Colleges Seeking To Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate
Rights Groups Oppose Them; Federal Aid Could End; Low Tuition for the Poor
'I Wanted a Black College'

The presentation of this headline creates a source of conflict as Blacks had long advocated for the integration of primarily White institutions, and now Black colleges were resisting the integration of Whites onto their campuses. This perspective was controversial given the time period in which integration was a federal mandate and schools were facing a loss of funding by not following governmental orders. From just this headline, the article is framed as one that places Black colleges at the center of a conflict as they seemed unwilling to give Whites the same rights they wanted for themselves.

Using this same example, the leading statement is the second area in which an eye-catching pull intends to entice the reader further to read the article: "PRINCESS ANNE, Md. Two years ago, the future looked bleak for the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore, a predominantly black college in this rural town near Chesapeake Bay" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). This leading statement from "Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo

Pressure to Integrate" (shortened) provides additional information for the reader about one particular Black college and also furthers this sense of conflict originally introduced in the headline.

The article's title and leading sentence play a significant role in the framing of the article as they both prime the reader to a particular perspective and influence how they should understand the information that is presented. From the presentation of the headline and leading statement, the reader creates a foundation on which to build any subsequent information. Table 3 shows the breakdown of the topics presented in the headlines for the study.

Table 3

Root Codes for all Headlines

Root Code	*f*	%
Conflict	7	35%
Image	4	20%
Enrollment	3	15%
Funding	2	10%
Characteristic	1	5%
Future	1	5%
Academic	1	5%
Need	1	5%
Total	20	100%

Note. There are more than 15 due to Randolph's (1979) article in which each line was coded due to the segmentation of the headline.

Referring to this table, the top three root codes assigned were conflict, image, and enrollment which represented in total 70% of the headlines within the study. Thus, from the beginning of observing an article, a reader is primed to know that further reading will provide additional newsworthy information in these three areas. Next, the leading statement provides an

overview of what is to be expected in the remainder of the article. Table 4 demonstrates that the leading statements once again represent conflict, enrollment, and image as the top topics; however, future also shows up to represent as prominent bringing the total to 79% of the root codes uses for leading statements.

Table 4

Root Codes for all Leading Statements

Root Code	*f*	%
Conflict	5	33%
Enrollment	3	20%
Image	2	13%
Future	2	13%
Academic	1	7%
Characteristic	1	7%
Need	1	7%
Total	15	100%

Should the reader be significantly drawn in, each paragraph furthers the mental map created by the headline and leading statement, thus building, strengthening, or challenging a reader's previously held perspective. Continuing from the article "Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate" (shortened) as referenced above, the paragraph after the leading statement serves as a continuation of the sources of conflict introduced by both the headline and leading statement:

> As one school official tells it, some Maryland lawmakers had been wishing the black college would die ever since the 1964 Civil Rights Act made integration a condition of federal aid to public schools. Now they were considering a state budget analyst's

> recommendation to close Maryland-Eastern Shore or merge it with a nearby white college. (Randolph, 1979, p. 1)

In the case of this next paragraph, the source of conflict stems from the relationship of the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore and the state legislators who want to permanently close the institution.

When looking at just paragraphs, Table 5 demonstrates the root codes assigned to each during Stage 4 of the CDA process and provides a general understanding of the topics covered in the discourse.

Table 5

Root Codes for all Paragraphs

Root Code	*f*	%	Root Code	*f*	%
Characteristic	54	19%	Honor	11	4%
Conflict	31	11%	Feeling	4	1%
Academic	29	10%	Sense-of-belonging	4	1%
Outcome	23	8%	Policy	3	1%
Funding	22	8%	Choice	3	1%
Image	19	7%	Connection	2	1%
Enrollment	19	7%	History	2	1%
Future	17	6%	Solution	1	0%
Support	16	6%	Need	1	0%
Fields	13	4%	Process	1	0%
Commentary	13	4%	Delay	1	0%
			Total	289	100%

Based on this table, it is evident that topics such as characteristics, conflict, and academic are the top three root codes, representing 40% of the total number of codes assigned to these pieces of data. And while these are not the majority of the codes, this information starts to paint a

picture of the type of discourse present. Article headlines, leading statements, and paragraphs build the mental map for readers from the articles. This mental map provides a starting point for critique of how HBCUs and their Black students are represented in the national news articles of the time and begins to alert readers about what to expect from the discourse.

Section Summary

In this section, I provided greater detail about the framing of the articles and how the discourse surrounding HBCUs, Black students, and STEM was positioned within the study. In terms of key codes, conflict rose as one consistently in the top of each coding analysis. The following sections will elaborate on how conflict presented itself throughout the discourse, starting with the first theme, the naming of the *other*.

Theme 1: The Naming of the Other (Word Choice)

In addition to an understanding of the framing of the articles, images of HBCUs and the subsequent imagery of Black students contribute to how readers understand these actors. The overarching view of the national newspaper discourse shows that the creation of HBCUs and Black students enrolled in these institutions are viewed as the *other* in American society. Such othering, as discussed in Chapter 2, provides the foundation of continued racism within discourse. Stage 6 of the CDA provided the space to explore such othering through a specific focus on word choices used to describe both HBCUs and Black students. It comes as no surprise that the majority of the word choices used in the articles included “black” and the use of this descriptor attributes characteristics to this racialized identity; and so, subsequent phrasing builds the foundation of the everyday racism found in newspaper discourse (van Dijk, 1997b).

Word Choice: HBCUs

After understanding the framing of the articles, specific word choices for both HBCUs and Black students were reviewed. Such instances were both general choices and more specific images that were presented. In terms of HBCUs, there were 72 instances in which they were referenced with the following being the top three codes in Stage 6 as shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Top Three Terms Used to Describe HBCUs

Term	*f*
black college or black colleges	27
black school or black schools	12
black institution or black institutions	7
Total	46

Note. During this time period "black" in reference to a racial or ethnic identity was lowercased and maintained when referencing such usage.

Within this discourse, the use of "college" was the most preferred way in which to describe these institutions alongside the use of "school" and "institution." The need to indicate "black" in the descriptor served as a means of othering relative to White colleges or schools. Of the 46 instances in which HBCUs were present in the articles, the use of "predominately" as an adjective, for example in "predominantly black college," was used 12 times or 26% of these top instances. A focus on the proportion of an HBCU that identified as Black was also signaled with terms not listed in Table 6 to include "formerly all-black" (2), "historically black" (1), and "virtually all-black" (1), which signaled the desire to call attention to the make-up of the student body during a time when integration numbers where important areas to note due to increase pressure to desegregate institutions.

What was most striking was not the collective word choices that were present in the discourse, but the unique instances that show the tips of the ideological icebergs supporting long-held beliefs about HBCUs. For example, a 1979 article stated "founded, in 1886 as a secondary school for blacks, UMES has been the perennial stepchild of higher education in Maryland" (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1). The use of "perennial stepchild" in the article adds to the idea that this particular HBCU is seen as less than the other institutions within the state. Next, consider the sentence in another 1979 article that stated, "And perhaps ironically, these creatures of segregation are feeling a squeeze from the civil-rights movement—specifically, a stepped-up push by HEW to dismantle dual public-college systems for blacks and whites" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The use of "creatures of segregation" to refer to HBCUs dehumanizes these institutions and their students, making these institutions seen as "other" relative to PWIs.

Word Choice: Black Students

Within the discourse of the articles reviewed, Black students were named 95 total times. The top three instances of such usage in shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Top Three Terms Used to Describe Black Students

Term	*f*
blacks	34
black students	12
students	10
Total	56

Note. During this time period "black" in reference to a racial or ethnic identity was lowercased and maintained when referencing such usage. The use of "student" in this case is separate from the use of "black students" due to this distinction being made within the articles.

The inclusion of “blacks” in this table is in part due to the nature of its use. Black students were referenced along the educational pipeline, not just those currently enrolled in an institution of higher education as I previously assumed they would be. Thus, I coded for Black students as any of those along the educational pipeline and notated which group, if discussed, they belonged to. I found that most references were made to students either readily able to attend college or currently in an institution of higher education, therefore, used the section on characteristics (see Theme 3) to explore differences between these two groups. As was the case with HBCUs, the instances that drew attention were those not as commonly used. In the discourse, students were identified based on assumed “learning deficiencies” as in: “It's important that we keep the open door and appeal to black students with learning deficiencies who are frequently overlooked by white institutions,"’ stated Samuel Myers, executive director of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (Randolph, 1979, p. 41). This quote speaks to the assumed thoughts about the academic abilities of Black students. In addition, students were also named based on assumed economic status such as “disadvantaged” and “poor.” The deficit perspectives that these characteristics of word choices contributed to how Black students were perceived is discussed in further detail.

Counter Narrative: Positive Images of HBCUs and Black Students (Word Choice)

In the same way there are negative word choices that stand out as unique, there are also positive words used to describe HBCUs and Black students. Take for example the portrayal of HBCUs as ‘“those precious fruit trees that bloomed among the thorns of segregation”’ (Joyce, 1980, p. C4), which provides the reader with a counter image of HBCUs as beautiful and life-giving versus being seen as inferior to PWIs. Other positive discourse is evident for Black students in which they are defined as “super stars” in the headline of “26 Super Stars Alabama

Bound: Willowbrook Junior High Pupils to Study at Talladega College." This word choice provides a perspective of these incoming Black college students as extraordinary in their abilities. This positive perspective is contrasted later in the chapter under the discussion of Black academic merit.

Section Summary

The first theme of the findings represents the ways in which HBCUs and Black students were named in the discourse to include both commonly used representations and through the use of naming conventions denoting both negative and positive imagery. The ability to name oneself and others in discourse is one way in which power can be exercised. HBCUs and Black students were consistently presented as "other" relative to the hegemonic norm of PWIs and White students. In the next section, the second theme is discussed as the discourse also presented images of conflict for the continued existence of HBCUs as viable institutions of higher education.

Theme 2: The Perpetual Battle for HBCU Existence

The contested history of HBCUs builds on various forms of conflict. Discussions involving the racialized identities of HBCUs and Black students presupposes some form of conflict between their Blackness and the normalized version of Whiteness prevalent within society. Such conflict is inherently also a part of CRT and CAR as both frameworks point out the ways race is used as a signal of deficits. However, the use of CRT and a focus on qualitative rigor also requires counter narratives and deviant cases to be sought after and presented. These counter examples help provide a balance in voice.

This duality of deficit and value has existed since the inception of HBCUs as they were created as optional institutional pathways to educate a segregated group versus a more integrated

approach to education. Such policies as presented in the Morrill Acts further emphasized this segregation. It was not until policy forced the hand of desegregation that steps towards a more integrated educational experience for Black students emerged. However, the use of integration should be taken lightly as true integration requires there be services, models, and the actual desire to merge two seemingly different educational wholes.

Public HBCUs: Elimination of the Dual College System

The major concern in the discourse in the articles reviewed focused on the Health, Education, and Welfare department's (HEW) push to end financial support to dual college systems within the United States. Ironically, this push was seen as a threat to HBCUs and their existence. Consider the article, "Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate" (shortened), that stated:

> The struggle for survival never seems to end for many of the nation's 145 public and private colleges that are predominantly black. These days, they are worrying because the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is reevaluating a federal program that provides vital funds for black schools. And perhaps ironically, these creatures of segregation are feeling a squeeze from the civil-rights movement—specifically, a stepped-up push by HEW to dismantle dual public-college systems for blacks and whites. (Randolph, 1979, p. 1)

This squeeze was one that was presented in discourse of conflict in terms of and understanding of HBCU history, a threat to identity based on enrollment, the potential of loss of funding, and the threat of being closed entirely or merged with a nearby White institution.

HBCU History. Part of the discourse provided information on the history and purpose of HBCUs to help ground the reader in common understanding. For example, an article by Joyce

(1980) stated, ‘“We call them historically black,” [Dr. P. R. Robinson] said, “because they were founded, primarily in the South, by blacks to serve blacks when other alternatives weren't available”’ (p. C4). This statement provides some historical context; however, it fails to express a more specific stance related to historical segregation. When speaking about UMES; however, Barnes (1979) provides greater context to help readers understand their history:

> Founded in 1886 as a secondary school for blacks, UMES has been the perennial stepchild of higher education in Maryland. Initially it was known as the Delaware Conference Academy of the Centenary Biblical Institute, and it did not come under state control until 1919 when the state college system took it over as Maryland's black land grant college of agriculture. At that time blacks were denied admission to the University of Maryland college of agriculture at College Park. (p. 6)

This article provided the most in-depth explanation of the history of HBCUs in the articles reviewed, whereas other references merely point out the existence of both HBCUs and HWIs without a nod to why the two institutional types exist. With the federal government threatening to defund dual public college systems in the 1980s, the focus on distance and purpose based on past segregation puts the existence of HBCUs in jeopardy.

