

DEMYSTIFYING DIVERSITY:
AN ATTEMPT TO UNPACK CULTURAL SCRIPTS AT COLORADO COLLEGE

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Annie Malecek
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On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'A' followed by a series of connected, fluid strokes that suggest the letters 'M' and 'W'.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the parents, who have given me the world;

To the professors, who have given me tools to (attempt to) understand it;

And to the woman (the illustrious, Kathy Giuffre),

who encouraged me to find beauty in it.

Thank you.

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to explore issues of social inclusivity (and exclusivity) at Colorado College, as diversity related issues prove to be problematic for universities across the nation. In this specific study, I examined how structural factors (socioeconomic status, race, and numerical representation) influence campus belonging, as I conducted a correspondence analysis on social clique formation at CC. In doing so, I ultimately found that the existing structures/cultural scripts that construct CC reality greatly inhibit students of color from establishing membership on campus, as social belonging and particularity is privilege reserved for the elite (the white). Campus inequality thus lies within this distinction, as (rich) whites are allowed to become embodied performers of the CC brand, while (poor) students of color are cast as the sole performers of CC “diversity” and campus difference.

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The push for diversity and equity on the Colorado College campus is of no surprise, as diversity has become a new measure of institutional quality within higher education, not only marking universities as progressive, but more importantly, as prestigious (Stevens 2009:143). Colorado College functions within this greater movement, as CC claims to value “*all* persons and seeks to learn from their diverse experiences and perspectives” (Colorado College 2015). CC is thus committed to creating “a more diverse and inclusive campus,” as such rhetoric undoubtedly reifies its mission as a liberal arts institution (Colorado College 2015). In fact, the CC website indicates that diversity has *always* been an institutional value, for “[f]rom the moment of its earliest inception [1874], Colorado College was intended to be a coeducational institution, ‘open to both sexes and all races’” (Colorado College 2015). But, while CC may have indeed been (prematurely) cognizant of such issues (preceding the Civil Rights Movement by nearly a century), one must begin to question the validity of such a claim, for diversity in numbers may not necessarily correlate with a true appreciation *of* diverse identities.

This can be seen within my study of Colorado College culture, as sixty two percent of the CC student body strongly agreed with the statement, “CC is *not* diverse.” Of these respondents, it was the minority students who felt that it was their duty to change this reality, as seventy three percent of students of color (as compared to nine percent of whites) strongly agreed with the statement, “I feel like I was admitted to CC to bring ‘diversity’ to campus.” These findings are therefore extremely profound, for it is not just that students do not perceive CC to be diverse, but more importantly, that a small population of students feel that it is their responsibility to bring such difference to campus, as diversity appears to be linked to color of one’s skin. Therefore, if CC truly

wants to create more inclusive environment, one must first analyze *who* Colorado College is actually for, as I will argue that race and socioeconomic status influence students' ability to navigate the scripted CC brand. The restructuring of campus values thus requires a much more nuanced approach to campus culture, for systemic change cannot be achieved solely through the modification of the Colorado College website.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

However, before unpacking the structural complexities of CC inclusion, it is first important to contextualize this research within a greater discussion, for Colorado College must be seen as a microcosm of U.S. society. Within this framework, my study is not only informed by social theory but also history (and prior studies), as the construction of identity is undoubtedly influenced by a greater socio-historical context. Thus, in using prior literature on social mobility, I will outline how structural processes inform campus belonging, as cultural distinction necessarily operates as a subversive form of (social) subordination.

Historical Framework

While the current push for “diversity” undoubtedly characterizes higher education today, such dedication to heterogeneity was not always a serious concern, for it wasn't until well after World War II that the education system truly began to undergo modernist revisions (Brown 2002:1062; Stevens 2009:146). Within this context, *Brown v. Board of Education* can be seen as the nation's first attempt at such social restructuring, for this landmark decision precipitated the racial integration of American public schools (Johnson & Strayhorn 2014:385). This was pivotal, for the U.S. not only began to dismantle state-

sponsored segregation, but also rhetoric surrounding “separate but equal,” as integration and equity became the new focus (Johnson & Strayhorn 2014:385).

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, coupled with the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, thus ushered in a greater degree of political and social consciousness, as the nation rededicated itself to creating a more just society (Anderson 2002:1197; Brown 2002:1064; Hurtado 1992:540). Within this context, the U.S. government sought to mobilize African Americans and women, as the education system (and labor force) began its “journey from academic apartheid to affirmative action” (Brown 2002:1061). Thus, with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, underserved populations began to gain representation in the workplace and schools (Brown 2002:1064), as discrimination due to “race, creed, color, or national origin” was outlawed (Dobbin 2009:32).

But, as the political fervor of the Civil Rights Movement dwindled, perceived need for affirmative action also began to lose its credibility, as higher education has now begun to stress diversity of thought over “diversity in numbers” (Roberts and Smith 2002:190). Under such pluralism, the celebration of multiculturalism/difference thus takes precedence, as universities not only seek “to overcome past discrimination against persons of African origin” but also strive to welcome *all* groups, as diversity is no longer limited to the color of one’s skin (Brown 2002:1065). This new model of “excellence through diversity” (Brown 2002:1065) therefore seeks to increase access of historically underrepresented populations *while* improving the “campus climate” for the entire student body, as diversity is seen as “a resource for an enriched and engaged academic environment” (Iverson 2005:3).

But while this model is theoretically appealing, as colleges seek to unify its students, diversity related issues prove to be problematic for colleges across the country (Brown 2002:1061; Chavous 2005:239; Lewis 2012:270; McCabe 2007:1), as university culture has yet to be aligned with institutional goals (Roberts & Smith 2002:189). The basic character of American higher education thus remains exclusionary, as “students of color remain relative newcomers on campuses initially built to serve Anglo-Americans” (Stevens 2009:142). Within this framework, the push for pluralized diversity is problematic, as student particularity takes presidency over student inequity (Berrey 2011:574; Michaels 2006:89). Thus, while the inclusivity of this definition should be commended, “the promotion of diversity as beneficial to all students...reinscribes the race master status (of students of color), for “[a]dmitting minority students at tokenism rates for the purpose of exposing whites to people that they do not ordinarily encounter has lead to a new form a minstrelsy” (Bowen 2010:1242). Therefore, although universities may truly desire to create an inclusive campus, one must begin to question if such a pluralistic approach “diversity” is an effective way to address such systemic inequality, for a “definition which includes everything is in danger of meaning nothing at all” (Roberts & Smith 2002:197).

Theoretical Framework

However, before unpacking the irrefutable inequality within the education system, it is first important to understand how individuals construct meaning, for human life is necessarily characterized by the individual’s need to be recognized (Cooley 1992:94). According to Cooley, “every one...necessarily strives to communicate to others that part of his life which he is trying to unfold in himself” (1992:94). Within this framework,

human beings must be understood in terms of symbols, as a person will always desire “to produce in others...an internal, visible condition...of which expression is only the sign” (Cooley 1994:267-68). *Social life* can therefore be seen a representation of these signs, for it is within the internalization of such imagined impressions that the construction of a social reality (and thus, social self/“looking-glass self”) is made possible (Cooley 1992:119; Cooley 1994:226). Within this context, humans play an integral role in constructing their own reality, for the mind not only creates categories that make (social) recognition possible but also uses such categories in order to create meaning in everyday life.

The importance of this process is further unpacked within Berger and Luckmann’s discussion of social reality, as they posit that the institutionalization of habitualized actions creates conditions such that human individuation *and* unity is possible (2002:44). The construction of a background of routine will thus serve to stabilize individual and group relations, for “[e]ach action... [will no longer be seen as] a source of astonishment and potential danger to one another” (Berger & Luckmann 2002:44). The world therefore “attains firmness in consciousness,” as “[t]here we go again’ now becomes ‘[t]his is how things are done’” (Berger & Luckmann 2002:45). This is important, for it is only through the reification of objectivity that social worlds (norms/habitus) are established and thus transmittable to the next generation (Berger & Luckmann 2002:45; Bourdieu 1984:466). But, learning these rules can be difficult, for their original meanings have, all at once, become detached from their original creators (Berger & Luckmann 2002:47). Berger and Luckmann therefore argue that if such norms

are to persist, their meanings must be made into formulas that are not only legitimate but also replicable (2002:47).

Herbert Blumer's theories regarding symbolic interactionism are thus important in beginning to understand how humans use such formulas, as he argued that human beings use these "set conditions" (scripts) in order to interpret and navigate their life situations (2002:75). Blumer thus saw social action as being shaped by a greater process of interpretation, for "[s]ocial organization enters into action only to the extent to which it supplies a fixed set of symbols" (2002:75). These scripts therefore do not determine action rather provide convenience, for in using a repertoire of "well-worn scripts," one is ultimately able to negotiate common situations with a greater sense of ease (Enticott & Vanclay 2011:258). Scripts are, consequently, extremely important in establishing (individual and group) identity/membership, as they provide a social roadmap to not only better understand others, but perhaps more profoundly, oneself (Enticott & Vanclay 2011:260).

But while scripts, "even in the hands of unpracticed players, can come to life" (Goffman 2002:62), one's *fluency* in such cultural codes is important, for the details of these expressions and movements do not come from a script rather from the command of an idiom (Goffman 2002:63). There, therefore, must not only be congruency between appearance and manner, but also among its setting, "for such coherence represents an ideal type that provides us with a means" of constructing *and* limiting identity (Goffman 2002:55). One's status (social place) is hence not a material thing rather "a pattern of *appropriate* conduct," for a clumsy expression is no more acceptable than an expression that is considered to be wrong (Goffman 2002:64; Han 2011:260). Social life must

therefore be seen as a performance, for only those who can exemplify mastery of the prescribed social script will be given a special place within the “organized fantasies” of society (Goffman 2002:55).

But, while such mastery undoubtedly takes practice, Bourdieu argues that some people are more equipped to become better performers than others, as embodied cultural capital serves as a predisposed credit for the wealthy (1984:71). Inequality thus lies within this system of “precocious acquisition,” for the (legitimate) culture of previous generations functions as a sort of advance, distinguishing its inheritors by the *ease* of cultivation (Bourdieu 1984:71). Those with such cultural mastery are therefore not defined through the expression itself, rather through the effortless nature of its execution, for a “gentleman...should set about even the most difficult task with such detachment that it seems to cost him no effort” at all (Bourdieu 1984:71). Within this context, mere knowledge of such cultural scripts must be seen as insufficient, for social mobility is contingent upon a generational/historical process than transcends the individual experience...to master culture is thus “to master time” (Bourdieu 1984:71).

Bourdieu’s discussion of social stratification becomes even further complicated within Simmel’s analysis of group life, as he argues that while cultural fluency is undoubtedly important, true social equality is contingent upon one’s network positionality, for it is within the “rich diversity of others with whom we can *associate* that we are able to be our most individual selves” (Giuffre 2013:29). Human beings thus must be seen as operating within multiple social contexts, for one’s particularity is based on his/her “nexus of a unique set of circles” (Giuffre 2013:28).

