# The Hidden Challenges of "Class": Social Class and Race at Colorado College

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Kathleen Callahan Spring 2013

# On my honor I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this thesis

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This study examines the effects of social class, race, and cultural capital on academic experience and social belonging at Colorado College. Survey data from a sample of Colorado College students about academic and social engagement at CC is analyzed in an attempt to explore how students are impacted by their social class, race, and cultural capital. Specifically, this study analyzes classroom engagement, intellectual confidence, and social belonging at Colorado College, focusing primarily on how social class and race/ethnicity intersect in ways to affect educational and social outcomes. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which "doubly disadvantaged" students, those who are first generation college students and students of color experience unique challenges at a predominantly white institution. The analysis suggests that first generation students of color face more challenges in the classroom and feel less connected to the student body than their peers. The study's findings suggest that more attention and support need to be given to the "doubly disadvantaged" to help increase their academic and social engagement at CC. Additionally, this study advocates more research be done on the inequalities that working class minority students face within the education system.

Key words: Social Class, Race/Ethnicity, Higher Education, Inequality

#### INTRODUCTION

Colorado College is a unique institution aiming to provide the finest liberal arts education in the country. Similar to other elite liberal arts colleges, CC has a largely homogenous student body. In 2010, 82.3% of students identified as white and 65.6% paid tuition without any financial aid (Tiefenthaler<sup>1</sup>). Even compared to other schools of similar size and caliber in the United States, CC is one of the most homogenous campuses in terms of social class and race (Tiefenthaler). Nonetheless, it is devoted to expanding both racial and economic diversity on campus, as its primary goal is to "recruit, cultivate, and support exceptional and diverse students" (Colorado College 2013).

Colorado College's goal to expand diversity on campus will be beneficial to the student body; through interacting with diverse groups of people, we are able to hear and learn about a wide array of opinions, beliefs, and experiences, enabling stereotypes to be broken and people to become accepting and open to others (Aries 2008). Diversity is essential for a learning environment because it enhances discussion and enriches the learning experience (Aries 2008). Not only that, but as the world grows increasingly diverse, students of all backgrounds need to learn cultural competencies and how to navigate diverse environments. College campuses are an arena in which diversity can be especially effective for personal growth because they are one of few places where people from different races and class backgrounds live together in the same room, as neighbors, and/or in the same dormitory. Given the nature of college life, diversity among students can create a very unique and rich environment. In addition, colleges and universities are seen as pathways for social mobility; however, without diversity within the student body these institutions may serve simply to reproduce existing class positions.

Expanding economic and racial diversity will benefit the intellectual and social experience for all students. However, when diversifying the student body, CC must pay close attention to the experiences of students from underrepresented groups. Studies have shown that minority groups (economic and/or racial) have a more difficult time academically and socially than their peers due to differences in economic and cultural capital (DiMaggio 1982; Lareau 1999 2003 2011; Walpole 2003; Aries and Seider 2005: Aries 2008; Espenshade and Radford 2009). Therefore, while CC attempts to diversify the student body, it must be aware of any hidden challenges underrepresented students face and take measures to mitigate these challenges.

This study seeks to understand the academic and social experience at CC for underrepresented groups, specifically, first generation college students and students of color. Do underrepresented groups face unique challenges in the classroom? How does their academic success and academic confidence compare to that of their peers? Do they have a harder time feeling a sense of inclusion and belonging on the campus of an elite, predominantly white institution?

In this study, survey data from a sample of CC students about academic and social engagement at CC is analyzed in an attempt to explore how students are or are not affected by their race, socio-economic status, and cultural capital. In addition, this study analyzes the combination of race and class to see if the confluence of the two produces unique effects. The analysis focuses primarily on the "doubly disadvantaged," which

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> President Jill Tiefenthaler e-mail message to Kathleen Callahan, March 11, 2013

refers to first-generation students of color. As CC strives to expand economic and racial diversity, tracking underrepresented groups experiences is essential for cultivating an environment where all students can succeed, regardless of race or social class background.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

Theories of social reproduction and the role of culture in said reproduction are grounded in Bourdieu's work on social class. Specifically, Bourdieu's theories on social class, habitus, and cultural capital have been very influential in sociology, providing a framework for the ways in which social inequalities are reproduced in society. Bourdieu's perspective has been especially pertinent to the American education system. Many scholars, notably Lareau (1999; 2003; 2006; 2010; 2011), have taken Bourdieu's framework and applied it to their own research, demonstrating the effects cultural capital has on education (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008; DiMaggio 1982; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Paulsen and Edward 2002; Larea and Horvat 1999; Lareau 2006 2011; Morales 2011; Reay, David, and Ball 2005; Walpole 2003). This body of research suggests that cultural capital affects students in various ways through the duration of their education and beyond.

# Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1991: 275) describes social class as a 'social space' made up of people with similar economic and cultural capital. He argues that social class affects all aspects of life, from lifestyle, to food preference, to beliefs; we live under the structure of our social class. In addition, social class has an impact on how we perceive the world and is directly linked to our 'habitus,' a product of social class, which Bourdieu (1991) defines as a fundamental part of the self that influences our lifestyle, relationships, choices, goods, and practices, and the like. All thoughts and interactions are formed under our habitus. Habitus is the transformation of constraint (forming from one's economic and social class status) into preference. These "preferences" then transform into a type of lifestyle. In addition, Bourdieu (1994) describes habitus as a "product of history" because parents pass on their habitus to their children.

This habitus translates into forms of cultural capital, which Lareau (2011) defines as "skills individuals inherit that can then be translated into different forms of value as they move through various institutions" (p. 7). Cultural capital can come in various forms such as education level, physical appearance, intellect, life experiences, and competence for certain bodies of knowledge. It is an asset that when used appropriately can solidify existing class standings and sometimes even open doors and encourage social mobility. Just like economic capital, cultural capital contributes to the reproduction of social class and social inequalities across generations (Bourdieu 1983). Bourdieu (1983) argues that cultural capital "is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled" (p. 100). The subtleties of cultural capital such as linguistic competence discretely reproduce social inequalities.

#### Social Class and Education

# Parental influence and elementary education

Drawing on Bourdieu's work, Lareau (2011) shows how the cultural logic of child rearing reproduces social inequalities in elementary school. Lareau (2011) identifies two ideal types of child-rearing that reflect class differences. Working class parents have a tendency to to use the 'accomplishment of natural growth' with their children whereas middle-class parents are likely to to use 'concerted cultivation'. The major differences between these two types of child-rearing practices include use of language, structure of daily life, and engagement with the school/interactions with professionals and authority.

Parents that use the accomplishment of natural growth tend to use directives with their children, which in effect lowers the linguistic competency of children because they are not routinely asked to express their own beliefs or argue an opinion. In addition, the structure of daily life revolves around meeting their children's' basic needs and making enough money to support their family. Children spend most of their free time in unstructured play with other friends and relatives in their neighborhood. This form of child-rearing does not entail active parental involvement in the education of their children, leaving teachers and school officials as the primary decision-makers. Lastly, given the 'natural growth' ideology, parents and children do not assert themselves and their opinions to authority figures, something that eventually has a negative impact on them, especially in terms of education.