Enrollment and Identity. A large share of the conflict rests on the retaining of a Black identity as measured by the numerical numbers of Black students enrolled at the institution. One argument for maintaining Black enrollment was that White students would take up spots needed by “disadvantaged” Black students (Randolph, 1979, p. 1); which is a similar argument opponents of affirmative action make in that White students are seen as more deserving of educational opportunities. Consider the following newspaper reporting: “at North Carolina A&T, for example, the students taking a new course in industrial engineering and safety are 80% white,

while the school's 5,500 students are 89% black" (Randolph, 1979, p. 41). This example demonstrates an area of concern at HBCUs that were integrated and found that newly admitted Whites made up the majority enrollment in a STEM program course. Thus, the dilemma presented was that a Black student could not get an education at a White institution (because they could not get in), and at the same time, they were unable to attend new and relevant courses at their HBCU in STEM because White students enrolled in most of the available spots. Within this presentation, however, it is not stated in the article whether or not Black students were unable to attend the course due to unsatisfied prerequisites or they opted not to enroll. Therefore, the interpretation as the why Black students were not enrolled is left up to the reader.

Another reason for maintaining identity-based HBCU enrollments was that many black administrators, as well as students, simply did not want an integrated school, namely, "they see black colleges as important symbols of their heritage" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The expressed fear of loss of identity of being an institution dedicated to educating Black students was an important aspect of their institutional identity and full integration of HBCUs could result in the possible erasure of these identity-focused institutions.

William Hytche, chancellor of UMES in 1979 stated that, ''We were set up as a land-grant institution for blacks, and we're committed to remain predominantly black" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). This discourse underscores how HBCU leaders sought to defend their continuance to help support the Black students they were designed to serve. This loss of stature was a valid fear at the time as integration and was forced by the federal government, leaving many Black educators wondering how Black students would decide where to go to college and what repercussions of such actions would be. For example,'if there's a pushing out of blacks from public institutions, the country will see a social conflict caused by young blacks unable to get

ahead,' says Mr. Myers of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. (Randolph, 1979, p. 41). This stance demonstrates the concern that some Black educational leaders had with regard to the possible elimination of spaces for Black students to successfully matriculate into Black institutions of higher education.

Funding. The perspective that HBCUs may lose their Black identity due to a reduction in the number of Black students enrolled is in direct conflict with the mandate to end dual public college systems or face as loss of federal funding. There also existed another bind in the discourse for HBCUs, namely the idea that White students would bring in more funding for the school. Funding concerns were real and presented a point of conflict.

> That position is creating a dilemma for many black colleges—those that believe "our mission is to serve black students,'' as Harrison B. Wilson, president of Norfolk (Va.) State College, puts it. They would like to retain a predominantly black student body, but they don't want to violate HEW guidelines for racial integration and, in turn, lose federal financing. (Randolph, 1979, p. 1)

The discourse in the articles included in this study does not just cite educators as concerned, but also the Black students who attend those schools. Even within the student body, an association that Whiteness equates increased funding existed; therefore, at its heart was the survival of HBCUs in the educational landscape:

> Although many black students prefer black colleges, they are aware of the financial problems faced by the institutions. ''I'd rather see the school go white than have it closed," says Donna Walton, a Maryland Eastern Shore [UMES] senior. "I know when they (white students) filter in, the school will be better off in trying to get funds." (Randolph, 1979, p. 41)

The idea that White students represent more potential funding for HBCUs is also positioned in the discussion about contributions of alumni dollars: “contributions from alumni of publicly supported black colleges are lower on the average than are contributions from alumni of white schools; graduates of the white schools are generally in a higher income bracket” (Randolph, 1979, p. 1); given the timing of this discourse, the association with wealth and Whiteness can be assumed due the recentness of the mandate to better integrate Black and White institutions. This notion puts HBCUs in a dilemma as public institutions are positioned as reliant on federal funding; “although overall figures are hard to come by, public black colleges are heavily dependent on U.S. money, particularly so-called development funds” (Randolph, 1979, p. 1) and even private HBCUs are cited as facing “a serious financial crunch” (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). Thus, the threat of loss of government funding could result in a loss of “more than 25% of their annual budgets” which is used for areas such as “new courses, which many black schools need to strengthen them academically” (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The threat of loss of funding shows the precarious funding of HBCUs based solely on tuition dollar generation of its students, which highlights the historical lack of funding provided by state and federal governments to HBCUs.

Close or Merge. In the face of enrollment and funding concerns, some HBCUs also were worried about their continued existence and faced legislative threats of either being closed or merged with a nearby HWI. In the case of the “perpetually beleaguered” (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1) UMES, "as one school official tells it, some Maryland lawmakers had been wishing the black college would die ever since the 1964 Civil Rights Act made integration a condition of federal aid to public schools” (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). Such a strong stance towards UMES demonstrates that it was one of many HBCUs concerned about whether they would continue to exist past this particular timeframe as a prominent view was that “now [legislators] were considering a state

budget analyst's recommendation to close Maryland-Eastern Shore or merge it with a nearby white college" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). Even faculty were concerned about the fate of the school, "when I first came here [UMES] in 1975, there was great concern over whether this campus would close, whether it would become a two-year college or whether it would become a high school" (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1). This same article pointed out that UMES faced "an investigation by a blue ribbon study commission that urged substantial academic upgrading of UMES, not closure or merger with nearby Salisbury State College, which also had been suggested" (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1). Still, the college was not free from the concern of being closed down. Such a concern lingered and created a sense of unease for the public institution: "'We're still not out of the woods,' says William Hytche, the UMES chancellor. 'There are still people in the legislature who would like to close us down'" (Barnes, 1979, p. 1), which added to the uncertain future that this particular institution faced.

UMES was not the only institution cited as facing closure or merger in the articles reviewed. Norfolk State faced similar pressure to either "merge or to eliminate duplicate courses that the government contended were helping to perpetuate the separate black-white schools." (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The pressure was met with contention and the agreement was reached that required crossover attendance between Norfolk State and Old Dominion University and only required Norfolk State to drop one course in education (Randolph, 1979). This agreement was seen as a win for Norfolk State as the university was concerned that the HEW wanted to eliminate business courses used to bring in more Black students. Norfolk State is the only example presented in the discourse in the articles reviewed that highlighted the steps actually taken during this time to close or merge HBCUs. These actions demonstrates that the threat and fear of such actions to force closure or mergers were the most prominent. Other schools such as

Cheyney were threatened to “close or merge it with another state college” (Dispute Over Diplomas, 1979, p. 19); however, no further discussion was present in the article reviewed. As Mr. Lee of Cheyney was quoted, “[the] bottom line of the dispute is black higher education” (Dispute Over Diplomas, 1979, p. 19) and the threat of closing or merging these institutions may run deeper than a loss of federal funding. Mr. Lee’s quote points to higher education for Black Americans as a source of contention and in the case of Cheyney, a source of conflict with state legislators.

The Double Bind of Black Student Choice: HBCUs vs HWIs

Another theme in the discourse was the double-bind that Black students faced when selecting a college or university during a period when higher education enrollment was declining. This decision is an important one for any college student as Gilliam (1980) wrote regarding her daughter’s choices, “Do you choose a predominantly black school or a predominantly white one? Do you choose a coed school or a women's college?” (p. B1, B5), which shows the sort of dilemma Black students and their families of this time faced. The need for a focus on increasing enrollment is, at first, positioned as a need to expand the number of Blacks studying growth fields such as STEM and business. However, another important aspect of enrollment is the associated funding (current and alumni dollars) and subsequent prestige associated with successful graduates of the program in the form of graduation rates and the strength of alumni associations. Gilliam (1980) echoes the importance of the benefits of attending one school over another:

> The choice of a college is difficult—and probably more important than most students understand. Long after our daughter has walked onto a campus, figured out the names of

> the various residence halls, and worried about her grades, the choice will affect her life, her future, her friendships. (p. 18)

Just as it is important for students to select the college best suited to their needs, so too were institutions looking to attract Black students. According to Gilliam (1980), "a number of predominantly white colleges have prepared special brochures for prospective minority students" (p. B5) in an effort to give "the Big Sell [to Black students] as the number of enrollees continues to drop" (B1). The loss of enrollment equated to a loss of revenue for institutions and the threat of hiring freezes, layoffs, and program eliminations that would soon follow. This competition for Black student enrollment puts HBCUs and HWIs in direct competition, even when they were collaborating to expand the educational pipeline of minority students in STEM. Consider Fisk and Vanderbilt universities that proposed a joint dual degree program:

> Fisk students and faculty members contend that Vanderbilt, the largest and oldest private engineering school in the South, is promoting its own minority engineering recruitment program and does not wish to continue the other effort [of collaborating with Fisk]. Vanderbilt has 339 blacks among its enrollment of about 8,400 students [4%]. (Rue, 1980a, p. 6)

The dual degree program was one in which students attended Fisk and then transferred to Vanderbilt to earn a degree in science and engineering. The conflict that emerged between these institutions meant that instead of sharing enrollment, Vanderbilt recruited students away from Fisk. For Black students at that time, this competition created a potential dilemma of supporting one school over the other if clear transfer pathways were not present.

Even when the focus was on academics, campus climate was discussed as another factor for students to consider when electing between an HBCU or HWI:

> As black college students they know they'll pack not only slacks and sweaters, their parents' anxieties and expectations, but also doubts about the abilities from some insensitive whites. Some seem to expect less of a student who's not white, or question whether a black student is enrolling merely because he or she benefited from some quota or 'special' program. (Gilliam, 1980, p. B5)

The stigmas and stereotypes Black students faced then, and now, with regards to their academic abilities when attending HWIs influenced their experiences on campus.

In addition to the aforementioned dilemmas of Black student enrollment, there also existed national recognition for those able to enroll and have students persist to graduation. At Ohio State University "the United Negro College Fund honored [the university] this year [1980] for having granted more doctorates to blacks in all fields than any other institution of higher education in the United States" (Rue, 1980b, EDU25). Such a designation is noteworthy given the focus on increase graduation rates of Black students and the discussion as to whether White institutions are able to be successful at this venture.

Counter Narrative: Determination Despite Circumstances

A counter to the images of conflict present within the discourse was determination. For both HBCUs and Black students, there has been a need to continue on despite the circumstances that were constantly pushing against them. Nikki Giovanni describes HBCUs in "Playing Tribute" as "those precious fruit trees that bloomed among the thorns of segregation" (Joyce, 1980, p. C4). This image is powerful as it depicts HBCUs as a beautiful place that, like a tree, offered Black students a foundation, protection, and sustenance when segregation continually threatened to harm them. Even through such threats to their existence, HBCUs and Black students were positioned as able to keep going in spite of setbacks. As Dr. Raymond Richardson

(Rue, 1980a) argued “frustration generally turns into resolve” and “Black institutions are like black people: They don’t go away easily and they don’t give up fast” (p. 6). In this particular instance, Dr. Richardson was referring to the frustration of a joint effort between Fisk and Vanderbilt being potentially undermined by Vanderbilt, and his comments focused on how the determination of Fisk and other HBCUs would persist.

Through this determination, HBCUs were also described as those able to graduate Black students at higher levels than their White counters. Gilliam (1980) stated that, “still, it is ironic that about 90 small black institutions continue to award about the same number of baccalaureate degrees to blacks as do about 1,500 predominantly white institutions” (p. B5), showing that during this time HBCUs were also seen as having favorable outcomes in spite of their circumstances. For example, Talladega College was also cited for its student outcomes in which “80% of the 760 students pursue graduate degrees” (Sargent, 1980, p. DC5).

With regard to funding, despite instances in which HBCUs were concerned about funding from the federal government, incoming NSF Director John B. Slaughter stated that “I feel there are many things I can do for black universities, for black students,” including making sure black institutions increase the number of people eligible for NSF research grants (P. Parker, 1980, p. SD_A6). This statement directly ties into the wording of the Act of 1980 and may be a nod towards what would eventually be the passing of the act four months after this article was published.

With Black students having the option to attend either a historically Black or White institution of higher education, the discourse reviewed for this study highlighted some of the challenges this choice presented. Gilliam (1980) discussed the choices her daughter had to make, summarizing “The secret is in the match-making: the match that's right for her goals, values,

talents and future life. But if the recent past is any indication, it's going to be a rough year as she tries to pick the right college" (Gilliam, 1980, p. 19). Several factors influenced why Black students may have elected to attend a HBCU instead of a HWI during this time. Students served by Project Open, a federally funded program to help adults enter college, are quoted as attending HBCUs "because of the support services available" (Sargent, 1980, p. DC5). Another area mentioned of support students found at HBCUs was that of a shared identity. "'I've gone to school with whites since the second grade,' says Alice Coles, a sophomore at Norfolk State, 'and I wanted to go to a black college for the identity'" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1).

The focus on shared identity represents the desire to attend a school with others who may have the same experiences and for the case of Black students, it may include those who understand shared positive and negative experiences in a society where they are othered. Shared identity can also mean an understanding of a shared value system in which to operate. As Dr. Russell L. Miller discussed of Howard University when compared to other medical schools, "Miller said medical schools still compete to recruit the most qualified black applicants, but that Howard has fared well because it attracts students who agree with its priorities — to train practitioners, not researchers and specialists" (Okie, 1980, p. C3). Therefore, Black students decided to continue to attend HBCUs instead of HWIs due to their individual needs and wants and it is a mistake to assume all Black students have the same desires.