For Simmel, individual life and group life thus coincide, for “a person is never merely a collective being, just as he is never merely an individual being” (1971:261). Thus, while group membership is undoubtedly important, Simmel argues that such membership is only meaningful under specific conditions, for the “narrower the circle to which we commit ourselves, the less freedom of individuality we possess... (however) if the circle in which we are active and in which our interests hold sway enlarges, there is more room in it for the development of our individuality” (Simmel 1971:257). Human beings are thus able to construct *meaningful* ties when they belong to a “narrow circle within the widest,” for the individual is all at once differentiated from the world, yet encompassed within it (Simmel 1971:262). Within this context, constructing particularity is of extreme importance, as Simmel argues that one’s personal fulfillment is ultimately contingent upon one’s ability to dip into different social worlds.

However, such cultural omnivorousness must be seen as a characteristic reserved for the elite, as there is a “historical trend toward greater tolerance of those holding different values” (Peterson & Kern 1996:905). Therefore, while snobbish exclusion *used* to be an effective marker of status (particularly when Bourdieu was writing), Peterson and Kern argue that such overt symbols of distinction have become antiquated (1996:906). Cultural omnivorousness (appreciation/respect for *all* cultures) has thus become the new measure of distinguished taste, as variety has become equated with social sacrality (Peterson & Kern 1996:904). Within this context, particularity cannot only be seen as fulfilling individuals but also as (socially) elevating them, as one’s ability to become mobile is contingent upon one’s ability to construct a *unique* identity.

Prior Research

The push for campus membership in higher education, however, does not come without its challenges, as recent studies suggest that the desegregation of schools does not necessarily lead to the *integration* of its students (Chavous 2005:239; Chavous et al. 2002:235; Hurtado & Carter 1997:325; Lewis 2012:271). Social scientists have thus begun to search for the causes of such segregation, as out-group ties (one's ability to dip into different social worlds) have proven to not only be important in influencing one's degree of social/cultural success but economic success as well (Granovetter 1973:1373; Lewis 2012:272). Social network integration *within* universities is therefore extremely important, as campus segregation structures student mobility within higher education and within (U.S.) society as a whole (Lewis 2012:271).

The prevalence of such social exclusion (especially within predominantly white institutions) can be seen in numerous studies, as blacks and Latinos overwhelmingly report feelings of academic and socio-cultural isolation (Carter & Hurtado 1997:339; Chavous et al. 2002:243; Lewis 2012:285; McCabe 2007:2). Social distance can thus be seen as defining the modern day college experience, as whites and minorities continue to form racially and socioeconomically homophilous groups (McCabe 2007:19). But while in-group preference is not necessarily a bad thing, as it helps foster group identity (Rytina & Morgan 1982:95; Simmel 1971:262), prior research suggests that the social conditions that structure in-group preference for whites is drastically different than the social conditions that structure in-group preference for minorities (Chavous 2005:251). This is significant, for in acknowledging that whites and ethnic minorities experience campus culture differently, one is able to unpack the complex historical and racial processes that

undoubtedly shape minorities' ability to navigate membership and belonging on college campuses (Chavous 2005:240).

McCabe explores one potential reason for minority in-group preference, as she finds that although explicit exclusion is rare, students of color often report feeling hyper-visible on predominantly white campuses (2007:2). In her study of Midwestern University, McCabe found that this heightened sense of otherness caused students of color to experience their racial identities more intensely (2007:1), as students worked overtime to combat negative stereotypes and to serve as a spokesperson for their racial/ethnic group (2007:10). Students of color thus reported a need to seek refuge from mainstream culture, as numerous students quoted a desire to “just be at home” (McCabe 2007:10). Blacks and Latinos therefore not only preferred in-group interactions, but more importantly, *needed* such interactions in order to create a space in which racial identity was less salient and “emotion work” was not required (McCabe 2007:10).

Carter and Hurtado found consistent results in their study of minority membership, as Latino students tended to report higher levels of “belonging” when they were able to create familiarity within an otherwise foreign environment (1997:338). Thus, in joining religious communities, Latino students were able to maintain a link to their past while also fostering a broader sense of cohesion and affiliation with the college itself (Carter & Hurtado 1997:338). This active search for a feeling of sameness can be seen as defining the minority experience, as the incongruence between one's home life and college life can become increasingly magnified when student identity (as structured by ethnicity, social class, etc.) appears to stand directly opposed to the norm (whiteness) (Chavous et al. 2002:236; Stuber 2005:9). Therefore, it is important to note that students

of color not only adapt to college differently but also experience college differently, as minorities are more likely to experience campus in race-coded (and undoubtedly, class-coded) way (Carter & Hurtado 1997:329; Stuber 2005:18).

Such findings thus support Chavous' (2005) study of inter-group contact, as students of color are often forced to navigate *involuntary* inter-group relations on predominantly white campuses (251). Thus, because underrepresented populations are more likely to interact with other groups (being that they are the statistical minority), Chavous found that they are also more likely to see value in such inter-group ties, as they have probably had white professors, worked on class projects with white peers, etc. (2005:252). For students of color, perceptions of group interdependence are therefore correlated with *meaningful* associations, as they are forced to activate out-group ties on a daily basis (Chavous 2005:253).

However, this inter-dependence/forced inter-group association is *not* characteristic of the white experience, as out-group ties are more likely to result from *voluntary* behavior (Chavous 2005:251). Thus, because whites are able to elect if and when they would like to interact with students of color, group inter-dependence is less likely to be seen as valuable, as out-group ties are not necessary in establishing community membership (Chavous 2005:253).

Inequity thus lies within this greater structural imbalance, for not all individuals have the numerical power (and/or positionality) to actively make such a choice. This is articulated in Rytina and Morgan's study of social relations (1982), as they argue that category size and group proportion undoubtedly influence one's ability to form (or not form) ties with other groups (89). Within this context, whites cannot only be seen as

culturally privileged but also as numerically privileged, for larger, denser network structures allow individuals to limit their affiliations to in-group ties (*or* expand their affiliations out-ward) (Rytina & Morgan 1982:111). This informal coordination of ties thus characterizes the experience of the numerical majority, for their group affiliation(s) are navigated with a more profound sense of effortlessness (Rytina & Morgan 1982:111).

Within this framework, network positionality can be seen as equally as important as one's understanding of cultural codes, for social mobility is informed by a multitude of complex processes. Thus, in order to truly understand social inclusion (and exclusion) at Colorado College, it is vital that one unpacks *how* students are organized, for I will argue that social mobility is not only structured by the cultural scripts that students use (enabling some students to be more culturally omnivorous than others) but also by the social worlds that they inhabit, for racism and classism is rooted in the very architecture of our institution.

METHODOLOGY

In order to conduct my research, I created an online survey (see Appendix A). This survey consisted of fourteen questions and asked students to not only indicate their understanding of CC norms but also to indicate how their (personal) experiences aligned with and/or differed from such norms. In this survey, I allowed students to define gender, race, and what it means to "hook-up," as such contentious terms are undoubtedly subjective.

In order to get an accurate representation of the entire CC student body, I distributed my survey in a purposive manner. It was thus not only important to reach a large number of students, but more importantly, a specific demographic of students, as

accurate racial (and socioeconomic) representation was extremely important in my study. Therefore, in order to reach whites *and* racial minorities, I posted the survey link onto each class' Facebook page (Class of 2016-Class of 2019) and distributed the survey through the Butler Center (Office of Diversity and Inclusion) Listserv. I also personally reached out to the student co-chairs of BSU (Black Student Union), ASU (Asian Student Union), and SOMOS ("We Are"/Club for Latino students), as I wanted to ensure that the survey reached ethnic minorities on campus. This was extremely important, for if I wanted to make claims about race relations on campus, it was vital that I at least received 25% minority student responses, since racial minorities constitute 24.8% of the student body.

Such purposive sampling was ultimately successful, as I received three hundred and eleven survey responses. Of these responses, 60% were from white respondents and 40% were from (racial) minority respondents. Therefore, although I received a marginal response rate from certain ethnic groups (i.e. Native Americans), the numerical composition of minority responses actually resembled the demographic breakdown of Colorado College, as Native Americans and blacks constitute an egregiously small portion of the student body. Such patterns can also be seen within the socioeconomic breakdown of student responses, as 85% of students reported that their parents had obtained a Bachelor's degree or higher. Thus, while this percentage may seem disproportionately high, it actually makes sense within the context of Colorado College, for only 37.5% of the student population receives need-based financial aid.

Student responses were relatively representative of each class, as freshman constituted 29% of the survey responses, sophomores 25%, juniors 17%, and seniors

29%. The majority of respondents also reported to have attended high school in the U.S., as domestic students constituted 95% of the survey responses. This makes sense, for the international population is only 6.4% of the student body. However, while my results could, for the most part, be applied to the greater CC campus, it is important to note that I received an overwhelming number of responses from women on campus. Therefore, my data is probably more indicative of the female experience at CC, as they constituted 74% of my total responses.

I collected my data through this survey, as I used student responses to conduct a correspondence analysis. Correspondence analysis is a multivariate, statistical technique that produces a two-dimensional map of respondents' tastes, values, preferences, dispositions, etc. (Giuffre 2013:191). Such maps thus depict the "relationships among the attributes that are shared (or not) between groups of actors" (Giuffre 2013:194), as similar types of responses are clustered close together, while those tastes/opinions, which seldom appear together, are far apart (191).

In my study, a correspondence analysis thus shows a map of the various cultures and subcultures that are constructed through such groupings, as CC students are more likely to associate with those who have similar values, experiences, and perceptions of campus norms. Such maps, thus, provide incredible insight into student positionality, for (common) group attributes can be seen as constructing group reality. This was of particular importance in my study, as I could not only unpack the values and kinds of people that occupied such social spaces, but more importantly, analyze the relationship between each clique, as physical distance (on the map) represents social distance on campus.

However, while each point on the map correlates with a (coded) survey response, interpreting how the points are structured requires a more nuanced understanding of the map's social context, for the meaning of each axis is arbitrary (Giuffre 2013:193). I was thus responsible for labeling such axes, as I was able to pinpoint the underlying variables that drive social organization at CC (Giuffre 2013:193). My first three maps can be seen as being structured by economic capital and campus sacrality (as rooted in Durkheim's understanding of the sacred/profane¹), as responses were clustered according to the highest education level attained by each student's parent(s). The following maps (four through eight) are structured in a similar manner, except that race (operating on a scale from "Blackness" to "Whiteness") now structures the x-axis. The axes/structure of each map will be further explained in my analysis, as each figure necessarily highlights a different social process. Thus, in using such maps as a framework for analysis, I will not only unpack the exclusionary nature of the CC brand but also the exclusionary nature of more subversive structures, as socioeconomic status, race, and numerical representation undoubtedly shape student mobility.

