

“BEING A PART OF IT ALL”:
THE ROLE OF RACE AND CLASS
IN STUDENT BELONGING AND PARTICIPATION
AT A SMALL PRIVATE COLLEGE

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

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“Being a Part of it All”:
The Role of Race and Class in Student Belonging and Participation at a Small Private College

Using a mixed-methods approach, this study examines the challenges of achieving inclusivity at a small private college. The results indicate that the dominant organizational habitus roots standards of legitimate and valued culture in “whiteness” and privilege, and acts as a barrier to belonging for many students of color whose cultural capital does not resonate with these standards. Under such an organizational habitus, white students are more likely than students of color to exhibit embodied ease, manifested in omnivorous patterns of participation across domains and a consistently high sense of belonging in most campus spaces. Findings reveal that student belonging and participation in and across domains of activities are patterned primarily by race and secondarily by class, with first generation students of color reporting the greatest marginalization. Additionally, interview data suggests that underrepresented students experience the most marginalization outside of the classroom, and perceive it as a generalized sense of insecurity and repudiation, rather than discrete instances of interpersonal aggression. Results also indicate that the college inadvertently associates “whiteness” with its identity and community by positioning outdoor recreation as central in its marketing, mission, and sponsored student activities.

Keywords: inclusivity, marginalization, diversity, organizational habitus, cultural capital, omnivorousness, ease

INTRODUCTION

Racial protests rocked college campuses across the United States in fall semester of 2015, as underrepresented students demanded action from faculty, staff, and peers to remedy discrimination and barriers to inclusivity (Hartocollis and Bidgood 2015). Tomiko Brown-Nagin (2015) argues that the protests revealed that numerical diversity on campuses is not translating to “qualitative diversity,” or genuine inclusion and respect for underrepresented students. Yet answers as to how to attain qualitative diversity and improve what Brown-Nagin (2015) calls the “relational experiences in daily campus life” remain elusive.

Using a mixed-methods approach, this study examines the challenges of inclusion in domains of student activities at a small, selective private college. Findings indicate that the dominant organizational habitus of the college— comprised of institutional practices and policies, as well as actions and values of dominant groups of students— roots standards of legitimate and valued culture in “whiteness” and privilege. This organizational habitus seems to act as a barrier to belonging for many students of color, whose cultural capital does not resonate with its standards. Analyses of survey and interview data suggest that, under this organizational habitus, student belonging and participation in and across domains of activities are patterned primarily by race and secondarily by class, with first generation students of color reporting the greatest marginalization. White students are more likely than students of color to exhibit embodied ease, manifested by a consistently high sense of belonging in most campus spaces, as well as a greater proclivity to participate in all domains of activities.

This paper approaches the study of inclusivity on college campuses through a new lens by connecting the organizational habitus to the unequal display of embodied ease and omnivorous patterns of belonging and participation across domains of student activities. I begin with a discussion of relevant literature and theoretical concepts before moving to a description of my mixed methodology. I then present results from the analysis of survey data, followed by central themes of the interview data. Lastly, I discuss the quantitative and qualitative results and conclude by connecting theoretical concepts to inclusivity on campus. Ultimately, this study aims to inform students, faculty, and staff as they consider ways to achieve qualitative diversity on campus. Recognizing and remedying the ways in which institutional practices and policies, as well as elements of dominant student culture prioritize and reward “whiteness” may help colleges change their organizational habitus to be more welcoming and inclusive for all students.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on diversity on college campuses indicates that numerical diversity does not necessarily translate into a genuine sense of belonging and inclusion for all students. In particular, students of color and students of lower socioeconomic status experience obstacles to integration in the greater campus community. Literature on cultural capital, cultural omnivorousness, and social risk provides a framework that helps make sense of unequal student belonging and participation. In this section, I begin with a discussion of the experience of underrepresented students on college campuses and connect these experiences to theoretical concepts of the social field, organizational habitus, and cultural capital. I then consider the ways in which the concepts of cultural omnivorousness and embodied ease inform our understanding of how cultural capital and privilege operate to produce unequal belonging and participation in

campus spaces. Finally, I examine how literature on social risk and cost provides insight into the obstacles to exhibiting ease and omnivorous participation.