Section Summary

In this section, I covered areas of the discourse that focused on threats to the continued existence of HBCUs to include a lack of understanding of the purpose of these institutions, threats of closing, funding concerns, and the opening of Black student choice. Such images speak to the notion that HBCUs were not valuable contributors to the educational environment of the

United States. However, counter to this notion was a rationale for why HBCUs should be in existence which is they offer havens for Black students who want to attend based on shared identity and values which they have deemed important to their success. The next and final theme discusses images of Black academic merit present within the discourse.

Theme 3: Characteristics of HBCUs and Black Students

The top root code that existed within the discourse was *characteristic* which pointed to descriptions of either HBCUs or Black students. Such characteristics, when reviewed further, pointed to the third major theme present in the perspectives of national newspapers regarding HBCUs and Black students. Characteristics align with the notion of othering that names Black students and HBCUs relative to the hegemonic norm of White students and HWI. This theme, however, highlights how the discourse focused on the ideal image of HBCUs as institutions of academic learning and the Black students who might attend. The creation of these images molds society's view of Blackness, defined as "the social and cultural identity and experience of Black people" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b, para. 1), and contributes to direct associations with Black Americans.

HBCU Characteristics: Image Problems

There were two types of images reflected in the discourse. The first was the creation of a new image to replace a negative one or provide an opportunity of building a better version of themselves. For example, Bowie State College's new image was so noteworthy that it was the headline for the article "Bowie State College's New Image Attracts More Students." The leading statement of the article provided additional information: "Over the past year, the Bowie college's enrollment has grown from 2,722 to 2,879. While administrators say two new graduate programs probably account for part of the increase, they believe that a change in image has also helped"

(Eastman, 1979, p. MD14). The increase of 157 students occurred during a time when other HBCUs were seeing a decline in enrollment (Eastman, 1979). The second type of image discussed was one of a "tarnished" image as was the case with Howard University. "Some of the university's glory has tarnished with age, [Robinson and Miller] admit" (Stevens, 1979, p. DC2). The former glory of Howard as "the school once considered the black Harvard of higher education" portrayed a dichotomized picture of Howard relative to Harvard and highlights a prestige loss for the HBCU over time.

Reasons for such changes in HBCU image were cited as poor press relationship or coverage. In the case of Bowie State, President Rufus L. Barfield stated:

> For a long time, Bowie has had an image problem…Now, I think we are beginning to turn the corner. People are hearing a lot of positive things about us, and as a result, high school kids are considering Bowie more seriously. (Eastman, 1979, MD14)

The importance of good press relationships and a need for the positive aspects of an institution to be highlighted resulted in changes in enrollment and status. Such good press relationships are positioned as supporting positive enrollment, especially during a time in which enrollment was trending downward. However, enrollment is always an important factor for any institution of higher education, but especially during a time when HBCUs were concerned with the enrollment competition of Black students attending HWIs instead. For Howard, "an ailing School of Architecture caused the replacement of a dean under protest… And the medical school has suffered from poor press relations" (Stevens, 1979, p. DC2), with both actions pointing to how the university was represented in the media in a bad light.

The discourse offered solutions to the image problems through an increase in positive press relations and increased contact with local leaders. For Bowie State, the updates were more

detailed, “The new administration also embarked on a major campaign to improve the college’s image, sponsoring several “town gown affairs,” social gatherings that usually attract community and county leaders (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14), which demonstrates the importance of having a positive reputation through the press, but also with key stakeholders. It is unclear whether these leaders held legislative power as that may have served as important sources of support given the experiences of other HBCUs. The discourse about Howard, on the other hand, showed a need for a more proactive in their approach. “We have a very poor press relations effort,” said Miller; “We haven't taken the initiative to let people know (the good things) we are doing, or to find out what people want to know” (Stevens, 1979, p. DC2). Once again, the focus was on a positive image portrayal in the press and in this case the responsibility was being placed on the institution rather than the media outlet.

Black Student Characteristics: Before, During, and After Enrollment

Black students were discussed in various places along the educational pipeline with a focus on before, during, and after their enrollment into institutions of higher education. The descriptions presented represent overall negative views about Black students and their abilities to successfully complete their chosen programs of study.

Before Enrollment. Black students were seen in the discourse as unable to get into HWIs due to their inability to qualify academically for them; therefore, HBCUs were a needed backup option. Randolph (1979) discusses a possible increase in White student enrollment at HBCUs, “a large influx of white students will displace disadvantaged blacks: the blacks may then never receive a college education because they can’t afford white colleges or can’t qualify for them” (p. 7). The sentiment of the inability of black students to qualify for a White institution was reiterated in the statement by Samuel Myers, executive director of the National Association

for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, “It's important that we keep the open door and appeal to black students with learning deficiencies who are frequently overlooked by white institutions" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The title of this particular speaker gives the statement even more weight. It is unclear from this statement and surrounding context whether Mr. Myers is speaking specifically about Black students who have a diagnosed learning disability or if he is stating that Black students are inherently unable to perform at the assumed level needed to succeed at a White institution. This lack of clarity is one important example of how the discourse can contribute to negative views about the mental capacity of Black students of this time.

Next, the discourse showcased Black students as lacking sufficient knowledge about the application process, specifically about college funding through financial aid. In the article titled “Program Helps Youth Enter College,” Black students were quoted as primarily wanting to gain more information about financial aid; however, the person quoted Mr. Webb, EOC counselor, stated, “But, we find that they also need to know about the whole process of getting into college, such as taking the SAT, and determining how much money it's going to take when travel and other expenses are considered” (Sargent, 1980, p. DC5). This statement paints a picture that the only concern Black students have is about money and the cost of their education and positions it as a negative. Another reference to this perspective was highlighted in another newspaper article that stated, “poor youngsters, many of whom are black, often base their choice of colleges on their cost, rather than their curriculums” (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25), which adds the perspective that the focus on funding is due to the economic status of Black students. The meaning conveyed was that Black students were economically disadvantaged, therefore, their focus on funding showed a lack of concern for obtaining a quality education. And so, these “poor youngsters” (also denoting a lack of knowledge due to assumed youth) choice to attend an HBCU was

because they were academically or financially unable to attend an HWI. The irony of this perspective is that White students would also be concerned about the cost of their education; however, the discourse did not present this perspective for review.

> Black students were also positioned in the articles as not being adequately prepared given their lack of knowledge about various major options, mainly in comparison to their White peers. Also, Dr. Morris said, blacks often enter majors that will lead to the professions of their closest role models. In the black community, those models have frequently been educators. But whites have access and familial ties to professionals in a wider variety of fields. (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25)

This discourse once again presents Black students as being deficient, but in this case due to the limitations of the career paths of their family members. This statement shows a disregard for the historical discrimination that contributed to why Blacks have been positioned into particular career paths. Finally, Black students were positioned as lacking counseling in high school or not having the needed high school courses required for success in college. "Many [black students] come from inner-city schools that fail to offer adequate counseling or solid prerequisite courses for the technical disciplines. Therefore, educators said, they are unable to take degrees in the technically sophisticated fields" (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25). These statements again focus on the ability of Black students to successfully enter institutions of higher education.

During Enrollment. Related to the characteristics needed to be successful in college and persisting to graduation, Black students were seen as lacking needed academic skills or perspective. This perspective reinforced the idea that Black students were not of the caliber needed to be successful at the institution. First, students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds

were seen as unable to perform academically. Rue (1980b) highlights the notion of doubting one's abilities as a Black student:

> "Aside from prelaw and premedical students, many blacks, aware of the stereotypes others may have of their abilities, lack the confidence in what they are capable of attaining," according to Dr. Lorenzo Morris, a senior fellow at the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy at Howard University. (p. EDU25)

Counter to this perspective was an article focused on high-achieving Black students. "At [Willowbrook Junior High School], every child is taught and told that he can do it, that being in a low economic area doesn't mean he can't achieve" (Ginott, 1980, p. SE_A2).

The articles referencing Black students' ability to attend college did not always reference the type of institutions these students would attend (HBCU vs. HWI), but rather provided generalized references to institutions of higher education. Yet because this study only focused on HBCUs and Black higher education as a whole, the article references were presumed to mean Black institutions of higher education. Therefore, when discussions of academic ability were present in the discourse, these once again only resulted in creating normed images of Black students at HBCUs from a deficit perspective. For example, in discussing students at UMES, an article stated:

> Chancellor Hytche is quick, to note, however, that the road to academic quality is not without potholes. Since the beginning of the academic year, he said, 316 students, more than a quarter of the total enrollment, have either flunked out or been placed on academic probation. (Barnes, 1979, p. 6)

However, there is no reason given as to why these students were unable to meet the academic standards set by the institutions. At another HBCU, Bowie State, academic challenges were also

highlighted: “at the same time, nearly 10 percent of the students were on academic probation” (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14). Highlighting the poor academic performance of students at the HBCU reified existing deficit thinking regarding Black students' academic abilities.

The discourse did present solutions to the perceived problem of lack of academic preparedness of Black students, the attraction of a *new* kind of student. For UMES it was in the form of a new honors program, “‘not only will the honors program bring in more students. It will bring in a new kind of student, the very top students, scholars,’ said Hopkins, the natural sciences department chairman” (Barnes, 1979, p. 6). The focus on bringing in more, higher quality students was also echoed at Howard where Dr. Miller references that, “in recent years the caliber of students at the predominantly black school has improved steadily” (Okie, 1980, p. C3). The continued focus on having an academically able student body rested on the institution being able to recruit the right kind of student, with the implication being that current students were not desired and were academically lacking.

After Enrollment. The most salient characteristic present in the discourse focused on the type of career path selected by Black students. A career path is often picked well before graduation, yet the focus in the discourse of the articles reviewed often referenced future career options in general and the need to increase the number of Black students in growth fields. Growth fields, according to the discourse reviewed, focused on science, technology, engineering, and business fields and were contrasted with more traditional fields such as education, law, social sciences, and medicine. The article, “The Educated Black: Caught in a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy,” offered a strong perspective on this dichotomy: “As ever-growing numbers of blacks enter higher education, historically regarded as the thoroughfare to success, many may find themselves on a dead-end street” (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25). This lack of success was attributed to

the idea that the traditional fields chosen by Black students would not lead them to the sort of financial status deemed necessary for success. As Rue (1980b) further presented, "some of these [majors] will offer excellent career opportunities, but many will provide limited advancement and economic gains, according to education experts" (p. EDU25). The reason for not selecting growth fields was attributed to a lack of long-term attention to wage earnings based on major, lack of parental guidance, and lack of resources available to properly guide these students towards growth fields. This stance shifts the focus away from the societal factors that have created these situations and one in which Black students were seen as choosing to go against societal needs of "in a society increasingly dependent on persons trained in the technically sophisticated growth fields, blacks largely continue to pursue the traditional majors" (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25). Yet, missing from this discourse was an analysis of the factors contributing to student choice of major and the historical context leading to these choices.

Counter Narrative: Worthy, Prepared, and Successful

To counter images of deficiency and lack of worth, the discourse in the articles reviewed in this study also provided perspectives on HBCUs and Black students that supported them as worthy institutions and students prepared and destined for success.

HBCUs. Coupled against the backdrop of imagery depicting HBCUs as deficient, several instances also existed in the discourse that provided a positive view of these institutions. The poet Nikki Giovanni told an audience at the Eisenhower Theater, "You can't see it, but stand in the hallway of one of our black colleges and see if you don't feel the warmth" (Joyce, 1980, p. C4). Possible associations with the word 'warmth' include notions of HBCUs being an inviting, welcoming, and supportive environment for all of those who walk through their doors.

Several instances occurred in the articles that questioned how the identity of HBCUs might change if White students attended. This integration called into question whether HBCUs were in fact equally segregating themselves from White Americans. An argument based on Black identity, however, was presented as a rationale. “The new president (Rufus L. Barfield) also has had to grapple with the question of whether Bowie will preserve its identity as a predominantly black institution” (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14). Barfield offered,

> I think the cultural identity of the institution will be preserved. You just can’t be too concerned about whether a school is all black or all white. The history of the institution will always be with it. Our job, I think, is to ensure that the school offers quality education. (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14)

The issue of integration of HBCUs presented a crisis of identity and called into question how academic quality was best achieved.