ANALYSIS

Socioeconomic Structuration

In Figure 1, economic capital can be seen as structuring campus reality, as CC cliques are clustered according to the highest level of education attained by each student's parent(s). This map thus depicts how group values and opinions are structured

¹ Durkheim understood religion to be a system of values and practices relative to sacred things (totems) (Durkheim 2002). Within this framework, the sacred represented the interests of the group (embodied/coveted group symbols), where as, the profane represented the grotesque/mundane (Durkheim 2002). I thus applied this binary within my analysis, as I understood campus belonging to operate on such a spectrum: campus (cultural) sacrality on one end and campus profanity on the other.

by economic capital, as student social realities have been organized accordingly². Whites thus occupy the largest social sphere, as they are not only most wealthy but also the most sacred. Minorities (occupying much smaller social spaces) can be seen as being clustered *around* whites, as they tend to be less affluent. Within this context, Latinos can be seen as being the most socially displaced, for they have the least economic capital (their parents being the least likely to have finished high school). Native Americans and blacks must also be seen as displaced, for they too have low levels of economic capital (their parents being least likely to have gone to college). Asians and students of mixed race, on the other hand, are the socially closest to whites (functioning as the cultural “hangers’ on”), as they tend to have (relatively) more economic capital.

However, regardless of such distinctions, minority students, as a whole, must necessarily be understood as being socially othered, as social distance can be seen as characterizing their campus realities. Such findings are thus consistent with prior research (Michaels 2006:93), as access to higher education is not only structured by one’s ability to pay tuition but more importantly by one’s ability to pay for the culture of the school. Within this context, the problem is not just that students of color (Latinos, blacks, and Native Americans) tend to be poor, but that the perceived norms/*valued* practices on campus require that students be rich. Social distance/discrimination on campus must therefore be re-framed as a greater structural issue, for the cultural scripts that students are *required* to use, not only work to recapitulate the domination of rich whites, but more profoundly, the subordination of poor minority students.

² In order to do this, I input student responses into a matrix, separating survey data by respondent’s socioeconomic status (measured as parents’ educational attainment: less than high school, high school, bachelor’s degree, or master’s degree).

Within this context, student navigation of such cultural practices must be analyzed, for socioeconomic status cannot only be seen as structuring student clique formation but also student block breaks. This is important, for one's ability to navigate the perceived norm is not solely contingent upon personal preference, as monetary capital structures student behavior, and more importantly, student mobility. This is most explicitly addressed in Figure 2, for those with high levels of economic capital (whites) are not only able to spend block break off-campus (perceived norm as highlighted in yellow), but more importantly, spend such time engaging in outdoor activities (perceived norm as highlighted in yellow). This contrasts with students with lower levels of economic capital (Asians and students of mixed ethnicity), as these students indicated that they spent block break indoors/on campus. This distinction is important, for the perceived norm must not only be understood as coveted but also costly, for even the more economically equipped minorities (Asians and students of mixed race) are unable to afford the distinguished lifestyle of the CC brand.

Such sacred activities (drinking/doing drugs, camping, etc.) are thus shaped by much more than personal preference, for

[t]he specific effect of the taste for necessity, which never ceases to act...is most clearly seen when it is, in a sense, operating out of phase, having survived the disappearance of the conditions which produced it (Bourdieu 1984:374)

How students spend their block break therefore matters, for students are not only investing in an experience, but more profoundly, in one's social capital. This is important, for while (poor) students may think it practical to spend block break *on* campus (for one could potentially save money), in doing so, they not only sacrifice

campus sacrality but more importantly campus mobility. Within this context, disregard for the CC norm can be extremely risky, for social surveillance is not limited to the physical confines of the Colorado College campus. Structural inequity thus lies in the fact that “[t]aste is almost always the product of economic conditions identical to those in which it functions,” for the most expensive activities are also the one’s that tend to be most valued (Bourdieu 1984:375).

Such social inequity can be further seen in Figure 3, for the amount of money that students spend on block break is largely contingent upon how much economic capital one actually has. This is significant, for even though the perceived norms (as highlighted in yellow) differ (some students thinking it typical for peers to spend less than one hundred dollars on block break, and others thinking it typical to spend more); one norm is considered to be more sacred than the other, for higher social credibility necessitates higher economic capital. This is thus extremely problematic, for even though “[h]aving a million does not in itself make one able to live like a millionaire,” the power of monetary distinction must not be overlooked, for students must first *have* money in order to know how to spend it (Bourdieu 1984:372). These findings thus reveal that CC culture is undoubtedly classist, for the most revered block break practices are reserved for the economically elite.

Racial Structuration

However, while CC culture is indeed classist, my findings also reveal that CC culture is explicitly racist, as a more profound picture of social displacement can be seen

when student reality is structured by race³. This is articulated in Figure 4, as whites can be seen as constructing greater campus culture (similar to Figure 1). Minority students, on the other hand, occupy social spaces surrounding whites, for their group values tend to drastically differ from those of the greater population. Within this context, campus is not only segregated according to socioeconomic status but also race, as minorities and whites clearly occupy separate social spaces.

Such homophilous tendencies can thus be expected, for people are more likely to form ties with others who share similar values, backgrounds, etc. But while such (segregated) tendencies are not intrinsically bad, inequality lies within the social distance between minorities and whites, as students of color can be seen as being most excluded from campus culture. Such findings are thus consistent with prior studies on U.S. campus inclusion (and results found in Figure 1), as students of color (especially blacks and Latinos) often report feeling excluded from white campus culture (Carter & Hurtado 1997:339; Lewis 2012:285; McCabe 2007:19). Separate, thus, proves to not always be equal, as minorities are not just socially “distant” from campus culture, but arguably, excluded from it. However, while blacks and Latinos undoubtedly experience such exclusion, cultural *isolation* appears to characterize the Asian and Native American experience, as these two groups (especially Native Americans) are the most drastically othered from the greater CC population.

Social isolation is most egregious for Native Americans, as their values/opinions do not even appear to be represented on this map. Thus, even though Native Americans constitute an extremely small percentage of the CC student body, greater exclusionary

³ In order to do this, I created a separate matrix, organizing student responses according to respondent’s ethnicity.

processes must necessarily be unpacked, for within the context of this map, it would appear that this group does not even seem to exist. Native Americans are thus, all at once, stripped of their particularity and reduced to their demographic, for CC campus norms and practices do not even seem to apply to this population. Greater historical processes can thus be seen as constructing Native American reality at CC, for Colorado College can be reframed as the modern day Christopher Columbus, cultivating a culture that not only marks Native Americans as exotic, but more profoundly, as insignificant.

Within this context, historical processes can also be seen as structuring Asian social reality, for Asian students appear to occupy their own unique social space, excluded from not only minority (blacks and Latinos) membership, but most importantly, from white membership. This finding is thus of extreme importance, for while Asians are considered to be the “model minority,” they prove to occupy an exceptionally marginal space within CC, for while they may be well “assimilated” they are nowhere near included. Such otherness can thus be seen in Figure 4, as Asians appear to not only represent a form of hyper-whiteness, but also, a form of hyper-sacrality. Thus, in outperforming whites and in dedicating themselves to issues of social and political justice (perceiving it typical to be involved in the Butler Center/Political Issues), Asians not only distance themselves from the greater population but also from fellow students of color, carving out an inconceivable terrain of invisibility.

Numerical Structuration

But, while racial distinctions prove to be important in structuring student social reality, numerical distinctions must also be considered, for whites can be seen as occupying the largest social sphere and minorities the smallest (each social circle

representing the relative size of each groups' population). Whites can therefore be seen as inhabiting the largest social reality, as they are the statistical majority. Minority groups, on the other hand, occupy much smaller social spaces, as blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans are largely underrepresented on the Colorado College campus. This size differential thus matters within the context of group membership and student particularity, as Simmel argues, “[i]ndividuality in being and action generally increases to the degree that the social circle encompassing the individual expands” (1971:252). Within this context, humans can be seen as most fulfilled (particular/unique) when the social circle that they occupy is larger, as individuals are able to posit their particularity in multiple ways.

Such gregariousness can be seen within the white social sphere, as students are involved in a multitude of extracurricular activities (see Appendix B for codes). Such conditions could thus be potentially fulfilling (according to Simmel), as white students have the *option* to dip into different social worlds. Group membership therefore becomes more multiplex, as white students are more likely to participate in intramural sports, spend time outdoors, and volunteer through Collaborative for Community Engagement (CCE). Such omnivorousness thus not only marks whites as more unique but also as more socially sacred, as they are able to explore a *variety* of interests (Kern & Peterson 1996:905).

However, such diverse campus engagement does not characterize minority membership, as students of color are less likely to participate in the greater (white) campus culture. This can be seen in Figure 5, as blacks are unable to position themselves in truly a particular way. Their social reality is thus characterized by a small, dense group

identity, as they tend to limit their campus involvement to Butler Center affiliated clubs. This is important, for even though blacks could *technically* participate in white campus culture, my findings indicate that they do *not*, as they often choose to join BSU (Black Student Union) over intramurals. Within this context, campus membership must necessarily be seen as being structured by more than individual choice, as race-based affiliations (Butler Center clubs) appear to be the *only* outlet for minorities.

This is problematic, for such limitations do not characterize the white experience, as these students are able to become *more* than their racial category. Whites' sense of belonging on campus is thus informed by other group affiliations, as student membership is correlated with personal interest. However, blacks (and minorities in general) appear to be limited to such racial representations, for involvement in BSU (and/or other race-based clubs) is not merely a hobby, rather a facet of one's ethnic identity. Inequity thus lies in this expected performance, as minorities are forced to represent his/her race...an option whites are not even presented with.

Such forced, race-coded enactment can be further articulated in Figure 6, as race proves to be a salient factor in minority students' social practices and perceptions of campus norms (as highlighted in yellow). This can be seen in black and Latino cultural navigation, as these groups indicated to have spent block break with and to have hooked-up with students of the same race. Such in-group affiliations are thus consistent with what they perceived to be as "typical" (as highlighted in yellow), as group action is aligned with (commonly understood) group norms. This is important, for students of color can be seen as using a more *complex* set of cultural scripts (than whites), as race is not only a more central component of their campus identity but also a more central component of

their campus experience (as blacks and Latinos tend to self-segregate within social contexts).

This finding thus supports Chavous' (2005) study of inter-group contact, as students of color are often *forced* to activate out-group ties within the classroom (251). Within this context, minorities can be seen as self-segregating in an effort to maintain group identity, for out-group ties characterize their greater campus experience (Chavous 2005:251). This finding is significant, for while in-group preference is not necessarily a bad thing, one must be critical of such social segregation when analyzed within the greater campus context, for race appears to be a less salient social factor for whites (and students of mixed race). It is therefore not only necessary to ask what structures in-group preference for blacks and Latinos, but more interestingly, what structures *out-group* preference for whites, as prior studies (Carter & Hurtado 1997; Chavous 2005; Lewis 2012) have shown that whites and minorities experience/navigate campus culture differently.