In contrast, parents that use concerted cultivation are more assertive and engaged in the education of their children, often intervening as soon as there is an issue at school. Parents actively cultivate their children's talents by enrolling them in various structured activities, which then become the focal point of daily life. Dialogue is much more common under concerted cultivation; parents engage their children in conversation, question them, and ask about their feelings, opinions, and beliefs. These types of conversations develop the children's linguistic competency and comfort in engaging with authority figures.

These different child-rearing practices between middle class parents and working class parents lead to different ways of engaging with the school system. Children and parents under the accomplishment of natural growth model develop a 'sense of constraint' with the school whereas children and parents under concerted cultivation develop a 'sense of entitlement'. Weininger and Lareau (2003) highlight this pattern in their analysis of parent-teacher conferences, claiming that middle class parents have more pertinent information and are more authoritative than working class parents. As a result, they find middle class parents are more capable of gaining benefits for their children than working class parents (Weininger and Lareau 2003). Because schools respond more favorably to children and parents that interact with a sense of entitlement, middle class children benefit from the cultural logic of concerted cultivation. Lareau states, "By being in sync with the standards of school officials, the cultural logic of child rearing of concerted cultivation provided important, and largely invisible, benefits to the middle-class parents and children that the working-class and poor parents and children did not gain" (2011:164).

#### High school and college choice

Lareau (2006) argues that parental involvement and intervention, a practice we see among middle class parents, becomes increasingly more important as students get older. This is because decisions about education become more influential, and the

magnitude of parental actions increases. DiMaggio's (1982) research at the high-school level supports Lareau's (2006) claim that middle class cultural capital is increasingly more valued as students move through the education system. DiMaggio (1982) finds a relationship between social class backgrounds and both GPA and high school involvement, claiming people from upper class backgrounds with more elite cultural capital have higher GPAs and participate more in extra-curricular activities than students with working class cultural capital.

In addition, cultural capital affects what students decide to do after high school graduation. Reay, David, and Ball (2005) find social class to be a main predictor for choosing (or not choosing) higher education institutions. Whether we are aware of it or not, our social class background creates "social structures in the head," influencing our choices (Reay et al. 2005: 160). Thus, cultural capital not only affects students' education, but also impacts their choices about education, like where students decide to apply to college.

Hearn's (1984) study on socioeconomic characteristics and college destinations reveal that class-related factors are the most influential predictors for determining where students apply to college. Students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are much less likely to apply to prestigious universities than students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Hearn 1984). A more recent study on the college choice process finds that high-achieving working class students are more often than not applying to public state schools rather than to elite colleges (Vedantum 2013). When Harvard essentially offered a free education for students whose families make less than \$40,000 a year, the number of students at Harvard under this threshold increased by only 15 students (Vedantum 2013). Harvard is unable to offer more working class students free education because they are simply not applying (Vedantum 2013).

Likewise, Karabel and Astin find that highly capable students from upper class backgrounds are 26% more likely to attend selective colleges than highly able students from working class backgrounds (2001:388). As a result, the percentage of working class students attending four-year universities is very low in comparison to middle and upper class students. For example, at Colorado College only 34.4% of the student population receives financial aid, meaning the majority of students pay full tuition, a sign of the upper-middle class tilt of the student body (Tiefenthaler 2013).

#### Higher education

The same pattern identified by Lareau (2011) and DiMaggio (1982) continue in higher education; working class students have a harder time navigating the system because their cultural capital is less valued. Aries (2008), studying cultural capital at a small liberal arts college, finds the cultural capital of affluent students give them the knowledge of how to effectively navigate the system, granting them access to scarce rewards and benefits. For example, students of this caliber are able to make situations meet their needs by successfully interacting with teachers and administrators (Aries 2008). "These were skills that many affluent students had seen modeled by their parents and had internalized growing up" (Aries 2008:161). In elementary school, middle class and upper class parents engage with the school with a sense of entitlement, resulting in greater academic success for their children (Lareau 2011). During this period, middle and upper class children internalize the sense of entitlement demonstrated by their parents.

When they move onto higher education, they continue to engage with a sense of entitlement, and thus continue to benefit (Lareau 2011; Aries 2008).

In addition to academic success in higher education, cultural capital seems to be linked to feelings of self-worth and social cohesion/belonging. Working class students feel less adequate than their peers. Aries and Seider (2005) state, "significant disparities of wealth between students at the elite college heightened awareness of class, and led to feelings of intimidation, discomfort, inadequacy, deficiency, exclusion, and powerlessness among lower income students" (p. 419). These feelings of insufficiency are a common theme for underrepresented groups on college campuses (Aries and Seider 2005; Allen 1992). Nonetheless, higher education is seen as an opportunity for working class students, providing a unique opportunity to enhance capital and expand the diversity of their social networks.

Although Walpole (2003) acknowledges that higher education is a space in which working class students are able to acquire middle and upper class cultural capital, she claims working class students are not able to activate their learned capital as well as their middle and upper class peers. Walpole (2003) argues that working class students have different investment strategies, claiming that students of working class background value work and work experience. As a result, these students are less successful in converting academic and cultural capital into economic capital after college. Consequently, even if working class students attend a prestigious four-year university where they are able to acquire more valued cultural capital, they still experience more challenges than their middle and upper class peers in converting such capital into opportunities after college.

#### Race/Ethnicity and Education

Although cultural capital is predominantly linked to social class, race cannot be completely ignored. All aspects of a person's life have an impact on the cultural capital they possess; therefore, race inevitably plays a role in shaping cultural capital. Typically, people of color come from backgrounds that encompass their race/ethnicity, which inevitably alters their cultural capital. Research suggests that both race and social class influence cultural capital and affect students educational experience (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008; DiMaggio 1982; Espenshade and Radford 2009; Paulsen and Edward 2002; Larea and Horvat 1999; Lareau 2006 2011; Morales 2011; Reay, David, and Ball 2005; Walpole 2003; Hill 2001; Gutman and Midgley 2000; Denis, Phinney, and Chuateco 2005; Taylor and Olswang 1997). For example, at predominantly white institutions (PWIs) students of color have a more difficult time navigating the social realm and typically lack adequate support from peers and professors, which in turn negatively affects their academic experience (Allen 1992; Green, Marty, and McClenney 2008; Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis et al. 2005).

Because social class is so tightly linked to cultural capital, many scholars dismiss race/ethnicity. For example, Lareau (2011) claims child-rearing practices and ways of interacting with schools are a product of social class, not race. Similarly, other scholars find that child-rearing practices and parental engagement in education are influenced by social class much more than by race (Davis and Havighurst 1946; Hill 2001; Espenshad and Radford 2009). Even so, race is still influencing the educational experience of students. At all levels of education, the main challenge for students of color is the lack of support and connection they feel (Allen 1992; Green, Marty, and McClenney 2008; Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis et al. 2005). For example, Gutman and Midgley (2000)

find that the number one factor for a successful transition from elementary to middle school for lower income black students is parental involvement and support. Although these factors are necessary for all students to have academic success, research suggests they are even more powerful for students of color (Hill 2001; Gutman and Midgley 2000; Denis, Phinney, and Chuateco 2005; Taylor and Olswang 1997).