Black Students. In the same way negative views of Black students along the educational pipeline existed, there also was discourse that provided contrary perspectives that these students were not deficient, but perhaps not truly supported by their environment:

> “I don’t think we’re seeing a new generation of students and I don’t think we’re doing things a whole lot differently,” Miller said. But “when an individual .... finds he has to perform at the level of his ability—you usually dip into your resources and do what has to be done.” (Okie, 1980, p. C3)

This brings up the question as to whether the focus should be on a student’s assumed lack of motivation or preparedness or the ability of institutions of higher education to support them in their educational pursuits. In the same vein that Black students are unmotivated and unprepared, there lies the opposite view as offered in the following quote: “Charles Webb, 30, who has been

an EOC counselor for about four years, says most young people who visit the center are already motivated to gain college degrees or achieve some sort of professional training" (Sargent, 1980, p. DC5). This view highlighted that Black students came prepared and were motivated to be successful in college, even at a young age. Consider how a 13-year-old who aspired to become a doctor defined a college student as "someone who works hard and gets ready for what he's gonna be when he grows up" (Ginott, 1980, p. SE_A2). Such preparedness equates to research into perspective fields and career options:

> "I knew I had to go to college and I looked at the issues of money and career advancement," said Miss Smith, who plans to be an electrical engineer. "I took a look at a survey of various majors and how much money you could make. Doctors, lawyers and engineers rated high." (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25)

Here, the traditional fields of medicine and law were considered a pathway to financial success. With the primary focus of Black student enrollment and their lack of pursuit of identified growth fields in STEM, there exists non-financial reasons for why it was important that Black students pursued adjacent fields such as that of medicine. In a survey of Howard students, "75 percent returned to their hometowns or geographically similar communities to practice, and 90 percent function as the primary doctor for their patients, rather than as consultants" (Okie, 1980, p. C3). Moving back to their home communities provided a much-needed resource for areas historically underserved by the medical field.

Section Summary

Images of Black academic merit showcased a duality in perspective about HBCUs and Black students. HBCUs were shown as having difficulties in their image regarding the press and how an image change can increase enrollment. Yet, the discourse also demonstrated areas in

which the image of an HBCU was connected to a positive reason for why some Black students enrolled. Regarding Black students, their abilities to successfully prepare for, succeed in, and graduate from an institution of higher education were called into question in the discourse reviewed for this study.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 5 reviewed the findings present within the discourse and touched upon the meaning behind those findings. In Chapter 6, I further discuss interpretations of these findings, implications for theory, literature, and policy, and discuss future recommendations for research.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The purpose of this critical discourse analysis (CDA) study was to explore the discursive context surrounding the enactment of the National Science Foundation (NSF) Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act of 1980 (Act of 1980), a trailblazing piece of legislation that expanded the NSF's services to include White women, minorities, and those with disabilities (NSF Authorization and Science and Technology Equal Opportunities Act, 1980). More specifically, I sought to understand the positioning of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as institutions of higher education historically unequally supported by legislation (Kujovich, 1993; Patton, 2016), yet mentioned in the Act of 1980 as critical to the nation's success in its science and technology pursuits. It may go without saying that an exploration of the position of HBCUs could not be taken without focusing on the Black Americans they were designed to serve as (a) the Act of 1980 sought to increase the number of individuals entering science and technology fields (now known as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics or STEM) through education, and (b) their shared racialized identity has been the rationalization for continued inequity in the U.S. In short, I could not explore the images of HBCUs without exploring the images associated with the Black students who would benefit from a step towards equality in STEM education.

When considering the area most influential to the political context of the Act of 1980, I first explored the political process, one entirely enacted through discourse (Fowler, 2013). This discourse, however, is more than legislative words on paper (in the case of the policy itself), but also involves the policy process, discussions of policy actors, the opinions of various constituent

groups, and the list goes on. This value-laden process does not happen in isolation, but within the context of the United States, a society with unequal exchanges of power and pre-existing systems of inequity (Ball, 1993; Fowler, 2013). Such concepts mean that every person within this society has been unconsciously socialized through discourse (Condor & Antaki, 1997) and those closest to the formation of the Act of 1980 are no different. Therefore, it was important to explore a site of discourse that cuts across all layers of society, has the power to be incorporated into the policy context, and would be critical to exploring images of HBCUs as a racialized entity. The site chosen to fit this need was national newspapers.

By selecting national newspapers as the site of discourse for this study, I selected a source that not only has the power to influence the policy context but can also be influenced by it. In this unique position, national newspapers have the ability to shape our *collective reality*, as coined by Myers and Caniglia (2004), and are representations of the ability to control both knowledge and truth by various groups (Allan, 2010; Foucault, 1986). However, this is not to say that all groups within society have equal access to this source of discursive power, in fact, only dominant group members or "elites" can reap the total benefits of it (van Dijk, 1993).

Discursive power allows dominant group members to generate truth about the world and those who inhabit such a world. In the case of the United States, White Americans have held the position of the dominant group and have the collective power to generate truth about themselves and racialized groups. One such "truth" presents itself in the form of stereotypes used to "other" minoritized groups and forms the basis of everyday racism that permeates through all discursive levels of society (Bell, 2005; Harper et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; van Dijk, 1993, 1997b). And so, an exploration of national newspapers as sites of everyday racism with regards to HBCUs and Black Americans (in the form of students) offers one view into the political

context that shaped the Act of 1980. To achieve this goal, I explored the following research question:

- What are the constructed images of HBCUs and Black students present in national newspaper discourse with respect to STEM topics?

The period selected for this study was March 7, 1979, to December 12, 1980, the dates the Act of 1980 was first introduced until it was passed, and sites of discourse explored were the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post* as these were the national newspapers in circulation during the time.

To guide my exploration of the images of both HBCUs and Black students, I selected critical race theory (CRT) as my theoretical framework to understand how racism permeates the lived experiences of racialized groups. To complement this use, critical analysis of racism (CAR) was used as an analytical lens due because it focuses on exploring hidden instances of racism in discourse (van Dijk, 1993). Both theories underscore that I, as a Black woman, am uniquely positioned to critically examine racism in this way as my experiences have primed me to notice subtle word choices that may be used to other Black Americans (Harper et al., 2009; van Dijk, 1993) along with explore the presented images of HBCUs and Black students. Using Mullet's (2018) multi-stage model for CDA, several themes emerged regarding images of HBCUs and Black students that offered deficit perspectives of these groups. Next an overview of the status HBCUs and Black students from 1976-1984 is presented to provide context for the findings. Following this section, an interpretation of findings, implications for policy and practice, an action plan for moving forward given the findings of this study, and recommendations for future research are presented.

An Overview of HBCUs from 1976-1984

This section provides and overview of HBCUs as a larger body of institutions during the time period of 1976 to 1984 to expand upon the contextual information provided in Chapter 4. In 1976, there were a total of 116 HBCUs and by 1984 the number of institutions had decreased to 112 which represents a 3.45% decrease (Hoffman et al., 1996). The decrease over this time was split over the years covering the period of this study. A list of institutions is provided in Table 8.

Table 8

HBCUs Institutional Closures: 1976-1984

Institution	State	Classification	Type	Founded	Closed
Daniel Payne College	Alabama	Private	4-yr	1889	1977
Virginia College	Virginia	Private	2-yr	1886	1980
Friendship College	South Carolina	Private	2-yr	1891	1982
Lomax-Hannon Junior College	Alabama	Private	2-yr	1893	1984

Note. Adapted from "Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 1994" by C. Hoffman, B. Sonnenberg, and T. D. Snyder, 1996, U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES 96-202), pp. 28-30 (https://nces.ed.gov/pubs/96902.pdf). In the public domain.

As Table 8 shows, all of the closures of HBCUs were private institutions and only one was a 4-year institution. The fact that 3 of the 4 closures in the timespan were 2-year community colleges points to the generalized characterization of the discourse about HBCUs found in the media used references to HBCUs to include all levels of institutions. Using the same NCES dataset, Table 9 highlights the breakdown of institution types of all those open during 1981.

Table 9

HBCUs by Institution Type in 1981

Institution Type	No. Open	% of Total
2-yr Public	11	10%
2-yr Private	10	9%
4-yr Public	40	35%
4-yr Private	53	46%
Total	114	100%

Note. Adapted from "Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 1994" by C. Hoffman, B. Sonnenberg, and T. D. Snyder, 1996, U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES 96-202), pp. 28-30 (https://nces.ed.gov/pubs/96902.pdf). In the public domain.

The media generalization of public HBCUs in the discourse does not reflect the reality of the type of HBCUs open at the time of the study. For example, the share of HBCUs in 1981 that were public institutions (45%) is less than the share of private institutions (55%), of which private four-year universities nearly equal the total of all publics (private 4-year=46%). On the most basic level, the media did not represent HBCUs well in their discourse at the time.

Another important consideration to note is the discussion of enrollment at HBCUs versus that of HWIs with a focus on the enrollment trends of Black and White students. Within the discourse, increasing the number of White students at HBCUs was linked to the possibility of increased funding and a shutting out of Black students (Randolph, 1979). Therefore, the fear that Black students would no longer attend HBCUs was a source of fear for some educational leaders during this timeframe. To add to this concern, more attention was being paid to increasing the number of Black students at HWIs. Table 10 highlights the total number of Black and White students who attended HBCUs from 1974-1984, which shows both an increase of White student and a decrease of Black student enrollment.

Table 10

Black and White Students Enrollment in HBCUs: 1976-1984

Year	Total HBCU Enrollment	No. of Black Students	% of Enrollment	No. of White Students	% of Enrollment
1976	222,613	190,305	85%	21,040	9%
1980	233,557	190,989	82%	24,382	10%
1984	227,519	180,803	79%	26,202	12%

Note. Percentages only represent Black and White student enrollment and do not add up to 100%. Adapted from "Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 1994" by C. Hoffman, B. Sonnenberg, and T. D. Snyder, 1996, U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES 96-202), p. 20 (https://nces.ed.gov/pubs/96902.pdf). In the public domain.

It is worth noting that the percentages in Table 10 do not add up to 100%, which also shows that other racial groups attended HBCUs during this time but were left out of the focus on integration which strengthens the dichotomy placed on Black and White students. To further explore whether Black students were attending PWIs in larger numbers, Table 11 presents the enrollment of Black students in all institutions of higher education along with their enrollment in HBCUs as a percentage of the total.

Table 11

Enrollment of Black Students in all non-HBCUs Institutions: 1976-1990

Year	Total Enrollment (in thousands)	Total Black (in thousands)	Percentage of Enrollment in all Institutions	Enrollment in HBCUs as a Percent of Total Enrollment in all Institutions
1976	10985.6	1033	9%	18.4
1980	12086.8	1106.8	9%	17.3
1990	12818.6	1247	10%	16.8

Note. Data from 1984 were not provided in the original so the next closest year was included. Adapted from "Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976 to 2001" by S. Provasnik and L. L. Shafer, 2004, U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES 2004-062), p. 13 (https://doi.org/10.1037/e609712011-011). In the public domain.

The enrolling of Black students in PWIs shifted the enrollment makeup of HBCUs during this timeframe which may have contributed to the expressed concern about the future of these institutions as some used the decrease in Black enrollment at HBCUs as a signal that these institutions were no longer needed.

Of interest for the context of this study was the enrollment of Black students in STEM versus non-STEM fields and whether there were any changes to note. The data in this area were limited, however, in 1990 the National Center for Education Statistics reported on the outcomes of a 1980 survey of high school seniors who had graduated from college with either a STEM or non-STEM degree and found no statistical significance between racial groups and choice in major (Gordon, 1990). However, the report also notes that only 12.9% of all college graduates were Black and attributes success in STEM fields based on that "the picture that emerges is that the harder working, and perhaps abler, students graduated from college with majors in science, engineering, or mathematics" (Gordon, 1990, p. 5) which highlights the connection between STEM and academic ability.

The Strength of Othering in the Reproduction of Racism

When exploring national newspaper discourse, Fairclough (1989) reminds us that discourse is the byproduct of the interaction of society and language. Society, in this case the United States, is comprised of groups that make meaning of themselves and others through the practice of social cognition housed in a common language or discourse (Condor & Antaki, 1997; van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, such discourse production is not the product of a single entity, but rather the interaction of individuals within groups based on determined similarities. Within the United States, groups are routinely created based on the social construct of race (Hilliard, 2001) and the belief in White supremacy has placed White Americans as the focal point to which other groups are compared (Bell, 2005; Delgado, 1995; Ladon-Billings & Tate, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Zamudio et al., 2011). A societal belief in White supremacy has also disproportionately placed discursive power in the hands of elite groups that has a direct influence on the creation of knowledge, and through repetition creates truth (Allan, 2010; Foucault, 1986, 2000). And while "human knowledge is a social product under shared ownership" (Condor & Ataki, 1997, p. 329), elite groups have significant power in the creation of truths, often in the form of stereotypes of minoritized groups (Hilliard, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). Such truth production, or *othering*, is the foundation of racism that this study explored.

The strength of othering is through the power of discursive repetition in accessible forms of discourse such as national newspapers (van Dijk, 1993) which create what Fairclough (1989) coins as "common sense assumptions" (p. 77) that form our "collective reality" (Myers & Cangilia, 2004, p. 519). In the use of othering, where the Self is represented as positive and the Other is represented as negative (van Dijk, 1993), elites use specific tactics to communicate their perspectives of themselves and others. But there is more than just aimless repetition, but what

Bonilla-Silva (2012) introduces as a *racial grammar* (p.174) and, like any grammar there exist rules for how words and phrases are sequenced together to make meaning. Most importantly, those native to a grammar's use might know the rules subconsciously but might be unable to explicitly state the rules unless they are brought forward, as is in the case of formal English grammar education. Therefore, the use of a critical lens within this study brought forward ways in which national newspapers contributed to a racial grammar about HBCUs, Black students, and their connection to STEM and found that such beliefs aligned with instances of othering put forth by (van Dijk, 1993). The shared knowledge discovered in this study is future explored in the next sections starting with an understanding of how mental maps present within the discourse framed the remaining findings.