One potential reason for minority *in-group* (social) preference can be grounded in McCabe's (2007) study, as students of color often reported feeling hyper-visible on predominantly white campuses (2). Students of color thus tended to rely upon in-group ties for emotional support, as blacks and Latinos needed such networks in order to create a space in which race was less salient and emotional labor was not required in interactions (McCabe 2007:10). The black/Latino student experience at CC can thus be likened to the minority experience at Midwestern University, as students of color may turn to their race-based communities for emotional support and familiarity. It would therefore make sense as to why both groups would not only choose to spend time with

people of the same race but also hook-up with people of the same race, as such sameness is undoubtedly meaningful.

But, while this potential explanation does indeed make sense, it is only one component of the greater narrative, for group size must also be factored into network analysis. It is thus important to refer to Rytina and Morgan's (1982) study of intergroup relations, for the racial minority is most often the statistical minority. Within this framework, group density and population size must necessarily be considered, for it is not just that blacks and Latinos tend to self-segregate, rather that *small* populations of blacks and Latinos self-segregate, as racial minorities only comprise 24.8% of greater student body.

This is important, for if black and/or Latino students do choose to hook-up [or spend block break] with someone of a *difference* race, such out-group ties will have a magnified effect on their in-group relations, for "even slight changes in the 'weight' of the majority will produce extreme shifts in the position of the minority" (Rytina & Morgan 1982:95). Students of color may therefore experience harsh repercussions as a result of such out-group affiliations, for changes in a small group's density will create conditions such that, "any activities within the group, including deviant activities, will be more widely known and accessible to other group members" (Rytina & Morgan 1982:111). Group surveillance (and consequently, self-surveillance) can thus be seen as characterizing the minority experience, for social control over group sexuality and out-group affiliations have become inscribed in the architecture of the network itself (Foucault 1980:150). Within this context, enacting perceived group norms is of utmost importance for blacks and Latinos, for in deviating from these social scripts, one not only

risks weakening group membership, but more importantly, risks losing it all together. Such extreme social risk can be seen most explicitly in the following scenario, as I will use Rytina and Morgan’s study of inter-group associations (1982) to unpack how CC minority identity cannot only be maintained, but more profoundly, destroyed.

Table 1. In-group and out-group tie percentages with complete segregation

	Minority	Non-Minority	
Minority	100%	0%	=100%
Non-Minority	0%	100%	=100%

To begin, let’s suppose that CC consists of 2,000 students. Of these students, twenty percent are (ethnic) Minorities and eighty percent are Non-Minorities⁴. Within this example, all relations can be seen as operating within this binary, as members of each “population make choices that lie between these two extremes” (Giuffre 2013:85). Thus, while ties at CC are undoubtedly more complex, for the sake of this scenario, let us assume that all in-group and out-group affiliations function accordingly, as the percentage of in-group ties will function as a proxy for saturation (Giuffre 2013:85).

In Table 1, Minorities and Non-Minorities can thus be seen as completely self-segregating, as there are no out-group affiliations. Within this context, one hundred percent of Minority ties will go to other Minorities, and one hundred percent of Non-Minority ties will go to other Non-Minorities. In-group identity is thus extremely strong, as both groups (Minority and Non-Minority) are highly saturated. This is important, for group density (saturation) is not only vital for group cohesion but also for group survival.

⁴ Within this context, I defined International Students as Non-Minority, as they only constitute 6.4% of the greater population.

Table 2. In-group and out-group tie percentages for Non-Minority members each having two Minority ties

	Minority	Non-Minority	
Minority	60%	40%	=100%
Non-Minority	10%	90%	=100%

This can be seen in Table 2, as strong group identity becomes compromised when Non-Minority members decide to make two Minority friends. Out-group ties thus severely weaken Minority membership, as in-group ties can be seen as dropping to sixty percent. Minority students can therefore be seen as “*absorbing*” the ties sent out by the Non-Minority, as out-group affiliation *numerically* threatens small group identity (Giuffre 2013:87). However, such out-group ties do not threaten Non-Minority group identity, as Minority friendships only constitute ten percent of their total affiliations. Inequity thus lies within this numerical imbalance, as Non-Minorities can *afford* to have out-group affiliations (to be omnivorous) (Peterson & Kern 1996:900). Minorities, on the other hand, *risk* in-group ties to have out-group ties, as forty percent of their total affiliations are sacrificed *for* the Non-Minority.

Table 3. In-group and out-group tie percentages for Non-Minority members each having five Minority ties

	Minority	Non-Minority	
Minority	0%	100%	=100%
Non-Minority	25%	75%	=100%

Such magnified (and ultimately, crippling) effects on Minority membership can be best articulated in Table 3, as five out-group friendships not only weaken Minority

affiliation but can be seen as destroying it all together. This is demonstrated in the table above, as Minorities are forced to sacrifice one hundred percent of their ties to the Non-Minority. However, because the Non-Minority group has more ties to give (as they are the numerical majority), such out-group affiliations barely impact their group cohesion, as seventy five percent of their ties remain inside of the group.

This finding is thus exceptionally profound, for the “the promotion of diversity as beneficial to all students” is not only incorrect, but more profoundly, immoral; for while out-group ties may enrich the white experience, they threaten Minority *existence*, as students of color compromise in-group ties in order to serve as tokens for whites. Within this framework, injustice lies within the very essence of a “liberal arts education,” for the cultural cultivation of whites can be seen as promoted at the expense of the ethnic identity. Thus, it is not just that students of color become tokens (Bowen 2010:1242), rather, that their existence becomes endangered, for in failing to enact one’s culture, one risks losing it all together.

Such colossal inequity can be further articulated within non-minority, everyday negotiations, as the white population is far less likely to *involuntarily* interact with minority students (Chavous 2005:253). Therefore, because there are disproportionately more whites than students of color, whites are able to elect if and when they would like to engage in such out-group interactions. Larger and looser network structures can therefore be seen as allowing greater individuation/freedom (Simmel 1971:257), as out-group ties do not numerically threaten white student affiliation to the CC (white) community. Inequality thus lies within such structural imbalance, as white social membership is *not* bound by group or network constraints. Within this context, whites are not only

numerically privileged but also socially privileged, as white navigation of CC norms is characterized by a greater sense of ease. Such ease is thus not only indicative of immense cultural capital (as white students are undoubtedly more omnivorous) but also of immense social capital, for such cultivated (numerical) privilege within higher education is undoubtedly informed by a greater generational process (Bourdieu 1984:71; Peterson & Kern 1996:900; Stuber 2005:10).

Cultural Structuration

Thus in understanding the significance of network structure itself, one is finally able to unpack the intricacies of the CC brand, for student navigation of such cultural codes is undoubtedly complex. Institutional norms therefore become most clear in Figure 7, as the “typical” CC student (as highlighted in yellow) is perceived to be involved in environmental issues while also tending to spend block breaks outdoors. Both blacks and whites can be seen as reifying this archetype, as race does not appear to hinder one’s understanding of these “sacred” CC norms. This is significant, for it not only confirms that the CC brand exists, but more importantly, that most students (regardless of peer reference group) are aware of the cultural codes in which it operates. Therefore, in identifying such scripts; one is ultimately able to understand how they are used, as I argue that CC cultural enactments are not only exclusionary, but more profoundly, discriminatory.

This can be seen within black students’ navigation of CC scripts, as they were most likely to be excluded from the perceived norms. Blacks therefore not only tended to stay in-doors over block breaks but also were also less likely to be involved in environmental issues. Thus, while blacks were aware of campus norms, race (and

socioeconomic status, as seen in Figures 1-3) often hindered minorities from enacting such cultural scripts, as whiteness (and wealth) can be seen as structuring campus sacrality. Within this context, mere knowledge of cultural scripts can be seen as insufficient, for cultural mastery is contingent upon the *performance* of these norms.

Thus, while Goffman may be correct in stating that scripts will come to life, “even in the hands of unpracticed players,” CC scripts do not even seem to reach the hands of minority students, as such norms are not only classist but also racist (2002:62). Inequity thus lies within the *embodied* performance of the CC brand, for the current scripts that students use distinguish those who belong from those who do *not* belong, as whites are cast as the actors and minority students as the audience. Within this context, one’s ability to perform the CC brand is thus not only informed by cultural knowledge but also by one’s aesthetic, for “the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste” (Bourdieu 1984:190). This undoubtedly has crippling effects, as minorities are not only excluded from such cultural practices, but more importantly, from the (perceived) greater population, as their cultural values and physical bodies stand directly opposed to what/*who* is “normal.”

Such inequality becomes further articulated in Figure 8, for while whites may be cast to enact CC norms, not *all* can be seen as performing them. Within this context, (white) students can be seen as choosing to deviate from what is expected/perceived to be “typical CC” behavior, as students reported to go off script when navigating block breaks and campus hook-ups. Thus, although the typical block break (as highlighted in yellow) is perceived to be spent with friends and involve drugs/alcohol, white students can be seen as opting out of such practices, choosing to spend time alone and to not use

substances over block break. This is significant, for whites are not only able to embody the script but also deviate from it, for such cultural transgressions are not enough threaten one's membership within the greater campus community. This explicit cultural deviation, thus, must *not* be confused with the cultural distance that characterizes the minority experience, for the ability to reject such scripts and engage in *other* activities is a privilege reserved for whites (Peterson & Kern 1996:904).

But, even though whites may choose to go off script, such deviant behavior is still structured by the power of the script itself, for “[t]he higher, cooler, and normative character of authority is more apt to leave room for criticism, even on the part of its followers” (Simmel 1971:100). Thus, although such practices appear to transcend the norm, such deviance must be seen as being structured by greater social factors, for not everyone chooses to engage in such potentially risky and/or isolating behavior. Thus, one can see that cultural deviance is not only structured by social risk but also but by social integration, as some acts of deviance prove to be more acceptable than others. This can be seen most clearly in hook-up practices, as whites tend to hook-up with their sexual partners more than once. This is significant, for even though this practice stands opposed to the “typical” one night stand, students risk very little in deviating from this script, for they are already well integrated within campus culture. Within this context, deviance is not only seen as tolerated but more importantly, glorified, for improvisation can be seen as more valuable than the act itself.

But not all acts of deviance are viewed with such prestigious regard, as demonstrated in one's choice to spend block break alone, for in failing to comply with this norm, one ultimately risks group centrality. High levels of social risk thus may lead

to low levels of campus integration, for not *all* acts of deviance are compatible with the codes set forth by the CC script. Such findings are thus important, for CC scripts not only work to isolate students of color, but whites as well, for cultural deviance does not dismantle existing scripts, rather reifies them. This finding thus echoes existing theories on cultural norms, for no matter how discredited they become, “scripts endure, both as cultural representations [*and*] as built into institutional structures and practices” (Molina 2014:7).

Within this context, it becomes increasingly difficult for CC students to truly change or abolish such scripts, for while they may understand “how things are done,” they had no part in constructing the world in which they live (Berger & Luckmann 2002:45). Such norms have thus already “attain[ed] a firmness in consciousness... [as the given social reality] can no longer be changed so readily” (Berger & Luckmann 2002:45). CC cultural scripts, must therefore necessarily be seen as operating beyond its appropriators, for its presence persists far beyond student graduation. This is exceptionally profound, for even though students may choose to deviate from such norms during their time at CC, the scripts that “once served to marginalize and disenfranchise one group can be revived and recycled to marginalize other groups,” as classist and racist cultural codes are inscribed in the very foundation of our institution (Molina 2014:7).