Regarding academic performance, research shows that educational outcomes are patterned by race and ethnicity. At the high school level, Espenshade and Radford (2009) find black students take fewer AP exams and score lower on the SAT than their peers. On average black students took 2.7 AP exams whereas white students took 3.4. In comparison to Asian students, the average SAT score for black students was 200 points lower (Espenshade and Radford 2009: 38). Although this study highlights racial differences, Espenshade and Radford (2009) found even more distinct differences between social class groups. Working class students took on average 2.9 AP exams whereas upper class students took 4.4 (Espenshade and Radford 2009: 38). In addition, upper class students had much higher SAT scores (Espenshade and Radford 2009: 38). To sum up, both social class and race have an impact on success at the high school level; however, social class plays a greater role in high school participation and academic achievement than does race (DiMaggio 1982; Espenshade and Radford; 2009).

Similar to working class students, minority students are less likely to apply to elite universities compared to white students. Espenshade and Radford (2009) examined the applicant pool of seven different universities and found the racial breakdown to be 68.1% white, 6.8% black, 5.2% Hispanic, and 20% Asian. One reason elite universities struggle to diversify the student body is due to the lack of diverse applicants that apply (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Vedantum 2013).

When students of color succeed in moving onto higher education, they struggle more academically than their white peers (Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis, Phinney, and Chuateco 2005; Greene, Marti, and McClenney 2008; Espenshade and Radford 2009). Taylor and Olswang (1997), studying black students' experiences at a PWI, find that fewer black students complete their degree and have an overall lower success rate than their fellow students. These differences can be attributed to how students of color navigate higher education. Greene et al. (2008) coins the term "effort outcome gap" to show how students of color have to put forth more effort to combat academic and institutional barriers than white students. In addition to adapting to the college environment, students of color must gain "contextual intelligence." Greene et al. (2008) defines this as "adaptive skills such as coping with racism, maintaining a positive self-concept, and developing supportive relationships" (p. 531). Minority students face more challenges and exert more energy navigating the system of PWIs, which Greene et al. (2008) argues, takes away from their academics.

Likewise, Allen (1992) finds that black students who attend historically black colleges, where they are part of the majority, express greater feelings of engagement, connection, acceptance, support, and encouragement than black students who attend PWIs. Furthermore, black students at PWIs report lower grades and less favorable relations with their professors (Shook and Clay 2012). Research suggests that underrepresented groups on college campuses are more worried about self-presentation and feel less adequate than their peers (Aries and Seider 2005; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, Terenzini 1996; Greene, Marti, McClenney 2008). All in all, the educational

differences between minority students and white students suggest that race/ethnicity is an influential part of cultural capital that does impact educational experiences. Cultural capital is not a static property, but rather a property of individuals and their social backgrounds in addition to the institutions and social environments they operate under. For example, FG minority students can only be considered disadvantaged when one considers their capital in contrast to the social and academic environments of an elite PWI

# Impacts of Cultural Capital

From the ways that parents raise their children to the experiences students have in elementary, middle, and high school, to their college choice, research shows that cultural capital (forming from both social class background and race/ethnicity) drastically impacts education. Middle and upper class cultural capital is more valued in the American education system than working class cultural capital. Thus, working class students navigate the system with a sense of deference, leading to less successful outcomes and experiences at all levels of education, which in effect reproduces social inequalities in the current social structure (Lareau 2011). Furthermore, students of color face more challenges and barriers in the education system, ultimately resulting in lower levels of academic success (Greene et al. 2008). Education is supposedly the equalizer for economic, social, and racial disparities. Schools are seen as the means by which all Americans have an opportunity to succeed and enhance life opportunities. With more research and initiatives that address inequalities in regards to both social class and race, the outcomes and experiences within the education system can be enhanced.

Although previous research has been conducted on the effects cultural capital has within higher education, each institution is distinct. Students of underrepresented groups will be affected differently depending on their chosen institution. Lareau (2011) states:

Looking at social class differences in the standards of institutions provides a vocabulary for understanding inequality. It highlights the ways in which institutional standards give some people an advantage over others as well as the unequal ways that cultural practices in the home pay off in settings outside the home. (P. 257).

This study seeks to understand how the cultural capital of working class students and students of color affect their academic experience and social belonging at CC. Furthermore, this study attempts to merge two bodies of knowledge: the impacts of social class cultural capital on education and the impacts of racial cultural capital on education. To do this, the analysis breaks down social class and race together, focusing on the experiences of the "doubly disadvantaged". Does social class and race/ethnicity impact CC students' experience? Do students of underrepresented groups find it more difficult to succeed academically? Do they have a difficult time feeling a sense of belonging and inclusion on campus? If the cultural capital of working class and/or minority students is hindering, what can Colorado College do to enhance their experience and decrease social and racial inequalities on campus? The goal of this research is to provide Colorado College with useful information about social and racial inequalities, in addition to broadening the literature on the affects of social class, race, and cultural capital in higher education.

#### **METHODS**

#### Acquisition

A 20-question online survey gathered data on students' social class background, race/ethnic status, cultural capital, and engagement at CC. "Engagement at CC" refers to classroom engagement, academic success, subjective feelings, school participation, and social belonging. Appendix A contains the survey questionnaire.

#### Sampling Strategy

The survey was distributed through convenient sampling via Facebook, e-mail, and various student listservs. The survey link was posted on the following Facebook pages: CC seniors (twice), CC Sociology majors (once), my personal profile (three times), the profile of two sophomores (once each), and the profiles of two freshmen (once each). The survey was e-mailed to various groups and clubs on campus, specifically to residents of the language houses, members of the President's Council, Spill members, BSU members, and OMIS members. Due to the lack of male respondents the link was sent to the men's soccer team, men's basketball team, and the Fiji Fraternity. Additionally, the link was e-mailed to a handful of freshman, sophomore, and junior friends, asking them to share the survey link with their friends. Due to the lack of economic diversity on campus, an attempt to over-sample students of working class background was made by sending an e-mail with the survey link to all first-generation students on campus. The link to the survey was also posted on the CC student listsery three times. Lastly, the survey link was sent via e-mail to all students who are majoring in the following departments: Sociology, Philosophy, Religion, Foreign Language, Environmental Science, Southwest Studies, Feminist and Gender Studies, Asian Studies, Race and Ethnic Studies, Dance and Theatre, Biology, Comparative Literature, and Geology.

There were 425 survey respondents, all of whom are current undergraduate students at Colorado College. Of this sample, 296 students identify as female (70%) and 128 identify as male (30%). The distribution by grade level consists of 82 freshman (19%), 92 sophomores (22%), 100 juniors (24%), and 149 seniors (35%). Similar to the current racial composition of the college, 72% of students identified as white/Caucasian and 28% identified as a minority. In general, the survey was successful in acquiring a large sample, but a large portion is senior females, which is not an accurate reflection of the total Colorado College population.

#### Independent Variables: Social Class and Race

#### Ethnic/racial minority measure

Table I displays the number of student respondents in each racial/ethnic category for first generation college students (FG) and non-first generation college students (NFG).