The institutional rhetoric surrounding policies to increase numbers of students from underrepresented groups has undergone a transformation in the last fifty years (Berrey 2011). Initially framed in terms of affirmative action and amelioration of social inequality, diversity rhetoric has become centered on instrumental benefits for all students, including (or especially) white students (Berrey 2011). Accordingly, a significant portion of recent research on college diversity has examined its utility (Aries 2008; Ependshade, Radford, and Chung 2009; Gurin et al. 2002; Harper and Hurtado 2008). Findings indicate that interactions between students of different racial groups has a positive relationship to active thinking, personal and social development, and reduction of prejudice (Aries 2008; Gurin et al. 2002). Yet increasing the number of students of color on campus does not ensure interaction across racial lines; at many institutions, students still have the greatest amount of contact with those from their own racial group (Ependshade, Radford, and Chung 2009).

Students from different racial groups also perceive campus climate in distinct ways. White students often overestimate minority students' satisfaction with campus environments, and underestimate the prevalence of racial discrimination (Harper and Hurtado 2007). In fact, students of color report frequent experiences of racial prejudice, feelings of isolation or exclusion, and stereotyping (Aries 2008; Harper and Hurtado 2007; Jayakumar and Museus 2012; Yosso et al. 2009). For example, Yosso et al. (2009) find that Latina/o students encounter interpersonal microaggressions, racial jokes, and institutional microaggressions that cause them to feel that they do not belong in the college community. Institutional microaggressions are embodied in the physical and symbolic landscape of the campus, in the "inertia of the university evidenced in structures, practices, and discourses that endorse a campus racial climate hostile to People of Color" (Yosso et al. 2009:673).

The concept of institutional microaggressions aligns with Bourdieu's (1984; 1991) idea of the social field. The college campus can be imagined as a distinct social field, wherein individuals occupy different positions and compete for the power to define legitimate and valued culture in accordance with their own tastes and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1991; Van Eijck 2000). Students who arrive on campus with cultural capital that matches the field's definition of legitimate culture are positioned to experience academic success and membership in groups that claim high status (DiMaggio 1982; Lareau and Horvat 1999; Weber 1978). We would expect these students to feel a sense of belonging on campus. In contrast, students whose cultural capital does not resonate with the field's standards may experience alienation or marginalization (Yosso et al. 2009; Yosso 2005).

Cultural capital of higher socioeconomic strata tends to be rewarded in educational settings (Bourdieu 1986; DiMaggio 1982; Lareau and Horvat 1999). Race also plays a role in dominant definitions of legitimate culture; at predominately white institutions (PWIs), being white may be a form of valued cultural capital (Lareau and Horvat 1999). In such circumstances, simply being a person of color would constitute a failure to meet institutional standards of legitimate culture. This does not mean that students of color are deficient of cultural capital; rather the institution systematically devalues the cultural resources and wealth of "Communities of Color" (Yosso 2005:76). Educational institutions often use "White, middle class culture as the standard," by which "all other forms and expressions of 'culture' are judged" (Yosso 2005:76). In so doing, institutions fail to recognize or value underrepresented students' distinct and rich cultural resources, while reproducing the power and prestige of cultural capital of privileged

groups (Yosso 2005). The way in which socioeconomic status and race interact with an institution's standards of cultural capital to promote or preclude belonging is elaborated in the concept of "organizational habitus."

Stuber (2011) extends Bourdieu's (1990) concept of individual "habitus" to the level of the organization, arguing that an institution develops an "organizational habitus," or system of values, practices, and policies that affect the integration and involvement of individuals from all backgrounds. It is in the interaction between a student's cultural capital and the organizational habitus that unequal outcomes in student belonging and participation are produced (Stuber 2011). Thus, "a working-class-student's lack of social and cultural resources do not automatically result in exclusion from the campus's social and extracurricular domains;" rather, variation in colleges' organizational habitus shapes different outcomes in belonging and participation for such students (Stuber 2011:114). The extent to which underrepresented students feel included and participate in various domains of the college community is mediated by "organizational features" that "create and sustain the conditions in which fleeting interactions...pull students into their campus's social and extracurricular domains" (Stuber 2011:115). Stuber (2011) focuses on the role of formal institutional programming and values in producing an organizational habitus that is welcoming or alienating to working-class students.

The marginalization of underrepresented students may be due to an unwelcoming or hostile organizational habitus. Under such an organizational habitus, lack of valued cultural capital would act as a barrier to participation and community membership. For example, working-class students likely would not be encouraged to participate widely, provided access to valued resources, or integrated into the larger campus community (Stuber 2011). We can take this logic further and apply it to race: an organizational habitus that is hostile to students of color might privilege and reward "Eurocentric culture" or white "monoculturalism" in the majority of campus spaces (Harper and Hurtado 2007; Jayakumar and Museus 2012). Institutional microaggressions would be characteristic of such an organizational habitus, as they symbolically penalize the mismatch between the cultural capital and habitus of students of color and that of the college as a whole. Thus, a hostile organizational habitus would make being a student of color and/or lacking cultural capital of privileged classes impediments to inclusion and integration in the greater college community.