CONCLUSION

Summary

Therefore, in using my study as a framework for analysis, it is not surprising that *only* fifty five percent of minority students strongly agreed with the statement, “I feel like I belong at CC.” Such explicit feelings of social exclusion thus reify my findings, as

greater socio-historical processes undoubtedly structure campus belonging. Thus, it is not *just* that students of color “feel excluded” or “do not fit in,” rather that the structures and cultural scripts that construct CC reality were built *to* disenfranchise these students; for the organizational scaffolding, which sustains the CC “vision, people, networks, politics...traditions, rites, [and] heroes or heroines,” has remained largely unexamined, allowing for the systemic subordination of not only the poor, but more profoundly, the colored (Thomas 1991:18). Within this context, such structures must necessarily be re-examined, as socioeconomic status, race, and numerical representation have proven to not only influence how students navigate cultural scripts but also how students establish (or *fail* to establish) membership on the CC campus.

My research thus begins to unpack such structural complexities, as social distance can be seen as characterizing the minority experience. Socioeconomic status and race therefore structure such segregation, as whites not only prove to be the wealthiest but also the most socially sacred. Within this context, social entry into CC can be seen as being structured by more than one’s ability to pay tuition, for valued practices on campus not only require that students be rich but also white.

Such explicit, racial exclusion can be seen in campus engagement, as whites are far more likely to participate in coveted CC activities (i.e. intramural sports, collaborative for community engagement, etc.). Thus, while school sponsored clubs may appear to be the perfect place for whites and students of color to interact (as membership is *technically* open to everyone), my findings indicate that social segregation persists, as minorities tend to join Butler Center affiliated clubs over spending time outdoors. Therefore, while one could argue that this is merely due to a difference in student interests, my data indicates

otherwise, as such egregious social distance undoubtedly inhibits students of color from dipping into the greater (white) social sphere. Minorities are thus stripped of their particularity in ways that whites are *not* (as they are allowed to be culturally omnivorous), for the only script that reaches the hands of students of color, is one that requires them to perform their ethnicity. Inequality thus lies within this distinction, as whites are allowed to become embodied performers of the CC brand, while minorities are cast as the sole performers of “CC diversity” (of *difference*).

This discussion becomes even more complex within the context of numerical structuration, as minorities are largely underrepresented on the Colorado College campus. Thus, even if students of color were to activate out-group ties (i.e. participate in intramurals, spend block break with people of a different race, etc.), such affiliations would ultimately threaten in-group membership, for such changes would produce extreme shifts within the minority numerical composition. Within this context, students of color would ultimately need to sacrifice their ethnic identity in order to become included in campus culture, for social omnivorousness is a privilege reserved for the numerical majority (for whites).

Within this framework, unbounded *choice* appears to distinguish the privileged from the disenfranchised, as whites are not only able to activate out-group ties (as such affiliations have very little effect on in-group membership) but are more profoundly able to choose *when* and *if* such activation occurs, as whites are far less likely to (involuntarily) interact with students of color on a daily basis. White campus navigation is thus characterized by a profound sense of ease, for they have not only economic, racial, and numerical capital but cultural capital as well. Whites therefore have the ability to

embody *and* deviate from CC scripts, for such transgressions do not threaten their membership to the greater Colorado College campus. However, such acts of deviance must not be seen as dismantling CC norms, for student difference⁵ is only appreciated/tolerated when it operates *within* the confines of the CC brand...a brand that not only promotes the particularity of whites, but more importantly, the subordination of students of color.

Such findings are ultimately profound, for the cultural scripts that students use (and have *been* using for nearly century) are not only classist, but exceptionally, racist. Thus, while CC may have always been “open to both sexes and all races,” commitment to difference must not be equated with the appreciation of different identities, for the coveted CC brand was not constructed with students of color in mind (Colorado College 2015). Scripts are thus incredibly important, for they not only “contribute to the construction of world views...[but] also limit the extent to which a person might critique [such] ideas” (Roberts & Smith 2002:267), for

[t]he objective reality of institutions is not diminished if the individual does not understand their purpose or their mode of operation...[As a result, the individual] may experience large sectors of the social world as incomprehensible, perhaps oppressive in their opaqueness, but real nonetheless (Berger & Luckmann 2002:46).

Limitations

Thus, while I may have received a representative number of student responses, my study undoubtedly has shortcomings, as it is more indicative of the female experience at

⁵ Whites as deviant and minorities as “diverse”

CC. It is also important to acknowledge that my study is limited to Colorado College; as such conclusions cannot (and should not) be applied to universities across the nation. One must also account for human error, as I used survey data to construct two matrices (one structured by socioeconomic status and one by race). I therefore could have made a mathematical error when coding my data, as there were over three hundred survey responses.

However, beyond these shortcomings, it is also important to acknowledge my limitations as a researcher, for my lens is undoubtedly limited to my subjective experience. Within the context of my study, it is also important to acknowledge that while I wanted to incorporate diverse perspectives into my analysis, I was limited to a hyper-select body of literature (and more importantly, a time constraint). I therefore acknowledge that a predominantly *white* perspective informed my analysis, as I did not actively incorporate marginalized perspectives within my discussion. This was perhaps my greatest limitation, for I feel that I not only neglected to acknowledge such structural inequity but further silenced such voices.

Future Research

I hope that my research serves as a starting point for students to begin to question structural inequality on campus, as more research must necessarily be done. Within this context, it would be interesting to unpack the nuances of more complex CC scripts (i.e. opinions surrounding sexual assault on campus, hetero-normative scripting, etc.), as structural factors undoubtedly shape students' ability to navigate these issues as well.

Theoretical Implications

However, while my research can be seen as providing a foundation for future studies, it can also be seen as informing a greater theoretical debate, as modernity is characterized by the individual's need to reflect both differentiation (specialization) *and* unity (Cooley 1992:149). Therefore, while Simmel argues that humans are most fulfilled when they are particular (belonging to multiple groups) (Simmel 1971:257), one's ability to establish meaning and membership is undoubtedly more complex, for such individuation means nothing if humans have become too specialized to truly relate to one another. Within this context, the construction of difference for the sake of human particularity/uniqueness is innately flawed, for Cooley argues that, "[t]he narrow specialist is a bad specialist; and we shall learn that it is a mistake to produce him" (Cooley 1992:149).

Institutional Implications

Within the context of Colorado College, the push for student "diversity" can be seen as creating conditions for such *hyper*-specialization, as students of color are pigeonholed into becoming spokespeople of campus difference. Such racial casting cannot only be seen in minority club membership (as students of color often turn to race-based clubs for emotional support/a feeling of sameness) but also within the numerical composition of Colorado College, as minorities represent an atrociously small percentage of the larger student body. Within this framework, minorities are not only forced to become campus tokens, but more disgustingly, cultural commodities to market student "diversity;" for "[a]dmitting minority students at tokenism rates for the purpose of exposing whites to people that they do not ordinarily encounter has [not only] lead to a new form of minstrelsy" (Bowen 2010:1242), but a new form of campus-wide impotence, as students

of color have been *made* to be so egregiously othered (narrowly-specialized) that they can no longer see who is truly on their side.

It is thus of no surprise that we are still in the *beginning* phases of unpacking topics related to diversity, for students do not yet understand the systems that seek to oppress them. Conversations regarding campus inclusion thus tend to be led by students of color, as diversity related issues have become the defining feature of the minority campus experience. Within this context, it makes sense that such conversations are rooted in personal narratives of social exclusion, for students of color are first admitted to CC to bring diversity and then are provided very few resources to create a needed sense of *similarity*. Feelings of cultural and social isolation thus guide such conversations, as students of color undoubtedly need a space/forum to be heard.

However, such discussions become problematic when student marginality precedes legitimacy, for not all students are *qualified* to speak at diversity related discussions. Within this context, the very systems that seek to disenfranchise students also inhibit their ability to communicate with one another, as allies (and arguably fellow minorities: Asians, Latinos, etc.) are encouraged to be passive supporters instead of active contributors. Danger therefore lies within such strict surveillance, as conversations appear to be limited to students of color.

Personal Perspective

However, while Colorado College undoubtedly has a long way to go, I strongly believe that such structural change is possible, for human capacity to care (and to love) necessarily expands beyond the systems that seek to pit us against one another. Humans thus must be seen as having the potentiality to relate, for even systems acknowledge that

all individuals are somehow interconnected. I know that such optimism may cause some to cringe, but a part of me *needs* this proposition to be true, for my very existence, as Korean adoptee, is contingent upon the assumption that someone completely unrelated to me had the potentiality to accept me as I am (or at least had the courage to try).

I thus believe that in order to create systemic change, it is first necessary to acknowledge that all individuals act out of this seemingly irrational *need*, for everyone is struggling to survive within the conditions set forth by society. Thus, while inequality must necessarily be acknowledged, as students of color are egregiously marginalized, disenfranchised, and silenced on the Colorado College campus; I have the unfortunate gift of being able to see race-relations in a highly complex way, for the people that I love most in this world are also the ones who have been historically trained to disempower me. I therefore feel that it is my responsibility to serve as gatekeeper between both realities, for I see whites *and* fellow students of color trying to desperately to relate/understand each other without the necessary scripts to do so. Within this framework, it is thus not that minorities and whites aren't reaching out to one another, rather that their arms simply aren't long enough.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY

1. What is your projected graduation year from CC?
 - a. 2019
 - b. 2018
 - c. 2017
 - d. 2016
 - e. Other _____
2. What gender do you identify with?
 - a. _____
3. What race/ethnicity do you identify with?
 - a. _____
4. Did you go to high school in the U.S.?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
5. What's the highest level of education obtained by your parent/guardian (who has the highest educational level)?
 - a. Less than high school
 - b. High school
 - c. Bachelor's Degree
 - d. Master's/Professional/Doctoral Degree
6. According to your understanding of CC culture, what does the “**typical**” hook-up scenario look like? Please check all that apply.
 - a. Usually occurs when drunk
 - b. Usually occurs when sober
 - c. Is usually just a one-time thing
 - d. Is usually more than just a one-time thing
 - e. Usually involves two people of the same race
 - f. Usually involves two people of a different race
7. Have **you** hooked up with someone this academic year? If so, think about what your most recent hook-up experience looked like. Please check all that apply.
 - a. I have not hooked up with anyone this academic year
 - b. It was just a one-time thing
 - c. It was more than just a one-time thing
 - d. Occurred when drunk
 - e. Occurred when sober
 - f. Was with someone of the same race
 - g. Was with someone of a different race
8. According to your understanding of CC culture, what does the “**typical**” block break experience look like? Please check all that apply.
 - a. Involves an outdoor activity
 - b. Does not involve an outdoor activity
 - c. Requires \$100 or more (gas, plane tickets, food, etc.)
 - d. Does not require spending \$100 or more
 - e. Involves spending time with people of same race
 - f. Involves spending time with people of a different race