Table I. Race/Ethnicity of FG and NFG Students

NFG St		FG Students		Total
371 (8	7%)	54 (13%)		
Race/Ethnicity	Number of	Race/Ethnicity	Number of	
White	Respondents 285 (76.8%)	White	Respondents 19 (35%)	
American Indian	2 (0.5%)	American Indian	1 (1.9%)	425 (100%)
Asian	28 (7.6%)	Asian	6 (11.1%)	
Black	10 (2.7%)	Black	5 (9.3%)	
Hispanic	11 (2.9%)	Hispanic	17 (31.5%)	
Native Hawaiian	0 (0%)	Native Hawaiian	1 (1.9%)	
Multi-Racial	28 (7.6%)	Multi-Racial	4 (7.4%)	
Other	7 (1.9%)	Other	1 (1.9%)	

Although the percentage of non-white students is low, these numbers reflect the actual racial composition of the student body at CC. However, due to small subsamples in each of the categories, a collapsed race variable with two categories (white and minority) was formed. The collapsed variable consists of 121 minority students (28%).

#### First-generation measure

For social class, a first-generation college variable was used. Research suggests that one can infer the social class, cultural capital, and economic capital of a person by looking at the level of their parent(s) education (Lareau and Conley 2010). Students were asked what the education level of their parent(s) is and were given the following options: did not finish high school; high school diploma or GED; some college but no degree; Associate's degree; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; or Doctoral/professional degree. From there a new variable was formed: people who selected Associate's degree or lower for both parents were labeled as first-generation college students (FG) and those who selected Bachelor's degree or higher for *one or both* parents were labeled as non-first-generation college students (NFG).

#### Social class/race measure

This study seeks to understand not just social class or just race, but the confluence of the two. In order to tease out the effects of social class and the effects of race, a social class/race variable was created. This variable captures the impacts of social class, the impacts of race, and the impacts of both social class and race together. To do this, the first-generation variable and the minority variable were combined, creating four categories: white FG students, minority FG students, white NFG students, and minority NFG students.

# Dependent Variable: Engagement at Colorado College

To determine overall engagement with Colorado College, questions regarding classroom dynamic, intellectual confidence, and social belonging were asked (see Appendix A). These questions measure how students engage both socially and academically in different settings at CC. The questions used to determine these measures are listed below:

- What is your GPA?
  - Multiple-choice answers: Below 2.0; 2.0 to 2.24; 2.25 to 2.49; 2.50 to 2.74; 2.75 to 2.99; 3.0 to 3.24; 3.25 to 3.49; 3.50 to 3.74; 3.75 to 4.0.
  - o Collapsed ordinal variable: 3.24 and below; 3.25 to 3.49; 3.50 to 3.74; 3.75 to 4.0.

Nine dichotomized variables were formed from the question listed below:

- How confident do you feel with each of the following: academic knowledge; intelligence; belong at CC; seeking help from a professor outside of class; speaking up in class; assuming leadership positions; working on group projects with students; and ability to get along with people of different backgrounds.
  - Fixed response answers: not at all confident; not very confident, somewhat confident; very confident.
  - Collapsed dichotomous variable: not confident vs. confident where not confident consist of "not at all confident" and "not very confident" and confident consists of "somewhat confident" and "very confident".

Four interval variable were formed from the following question:

- How have you felt this past year at Colorado College with each of the following: uncomfortable/comfortable; excluded/included; inadequate/adequate; ignorant/knowledgeable.
  - o Zero to ten scale: Rated subjective feelings, ex: 0 = uncomfortable and 10 = very comfortable, 0 = excluded and 10 = included, etc.

In addition, and open ended question was asked:

• In what ways (if any) do you feel your socio-economic background has impacted your experience at Colorado College?

#### Analyses

To analyze the data, the following tests were run: ANOVA, chi-square, logistic regression, and multiple-regression. Four different ANOVA tests were run measuring students' self-reported level of knowledge, level of comfort, level of adequacy, and level of inclusion. Due to the unequal group sizes of social class/race, Kruskall-Wallis rank sums tests were run after all four ANOVA tests to confirm statistical association. Chi-square tests were used to analyze the differences in percentage of students who are and

are not confident with the following: seeking help from a professor, speaking up in class, working on group projects, assuming a leadership position, ability to get along with people of different backgrounds, and sense of belonging at CC (substantial or practical). For each of these tests, Cramer's V was calculated to determine the strength of the relationship. In addition, logistic regressions were run on the dichotomous dependent variables listed above to compare the differences between FG and NFG students, minority and whites students, and minority FG students and everyone else. Lastly, a multiple regression on GPA was run to measure how classroom engagement impacts GPA.

#### **ANALYSIS**

The results are presented in three sections: classroom dynamics, intellectual confidence, and social belonging. All three sections provide support that there is a distinction between minority FG students' academic experiences and social belonging in comparison to their peers (white NFG, minority NFG, and white FG).

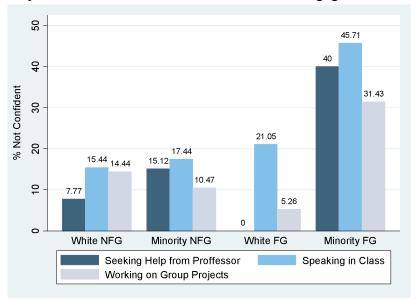
Classroom dynamics are broken up into two sections: classroom engagement disparities and positive classroom engagement. Next, intellectual confidence is split into two sections: academic ability/intelligence and level of knowledge. Social belonging includes comfort, adequacy, inclusion and sense of belonging. In general, the measures and results of classroom dynamic, intellectual confidence, and social belonging reveal that social class and race do affect the CC experience. The difference is not between FG students and NFG students or minority students and white students, but specifically between minority FG students and everyone else.

# Class, Race, and Classroom Dynamics

#### Classroom engagement disparities

To measure classroom engagement, collapsed confidence variables were used for seeking help from a professor outside of class, speaking up in class, working on group projects, assuming leadership positions, and ability to get along with people of different backgrounds. Graph I displays the variables where significant differences were found regarding race and class (seeking help from a professor, speaking up in class, working on group projects). The two variables that yielded no significant differences by race or class (assuming leadership positions and ability to get along with people of different backgrounds) appear on Graph II and will be discussed in the next section (positive classroom engagement).

Graph I illustrates that minority FG students have greater percentages for all variables, indicating minority FG students feel less confident with classroom engagement than their peers. Further, within the FG population, there is a contrast by race; minority FG students are less confident than white FG students. A variation within the minority population exists as well, such that minority FG students feel less confident than minority NFG students.



Graph I. Percent Not Confident in Classroom Engagement

Statistical significance: Seek Help\*\*\*, Speak up\*\*\*, Group projects\* Note: \*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01, \*\*\*p < 0.001

When comparing all minority students to all white students, statistically significant odds ratios were found for seeking help from a professor outside of class and speaking up in class. Minority students are 3.65 times more likely to not be confident seeking help from a professor (p<.001) and 1.84 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class (p<.05) compared to white students. Likewise, statistically significant odds ratios were found in regards to FG students versus non FG students where FG students are 3.34 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class (p<.01) and 3.11 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class (p<.01). Although there seems to be a difference between FG students and non-FG students and between minority students and white students, Graph I illustrates that the major disparity exists between minority FG students and everyone else.