In response to a hostile organizational habitus, underrepresented students often take refuge in either informal, student-run counterspaces or institutionally-sanctioned counterspaces (Yosso et al. 2009; Museus et al. 2012). Counterspaces function as unique sub-fields within the larger campus community, wherein marginalized students have the power to define their own cultural capital as legitimate and valuable (Yosso et al. 2009). Student-run social and academic counterspaces—such as informal study groups, dinner gatherings, and areas of residence halls—play an invaluable role in generating a sense of belonging, support, and community for underrepresented students (Yosso et al. 2009). Formal institutional counterspaces, such as ethnic studies departments and diversity centers, also provide physical space, resources, and connections for students of color to reaffirm their cultural identities and construct community (Yosso et al. 2009; Museus et al. 2012). However, formal counterspaces may silo underrepresented student culture in a handful of centers and departments on campus (Harper and Hurtado 2007). Thus, students of color may find it challenging to feel a sense of "shared cultural ownership" in spaces outside of ethnic centers and departments, as the vast majority of campus spaces at PWIs remain dominated by "whiteness" (Harper and Hurtado 2007; Jayakumar and Museus 2012). Harper and Hurtado (2007) demonstrate that "whiteness" is embedded in the

organizational habitus of many universities; that the institution inadvertently privileges white culture in almost all campus spaces, from student activities to the classroom. In this way, institutional provision of ethnic and cultural centers may symbolically underline the segregation occurring on campuses, as students of color create community and feel belonging in specialized ethnic counterspaces, and white students claim membership everywhere else.

At elite colleges, students from lower socioeconomic strata also report feeling excluded and uncomfortable when differences in tastes, experiences, and habits become apparent in interactions with peers from more privileged classes (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008). To succeed in an organizational habitus that rewards cultural capital from privileged classes, many students from lower socioeconomic strata develop new cultural capital that distances them from the culture of their families (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008). Consequently, such students often experience discontinuity between the cultural world they were raised in and the college culture (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008). Aries (2008) also finds that affluent students experience feelings of shame regarding their privilege and are aware of negative stereotypes of the wealthy on campus. While students from various socioeconomic backgrounds experience shame regarding their class status, they do not participate in the same activities. Walpole (2003) finds that students from lower socioeconomic status participate less in student clubs and work more than their peers. Differences in involvement on campus may contribute to disparities in income and educational attainment nine years after entering college (Walpole 2003).

By privileging cultural capital founded on “whiteness” and elite class status, the organizational habitus at many colleges may discourage underrepresented student involvement and inclusion in the majority of spaces on campus. Students who feel belonging and participate in a diverse array of campus spaces can be considered “cultural omnivores” with “embodied ease” that enables them to comfortably move through a variety of social spaces. Many scholars have demonstrated that today’s elite exhibit omnivorous cultural consumption, as they partake in a variety of cultural forms that cross class lines, and exhibit diverse cultural tastes (Bryson 1996; Chan and Turner 2015; Lizardo and Skiles 2012; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2007; Peterson 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Van Eijck 2000). The cultural omnivore is contrasted with the “univore,” who consumes a more limited cultural repertoire (Peterson 1992).

Cultural omnivores are typically white and more educated, wealthier, and younger than univores (Peterson 1996; Van Eijck 2000; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2007). Researchers have neglected to examine why people of color, irrespective of class, are less likely to exhibit omnivorous patterns of cultural consumption than whites. Khan (2013) demonstrates that omnivorousness is a product of privilege as it requires ample resources to cultivate, yet seems like natural or inherent talent. He argues that the new elite, specifically students at a prestigious boarding school, develop omnivorous cultural tastes and “embodied ease” (Khan 2013). Ease is an expression of privilege that is manifested as the ability to feel comfortable in any social situation, and that “makes [the elite] mobile through space and helps blame those locked in place through impressions of their own failures” (Khan 2013:140). Ease is often expressed as indifference, as the elite view all cultural forms (from the opera to hip-hop) as equally accessible, familiar, and quotidian, and therefore equally unimpressive (Khan 2013). The young elite also see the world as an open, level playing field full of possibilities, and thus “a space one can and should navigate with ease” (Khan 2013:145). In this way, omnivorousness and embodied ease contain a moralizing element, as those with exclusive tastes or limited “talents” are often subjected to disdain and blamed for their inability to move through the newly open world with ease (Khan 2013). In reality, the world remains replete with class distinctions and divisions,

making mobility through space difficult for those who lack the resources to develop ease and cultivate omnivorous cultural consumption (Khan 2013).