- g. Involves spending time with people of same social class
 - h. Involves spending time with people of a different social class
 - i. Involves drugs and/or alcohol
 - j. Does not involve drugs and/or alcohol
 - k. Involves spending time with friends
 - l. Involves spending time alone
 - m. Involves traveling off campus
 - n. Involves staying on campus
9. How did **you** spend first block break this academic year? Please check all that apply.
- a. I am a freshman and did a Priddy Trip
 - b. Engaged in an outdoor activity
 - c. Did not engage an outdoor activity
 - d. Spent time with people of the same race
 - e. Spent time with people of a different race
 - f. Spent time with people of the same social class
 - g. Spent time with people of a different social class
 - h. Spent \$100 or more (gas, plane tickets, food, etc.)
 - i. Spent less than \$100
 - j. Did drugs and/or drank alcohol
 - k. Did not do drugs and/or drink alcohol
 - l. Spent time with friends
 - m. Spent time alone
 - n. Was off campus
 - o. Was on campus
10. According to your understanding of campus culture, think about the things that the “**typical**” CC student is involved in outside of class? Please pick the TOP 3 activities that are most popular amongst CC students.
- a. Intramural sports
 - b. Work (on-campus job)
 - c. Work (off-campus job)
 - d. Environmental/Sustainability/Food issues
 - e. A Butler Center affiliated club (ASU, BSU, SOMOS, Equal, etc.)
 - f. Outdoor activities (hiking, mountain biking, camping, etc.)
 - g. Wellness (Mental and Physical health)
 - h. Greek Life
 - i. Collaborative for Community Engagement/Community Service
 - j. A collegiate level sport
 - k. Fine Arts/Crafts
 - l. Political issues
11. What are **you** involved in at CC? Please check all that apply.
- a. Intramural sports
 - b. Work (on-campus job)
 - c. Work (off-campus job)
 - d. Environmental/Sustainability/Food issues
 - e. A Butler Center affiliated club (ASU, BSU, SOMOS, Equal, etc.)

- f. Outdoor activities (hiking, mountain biking, camping, etc.)
 - g. Wellness (Mental and Physical health)
 - h. Greek Life
 - i. Collaborative for Community Engagement
 - j. A collegiate level sport
 - k. Fine Arts/Crafts
 - l. Political Issues
12. According to your understanding of CC culture, which values are most important Colorado College? Please rank.
- a. Economic diversity
 - b. Racial diversity
 - c. Geographic diversity
 - d. Diversity of thought/experience
 - e. Innovation/Entrepreneurship
 - f. Sustainability/Environment
 - g. Liberal arts education/critical thinking
13. Which values are most important to you? Please rank.
- a. Economic diversity
 - b. Racial diversity
 - c. Geographic diversity
 - d. Diversity of thought/experience
 - e. Innovation/Entrepreneurship
 - f. Sustainability/Environment
 - g. Liberal arts education/critical thinking
14. Thinking about your experience at CC, please rank the following statements 1-5, 1 being the least true and 5 being the most true.
- a. I feel I was admitted to CC to bring “diversity” to campus
 - b. I feel like I fit in very well with CC culture
 - c. In the classroom, I am pushed outside my comfort zone
 - d. In social settings, I am pushed outside my comfort zone
 - e. Most students at CC fit in/fit the brand
 - f. CC is not a diverse campus
 - g. I feel like I don’t have credibility within discussions of diversity due to my race
 - h. I came here for the campus culture
 - i. I came here for the block plan/my education
 - j. I feel like I belong at CC

APPENDIX B: SOCIAL MAP CODES

A1 -Freshman	AI -Block break was not outdoors
A2 -Sophomore	AJ -Block break with same race
A3 -Junior	AK -Block break with different race
A4 -Senior	AL -Block break was \$100 or more
B1 -Female	AM -Block break was less than \$100
B2 -Male	AN -Block break with same SES
B3 -Non-binary	AO -Block break with different SES
D1 -High school in states	AP -Block break included drugs/alcohol
D2 -High school abroad	AQ -Block break did not include drugs/alcohol
F -Hook-up drunk	AR -Block break with friends
G -Hook-up sober	AS -Block break alone
H -Hook-up one time	AT -Block break off campus
I -Hook-up more than once	AU -Block break on campus
J -Hook-up same race	AV -Intramural sports
K -Hook-up different race	AW -On campus job
L -Did not hook up block 1	AX -Off campus job
M -Hooked-up one time	AY -Environmental issues
N -Hooked-up more than one time	AZ -Butler center affiliated club
O -Hooked-up drunk	BA -Outdoor activities
P -Hooked-up sober	BB -Wellness
Q -Hooked-up same race	BC -Greek life
R -Hooked-up different race	BD -CCE
S -Block break involves an outdoor activity	BE -Collegiate sport
T -Block break is not outdoors	BF -Fine arts/crafts
U -Block break involves spending \$100 or more	BG -Political issues
V -Block break involves spending less than \$100	BH -Intramurals
W -Block break with same race	BI -On campus job
X -Block break with different race	BJ -Off campus job
Y -Block break with same SES	BK -Environmental issues
Z -Block break with different SES	BL -Butler center affiliated club
AA -Block break involves drugs/alcohol	BM -Outdoor activities
AB -Block break does not involve drugs/alcohol	BN -Wellness
AC -Block break with friends	BO -Greek Life
AD -Block break involves time alone	BP -CCE
AE -Block break off campus	BQ -Collegiate sport
AF -Block break on campus	BR -Fine art/crafts
AG -Participated in “priddy” trip	BS -Political Issues
AH -Block break involved an outdoor activity	

FIGURE 1: SOCIAL CLIQUES STRUCTURED BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

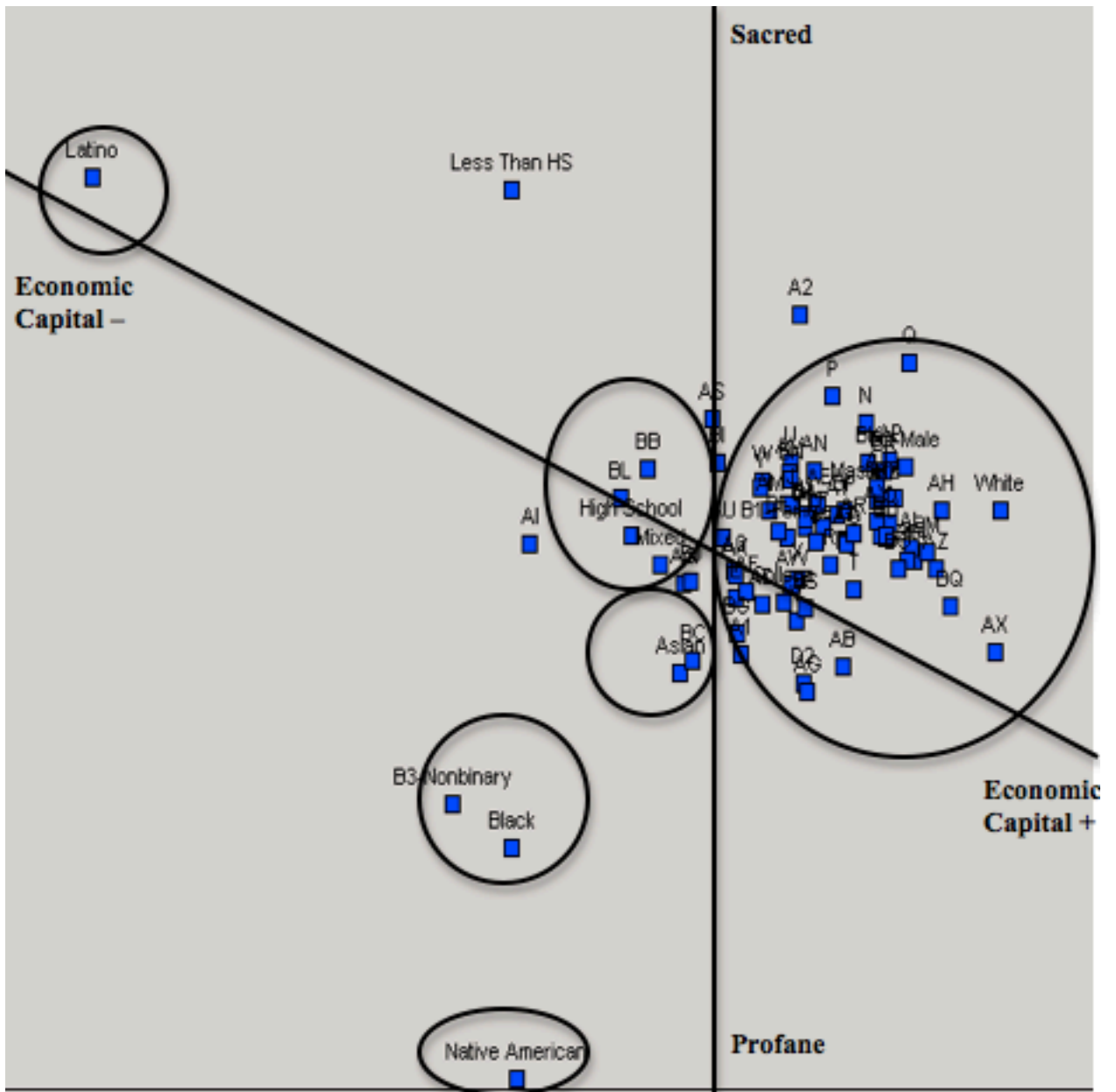


FIGURE 2: BLOCK BREAKS STRUCTURED BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