Compared to everyone else (white NFG, minority NFG, and white FG), minority FG students are 6.7 times more likely to not be confident seeking help from a professor (p<.001), 4.37 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class (p<.001), and 3 times more likely to not be confident working on group projects (p<.01). As one minority FG student states, "I'm not really prepared for the expectations of college professors". The lack of confidence displayed by minority FG students cannot be ascribed to exclusively social class or race because neither white FG students nor minority NFG students have percentages similar to them. For example, in contrast to minority FG student responses, a white FG student states, "Coming from a working-class single parent household, I feel that I bring a perspective very different from the 'typical' CC student. When I contribute to class discussion, I am able to draw from my background and discuss oppression from experience". White FG students do not seem to be as negatively impacted or hampered by their social class background.

The lack of confidence appears to stem from the confluence of being a first-generation student and a student of color ("doubly disadvantaged"). These results conform to prior research; students of color at PWIs have a more difficult time academically (Espenshad and Radford 2009; Allen 1992; Greene et. al 2008; Taylor and

Olswang 1997; Denis et. al 2005). For example, Espenshade and Radford (2009) analyzed academic achievement at seven universities and found 50% of black students and 36.1% of working class students were in the lowest-quintile for academics. These findings lend support to the notion that underrepresented groups, particularly those who are "doubly disadvantaged," confront unique academic challenges on college campuses.

Alternatively, one could ask whether having confidence in speaking up or seeking help is associated with GPA because as Table II shows, minority FG students, on the whole, report lower GPAs than the other three groups.

Table II. GPA by Social Class/Race

Tuble II. Of II by	Docial Class/Race	<u></u>		
Social Class/ Race	3.24 and Below	3.24 to 3.49	3.5 to 3.74	3.75 to 4.0
White NFG	21.75%	22.81%	31.93%	23.51%
Minority NFG	15.12%	22.09%	29.07%	33.72%
White FG	0%	21.05%	21.05%	57.89%
Minority FG	51.43%	20.00%	20.00%	8.57%

Note: Statistical significance: X2=36.35, P<.001, Cramer's V = . 168

Out of the 35 minority FG respondents, 51.4% have a GPA of 3.24 or below compared to 21.75% of white NFG students, 15.12% of minority NFG students, and 0% of white FG students. If we split GPA into two groups (3.24 or below and 3.25 or above), we find that minority FG students are 1.3 times more likely to have a GPA of 3.24 or below compared to everyone else (p<.05). Similar to the lack of confidence in classroom engagement demonstrated by minority FG students, their low GPAs cannot be attributed to solely race or social class because neither white FG students nor minority NFG students have such low GPA averages. Therefore, the low GPAs may reflect unique challenges that occur under the confluence of social class background and race/ethnicity.

Table III illustrates that not feeling confident with different aspects of classroom engagement is one reason why minority FG students have significantly lower GPAs than their peers.

Table III. OLS Regression on GPA

Variables	Demographics	Classroom Engagement
Female	.24**	.26**
Race (Ref: White)		
NFG minority	.23*	.26**
FG white	.80***	.78***
FG minority	73***	49**

Group Projects		.26*
Speaking in		.31**
Class		
Seeking Help		.32*
$R^2$	.078***	.115***
Total	424	421

Note: p < 0.1, p < 0.05, p < 0.01 for two-tailed test of significance.

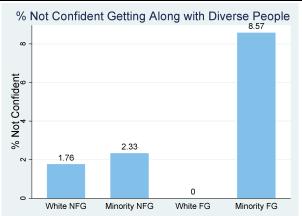
About 11.5% of the variance in GPA can be explained by demographics and confidence with working on group projects, speaking up in class, and seeking help from a professor. Confidence with classroom engagement (or lack thereof) is especially influential for the "doubly disadvantaged". The minority FG coefficient in the first model is -.73, but decreases to -.49 once classroom engagement variables are added. Although minority FG status remains significant in the second model, confidence in working on group projects, speaking up in class, and seeking help from a professor still account for a noticeable portion of the original minority FG effect on GPA. In comparison, the coefficients of the other two groups stay about the same, meaning that classroom engagement is not as influential for the GPA of the other two groups. All in all, the lack of confidence in classroom engagement partially explains why the FG students of color have such low GPAs.

# Positive classroom engagement

On a more positive note, most students at CC feel confident assuming a leadership position and feel confident in their ability to get along with diverse people. Out of all 425 respondents, 81% feel confident assuming a leadership position and 97.6% feel confident in their ability to get along with people of different backgrounds. Although Graph II illustrates that minority FG students feel less confident with these two variables neither relationship is statistically significant.

Graph II. Percent Not Confident in Dependent Variables of Classroom Engagement





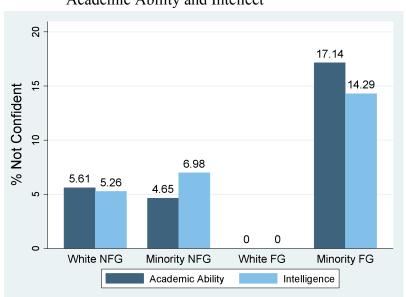
Note: No statistical significance found

Regarding getting along with diverse people, the difference in confidence between minority FG students and everyone else is noteworthy; minority FG students are 5 times more likely to not be confident with their ability to get along with people from different backgrounds (p<.05). Even so, the percent of minority FG students that lack confidence in this is still extremely low (only 9%). Additionally, for minority FG students, ability to get along with people from different backgrounds most likely refers to relating to wealthy white students. Due to difference in cultural capital, it makes sense why this group would have a higher percentage lacking confidence in their ability to get along with diverse people. Previous research at PWIs suggests that minority students have a harder time integrating into the social scene (Allen 1992). For example, Allen (1992) finds that black students report lower levels of social involvement, feeling alienated, discriminated, and excluded. These heightened feelings of exclusion could explain why the "doubly disadvantaged" feel less confident with their ability to get along with diverse people, particularly with white upper class students. Nonetheless, as stated previously, the percentage of minority FG students at CC that are not confident getting along with diverse people is still only 9%.

# Class, Race, and Intellectual Confidence

# Academic ability and intelligence

The collapsed confidence variables for academic ability and intelligence were used as measures of intellectual confidence. Graph III demonstrates that the majority of all students, no matter their race or class, are confident with their academic ability and their intelligence. Out of the 425 respondents, 94% are confident in their academic ability and, similarly, 94% are confident in their intelligence. Although the percentages are low for all social class/race groups, graph III illustrates that the percent of students that lack confidence with these two variables are highest for minority FG students.



Graph III. Percent of Students Not Confident in their Academic Ability and Intellect

Statistical significance between Academic Ability and Social class: X2=9.09, p<.05, Cramer's V = .146

Minority FG students are 3.33 times more likely to not be confident in their academic ability (p<.05) and 2.93 times more likely to not be confident in their intelligence (p<.01) than their peers. Nonetheless, the percentage of minority FG students who lack confidence in their academic ability or their intelligence is relatively low (and extremely low for the other three groups). Furthermore, written-responses from minority FG respondents reflect feelings of intellectual confidence, as one minority FG student states, "Despite my socio-economic background I feel that I am just as intelligent as most people at CC".