Like Khan's (2013) elite boarding school, selective college campuses are breeding grounds for the new elite, whom we would expect to exhibit omnivorous participation and easy mobility through diverse campus spaces. Yet such students are not homogenous in their patterns of belonging and participation on campus (Aries and Seider 2005; Ependshade, Radford, and Chung 2009; Stuber 2011; Walpole 2003). An organizational habitus that prioritizes and rewards "whiteness" and cultural capital from privileged classes may preclude many underrepresented students from exhibiting omnivorous patterns of belonging and participation across an array of campus spaces. Yet how do students experience the organizational habitus? How do they perceive an organizational habitus that is welcoming or hostile toward their own cultural capital?

In making sense of how students experience the organizational habitus and its role in promoting or prohibiting omnivorous belonging and participation, it is useful to draw on McAdams (1986) insights on social risk and cost in involvement in activism. If cultural capital from "Communities of Color" (Yosso 2005) or less privileged classes is not valued or reflected in the majority of institutional spaces, underrepresented student participation in such spaces may engender social rejection, feelings of inadequacy, and discomfort. In this way, the pervasiveness of "whiteness" and privilege in the organizational habitus may cause omnivorous participation to appear socially risky for students of color and students of lower socioeconomic status. For students from less privileged backgrounds, participation in many campus spaces may be costly, in addition to socially risky. While many student activities are free, others require abundant economic capital; for example, skiing trips involve pricey lift tickets, gear, and transportation. For white students and students of higher socioeconomic status, omnivorous participation may be low risk/cost. These students can move through the majority of campus spaces with ease, as the barriers to entry are minimal. In essence, underrepresented students may experience involvement in activities and spaces dominated by a hostile organizational habitus as embarrassing, risky, or even unsafe. Consequently, such students may be disinclined to exhibit ease and feel belonging in diverse campus spaces and domains of activities.

Summary of Literature and Connecting Ideas

The dominance of white culture and socioeconomic privilege in a college's organizational habitus may cause underrepresented students to feel invalidated, alienated, and unwanted. Such students create community and claim the power to define their own cultural capital as valid and important in counterspaces. While counterspaces play an invaluable role in underrepresented students' development of belonging and community, they also underline divisions occurring on campuses as underrepresented students feel included in only a handful of marginal counterspaces, and white students and students from higher socioeconomic strata claim membership everywhere else. Belonging and participating in a diverse array of campus spaces is therefore a privilege of a select group of students who can move through different domains of activities with ease. Such varied, or omnivorous, participation may be seen as socially risky and economically costly for students of color and students from lower socioeconomic strata. Thus, embodied ease and omnivorous belonging and participation in and across a variety of spaces are markers of elite status group membership and are not equally exhibited by all students.

Cultural omnivorousness can be conceptualized in terms of space, or more precisely, spatial domains of activities. Although many studies on omnivorousness focus on cultural taste, Peterson (1992:255) insists that it should be possible to study omnivorous cultural consumption

“using survey data on leisure activities.” Student activity participation is intimately related to space as extracurricular activities, academics, and socialization occur in discrete sets of spaces on campus. For example, student academic activity occurs in the classroom, the library, faculty offices, etc. In this way, the range of student activities can be categorized into specific spatial domains, such as a domain of “academic space.” Peterson (1992:252) also claims that cultural omnivores gain status by “*knowing about, and participating in...many if not all forms*” (italics my own). If cultural forms are conceived of as distinct spatial domains of activities, the “knowing about” component to omnivorousness can be operationalized as a sense of belonging in a variety of domains. Likewise, the “participating in” component to omnivorousness can be conceived of as participation in activities that are linked to specific spatial domains.

Belonging necessitates knowledge of and comfort with cultural objects, speech, behavior, and tastes considered worthy, natural, or valid by members of the group that dominates a space. In other words, belonging indicates that an individual’s cultural capital is valued and rewarded by the organizational habitus of a space. Although Stuber (2011) focuses on the role of formal institutional policies, practices, and values in generating a friendly or hostile organizational habitus for all students, it is conceivable that other elements of the organization also contribute to the habitus. For example, cultural practices and values of dominant groups of students may also affect the organizational habitus. Embodied ease is an indication that a student’s cultural capital resonates with the organizational habitus of a variety of spaces; that the student possesses cultural capital required to “fit in” in a diverse array of places, social situations, and activities. Students with embodied ease are able to comfortably move through a variety of spaces, to feel belonging in diverse domains (Khan 2011).