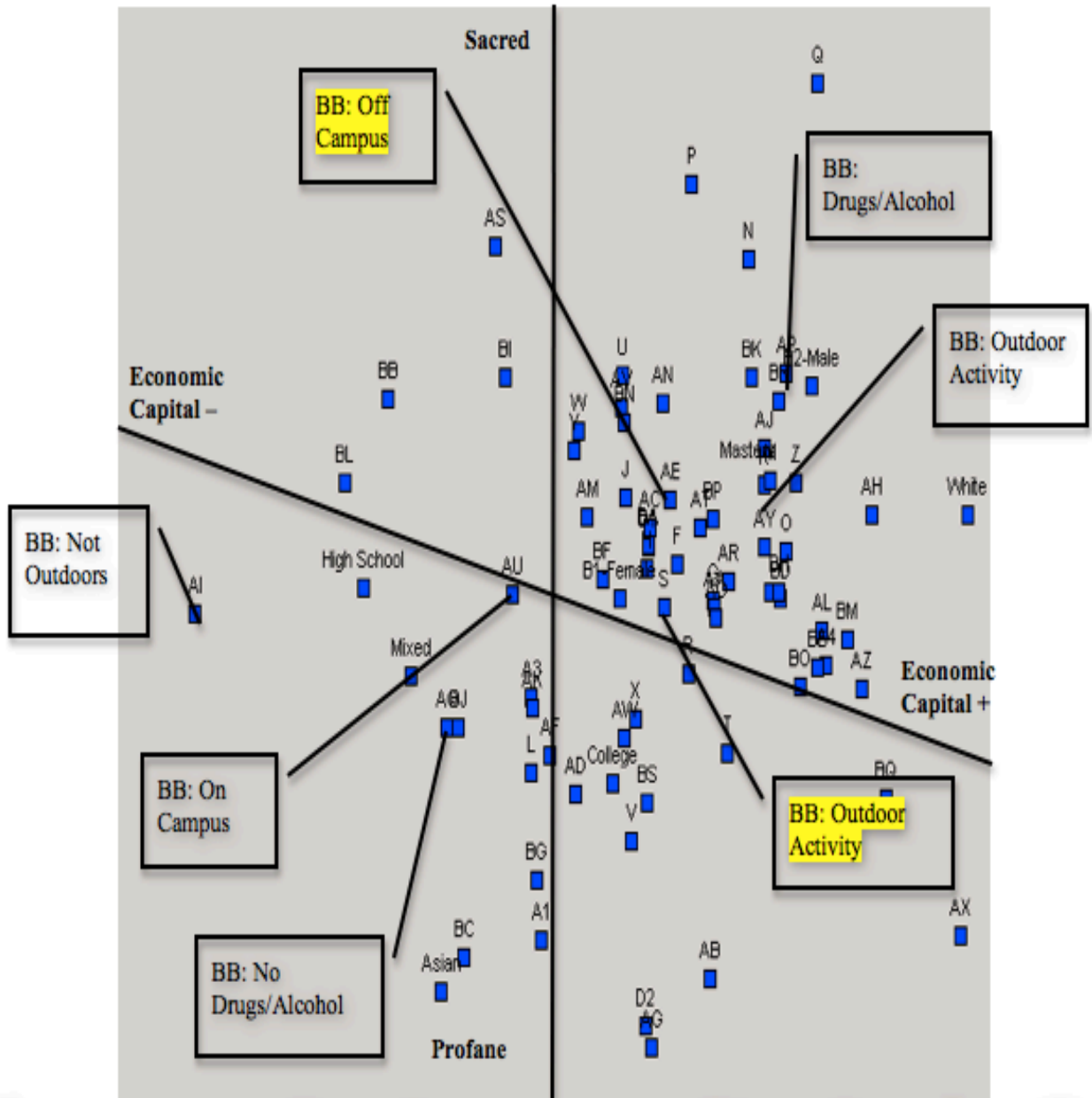


FIGURE 3: BLOCK BREAK COST STRUCTURED BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