# Ignorance vs. Knowledgeable

The interval variable for level of knowledge was another measure used to rate students' intellectual confidence. Table IV displays students' subjective feelings about their level of knowledge.

Table IV. Mean level of Knowledge by Social Class/Race Level of Social Class/Race Knowledge White NFG White NFG 7.87 Minority NFG Minority NFG 7.87 White FG White FG 7.84 Minority FG 6.54 Minority FG Ignorant vs. Knowledgeable

Statistical Significance between minority FG and White NFG (p<.001) and between minority FG and minority NFG (p<.01). Kruskall-Wallis Rank sums test confirms significance

On average, minority FG students reported a lower level of knowledge than the other three groups. Because this is a subjective measure, it does not represent how knowledgeable they actually are but rather it represents their feelings about their knowledge. In addition, as Table IV shows, the range for minority FG students is larger than the range for the other three groups, reflecting greater variation among minority FG students on this outcome. Statistically significant relationships were found between minority FG students compared to white NFG students and minority FG students compared minority NFG. As table VI illustrates, the disparity for self-reported level of knowledge exists between minority FG students and everyone else. Therefore, more on average, minority FG students feel less knowledgeable than their peers.

#### Social Class, Race, and Social Belonging

#### Comfort, adequacy, and inclusion

Three interval variables were used as measures of social belonging: level of comfort (0 = uncomfortable, 10 = very comfortable), level of adequacy (0 = inadequate,

10 = very adequate), and level of inclusion (0 = excluded, 10 = very included). Table VII displays the level of comfort, adequacy, and inclusion by social class/race, revealing a contrast between minority FG students and everyone else.

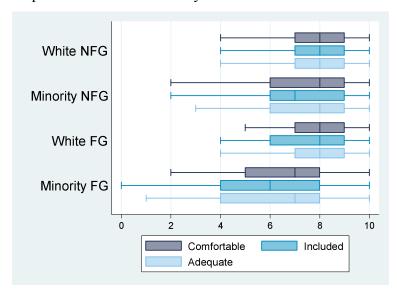
Table V. Subjective Feelings by Social Class/Race

Social Class and Race	Uncomfortable/ Comfortable	Inadequacy/ Adequacy	Excluded/ Included
White NFG	7.88	6.57	7.55
Minority NFG	7.43	6.27	7.02
White FG	7.79	6.39	7.31
Minority FG	6.59	5.63	5.86

Statistical Significance: Comfort between minority FG and White NFG (p<.01), Adequacy between minority FG and white NFG (p<.001), Adequacy between minority FG and minority NFG (p<.01), Inclusion between minority FG and White NFG (p<.001), Kruskil-Wallis test confirms statistical significance.

The means listed in table VII reveal that minority FG students feel less comfortable, adequate, and included than their peers. For all three measures, statistically significant relationships were found between minority FG students and white NFG students. Furthermore, level of adequacy between minority FG students and minority NFG students yielded a statistically significant relationship. Graph IV demonstrates that once FG students are broken down by race, white FG students do not have lower levels of confidence than NFG students. Likewise, when race is broken down by social class, minority NFG students do not have significantly lower means than white students.

Graph IV. Self-Confidence by Social Class/Race

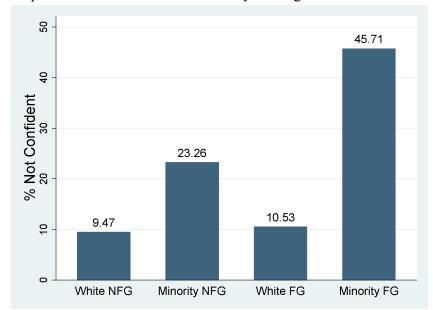


Statistical Significance: Comfort between minority FG and White NFG (p<.01), Adequacy between minority FG and white NFG (p<.001), Adequacy between minority FG and minority NFG (p<.001), Inclusion between minority FG and White NFG (p<.001), Kruskil-Wallis test confirms statistical significance

Thus, the low levels of comfort, adequacy, and inclusion for minority FG students cannot be attributed solely to social class or just race, but may be an outcome of their "double disadvantaged" status.

# Sense of belonging

Graph V displays this population of students who are not confident they belong at CC for each social class/race category.



Graph V. Percent Not Confident They Belong at CC

Statistical significance: X2= 36.9949, p<.001 Cramér's V = 0.2950

First, Graph V shows that minority FG students are much less confident they belong at CC than the other three group; 46% of minority FG students do not feel confident compared to 11% of white FG students, 24% of minority NFG students, and 9% of white NFG students. Second, Graph V reveals that minority students are less confident they belong than their non-white peers. The odds ratio for all minority students compared to all white students shows that minority students are 3.34 times more likely to not be confident they belong than white students (p<.001). When looking at the odds ratio for just minority FG students in comparison to everyone else, the contrast is even greater. Minority FG students are 5.86 times more likely to not be confident they belong in comparison to everyone else (p<.001). From the low levels of comfort, adequacy, and inclusion to a high percentage that are not confident they belong at CC, it is clear that minority FG students are more likely to report lower levels of social belonging than their peers.

#### **DISCUSSION**

The results measuring classroom dynamics, intellectual confidence, and social belonging demonstrate a clear distinction between minority FG students compared to everyone else. Minority FG students are less confident with classroom engagement,

specifically, speaking up in class, seeking help from professors, and working on group projects, and have significantly lower GPAs than the average CC student. Additionally, a lower percentage of minority FG students demonstrate a lack of intellectual confidence compared to their peers. Minority FG students report feeling less comfortable, less adequate, and less included on the CC campus. Finally, almost half of minority FG students are not confident they belong at CC (45.7%).

Clearly, the combination of being a student of color and being a FG student negatively impacts certain experiences and classroom dynamics at CC. The "doubly disadvantaged" status seems to be affecting two aspects of their overall experience in particular: academic success and the feeling of social belonging. In terms of academics, an influential cause contributing to the problem is the disparity in classroom engagement between minority FG students and their peers, particularly confidence seeking help from professors and speaking up in class is. The ability to confidently speak up or ask for help is vital for academic success, yet minority FG students are 6.7 times more likely to not be confident seeking help from a professor and 4.37 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class. What impact does this have? As the GPA distribution chart shows (Table IV), minority FG students do not do achieve as well academically as their nonminority peers. Furthermore, the less successful classroom engagement and the lower rates of academic success demonstrated by minority FG students could be contributing to why minority FG students have lower levels of intellectual confidence in themselves. If minority FG students have more trouble navigating the academic scene, it makes sense that they would feel less confident in their intelligence and report lower levels of knowledge compared to their peers who feel much more confident in the classroom and have higher rates of academic success.