In this paper, I examine the challenges of inclusivity on campus by studying belonging and participation in various spatial domains of student activities. My central questions are: What types of spatial domains of student activities exist on campus? How does belonging in those domains relate to overall belonging at the college? How do race and class interact to promote or preclude belonging in different domains? Whose patterns of belonging and participation can be classified as omnivorous? And what role does the organizational habitus play in producing unequal belonging and participation?

METHODS

I examined student belonging and participation in campus spaces at a small, selective, liberal arts college. A single college was chosen because it represents a discrete social field with a distinct organizational habitus. Only 26 percent of the student body identifies as an American ethnic minority, and only six percent identifies as first-generation college attendees.¹ The demographic composition of the college coupled with the selectivity of its admissions practices made it a fitting case to examine the connection between privilege, organizational habitus, ease, omnivorousness, and marginalization. I employed a mixed-methods approach, analyzing both survey data and interview data.

Quantitative Methods

I created an online survey using Qualtrics software (see Appendix A). The survey was comprised of 37 questions that asked students about their demographics, participation in

¹ Demographic statistics from email correspondence with the college’s Office of Institutional Planning & Effectiveness

activities, and their sense of belonging in a wide variety of campus spaces. I distributed the survey via purposive sampling; it was emailed to various student listservs, student clubs, and departments, and posted to student organization Facebook pages. Because I was interested in patterns of participation and belonging by race and class, I made an effort to oversample underrepresented groups by sending them multiple appeals to take the survey. Ultimately, my survey returned 432 responses, 139 (32%) of which were students of color (including multiracial respondents) and 54 (13%) of which were first generation students (meaning neither of their parents possessed a four-year college degree). I chose to use first generation status as a measure for socioeconomic class because of the connection between parents' education level, cultural capital, and student success in the education system (DiMaggio 1982). The small number of first generation students is a limitation of this study, but nonetheless represents an oversampling in relation to the total proportion of first generation students at the college.

In order to examine the ways in which race and class interact to promote or preclude belonging and participation on campus, and to contend with small sample sizes for some racial/ethnic groups, I collapsed variables on racial group and parents' educational attainment to create four race/class combination variables: non-first generation white students (NFGW, $n=248$), non-first generation students of color (NFGSoC, $n=100$), first generation white students (FGW, $n=14$), and first generation students of color (FGSoC, $n=39$). I then turned to survey questions on belonging in various campus spaces, all of which were on a four-level Likert scale from "strongly disagree I belong" to "strongly agree I belong." Measures of belonging were based on participants' experienced sense of belonging in a spaces they had visited, as well as their imagined sense of belonging in spaces they had not been to. In contrast, participation measures captured actual patterns of student activity, rather than projected senses of belonging. Measures of participation therefore offer a more direct assessment of how race and class impact actual student behavior.

I used Primary Factor Analysis (PFA) to group "belonging" variables by underlying factors. The PFA revealed four groupings of highly-loading² "belonging" variables, each of which revolved around a conceptually distinct spatial domain of student activities. I classified the four groupings as: 1) Social Domain, 2) Outdoor Domain, 3) Academic/Career Domain, and 4) Counterspace Domain. I then created four composite, interval "domain belonging" variables from mean belonging across the factor variables per grouping. Figure 1 displays each composite "domain belonging" variable with component factor variables. The component factor variables are listed in order of highest factor loading; in other words, the highest-loading variables correlate most strongly with the underlying grouping factor. For example, belonging in Diversity Center events and meetings correlates most strongly with the underlying grouping factor of Counterspace, compared to the other three component variables in that grouping.

Although the PFA grouped "belonging in the classroom" with other Social Domain variables, I chose to add it to the Academic/Career Domain as its loading was relatively high on both domains, and because it has strong conceptual resonance with academic activities. I labeled the last domain "Counterspace" because the presence of the Diversity Center, campus chapel, and affordable break programs in this grouping resonated with literature that indicates that underrepresented students establish counterspaces in ethnic/cultural centers and other spaces that represent an alternative to dominant culture and organizational habitus on campus (Yosso et al. 2009; Museus et al. 2012). It is possible that drama, dance, and music performance spaces

² "Highly-loading" meaning rotated factor loadings above 0.4

likewise offer community for students who seek an alternative from mainstream culture and/or activities.