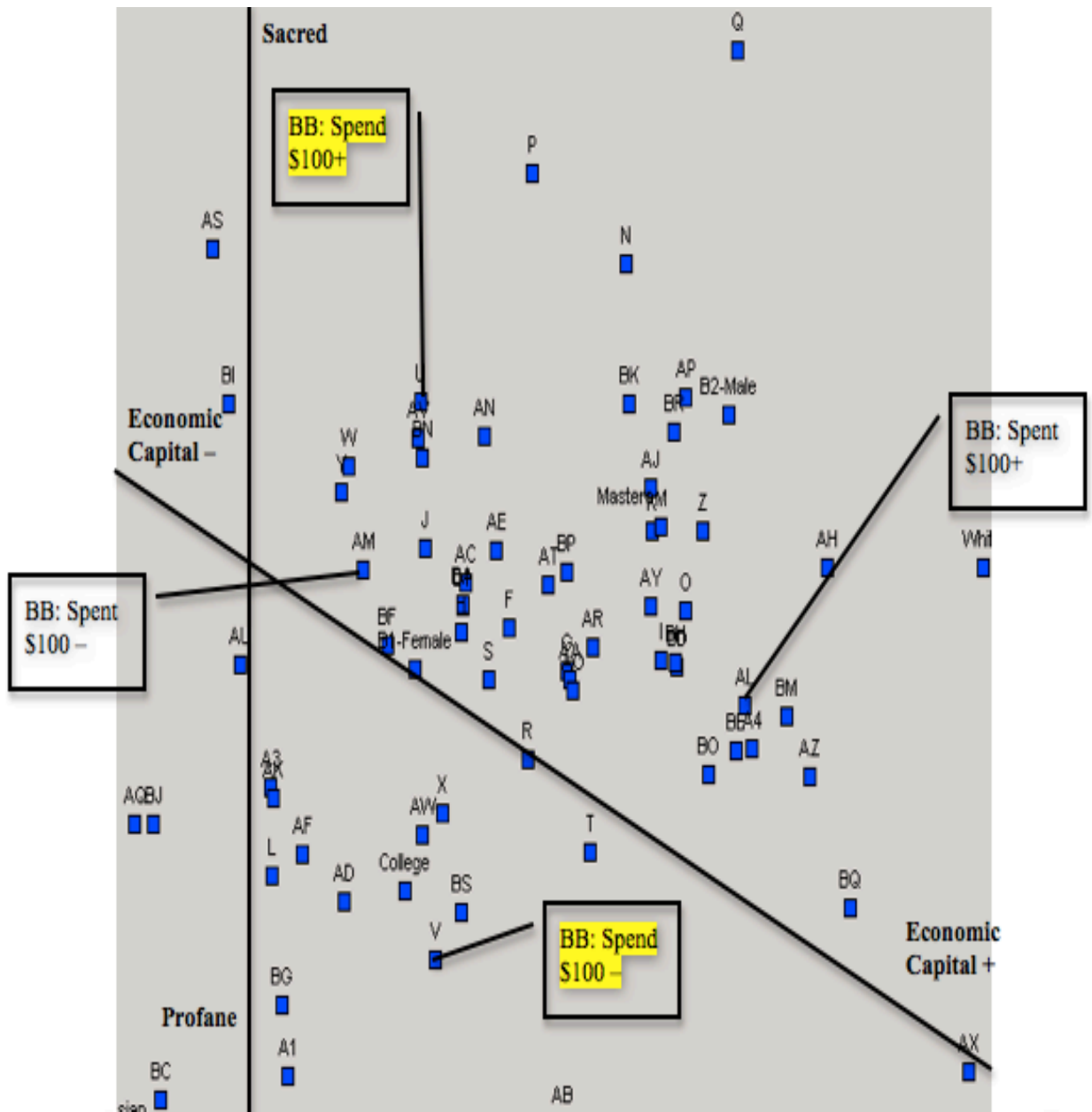


FIGURE 4: SOCIAL CLIQUES STRUCTURED BY RACE

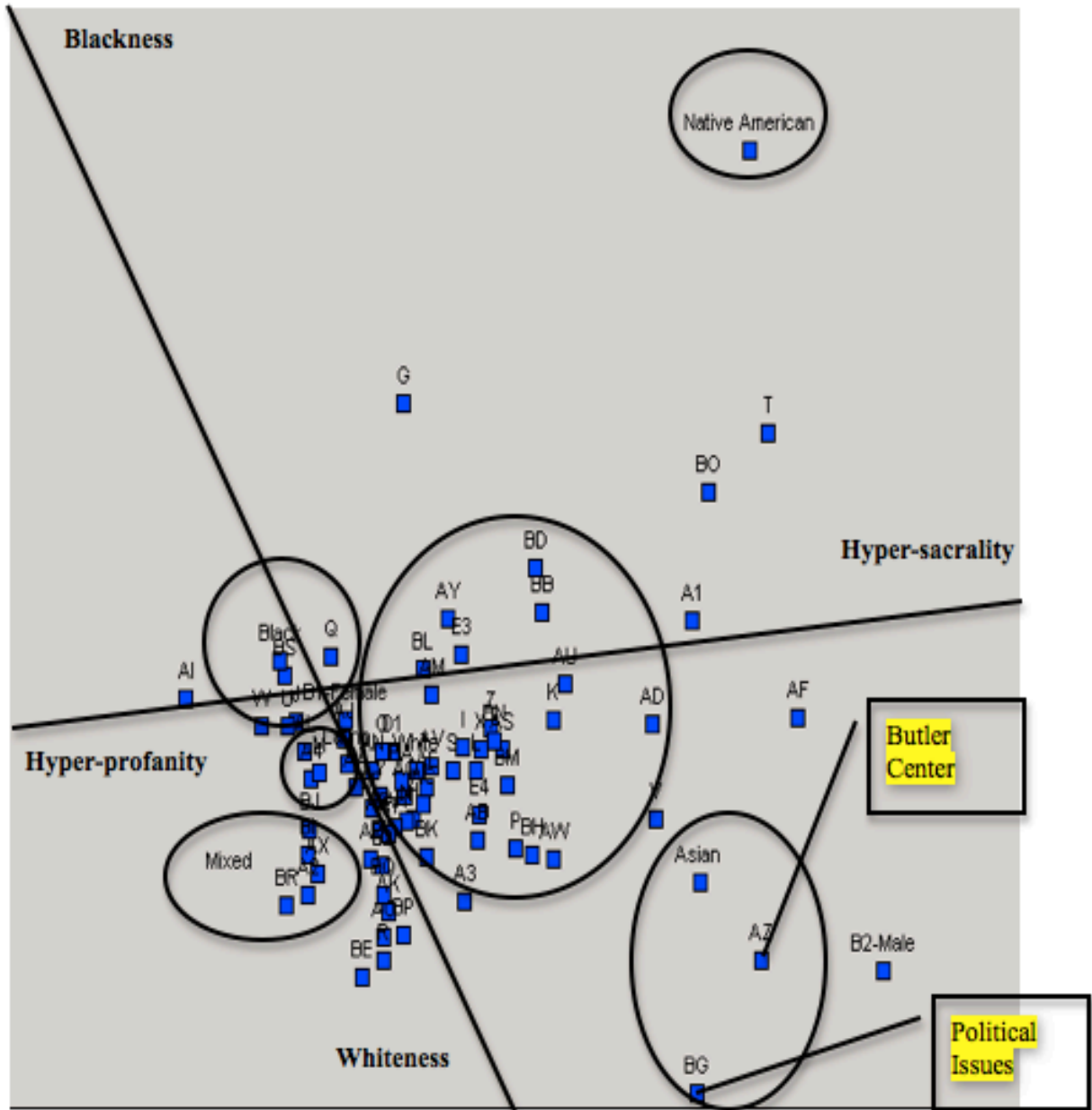


FIGURE 5: STUDENT PARTICULARITY STRUCTURED BY RACE

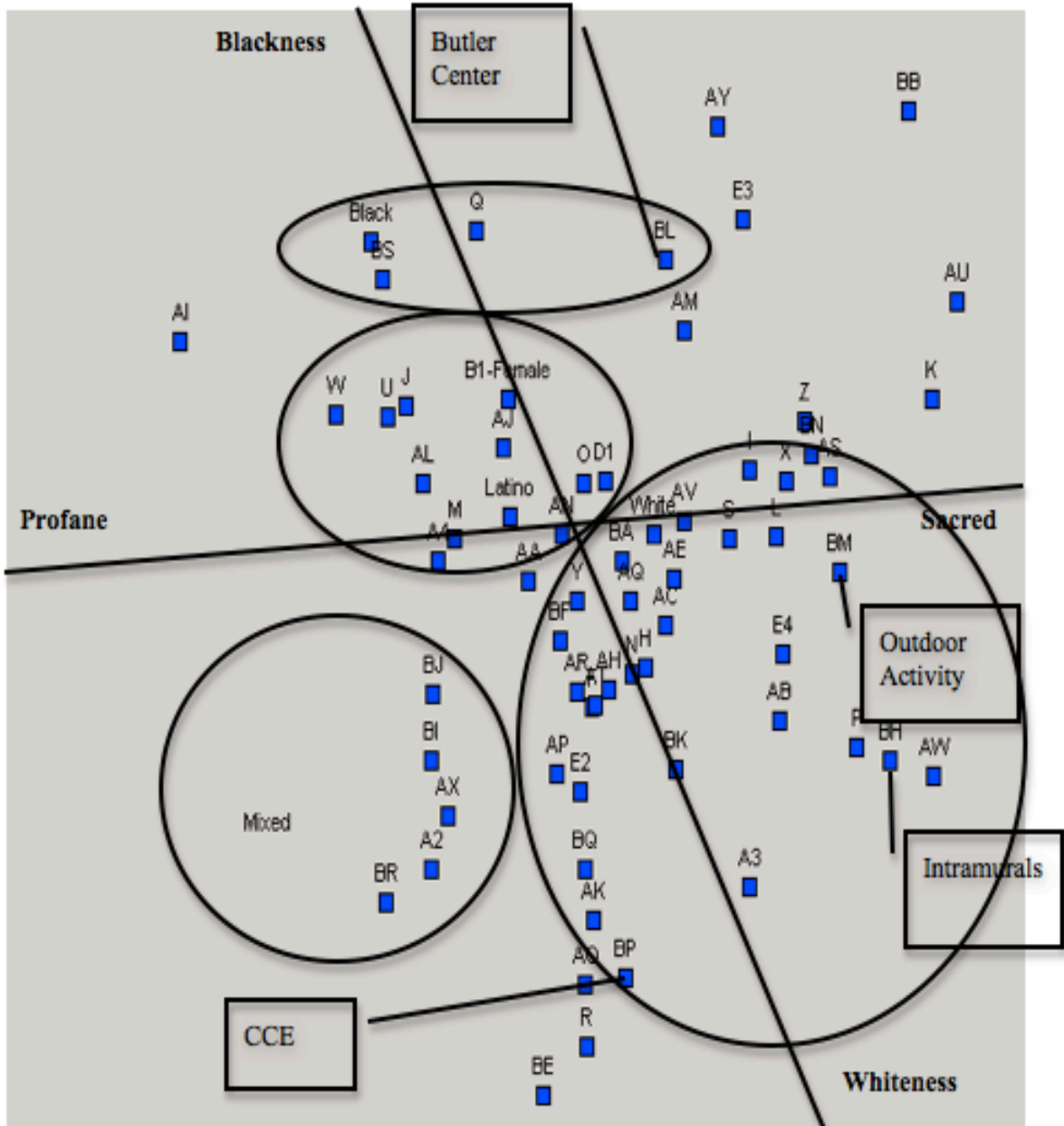


FIGURE 6: IN-GROUP PREFERENCE STRUCTURED BY RACE

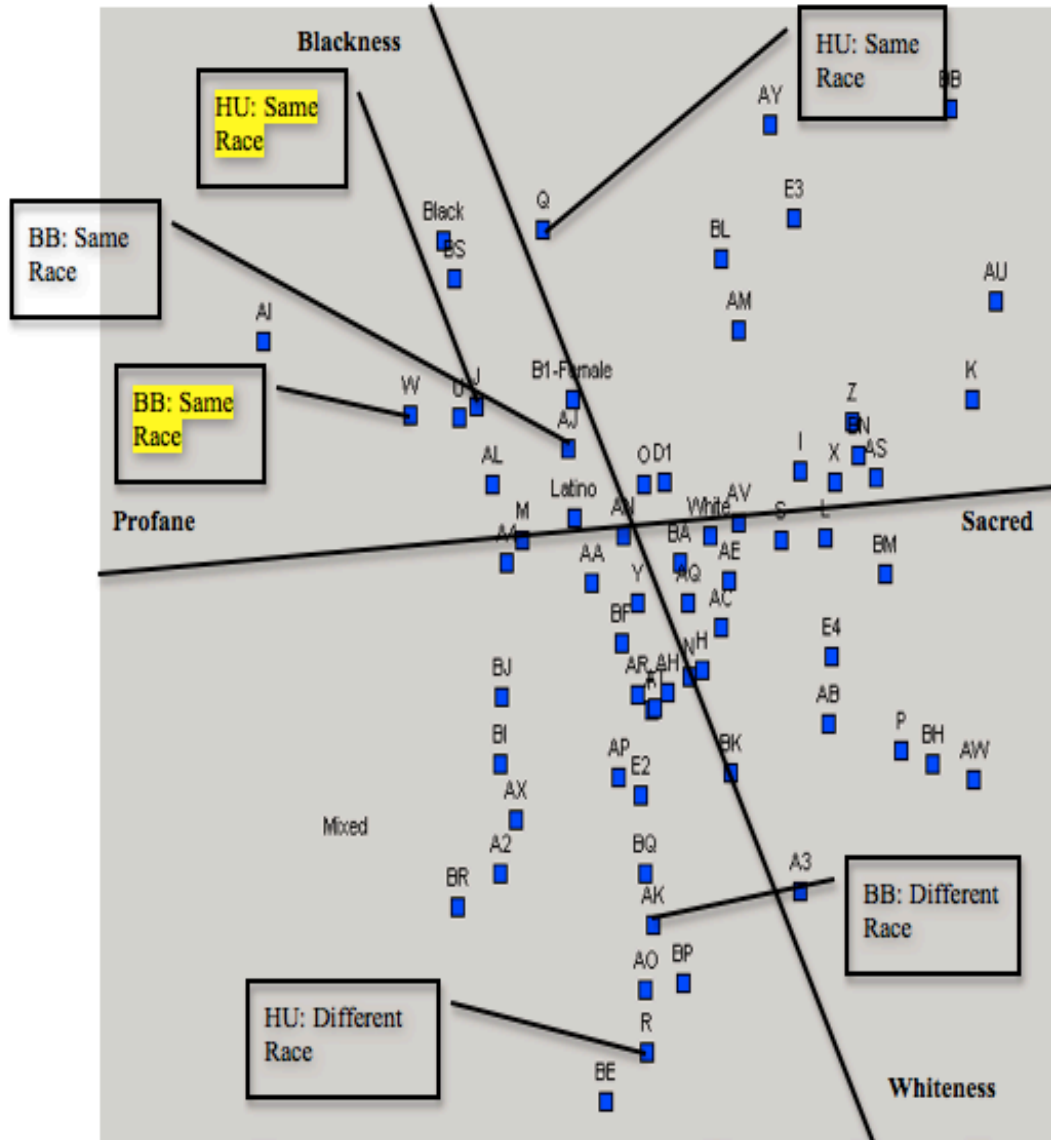


FIGURE 7: CULTURAL EMBODIMENT STRUCTURED BY RACE

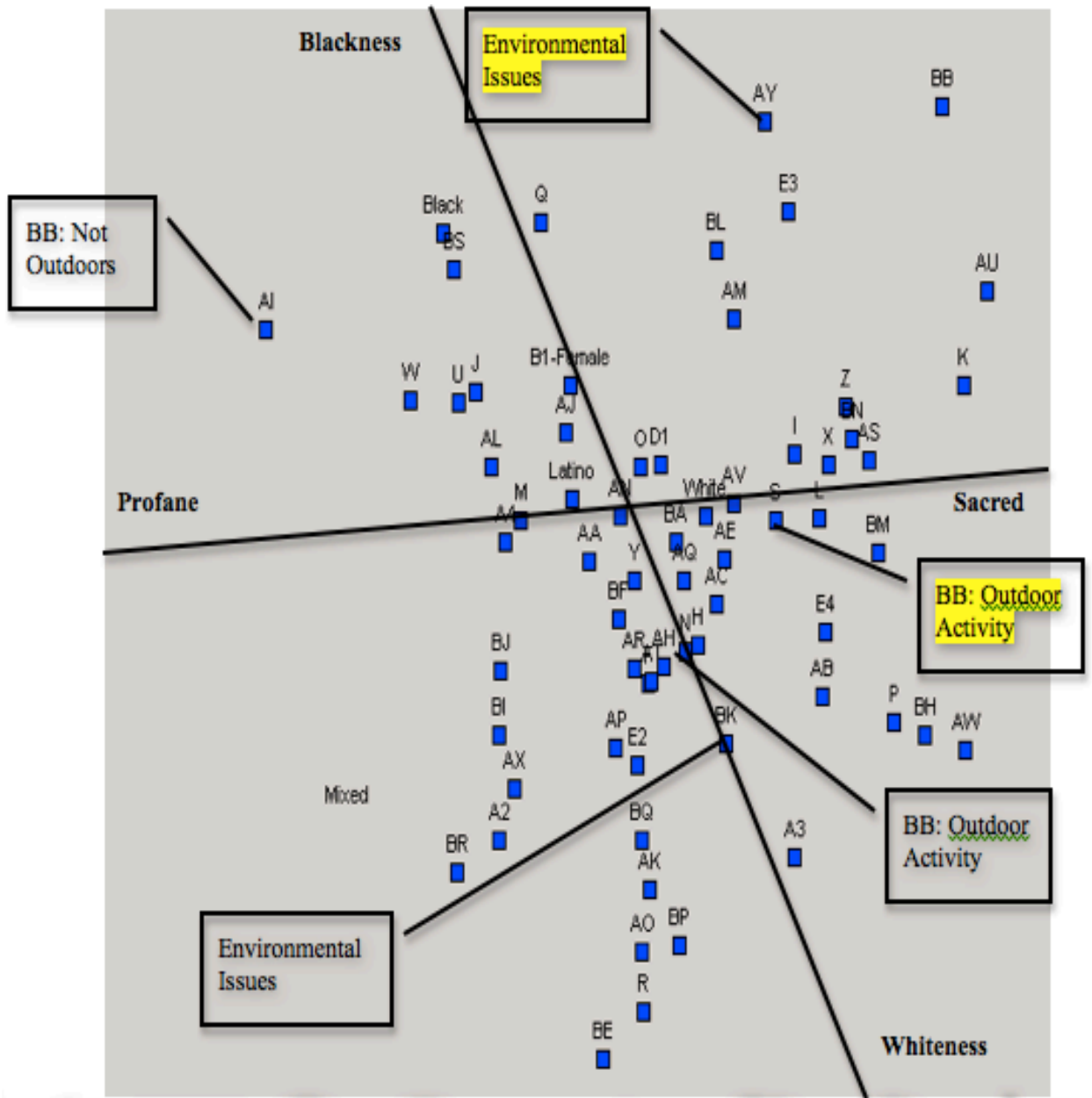


FIGURE 8: SCRIPT DEVIATION STRUCTURED BY RACE