Discussion of Findings

The findings presented in Chapter 5 provided an overview of three key themes present in the discourse focused on HBCUs and Black students and their connection to STEM topics as presented in the 15 articles reviewed as part of this study. The three broad themes included the creation of blacks and HBCUs as the other through discourse, the battle for HBCU existence, and the characteristics of both HBCUs and Black students. All three of these areas contribute to a better understanding of the answers to the research question and are explored in the sections that follow. To situate these three areas of discussion, a presentation of the role of discourse components in the review media is presented.

Mental Framing: The Use of Headlines, Leading Statements, and Paragraphs

A starting point for exploring the discourse within this study focused on the framing of the articles by analyzing the headlines and leading statements for prevalent topics. As van Dijk (1988, 1993) noted, these topics also provide insight into the subconscious mental maps held by

journalists and point to their personal and social belief systems that are then transferred to the reader. An exploration of the topics prevalent in the headlines and leading statements showed that journalists routinely used several topics to draw in the readers; however, the top-three topics were conflict (34%), image (17%), and enrollment (17%). The topics expressed in the discourse represent one key area in which elite discourse, as expressed through these national newspapers, recreates preferred methods of othering minoritized groups (van Dijk et al., 1997) and aligns with an understanding that headlines and leading statements express "the most important information of how they [journalists] see and define the news event" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 248) which in turn influences how readers view the event. Therefore, readers of this discourse would expect a further explanation of how HBCUs, Black students, and STEM would warrant a focus on instances of conflict, an update on their images as institutions of higher learning, and important news related to enrollment trends.

For a reader to understand the framing of these articles, there also exists socially created maps about the topics relevant to HBCUs as institutions of higher education and the Black students who would enroll in such institutions. During this time (an issue that continues even today), enrollment was noted as of interest as institutions of higher education across the country experienced decreases in enrollment (Eastman, 1979), which in turn influenced additional interest in the enrollment patterns of Black students. As institutions sought to maintain, or even increase, their enrollment, issues related to their image in the public arena may be tied to existing assumptions. However, the additional priming of HBCUs or Black students and their association with conflict creates the continuation of a historical conflict that has yet to be resolved. Such priming maintains the existence of these groups as outsiders within the educational landscape of

this society and aligns with the perspective that they are a problem that has yet to be solved (van Dijk et al., 1997).

An extension of the topics unveiled within the headlines and leading statements are those expressed in paragraphs across the discourse. Paragraphs covered a wide range of topics, however, the most salient were characteristic (19%), conflict (11%), and academic (10%) which further expands those found within the headlines and leading statements. Within the paragraphs that formed this study's discourse, the reader gains additional knowledge about characteristics associated with HBCUs and Black students which show how elites create negative representations of minoritized groups (van Dijk, 1993, 1997b), connect such ideas through a shared grammar (Bonilla-Silva, 2012), and maintain a divided society based on such racialized associations (Delgado, 1995; Ladon-Billings & Tate, 1995; Zamudio et al., 2011). Furthermore, the perspective that conflict is an inherent part of such an association with HBCUs and Black students cannot be ignored nor can the understanding of academic as a relevant topic of choice. What remains to be explored is how these topics were translated into words and phrases that constituted the racial grammar used within the discourse. A review of the three salient themes within the discourse builds upon this framing.

Theme 1: Naming of the Other (Word Choice)

The first theme presented within the discourse focused on the word choices to describe HBCUs or Black students. This study found that the use of "black" was used for the majority of instances in which either group was named in addition to their group type (as in, "college," "school," or "institution" for HBCUs or "student" for Black students). These findings support van Dijk (1993)'s findings that due to the overt representation of racism as unfavorable in media discourse, journalists subscribe to more implied choices when othering minority groups. The use

of racialized adjectives for these groups was also not surprising as race is one of the primary social constructs in which groups are identified (Hilliard, 2001). Furthermore, the use of race as a descriptor strings pockets of discourse together to form a web of shared images of HBCUs and Black students as discussed in Bonilla-Silva (2012)'s racial grammar. The creation of this web of interconnected discourse builds images of Blackness that is portrayed in the mass media. Even without the dominance of overt instances of racist word choices, my study highlighted specific discourse choices for HBCUs and Black students.

HBCUs. In the case of HBCUs, nevertheless, there did exist word choices that called into focus the not-so-subtle views of the speaker within the articles. For example, one reference to HBCUs as a whole that demonstrated this view was, "And perhaps ironically, these creatures of segregation are feeling a squeeze from the civil-rights movement—specifically, a stepped-up push by HEW to dismantle dual public-college systems for blacks and whites" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1), which cast HBCUs as the other by dehumanizing them when compared to White institutions. The use of "creatures" points to an ideology that HBCUs are not of equal standing to their historically White counterparts and are instead an unwanted entity that still lingers now that educational segregation has been made illegal. The characterization of the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore (UMES) was shown in another article that stated "founded, in 1886 as a secondary school for blacks, UMES has been the perennial stepchild of higher education in Maryland" (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1). The use of "perennial stepchild" once again demonstrates that this Black institution has been a continuous outsider within the family of institutions in Maryland. And while attributed to only UMES, this quote supports the existing perspective that Black institutions are the focal points of negative images within the press (Gasman, 2007). A

focus on the continued existence of HBCUs does surface in other instances of the discourse within this study and more discussion on this topic is the focal point of Theme 2.

Black Students. Word choices that did not highlight the racialized identity of Black students focused on their economic status or academic ability. The connection between economic status and a student's selection of college was made in, "poor youngsters, many of whom are black, often base their choice of colleges on their cost, rather than their curriculums" (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25) which once again points to an ideology that Black students generally come from low-socioeconomic backgrounds and have a focus on money rather than the quality of their education. Furthermore, there are several assumptions about the implied meaning created by this statement which include: (a) those within a low-socioeconomic status are primarily Black, (b) more expensive colleges provide a better education however, (c) Black students would unlikely attend such colleges due to their financial status. The discourse does not offer an explicit counter to this statement (as in, White students may also be concerned with cost), therefore, the mental map created would be one where Black students remain identified by their economic status. Due to the belief in White supremacy, Black students are also positioned as the counter to White students; therefore, the statement also implies that White students are from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and can attend colleges with better academic rigor. Even within this particular word choice and its associated meaning, the emergence of a racial grammar used to other Black students emerges.

These instances of unique word choices are not representative of all those found within this study; however, when enough of these connections are strung together, they create a complex web of othering that influences how individuals see and are seen by others (Allan, 2010; Hyatt, 2013; van Dijk, 1993), which in turn is reproduced by elite groups such as national

newspapers. It is in the socially constructed knowledge that such images have the most weight due to their replication which moves them from assumed knowledge about HBCUs and Black students to assumed truths about their groups.

Theme 2: The Perpetual Battle for HBCU Existence

Briefly explored in Theme One, the articles analyzed in this study highlighted a conflict during the time regarding the role of HBCUs. As desegregation of higher education continued, the question of the day posed would and should HBCUs continue to exist? This conflict regarding their role in the higher education landscape existed since the formation of these institutions in the early 1900s and fully supports the findings of Gasman (2007) that media coverage of HBCUs focuses on the relevance of these institutions. To add more to this point, the discourse states that in the case of UMES, "As one school official tells it, some Maryland lawmakers had been wishing the black college would die ever since the 1964 Civil Rights Act made integration a condition of federal aid to public schools" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1) and the use of "wishing [UMES] would die" or "to close…or merge it" in the above quote points to the fact that UMES is seen as an institution not worthy of existence and points to a connection to the racialized policy of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Such an association supports the perspective that the legal ability for Black students to attend HWIs, signifies the need for this particular HBCUs to either not exist or be absorbed by a nearby White institution. Although one of several examples found in this study, the findings support the assumption that the media and the White public assumed HBCUs would no longer exist once additional educational rights were given to Black Americans (Gasman, 2007; Gasman & Nguyen, 2019).

HBCUs. The threat of being either closed or merged with a regional PWI centered on the issue of federal funding for dual college systems—namely public HBCUs and HWIs. And yet,

very few institutions were actually closed or merge during this timeframe. For example, in the case of the UMES, "[legislators] were considering a state budget analyst's recommendation to close Maryland-Eastern Shore or merge it with a nearby white college" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1). The discourse arguing for the closure of UMES called into question if HBCUs were still relevant as institutions of higher education given what some deemed as unnecessary expenditures by state governments. The question raised centered on the need for HBCUs to help expand the student pipeline of minority students in STEM when black students could not attend HWI. It would not be logical to pour resources into an institutional type that is seen as unworthy and on the brink of non-existence. Inequities in funding occurred since the inception of HBCUs and once Black students were able to enroll in HWIs, the question of the need to fund HBCUs came to the forefront and this study supports the findings that the threat of loss of funding was constant for HBCU campuses (Kujovich, 1993).

Desegregation called into question the need to maintain a college system focused on educating Black students and if HBCUs should admit White students. Throughout history, HBCUs have not been in positions of power to deny enrollment based on racial identity given their reliance on tuition revenue. This position of conflict between the historical identity of the institution and the need to abide by federal mandates was highlighted in, "[Norfolk State University] would like to retain a predominantly black student body, but they don't want to violate HEW guidelines for racial integration and, in turn, lose federal financing" (Randolph, 1979, p. 1) which showed the dilemma HBCUs faced during this time.

As discovered in this study, discourse during the policy formation timeframe leading up to the passage of the Act of 1980 argued the need "to guide desegregation in a way that will strengthen black colleges with new courses, not eliminate them" (Randolph, 1979, p. 41).

However, the result of the push for desegregating higher education emphasized the existing state legislative desire to shut down several HBCUs during this time to support the full integration of higher education. Of note is that these HBCUs were at-risk of being merged with a nearby HWI (and not the other way around), which further adds to the oppositions of these two institution types.

Black Students. The importance of enrollment and funding to the existence of HBCUs due was also cited as being known to the students:

> Although many black students prefer black colleges, they are aware of the financial problems faced by the institutions. ‘‘I’d rather see the school go white than have it closed” says Donna Walton, a Maryland Eastern Shore [UMES] senior. “I know when they (white students) filter in, the school will be better off in trying to get funds.” (Randolph, 1979, p. 41)

As discussed in Theme One, this simple string of statements is an explicit example of how White students were positively characterized by an assumed financial status. In this instance, an influx of White students not only represents a potential identity shift for an HBCU, but also the ability for an HBCU to get the funding needed to remain in existence. This discourse creates the association that for an HBCU to remain in good financial standing, or exist, they must shed their Black identity. Therefore, an association with Blackness is deemed undesirable in a White supremacist system that upholds Whiteness as the standard to be maintained (Bell, 2005; Delgado, 1995; Ladon-Billings & Tate, 1995; Zamudio et al., 2011).

To add to the dilemma of choice, the study also found instances of the threat of Black students being courted away by White institutions, especially in the case of increasing the number of Black students in STEM. As noted previously, the increase of Black students as PWIs

was greater than the decrease in enrollment a HBCUs, and while percentages do not denote headcount, it aligns with Harper et al. (2009)'s findings that the filtering of students away from HBCUs was a threat to the HBCU existence. High-achieving Black students were able to consider a wide range of institutional offerings. The aspect of choice was not without its considerations; however, as Gilliam (1980) noted the level of anxiety faced by Black students by a now seemingly difficult process to navigate was also met with ramifications of attending a PWI:

> As black college students they know they'll pack not only slacks and sweaters, their parents' anxieties and expectations, but also doubts about the abilities from some insensitive whites. Some seem to expect less of a student who's not white, or question whether a black student is enrolling merely because he or she benefited from some quota or 'special' program. (Gilliam, 1980, p. B5)

So, a Black student at this time was faced with the choice of whether to attend a PWI that maintains a stable, but unwelcoming environment or attend a HBCU that offered "warmth" (Joyce, 1980, p. C4), shared identity and heritage (Randolph, 1979), and "support services" (Sargent, 1980, p. DC5), but was in constant battle for their existence. Even though a significant amount of time has passed since this time, the situation still exists today.

Theme 3: Characteristics of HBCUs and Black Students

This study found that characteristics assigned to HBCUs and Black students were contrasted repeatedly throughout the discourse; however, explicit characteristics were primarily attributed to HBCUs and Black students only. The attribution of a negative perspective to HBCUs and Black students means that a positive attribution of HWIs and White students does not need to be stated, it can be assumed given the historical polarization of these two groups. As

positioned by CRT and CAR, this study uncovered instances in which deficit thinking or negative perspectives were attributed to HBCUs or Black students. Negative perspectives of HBCUs and Black students are not new but rather, reproduced through systems of discourse that uphold White supremacy as a critical component of such racial grammar. The power of this representation is in that it is passed down through generations; therefore, may be considered truth due to its longevity.