Figure 1. Domains of Belonging with Component Factor Variables, ordered from Highest to Lowest Loading*

SOCIAL DOMAIN	OUTDOOR DOMAIN	ACADEMIC/CAREER DOMAIN	COUNTERSPACE DOMAIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Dining hall ❖ Student housing ❖ Student Center ❖ Sporting events ❖ Outside on quads ❖ House parties off campus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Outdoor trips (sponsored by outdoor recreation student organization) ❖ Ski slopes ❖ Local hiking route 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Career Center ❖ Writing Support Center ❖ Faculty offices ❖ Library ❖ Classroom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Diversity Center events and meetings ❖ Drama, dance, and music performance meetings/rehearsals ❖ Campus Activities-sponsored break programs ❖ Campus chapel

*All factor loadings above 0.4

I then ran ordered logistic regressions with the single ordinal variable “overall belonging at the college” by demographic variables, race/class groups, and domains to examine which variables significantly impact general sense of belonging. I also ran ordered logistic regressions with overall belonging by a dichotomous “student of color” variable, a dichotomous “first generation student” variable, and domains. I chose to dichotomize students of color compared to white students since literature suggests that all students of color experience campus climate in a distinct way from white students (Harper and Hurtado 2007). I then ran one-way ANOVAs to examine difference in mean belonging per domain by race/class groups. I also compared mean belonging across different time periods (i.e., weekday mornings, weekday afternoons, weekday evenings, weekends, breaks) by the student body as a whole and broken down by race/class group.

To explore omnivorous patterns of participation, I created several “omnivore” variables from dichotomous participation variables and ran Chi Square tests by race/class groups. One “omnivore” variable consisted of students who participate in “key activities” from all four domains. Key activities were selected using the highest loading variables per factor in the PFA, excluding those activities that are less voluntary or optional for students. For example, participation in student housing was not included as a key activity even though it loaded highly in the Social Domain because it is obligatory for most students. Another “omnivore” variable consisted of students who participate in key activities from only the Social Domain and Outdoor Domain. The last “omnivore” variable consisted of students who participate in key activities from only the Academic Domain and Counterspace Domain (reasoning behind these combinations will be explained in the “Quantitative Results” section).

Qualitative Methods

After analyzing the survey data, I interviewed nine students about their participation and experiences on campus. While this small sample size constitutes a limitation of this study, the

interviews nonetheless added nuance to the survey data. Almost all participants were drawn from survey respondents who indicated their willingness to be interviewed at the end of the survey. Two participants were selected via snowball method from references by other interviewees. In order to gain insight into the patterns of belonging and participation by race/class groups evidenced in the survey data, I interviewed at least two students per race/class group (NFGW, NFGSoC, FGW, and FGSoC). Through the interviews, I aimed to discern how students from diverse backgrounds experience the organizational habitus of the college, and to explore the factors that inform students' decisions to participate in certain activities, make certain friends, and go certain places. I sought to understand how students perceive participation in different domains and why they might view such participation as either accessible and easy, or uncomfortable and unappealing. With questions like "what makes a student successful at this college?" I attempted to understand how different students view and interact with dominant standards of cultural capital and the organizational habitus. I also tried to uncover how underrepresented students learn to meet, negotiate, or navigate an organizational habitus that does not reflect or value their own cultural capital, and how they feel under an organizational habitus that prioritizes and rewards "whiteness" and privilege. Likewise, I explored how more privileged students' interaction with the organizational habitus differs from that of underrepresented students.

While the patterns evident in the survey data informed my interview questions, I made an effort to enter the interviews without hardened preconceptions of how participants might experience the college due to their ascriptive characteristics. I approached the interviews in a semi-structured way; while I often asked several prepared questions (see Appendix B), I asked a variety of follow-up questions specific to the participant. Ultimately, the interviews felt more like an open discussion and exploration of the participants' experiences, opinions, and patterns of participation than a series of standardized questions. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and a half. I recorded interviews for later transcription and made notes about the interviews directly following their conclusion.

RESULTS

Quantitative Results

Table 1 displays the results of four models of ordered logistic regressions with the ordinal dependent variable of overall belonging at the college. These models disaggregate various demographic variables, race/class groups, and domains in order to examine their unique effects on overall belonging. The results are presented with n maximized in each model, as the same pattern of results is exhibited when n is held constant over all models. Model 1 includes various demographic variables and shows that gender, year, sexual orientation, international status, and high school type do not significantly affect the ordered log-odds of belonging at the college, when the other variables in the model are held constant. Model 2 includes only the four race/class groups and shows that being a NFGSoC or a FGSoC significantly decreases the ordered log-odds of belonging at CC, compared to being a NFGW student. Being a FGW student has no significant effect on the ordered log-odds of belonging compared to being a NFGW student. FGW students' coefficient is significantly higher than coefficients for NFGSoC and FGSoC. Model 3 includes only the four domains of student activities, and shows that the Social, Outdoor, and Academic/Career domains have a significant positive effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. The Social Domain has the largest coefficient of all the domains

(*Coeff*= 3.03, *SE* =0.32, *p*<0.001), indicating that it has the largest relative positive effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging out of all domains. The Academic/Career Domain has the second-largest coefficient (*Coeff*= 1.24, *SE* =0.34, *p*<0.001), followed by the Outdoor Domain (*Coeff*= 0.51, *SE* =0.19, *p*<0.01). The Counterspace Domain does not have a significant effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging.