In addition, the "doubly disadvantaged" status is negatively influencing minority FG students' social cohesion and sense of belonging on campus. Their self-reported feelings of comfort, adequacy, and inclusion are significantly lower than the other three groups. This too could be attributed to their lack of academic success at CC, but the written responses by minority FG students suggest that it is more of a social disparity than an academic one. A portion of responses written by minority FG students discuss financial issues and how they have negatively impacted their social life at CC. It should be noted the guestion that provoked these responses asked how cultural capital has or has not impacted their academic or social experience at CC. Due to the frame of the question, the majority of students reflect on the impact their social class has had and do not discuss race. For example, a minority FG student states, "I feel that it has impacted me socially more than anything. I feel like there are a lot of things that I cannot do with my friends, or times that I feel uncomfortable because I don't have the financial means to do things my friends want to do. I think that a lot of the awesome things that are CC social institutions (Winter-Fest, skiing, Lake Powell, block break trips) are very heavily dependent on whether or not you have the funds to participate." Time and time again working class students mention feeling excluded from social events at CC due to money, especially block breaks. The written responses reflect an obvious inequality at CC; working class students are inevitably left out of some of the common social activities, such as skiing on the weekends, because they do not have the funds for these extra luxuries like the majority of CC students have. However, this disparity does not just affect block break, but continues to produce more hidden inequalities. Not participating

in these activities offers an explanation as to why minority FG students feel less comfortable, adequate, and included on campus. Given this analysis, one would expect to find low levels of social belonging amongst white FG students as well, but there are no significant differences between this group and NFG students.

As Graph V shows, 90% of white FG students in this study are confident they belong at CC. So it seems that although working class students cannot participate in some of the pricey CC adventures, more white FG students are still able to relate and get along with middle to upper class students than minority FG students. This is shown through the 97.6% of all CC students that are confident in their ability to get along with students of other backgrounds. Due to the proclaimed open-minded CC body, it seems as though students of all social classes are able to inter-mingle and navigate the social scene successfully together. This explains why white FG students have similar ratings of social belonging on campus (comfort, adequacy, inclusion, sense of belonging) compared to NFG students. As one white FG students states, "I come from a broken family with parents both on welfare. However, I tend to admire not in envy of other students at CC but, rather, in respect. I feel that there are opportunities at CC that have helped me overcome issues due to socioeconomic status and do not feel like I should be considered needy by any measure of socioeconomics".

In stark contrast, only 54.3% of minority FG students are confident they belong at CC, feeling more uncomfortable, inadequate, and excluded on the CC campus than their peers. Just like we cannot fully attribute this problem to being a FG student, we cannot attribute it to being a student of color either. Like white FG students, minority NFG students do not report significantly lower levels of social belonging than their white counterparts. The only noteworthy difference is the high percentage of minority NFG students that report not being confident they belong in comparison to their non-minority peers. Even so, 22.45% more minority FG students do not feel confident they belong compared to minority NFG students. Therefore, the low level of social belonging coming from minority FG students appears to be a result of the "double disadvantaged" status.

Although CC students are open to diversity, there seems to be a "doubly disadvantaged" challenge on campus where FG students of color have a hard forging a connection with the social scene on campus. For example, one minority FG student feels his cultural capital has had, "a pretty bad impact in that it's very alienating to be around so many wealthy people unaware of their privilege. They're nice people but we don't relate well usually." This statement implies a low level of social integration, but the disparity extends further than that. Research suggests that when minority students at PWIs do not have strong connections to other students on campus, they have lower academic success rates (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Allen 1992; Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis et al. 2005; Cerezo and Chang 2013). Although students of color may be able to overcome feelings of not belonging and working class students may be able to overcome barriers with classroom engagement, it seems as though FG students of color are having a difficult time overcoming the "doubly disadvantaged challenge" present on the CC campus.

Using Lareau's (2011) framework on social class implications in education and previous research on minority students' experiences at PWIs, we can create a basis for understanding the hidden challenges for underrepresented groups at Colorado College. Lareau (2011) shows that the ways in which working class students engage with the

education system differs from middle to upper class students due to differences in cultural capital. As stated previously, working class students engage with a sense of deference whereas middle to upper class students engage with a sense of entitlement (Lareau 2011). The result? Middle to upper class students can navigate the system in a way that benefits them whereas working class students cannot (Lareau 2011). As we can see with the results of this study, FG students are 3.34 times more likely to not be confident seeking help from a professor and 3.11 times more likely to not be confident speaking up in class, factors which can be linked to using a sense of deference when engaging in the classroom. Given Lareau's findings, this sense of deference leads to lower levels of academic success.

Regarding race, research on PWIs indicates that minority students drop out at higher rates and receive lower GPAs than their white counter parts (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis et al. 2005; Cerezo and Chang 2013). Likewise, these findings reveal that race does affect academic and social engagement. Therefore, despite scholars such as Lareau that do not consider race as a primary factor of cultural capital that influences educational experiences, it is clear that race does have implications and should be considered when discussing cultural capital and inequalities in education. In essence, class alone cannot explain all inequalities within the education system; race needs to be a part of the equation, too.

However, unlike social class disparities, the lack of academic success for minority students is not attributed to how one engages with the school, but rather is associated to a lack of belonging on campus. Research provides evidence that when minority students lack social integration in college they struggle more academically (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Allen 1992; Taylor and Olswang 1997; Denis et. al 2005; Cerezo and Chang 2013; Nora and Cabrera 1996). Causes that increase academic success include parental support, mentors on campus, relationships with faculty of the same race, minority groups, etc. If minority students do not have these types of relationships and support while in college, it is likely they will feel as though they do not belong, which will ultimately lead to lower levels of social integration and academic success (Cerezo and chang 2013; Nora and Cabrera 1996). We can see this pattern at CC, as minority students are 3.34 times more likely to not feel confident they belong on campus than white students.

In conclusion, social class creates barriers in terms of classroom engagement for working classes students and race creates barriers for finding support and connections on campus for minority students. When not overcome, these barriers translate into hidden inequalities within the academic and social realms. On the positive side, it seems as though working class students are able to overcome classroom engagement barriers and learn how to successfully navigate the system. Likewise, minority students are able to push passed feeling like they do not belong and find the necessary support for academic success and social integration. However, when FG students of color come to CC they may face the "doubly disadvantaged" challenge, which encompasses obstacles regarding both social class and race. These students must learn how to successfully engage in the classroom, in addition to overcoming a lack of support, connections, and a feeling of belonging on campus. Combined, these barriers can lead to poor academic performance coupled with low levels of social integration and sense of belonging.

This study illustrates a social and academic inequality for FG students of color at CC. As we seek to expand economic and racial diversity on campus, CC must be aware of the academic and social inequalities students of underrepresented groups face. In addition, CC must be ready to support the "doubly disadvantaged" and provide them with the resources and connections necessary to succeed. Resources to help with these hidden challenges can range from assigning faculty and/or student mentors to these students, to implementing successful classroom engagement strategies into the BRIDGE<sup>2</sup> program. Any support that offers tools to increase academic success and social cohesion will help foster an inclusive campus environment and create positive experiences for students of underrepresented groups, particularly "doubly disadvantaged" students.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The sample in this study does not fully reflect the nuanced composition of the CC student body, and in that regard, one has to be cautious in drawing out these results, particularly with white FG students (displayed high levels of academic and social engagement). Due to sample size discrepancies, a follow-up study with a greater number of students in each category would be useful for confirming the results. Nonetheless, this investigation conveys clear academic and social inequalities for minority FG students, which is a trend that should be the consideration for future research. In addition, further research on class, race, and cultural capital at CC should include measures that attempt to study relationships with professors, friend group dynamics (i.e. which groups have the most diverse friends?), academic experiences before CC (i.e. what pre-college experiences are impacting the results?), and support networks (i.e. who/what offers academic and social support to students?). Lastly, qualitative research needs to be done, such as, holding focus groups with white NFG students, minority NFG students, white FG students, and minority FG students to shed light on the data collected from this study.