HBCUs. Present within the discourse, as discussed in the literature, was the presence of negative images that questioned the relevancy of HBCUs. However, what was not found was the direct questioning of the capability of these institutions to educate their students. Instead, these institutions were seen as having problems with their image due to negative press relations, which underscores Gasman (2007)'s findings that HBCUs have negative relationships with the press:

> For a long time, Bowie has had an image problem…Now, I think we are beginning to turn the corner. People are hearing a lot of positive things about us, and as a result, high school kids are considering Bowie more seriously. (Eastman, 1979, MD14)

The consequence of having a positive image in the media was an increase in enrollment for this particular HBCU which also equates to an increase in revenue. The ability of a positive media image to generate enrollment revenue was significant given the characterization that HBCUs were facing funding difficulties. The combination of the historical underfunding of HBCUs, the threat of a loss of funding due to integration policies, and the fear of being closed or merged with a nearby White institution would prompt institutional leaders to do what they can to maintain any possible source of funding. In the case of Bowie State, officials elected to increase their social standing as shown in, "the new administration also embarked on a major campaign to improve the college's image, sponsoring several 'town gown affairs,' social gatherings that usually attract

community and county leaders" (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14), which demonstrates the importance of having a positive reputation with the press, but also with key stakeholders. However, the presentation of social gatherings as the solution to an image problem underscores the stereotypical position that HBCUs, an institutional representation of Black Americans, must be a source of entertainment to be accepted within a white supremacist society. This finding aligns with the maintenance of a racial grammar where HBCUs are othered in ways that only allow them to operate within specific subject positions (Allan et al., 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; van Dijk, 1993) or rather, HBCUs are only accepted as institutions of higher education when they operate in stereotypical ways that make elite groups, like the media, feel good about themselves.

The discourse did not offer substantive reasons for these image problems. When referencing Howard University's Medical School, incoming dean Dr. Russell L. Miller, provided some guidance, "'We have a very poor press relations effort,' said Miller; 'We haven't taken the initiative to let people know (the good things) we are doing, or to find out what people want to know'" (Stevens, 1979, p. DC2); therefore, the reason for why "some of the university's glory has tarnished with age" (Stevens, 1979, p. DC2) is cited as a failed responsibility on behalf of the university which aligns with the findings of Gasman (2007) that institutional leaders at HBCUs must be more proactive in their efforts "counter stories pushed forth by the media" (p. 132). However, this puts the responsibility of change on those who are being marginalized by elite discourse instead of the elites themselves and merely supports the cycle of othering in media discourse.

Black Students. Before, during, and after their enrollment, Black students were characterized in several ways within the discourse; however, the primary characterization positioned this group of students as inherently deficient. In the discourse, students were

identified based on assumed “learning deficiencies” as in, “‘It's important that we keep the open door and appeal to black students with learning deficiencies who are frequently overlooked by white institutions,’ stated Samuel Myers, executive director of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education” (Randolph, 1979, p. 41) without additional clarification on which Black students are being discussed. This lack of information allows the reader to interpret this statement as either referencing Black students with specific learning deficiencies or that all Black students are inherently academically deficient. The use of implied meaning builds upon established hegemonic norms; therefore, contributing to a belief that meritocracy is valid and an inherent lack of academic ability is why Black students would not be successful in higher education.

Once enrolled at an HBCU, the characterization of academic deficiency is furthered, “Since the beginning of the academic year, [Chancellor Hytche] said, 316 students, more than a quarter of the total enrollment, have either flunked out or been placed on academic probation” (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1) without explanation as to why these students have had academic difficulties or ways in which the institution has tried to assist them. In a discursive space that others Black students, the perspective that they do not possess the mental skills to succeed in academic study further others Black students without consideration of the historical facts that may have brought them this state (e.g., students who must prioritize employment over academics due to discrimination in opportunities for advancement). Rather than assist the students who might be in need, the institution (UMES) sought to use a revamped honors program to “‘bring in a new kind of student, the very top students, scholars,’ said [Thomas F.] Hopkins, the natural sciences department chairman’” (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1) without specifics on the racial identity of these new students. Given established mental maps that White students are more desirable,

one could assume that increased attention would be given to attract these students. Either way, there is a call for the institution to also focus on retaining their current study body rather than just on enrollment:

> "The future of UMES does appear to be very bright," said Luther McKinney Jr., a business administration major from Salisbury and the president of the Student Government Association. "But we also have to be concerned about the students who are already here." (Barnes, 1979, p. MD1)

A focus on HBCUs retaining their current study body was not a common perspective found in this study and yet, would be one component to alleviate the stated funding concerns of these institutions.

For Black students who completed a program of study, additional criticism was given based on their choice as shown in, "As ever-growing numbers of blacks enter higher education, historically regarded as the thoroughfare to success, many may find themselves on a dead-end street" (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25) which refers to the career advancement options for Black students who did not select STEM as their chosen field. One of the reasons for why is given:

> Also, Dr. Morris said, blacks often enter majors that will lead to the professions of their closest role models. In the black community, those models have frequently been educators but whites have access and familial ties to professionals in a wider variety of fields, Dr. Morris said. (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25)

This statement ignores a history of racism where Black Americans were relegated to educational positions to meet the needs of their communities and have historically been denied equal access to employment opportunities due to their race. As found throughout the discourse, the lack of acknowledgment of the racist practices that have shaped the outcomes for Black people

demonstrates a belief in meritocracy and race neutrality (Bell, 2005; Delgado, 1995; Harper et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Zamudio et al., 2011). However, the existence of racist characterizations of Black students rejects such a belief.

The ability of the mass media to position Black students in a dichotomized manner based on their choice of institutions demonstrates the power the media had in shaping the collective reality of society regarding Black students and HBCUs without concern of significant opposition (Fairclough, 2003; Myers & Caniglia, 2004). The assumption that meritocracy existed for Black students contributed to the narrative that Black Americans had choices that in reality did not exist. Once again, the context is such that HBCUs are negatively positioned due to being deemed the institutions of choice for those unable to qualify for HWIs made Black students the "other" among college students.

The Existence of Counter Narrative

The use of CRT and CAR underscored the ability of those historically affected by racism to be the best positioned to call forth its existence. However, the exploration of racism present within national newspaper discourse only serves one goal of this study. Another aspect of the use of CRT requires those voices marginalized by the dominant discourse to come forward as counters to the dominant narrative (Bridgeman, 2011); thus, this section with discussion the counter narratives present that oppose deficit views of HBCUs and Black students. Although limited in the discourse, there do exist positive representations of HBCUs and Black students within this study.

HBCUs. HBCUs are presented within the discourse as irrelevant institutions of higher education; however, they are also shown to be sources of life and beauty as demonstrated in, "those precious fruit trees that bloomed among the thorns of segregation" (Joyce, 1980, p. C4)

which positions them as beautiful by-products of segregation, rather than creatures as expressed through a deficit lens.

In terms of enrollment, the focus is not on whether students will attend, but a confidence in knowing that students will enroll based on the goals of the institution. As Dr. Russell L. Miller discussed of Howard University when compared to other medical schools, "medical schools still compete to recruit the most qualified black applicants, but that Howard has fared well because it attracts students who agree with its priorities—to train practitioners, not researchers and specialists" (Okie, 1980, p. C3). The faith in the continuation of an institution without concern for the racial identity of the student also contrasts the dominant perspective as is the case for incoming Bowie State president Rufus L. Barfield:

> I think the cultural identity of the institution will be preserved. You just can't be too concerned about whether a school is all black or all white. The history of the institution will always be with it. Our job, I think, is to ensure that the school offers quality education. (Eastman, 1979, p. MD14)

Here, Mr. Barfield offers a counter to the perspective that an increase in White enrollment would jeopardize the Black identity of an HBCU while also nodding to the ability of this institution to offer quality academic programs. Therefore, creating an association that HBCUs are just as academically viable as their White counterparts, a stark contrast to the deficit perspective found in this study.

Black Students. To counter the perspective that Black students are academically deficit, perhaps even unmotivated to achieve, the discourse also offered a perspective of motivated, prepared students with specific career goals:

> "I knew I had to go to college and I looked at the issues of money and career advancement," said Miss Smith, who plans to be an electrical engineer. "I took a look at a survey of various majors and how much money you could make. Doctors, lawyers and engineers rated high." (Rue, 1980b, p. EDU25)

In this example, an aspired goal is that of financial success, which aligns with the capitalistic framework of this society and could be a goal for some Black students. However, the discourse of this study paints capitalistic gains as a prioritized goal when selecting an institution or program. As Gilliam (1980) reminds readers, the connection between student, institution, and program is a personalized choice, and "the secret is in the match-making: the match that's right for [their] goals, values, talents and future life" (p. 19). Therefore, the goals of Black students should be of their choosing and focused on what is deemed important to them. In the case of Howard University medical students, they focused on serving their community upon graduation:

> He (Dr. Miller) said a survey of Howard graduates a few years ago showed 75 percent returned to their home towns or geographically similar communities to practice, and 90 percent function as the primary doctor for their patients, rather than as consultants. (Okie, 1980, p. C3)

The choice of these students to return to areas that have been historically underserved by the medical field shows a determination to impact these communities. There would be do need for such a choice if the repercussions of continued racism did not exist. Furthermore, the reason these graduates are othered within this discourse is because they chose to go against the established capitalistic norms housed in the exploitation of Black bodies for monetary gain (Hersey, 2022).

The existence of counter narratives to the deficit perspectives, even if limited in quantity, offer one way to highlight the positive representations of HBCUs and Black students in national newspaper discourse. However, the existence of opposing perspectives within elite discourse legitimizes the creation of deficit images of HBCUs and Black students which fully supports van Dijk's (1993) CAR framework. The repetition of the othering through racial grammar allows national newspapers to serve as beacons of white supremacist perspectives and contributes to the permeance of racism in this society (Bonilla-Silva, 2012).

Policy Context for the Act of 1980: STEM as the Great Divide

Fowler (2013) emphasizes the potential the mass media, such as national newspapers, has on the policy process as a policy actor and due to their influence on shaping the perspectives of other actors within the policy process. Policy actors influence the policy process in ways that may either propel or hinder a piece of legislation from moving from an issue to adoption. Even when a piece of legislation results in a formal policy, it has undergone several transformations along the way. The most salient transformation is one through discourse influenced by the assumptions, norms, and contexts of the era in which the policy is formed.

The positioning of the Act of 1980 to open up the pipeline of qualified graduates, the National Science Foundation, a leader in STEM research, sought to codify a place for historically marginalized students. The time of policy creation, 1979-1980, occurred when prior desegregation attempts at the higher education level were slow to materialize. Of note, is the CRT's positioning that policies created to advance the rights of minorities are enacted when those interests converge with the perceived benefits of Whites (Bell 2004; Delgado, 1995; Harper et al., 2009). Therefore, it could be that for the formation of the Act of 1980 to occur, the need to increase the capital in STEM, a decrease in enrollment for institutions of higher

education, and ongoing pressure to integrate the U.S. public education system converged to create this policy. HBCUs, a group of institutions denied equity access to financial resources by the government, are a site where the Act of 1980 could have the most influence. In analyzing a sample of the discourse present within national newspapers; however, it was found that hegemonic norms were still in existence that othered not only HBCUs, but also the Black students who attended them.

The findings of this study point to several possible perspectives presented by the mass media that may have influenced the final legislative product. The use of implicit racism creates a perspective of white supremacy without using explicit discourse that would be considered unacceptable at the time (van Dijk, 1993, 1997b). This sort of othering is a product of racial domination that is so deeply embedded in everyday discourse that its human origin is taken for granted (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; van Dijk, 1993) and would be unlikely to be seen by the policy actors reading this discourse in the hopes of understanding more about HBCUs and their place in STEM. It is through my racialized yet critical lens that these assumptions were brought to the surface and explored (L. Parker & Lynn, 2002; Patton, 2016; van Dijk, 1993), and ultimately, the analysis conducted for this CDA rejected the existence of racial neutrality in instances of mass media discourse regarding this study (Harper et al., 2009). Therefore, it can be said that the coverage of HBCUs and Black students falls in line with the assumptions of both CRT and CAR that racism permeates all aspects of society through the existence of discourse controlled by the existence of othering by dominant groups.

By exploring the images of HBCUs, Black students, and STEM, several key areas emerged. The first perspective positions HBCUs as institutions struggling with their institutional identities through enrollment, in jeopardy of losing federal funding, and in steady conflict with

state legislators. Next, Black students were positioned as preferring HBCUs and characterized as using cost, rather than academic rigor, as the basis for their enrollment decisions due to their low-socioeconomic status. Therefore, it can also be assumed that HBCUs lacked the academic rigor required to appropriately educate these students in STEM programs. Such a combination paints a portrait of institutions in a constant state of flux that questioned their ability to survive and remain relevant sites of STEM education. If the future of these institutions was in question, then policymakers may have seen fully supporting these institutions via the Act of 1980 as a risky investment. If this perspective was perceived by policymakers, then the benefits to HBCUs may have been less than other interest groups due to this deficit perspective put forth by the media.