Table 1. Ordered Logistic Regression of Overall Belonging at the College on Select Demographic Variables, Race/Class Groups, and Spatial Domains

Independent Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Female	-0.06	0.23	-----	-----	-----	-----	-0.10	0.29
Academic Year (Ref. Freshman)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sophomore	-0.24	0.32	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.11	0.39
Junior	-0.42	0.31	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.06	0.38
Senior	-0.16	0.28	-----	-----	-----	-----	-0.20	0.36
LGBTQ+	-0.08	0.26	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.53	0.33
International student	-0.04	0.50	-----	-----	-----	-----	-0.03	0.63
Private high school	0.17	0.22	-----	-----	-----	-----	-0.06	0.28
Race/class groups (Ref. NFGW)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
NFGSoC	-----	-----	-0.64**	0.24	-----	-----	-0.20	0.32
FGW	-----	-----	1.33	0.69	-----	-----	1.34	0.97
FGSoC	-----	-----	-1.62***	0.35	-----	-----	0.01	0.50
Social Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	3.03***	0.32	3.30***	0.36
Outdoor Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.51**	0.19	0.59**	0.21
Academic/Career Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.24***	0.34	0.98**	0.37
Counterspace Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.15	0.26	0.22	0.29
<i>n</i>	334		357		355		329	

Two-tailed *p* values: **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Model 4 includes all variables from across Models 1-3 and shows that the significance of being a NFGSoC or FGSoC falls away when all other variables are held constant. Conversely, the Social, Academic/Career, and Outdoor domains maintain their significant positive effects on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. Because no variable in Model 1 displayed a significant effect, we can conclude that the race/class group effect (specifically, of being a NFGSoC or FGSoC) on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging is associated with belonging in domains (in particular the Social, Academic/Career, and Outdoor domains). The Social Domain continues to display the largest coefficient of all domains, followed by the Academic/Career Domain, and then the Outdoor Domain.

Table 2 displays models of ordered logistic regressions that disaggregate race, class, and domain variables to examine their independent effects on overall belonging at the college. As in Table 1, the results in Table 2 are presented with *n* maximized in each model because the same pattern of results is exhibited when *n* is held constant over all models. Model 1 only includes being a student of color as an independent variable and shows that it has a significant negative

effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. Model 2 only includes being a first generation student and shows that first generation status also has a significant negative effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. Model 3 includes both race and class variables, and shows that the dichotomous “student of color” variable maintains its significance, whereas first generation status loses its significance. This indicates that the first generation status effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging is associated with the effect of being a student of color. Moreover, that first generation status loses its significance when race is added to the model also suggests that race has a stronger relationship to overall belonging than class.

Table 2. Ordered Logistic Regression of Overall Belonging at the College on Being a Student of Color, First Generation Status, and Domains

Independent Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Coeff	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error	Coeff.	Std. Error
Student of Color	-0.95***	0.22	-----	-----	-0.87***	0.23	-0.34	0.29
First generation	-----	-----	-0.78*	0.31	-0.37	0.33	0.54	0.41
Social Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3.04***	0.33
Outdoor Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.52**	0.20
Academic/Career Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.24***	0.34
Counterspace Domain	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.17	0.27
<i>n</i>	357		359		357		353	

Two-tailed *p* values: **p*<.05, ***p*<.01, ****p*<.001

Model 4 includes domains in addition to race and class variables, and shows that the “student of color” variable loses its significance, while the Social, Outdoor, and Academic/Career domains display a significant positive effect on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. Model 4 conforms to the results seen in the last model of Table 1, as the effect of race and class variables seems to be associated with the effect of domain belonging on the ordered log-odds of overall belonging. The loss of significance on race and class variables in Model 4 does not mean that race and class do not affect belonging at the college; it simply shows that their unique effects are associated with differences in belonging in domains. It is therefore important to examine the effect of race and class per domain.