Much research has been done on FG students or working class students or minority students on college campuses, but as this study shows, we must also focus our attention on working class minority students. These students will be affected differently at various universities, meaning it is important for all higher institutions to consider social and racial inequalities unique to their school, and to determine what challenges the "doubly disadvantaged" face and what ways campuses can best deal with these hidden challenges.

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 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The BRIDGE program is a two week program offered to incoming freshman that are FG, minority, and/or come from under-resourced high schools.

#### APPENDIX A

# Socio-Economics at Colorado College

Kathleen Callahan Colorado College Department of Sociology (719) 389-6820 Kathleen.Callahan@coloraodocollege.edu Socio-Economics at Colorado College Online Consent Form You are invited to take part in a research survey about cultural capital and its affects on the Colorado College experience. Your participation will require approximately 3-5 minutes and is completed online at your computer. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this survey. By taking this survey, you will be entered to win a \$15 gift card to Wooglins. In addition, the results of this survey will aim to help Colorado College effectively diversify the student body. Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to be in the study you can withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with anyone at Colorado College. Your responses will be completely anonymous and the results will be kept strictly confidential. All digital data will be stored in secure computer files. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include your name or any other individual information by which you could be identified. If you have questions or want a copy or summary of this study's results, you can contact the researcher at the email address above. If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, contact the Colorado College Institutional Research Board chair, Amanda Udis-Kessler at 719-227-8177 or audiskessler@coloradocollege.edu. Please feel free to print a copy of this consent page to keep for your records. Continue with this survey only if you are a current Colorado College student. Continuing indicates your consent to participate in this survey.

Wł	nat gender do you most identify with?
	Male Female
Wł	nich race/ethnicity do you most identify with?
O	American Indian or Alaska Native
O	Asian
O	Black or African American
O	Hispanic or Latino
O	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
O	White
O	Multi-racial
O	Other
Wł	nat year are you?
O	First year
O	Sophomore
O	Junior

O Senior
What is your G.P.A?
<ul> <li>○ 3.75 to 4.0</li> <li>○ 3.5 to 3.74</li> <li>○ 3.25 to 3.49</li> <li>○ 3.0 to 3.24</li> <li>○ 2.75 to 2.99</li> <li>○ 2.50 to 2.74</li> <li>○ 2.25 to 2.49</li> <li>○ 2.0 to 2.24</li> <li>○ Below 2.0</li> </ul>
Do you receive any financial aid?
<ul> <li>Yes, Need Based</li> <li>Yes, Merit Based</li> <li>Yes, Need and Merit Based</li> <li>No</li> </ul>
If you are receiving need-based financial aid, approximately what percentage of your total tuition and room/board is covered by financial aid? (need based only, does not include loans). (0= receive no financial aid, 100= full coverage).
% of tuition that is need-based Financial Aid
From what type of high school did you graduate?
<ul> <li>Public school</li> <li>Private school</li> <li>Boarding school</li> <li>Charter school</li> <li>Other:</li></ul>
What is the highest level of education attained by parent 1?
<ul> <li>O Did not finish high school</li> <li>O High school diploma or GED</li> <li>O Some college but no degree</li> <li>O Associate's degree (A.A, A.S, etc.)</li> <li>O Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S., etc.)</li> <li>O Master's degree (M.A., M.S., etc.)</li> <li>O Doctoral or professional degree (Ph.D., J.D., M.D., etc.)</li> </ul>

What is the highest level of education attained by parent 2? (if applicable; otherwise skip)

9	Did not finish high school
O	High school diploma or GED
O	Some college but no degree
O	Associate's degree (A.A., A.S., etc.)
	Bachelor's degree (B.A.,B.S., etc)
O	Master's degree (M.A., M.S., etc.)
0	Doctoral or professional degree (Ph.D., J.D., M.D., etc.)
Но	w would you categorize the economic status of your family?
O	Working class
	Middle class
O	Upper-middle class
O	Upper class
То	the best of your knowledge, what is your family's household income?
O	29,999 or less
O	30,000 to 49,999
O	50,000 to 74,999
O	75,000-99,999
O	100,000-250,000
O	250,000-500,000
O	500,000 or above
you	me scholars have identified distinct styles for child-rearing practices. Recognizing that a may have experienced elements of both, which definition best exemplifies how your ent(s) raised you?
0	Parent(s) actively participated in your education (e.g., communicating/intervening with teachers, principals, counselors, etc.); encouraged you to participate in organized activities; encouraged you to discuss and negotiate with parent and other adult/authority figures.
O	Parent(s) saw your education as a responsibility of the school (i.e., did not intervene); encouraged unstructured free time in lieu of organized activities; used directives with you.
O 	How involved were your parent(s) during the college application process? (0=not involved, 10= extremely involved)  Parental Involvement

If you had a problem at school (elementary through high school) how likely was it that your parent(s) would intervene? (0= never intervene, 10= always intervene).

# \_\_\_\_ Parental Intervention

Rate how confident you feel at CC with each of the following

	Not at all confident	Not very confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident
Academic knowledge	•	•	•	0
Intelligence	<b>O</b>	•	<b>O</b>	O
Belong at CC	<b>O</b>	•	<b>O</b>	O .
Seeking help from a professor outside of class	0	•	0	0
Speaking up in class	•	•	•	•
Assuming leadership positions	0	0	•	0
Managing time effectively	•	•	•	•
Working on group projects with students	•	•	•	0
Ability to get along with people of different backgrounds	•	•	•	•

Do you feel that you have taken advantage of the following things CC has to offer?

	Yes	No
Block Breaks	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
Field Trips	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
International Travel	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
Volunteer opportunities	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
Clubs/Extra-curricular activities	•	•
Social events	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
Lectures	<b>O</b>	<b>O</b>
Resource centers on campus (i.e. writing center, QRC, etc.)	0	0

How have you felt this past year at Colorado College? (ex: 0 = very uncomfortable, 10 = very comfortable)
Uncomfortable/Comfortable Excluded/Included Inadequate/Adequate Ignorant/Knowledgeable Inferior/Superior
In what ways (if any) do you feel your socio-economic background has impacted your overall (academic and social) experience at Colorado College?
If you are interested in participating in a follow-up interview, please write your email address below. (Your answers will not be attached to your e-mail; your responses are completely anonymous!)
If you would like a chance to win \$15 to Wooglins, enter your e-mail address below (Your answers will not be attached to your e-mail; your responses are completely anonymous!)
Thank you for completing this survey!!

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