Black students who attended HBCUs were seen as doing so because of the supportive environment present at these institutions, yet these students were also struggling academically to the point of either being put on probation or flunking out altogether. The primary point taken within this imaging is that these students intentionally chose to attend HBCUs but were unable to successfully graduate from a program. Those who did successfully graduate faced further characterization as Black students who elected not to or were deemed unable to enter STEM fields were portrayed as defiant. Rather than applaud students who selected traditional fields of need to the Black community (e.g., education, law, or medicine), the sampled discourse deemed these students outside of what is considered normal and acceptable, or rather, the *other*.

The esteemed and privileged status of entering STEM fields makes it a property governed by White supremacist rules that protect and control its association (Bell, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Therefore, by associating Black students with a preference for HBCUs, the discourse divides Black students into two groups: those who attend HBCUs and those who do

not. Those Black students who elected not to attend HBCUs in 1979-1980, but rather attended HWIs, may have been subjected to racial discrimination and the assumptions of special treatment for their admission to these institutions (Gilliam, 1980). According to the discourse in this study, however, those who attend HWIs were not categorized as undesiring and unable to complete their chosen degrees of study. Instead, Black students who attended HWIs were mentioned as desirable candidates for enrollment thus upholding the image that these students possessed attributes associated with Whiteness that made them more desirable (e.g., academic ability, financial resources). As such, Black students at HBCUs are portrayed as not qualified to complete the rigor of a STEM program and both of these groups would then be unable to contribute to the nation's STEM shortage.

Implications

The discussion of findings has demonstrated the existence of a racial grammar that supports the existence of othering as presented within national newspaper discourse as it related to HBCUs, Black students, and their connection to STEM (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). Such a triad is rooted in a deficit thinking that positions both institutions and students as outsiders in the quest to increase the number of students entering STEM career fields. By this same token, these findings also uncover the existence of attributes of Whiteness with STEM, which supports the perspective that national newspaper discourse contributed to the continued belief in White supremacy during this time period. Given these areas, there are several implications for educational policy, its policy actors, institutional leaders at HBCUs, and STEM Educators that can be understood from this study.

Educational Policy

The implications for policy derived from the findings of this study can influence local, state, and national level policies by showcasing that efforts to provide corrective action are products of discourse embedded in systems of white supremacy that seek to limit, if not nullify, the gains of the groups most in need of assistance. As such, these policies will not be created through a process that allows for honest gains to be made. In addition, the implementation of such policies will not have the intended results. Therefore, a critical lens is needed to properly situate policies within their context, explore possible influences on such policies, and mitigate those influences that are counter to the policy's intended goals. It is through this process that the root of a problem can be found, and a proper solution created (Pasque et al., 2022)

Policy Actors

Policymakers are not immune from the discursive influences of national newspapers that support established systems of inequity. The findings of this study demonstrate the existence of bias and negate the claim of racial objectivity in media reporting (Gasman, 2007; Harper et al., 2009); therefore, highlighting the adverse impact on resulting policy creation and decisions. To advocate for intended educational change, policy actors should rely on diverse perspectives to inform them of relevant context. Partnering with those who can critically examine issues will be of upmost importance as we move into an era with polarized views on the best ways to move this country forward. For example, policymakers should support continued partnerships with research institutions and organizations to find the trustworthy data needed to make informed decisions.

Furthermore, this study highlights the historical existence of a media agenda that seeks to question the existence of HBCUs in the educational landscape, a finding that supports the more recent Gasman (2007) study. As presented in the findings, few closures or mergers actually occurred during the timeframe of the study; however, the national newspaper's heightened

coverage painted a different picture. Of those that did close, none of them represented the public 4-yr institutions that were discussed in the discourse. Therefore, a skewed presentation of the status of HBCUs of the time occurred and this study supports the need for national newspapers to explore a historical agenda that ignores the differences in these institutions. In additional Black students at HBCUs were positioned as academically deficit. With this knowledge, policymakers need to be critical of using sources like the mass media when making policy decisions.

HBCUs: Institutional Leaders

Nearly 30 years after the passage of the Act of 1980, Gasman (2007) found poor representation of HBUCs in the media and urged HBCU leaders to be more vocal in their pursuit of positive images of their institutions in the press. And while the findings of this historical study point to similar negative coverage of HBCUs in mass media over time, they also underscore the point that the relationship between HBCUs and the mass media still relies on hegemonic tropes of Black students and their academic abilities and the quality of an HBCU education. The mass media's role in this dynamic also highlighted the importance of preserving the perspectives of HBCUs as relevant institutions of higher education. Implications for institutional leadership underscore the need to be proactive in presenting counter narratives that showcase the academic rigor of their institutions and students along with how these institutions are advancing the quality of STEM. The inability to be perfect and the media's known agenda of focusing on such imperfections also require institutional leaders to ensure their institutions can be agile and quickly and appropriately respond to negative press. The media can be a powerful partner in the advancement of HBCUs, and a rise in recent focus and partnerships with these institutions points to an important interest. Institutional leadership can use this timing to maintain their standing as important to the continuation of the success of the United States as calls to diversify remain.

STEM Educators

As those directly connected to the increase of student participation and success in STEM fields, STEM educators are uniquely positioned to have a direct impact on the diversification of this career path. The findings of this study highlight a need for reimagining who can fully participate in the privileges afforded by STEM. Not only is the ability to create academic knowledge a form of power (Pasque et al., 2022), but also the continued formation of such systems grounded in White supremacy limits the ability for breakthroughs to be found. As such, the implications for STEM educators include a call to support efforts to diversify the pool of students who are exposed to STEM. This study also calls forward the need to develop a critical eye when reviewing information presented in sources such as national newspapers and educators can support this change by strengthening the critical thinking skills of their students. In a time where education is seeing a shift away from the diversification of perspectives, namely the removal of perspectives not deemed aligned with White supremacy, STEM educators must offer ways in which students can appreciate difference by positioning all students as worthy, prepared, and capable of success in STEM fields. A starting point could be reviewing educational materials that may only represent one perspective and incorporating different perspectives into the educational experience of students.

Students

An important aspect of the research focus for this historical study explored how Black students were positioned in the discourse and their potential impact on the nation's need for a stronger STEM workforce. The discourse was divisive for this student group in two primary areas. The first area positioned Black students who attended HBCUs as inferior to those who attended PWIs, a known outcropping of the construct of White supremacy, and garnered

unwarranted criticism based on student choice. The second area denounced traditional fields (e.g., education, law, and medicine) as viable career paths and instead praised the pursuit of growth fields (e.g., business and STEM) despite the historical necessity of Black Americans in traditional fields. Yet again, a polarization of choice emerged that positioned a student as either positive or negative based on how they wished to advance their career. These polarizations continue to the present day; therefore, an important implication for Black students (and students in general) is to assess their unique interests, strengths, and goals. Through this assessment, they can ensure they pick institutions of higher education and career paths based on their needs and not the possible pressure of what is deemed necessary by others.

The findings of this study also show how the filtering of information can favor one perspective in national discourse. Therefore, a key implication for students is to develop a critical eye that explores the possibility of other options in their academic pursuits. In the case of this study, STEM was positioned as a field only for those without academic imperfections (e.g., being on academic probation or flunking out); however, having a critical eye allows the possibility of pursuing despite setbacks or barriers. A student who may have academic difficulty is still able to be successful in a STEM pathway with additional assistance in their areas of academic need. The development of this critical eye will ensure the image of who can achieve in STEM represents the totality of our society.

Modern Times

An exploration of perspectives present in national newspaper discourse was the primary focus of this research study. Modern times, however, have given rise to a new reliance on outlets like social media for information about the world. For example, the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic increased both the global reliance on social media outlets and the spread

of false and misleading information about the disease and its recommended treatments (Hsu, 2022). The misinformation shared during the COVID-19 pandemic and the findings of this study are but snapshots of a linear progression of correctable bias that exists within society. As such, an important implication for our current times calls for a collective commitment to combating the spread of false information that appears on our feeds. In the case of large-scale issues, individuals can seek out and share information from reputable organizations with data-based findings. More nuanced issues, like the status of STEM fields in our society, also require a lens that understands no one group can be generalized as either good or bad, but that there are underlying factors that have contributed to such a perspective. In either case, doubt about the perspective of a news source should be called out and can lead to more awareness and accountability for the source's creators.

An Action Plan for Moving Forward: Awareness, Accountability, and Action

The beauty of anti-racism is that you don't have to pretend to be free of racism to be anti-racist. Anti-racism is the commitment to fight racism wherever you find it, including in yourself. And it's the only way forward.

–Ijoema Oluo (as cited in DiAngelo, 2021, p. 181)

The ability to change who controls knowledge; therefore, altering the truths that have been engrained in the fabric of this country first starts with an acknowledgment of the impact racism has had on all citizens (Kendi, 2016; Pasque et al., 2022; Patton, 2016). Only once acknowledged can corrective action take place to move society forward. Such awareness, the first step towards this change, requires the adoption of racial literacy in which individuals understand the existence of structures and policies that uphold white supremacist perspectives but oppose counter perspectives (Ward, 2017). The denial of counter perspectives does not

negate their existence, but only limits their ability to inform. From here, individual accountability requires we each play our part in stopping the continuation of racist practices. We can start this process by looking within ourselves and critically exploring the influence racism has had on our experiences, connection to others, and worldview (Oluo, 2019, as cited in DiAngelo, 2021). The beauty of such work is that we have the agency to shape our collective reality rather than have it shaped for us. And lastly, action requires that we each take a step towards a more just society in which all can reap the benefits of STEM participation. Starting with ourselves, we can strengthen our critical lens through personal bias training to uncover hidden forms of racism, prejudice, and discrimination in our everyday lives. Training of this sort is not an isolated event, but rather a journey towards continued exploration of a society we have inherited, but still have the opportunity to change. By cultivating our critical lens, we can alter the future.

Recommendations for Future Research

Given the goals set out by this study, several areas for future research could extend its findings. First, one area of research would be to change the time of this study to cover the years after the enactment of the Act of 1980 to understand whether the perspectives presented shifted due to the subsequent time frame of the post-Reagan era. The recession of the early 1980s and high unemployment created a different backdrop and ultimately influenced the discourse about the value of a college degree relative to finding a well-paying job, or any job for Black students. The discussion of the worth of higher education during these difficult economic times has repeated itself even today in the early 2020s. Therefore, it becomes important to understand how this recession in the 1980s altered, if at all, the perceptions of HBCUs, Black students, and STEM topics. Such an exploration may account for whether there was a change in the national perspective which may have changed how the Act of 1980 was implemented.

A second area of future research would be comparing articles of this time with those that focus on White students and HWIs regarding STEM topics in the same four national newspapers. Such an exploration would provide a counter understanding to how Black students and HBCUs were positioned within the newspaper discourse and offer a better understanding of how these two groups might be positioned as both opposite and similar. Next, a deeper dive into the discussion of Black students and growth fields, mainly business, could help to understand the increased association with such a field being seen as opportunistic. Outside of STEM fields, business was cited as an important career focus for minority students, and it may prove important to understand this trajectory. Furthermore, an area of possible future research would be to explore gender identity, mainly the discussion of Black women, in STEM. There was only one such mention of gender in the discourse included in this study and it was a discussion on the difficulty in choice at the time. However, gender in general did not show up in the discourse, which no doubt aligns with the gendered assumption that Black students pursuing STEM referred to Black men. The notion of intersectionality is an important one to explore as several factors come into play concerning the opportunities afforded to Black people.

Considering the historical focus of this study, a subsequent area of possible research would be to replicate this study within a modern-day timeline (i.e., late 2010s to early 2020s) to understand what, if any changes are present within the discourse of the national newspapers explored. One assumption may be that with an increasing focus on the impact of mass media and the importance of inclusive language, the perspectives present may have shifted to be more favorable to HBCUs. Such a comparison study could explore whether any changes have been made in areas such as a shift in deficit thinking concerning Black students who attend HBCUs, a rise of new topics attributed to HBCUs, or a more concerted effort to balance the perspectives

presented in the discourse. Whether in the timeline of this study or a focus on the modern day, it is also worth exploring where mass media discourse has been used for positive change in the areas of racial equity. Key areas that build upon the findings of this study include how the media has supported initiatives that advance the opportunities for Black Americans, especially given the increase in philanthropic partnerships with HBCUs to enhance career readiness and leadership development (Weissman, 2021).

Conclusion

An exploration of the images of HBCUs regarding STEM topics provided a context for discussion of how the mass media portrayed Blackness during the formation of the Act of 1980. I found several perspectives were present in the discourse that provided insight into the status of HBCUs and Black students based on the mass media perspective: (a) The continued existence of HBCUs was in limbo; (b) Black students who chose HBCUs were academically underqualified; and (c) Black students were unlikely to choose STEM fields, thus, were not contributing to the nation's priorities. These images paint a picture that neither HBCUs nor Black students would be significant contributors to the needed increase in STEM participants despite the intentions of opening access put forth in the Act of 1980. It remains unknown if the intention to extend access to STEM programs for minority students merely did not materialize from the Act of 1980 as the discourse reviewed for this study only focused on the formation of the act or if the discourse reinforced the desire to lessen the gains of HBCUs. Such an outcome upholds the idea that gains for Black Americans are only viewed in conjunction with perceived interest convergence with White Americans (Bell, 2004, 2005).

This CDA could not differentiate the focus within the discourse between assumed attributes of Black Americans or the by-products of their experiences within the United States,

therefore, it is important that continued analysis equally focus on both the positive and negative experiences of this racial group. The strengthening of critical thinking skills, important at all levels in society, is a key recommendation put forth by this study. Journalists at national newspapers, and their editors, provide a critical filter of information to the general public that reifies existing norms and as a result, are pivotal actors who can change the landscape toward one in which all citizens are given equal participation in society.

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Appendix A

Researcher as Instrument Statement

Social constructivism was my initial framing as a researcher because a social constructivist framework posits that the complexity of individual knowledge is situated within a social context. Although each individual has their own meaning-making capacity, according to social constructivism, knowledge originates via social processes where mental categories are acquired through social relationships (Gergen, 2015). As I developed as a researcher, I now believe that social constructivism cannot solely account for my experiences as a Black American in the United States; therefore, I also possess the perspective that critical race theory accurately reflects not only my lived experiences, but also the complexity that is a study of the reproduction of racism. The permanence of racism lies in the replication of racist text and talk that has become so ingrained that only the most insidious reflections are accurately labeled as racist. As such, I also agree with van Dijk's (1993) critical analysis of racism theory that racism is ingrained through the use of everyday racism, or those instances that are so common that they are overlooked as contributing to the bigger issue of racism. These instances have become common-sense as Fairclough (1989) would argue. Due to these instances being seen as common, critical race theory and van Dijk's critical analysis of racism posits that those who live these experiences are best suited to critically explore and call attention to them.

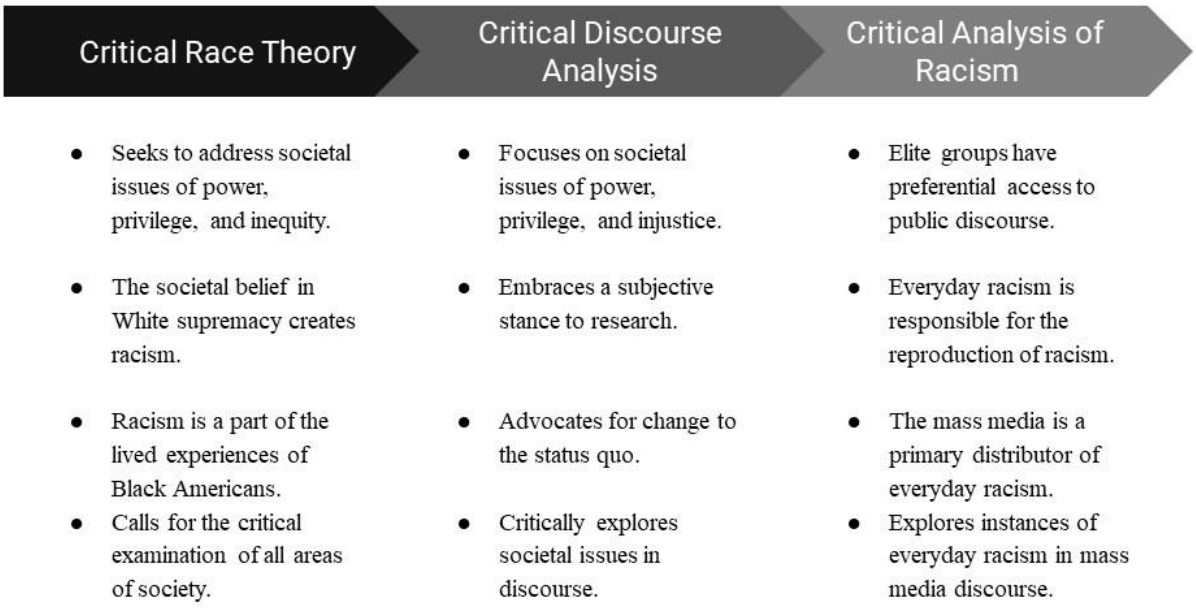
As a Black American, my experiences in higher education have been in predominantly White spaces where the salience of my racialized identity has served as a lens through which I see the world and my interactions within it (Abes et al., 2007). Through such salience, I have explored my own Black identity and the ways in which the world has created standards of such identity. I do not fit those standards or stereotypes nor do I believe that there is one definition of

Blackness. However, I do believe that an aspect of Blackness is a common struggle for equality that can only be achieved through equity as a starting point. And yet, I do believe that critical thinking skills are needed to collectively unlearn racism and White supremacy as the means to live. An important part of such a goal requires Whites to fight the privileges of their Whiteness and take action toward antiracism (Bell, 2004). This is not an attack, but an acknowledgment that 1) White Americans have a collective power not afforded to all, 2) we all were placed into a society with pre-established norms, and 3) an individual is an incredibly powerful force. Only then will we truly be able to achieve what's needed to move this country forward in the ways many desire but few obtain.

My basis for this study is to contribute to moving the needle forward and calling into question why marginal gains are made in STEM for Black Americans. I believe that people do not understand the ways racism has permeated all fabrics of American society, the power of hidden racist perspectives in discourse, and are unable to take the steps necessary to alter the replication of a history grounded in systematic oppression. Rather than run away from this history, the first step is to openly admit the racism that built this country, learn from its mistakes, and take the steps needed to correct its oppression. If we truly worked together as a country, where all who come here truly belong, we could transform the world to be more creative, just, and humane. This study is my contribution to that goal.

Appendix B

Overview of Theoretical, Method, and Data Analysis Frameworks



Appendix C

List of Articles in the Study

Date	Newspaper	Headline	Writer
3/14/1979	Wall Street Journal	Academic Irony: Black Colleges Seeking to Stay Black Undergo Pressure to Integrate. Right Groups Oppose Them; Federal Aid Could End; Low Tuition for the Poor; 'I wanted a Black College'	Deborah A. Randolph
3/29/1979	Washington Post	Renewed Academic Spirit At Eastern Shore Campus: Renewed Spirit Takes Hold at UMES	Bart Barnes
4/7/1979	New York Times	Still Separate in North Carolina	N/A
5/20/1979	New York Times	Dispute Over Diplomas Awaits Carter at Pennsylvania Black College: Charges of Invalid Diplomas	N/A
6/14/1979	Los Angeles Times	DOESN'T THINK GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS CAN SOLVE IT: Califano Calls Race Issue Thorniest Social Problem	William J. Eaton
9/27/1979	Washington Post	New Howard Deans Aim To Help Restore Campus Glory: City Faces	Joann Stevens
12/13/1979	Washington Post	Bowie State College's New Image Attracts More Students	Michael Eastman
3/8/1980	New York Times	Dual Degree Program Splits 2 Colleges: President Denies Allegations Funds Administered by Fisk Minority Program Defended Role as 'Sacrificial Lamb'	Sheila Rue
4/12/1980	Washington Post	Playing Tribute	Mike Joyce
4/20/1980	New York Times	The Educated Black: Caught in a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy	Sheila Rue
5/13/1980	Washington Post	Howard Medical Students Improve Licensing Exam Scores	Susan Okie
6/22/1980	Los Angeles Times	26 Super Stars Alabama Bound: Willowbrook Junior High Pupils to Study at Talladega College	Mimi Ginott
8/19/1980	Los Angeles Times	Next NSF Chief Says U.S. Schools Must Train More Scientists	Paula Parker
9/1/1980	Washington Post	Selecting a College: A Complex Adventure	Dorothy Gilliam
10/2/1980	Washington Post	Program Helps Youth Enter College	Edward D. Sargent

Appendix D

List of Codes Used in Initial Coding Scheme

Table D1

A Priori Codes Used for Coding

Code	Definition	Literature
they/them	Position of the author that makes a comparison to out-group or other. Code applies to the discussion of HBCUs and Black students.	van Dijk (1993)
we/us	Position of the author that makes a comparison to in-group or self. Code applies to the discussion of HBCUs and Black students.	van Dijk (1993)

Table D2

Initial Codes Developed During Peer Debriefing Sessions

Code	Definition
academic merit	A judgment as to whether the education provided by HBCUs or received by Black students is worthwhile. Can reference individual entities or the group.
conflict	An instance of either HBCUs or Black students being in opposition to another entity. Can reference individual entities or the group.
funding	The financial support received by either HBCUs or Black students. Can reference individual entities or the group.
policy compliance	A mention as to whether HBCUs were following government policies. Can reference individual entities or the group.

Appendix E

Peer Debriefing Steps

Steps	Action
Step 1	Send peer debriefers first of three articles, research study materials, and codebook
Step 2	Individual review of first article for Stages 4-6 using a priori codebook and adding emerging codes as needed.
Step 3	Meet with peer debriefers to review article and emerging codes.
Step 4	Send peer debriefers second article
Step 5	Individual review of second article for Stages 4-6 using a priori codebook and adding emerging codes as needed.
Step 6	Meet with peer debriefers to review article and emerging codes. Generate word cloud of holistic, versus, and in-vivo coding.
Step 7	Send peer debriefers third article
Step 8	Individual review of third article for Stages 4-6 using a priori codebook and adding emerging codes as needed.
Step 9	Meet with peer debriefers to review codes and discuss codebook, definitions, and emerging codes. Gather consensus on starting holistic and versus coding. Review in-vivo coding for trends.

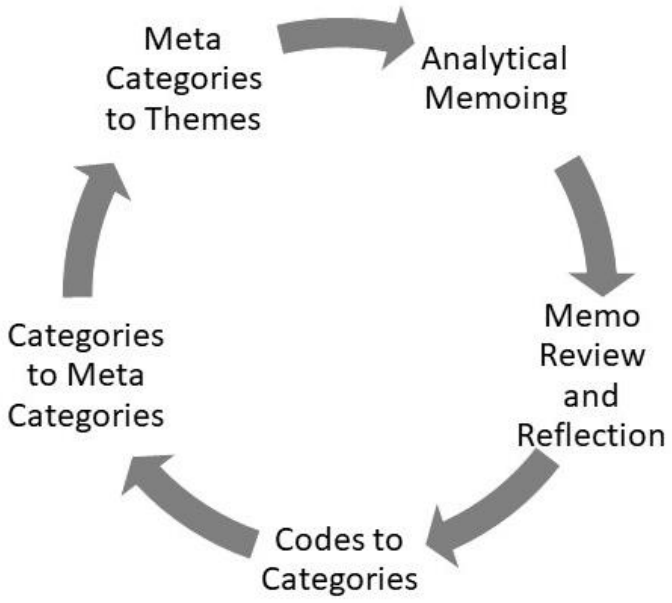
Appendix F

Organization of Segments for Stage 6

Code	Text Segment	Location	Code Type	Area of Focus	Article	Initial Reflections on Meaning
Future looked bleak	"Two years ago, the future looked bleak for the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore, a predominantly black college in this rural town near Chesapeake Bay."	Paragraph 1, leading statement	In-vivo	*HBCUs*	Academic Irony	The future (two years ago) was uncertain for UMES. Use of rural is perhaps to identify area, yet rural can be associated with not having enough or other deficit lens. Use of black college may be due to identity or to present information to audience not familiar with UMES.

Appendix G

Overview of Stage 7 Data Analysis Steps



Appendix H

Final Word Clouds for Stages 4-6 Generated From Data Analysis

Figure H1

Stage 4 Final Data Analysis Word Cloud

Figure H2

Stage 5 Final Data Analysis Word Cloud

Figure H3

Stage 6 Final Data Analysis Word Cloud

Vita

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EDUCATION

08/2023: Doctor of Philosophy, Higher Education Administration from William & Mary

05/2010: Master of Education, Postsecondary Leadership with a Concentration and Specialization in Student Affairs from San Diego State University.

12/2007: Bachelor of Arts, Language Studies (Spanish) from University of California, San Diego

SELECTED EXPERIENCE

07/2020 – 03/2023: Academic Advisor at Virginia Peninsula Community College (formerly Thomas Nelson Community College)
09/2021 – 03/2023: "Get a Skill. Get a Job. Get Ahead." (G3) STEM
07/2020 - 09/2021: Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM)

08/2016 - 05/2020: Graduate Assistant at William & Mary
07/2019 - 05/2020: University Libraries
04/2017 - 04/2018: Production Editor, W&M Educational Review
08/2016 - 04/2017: Review/Lead Reviewer, W&M Educational Review
08/2016 - 05/2019: Center for Student Diversity

10/2014 - 07/2016: Student Development Advisor for TRIO-Student Support Services at Hampton University

01/2012 - 09/2014: Student Services Coordinator at Centura College
04/2013 - 09/2014: Chesapeake Campus
01/2012 - 04/2013: Norfolk Campus

08/2008 - 08/2010: Graduate Assistant at San Diego State University
08/2009-08/2010: Associated Students-CASE
08/2008 - 05/2009: Sorority & Fraternity Life