Table 3 displays the results of oneway ANOVAs of belonging in each domain by race/class groups. Measures of belonging in each domain are interval composite variables on the same 1-4 scale as the original ordinal variables of belonging used in the survey. However, because domain belonging variables are *interval* composites, means at or above 2.5 indicate that, on average, respondents agree or strongly agree they belong in the domain. Conversely, means below 2.5 indicate that, on average, respondents disagree or strongly disagree they belong in the domain. Figure 2 presents the ANOVA results as bar graphs of mean belonging by race/class group per domain, with confidence intervals overlaid per bar. Confidence intervals indicate which groups differ significantly from one another; confidence intervals that do not overlap between groups indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in mean domain

belonging between those groups. There is a statistically significant difference in mean belonging between race/class groups in each domain except for the Counterspace Domain.

FGW students exhibit the highest mean belonging in every domain except for Counterspace, where NFGSoC exhibit slightly higher belonging (although this difference is not statistically significant). NFGW students exhibit the second highest mean belonging (behind FGW students) in every domain except for Counterspace. NFGW students do not have a significantly different mean belonging than FGW students in any domain. The pattern of belonging by race/class groups changes in the Counterspace Domain, where NFGW students have the lowest mean belonging of all groups. In all other domains, FGSoc report the lowest mean belonging of all race/class groups.

Mean belonging in the Social Domain ranges from 2.39 (reported by FGSoc) to 3.37 (reported by FGW students). The Social Domain has the second-greatest range in mean belonging across race/class groups, behind the Outdoor Domain. FGW and NFGW students' means are above 3.0, with confidence intervals that fall above 2.5, indicating they feel belonging in the Social Domain. FGW and NFGW students' means are not significantly different from one another. NFGSoC have a mean of 2.85, with a confidence interval above 2.5. Their confidence interval barely overlaps with NFGW students' confidence interval; nonetheless, their mean is significantly lower than NFGW and FGW students ($p < .05$). The mean reported by NFGSoC is significantly higher than that of FGSoc, and indicates that they feel belonging in the Social Domain. FGSoc are the only group with a mean below 2.5, indicating they do not feel belonging in the Social Domain.

Mean belonging in the Outdoor Domain by race/class groups ranges from 1.72 (reported by FGSoc) to 3.0 (reported by FGW). The Outdoor Domain has the greatest range in mean belonging across race/class groups compared to all other domains. FGW and NFGW students' means are above 2.5, with confidence intervals that also fall above 2.5. FGW and NFGW students' means are not significantly different from one another. NFGSoC have a mean of 2.52, just above the limit for belonging in the Outdoor Domain. Their confidence interval straddles 2.5 and indicates that their mean is significantly lower than NFGW students, not significantly different from FGW students, and significantly higher than FGSoc. FGSoc report the lowest mean belonging of all groups in the Outdoor Domain.

Table 3. Comparison of Mean Belonging in each Domain by Race/Class Groups

Spatial Domain	NFGW	NFGSoC	FGW	FGSoC	DF †		F
Social	3.04 (2.96-3.12)	2.85 (2.72-2.97)	3.37 (3-3.73)	2.39 (2.19-2.59)	3	353	14.76***
Outdoor	2.87 (2.78-2.96)	2.52 (2.37-2.67)	3.0 (2.58-3.42)	1.72 (1.47-1.96)	3	354	28.13***
Academic/Career	3.11 (3.05-3.17)	3.03 (2.93-3.12)	3.27 (3.01-3.54)	2.80 (2.65-2.96)	3	357	5.52**
Counterspace	2.69 (2.62-2.76)	2.86 (2.75-2.97)	2.85 (2.52-3.18)	2.74 (2.56-2.92)	3	350	2.35

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; Confidence intervals reported in parentheses

† Between groups degrees of freedom reported in left column; within groups in right column

Figure 2. Bar Graphs with Confidence Intervals of Mean Belonging by Race/Class Group in each Domain



Mean belonging in the Academic/Career Domain ranges from 2.80 (reported by FGSoC) to 3.27 (reported by FGW students). The Academic/Career Domain has the second-lowest range of mean belonging across race/class groups, next to Counterspace (which does not have statistically significant differences between groups). All race/class groups report means and confidence intervals above 2.5, indicating that, on average, they do feel belonging in the Academic/Career Domain. Means for FGW, NFGW, and NFGSoC do not differ significantly. The mean reported by FGSoC is not significantly different than that of NFGSoC, but is significantly lower than NFGW and FGW students. Mean belonging in the Counterspace Domain ranges from 2.69 (reported by NFGW students) to 2.86 (reported by NFGSoC). All groups report means and confidence intervals about 2.5, indicating they feel belonging in the Counterspace Domain.

NFGW students report their highest belonging in the Academic/Career Domain (\bar{x} = 3.11), followed by the Social Domain (\bar{x} = 3.04). FGW students report their highest belonging in the Social Domain (\bar{x} = 3.37), followed by the Academic/Career Domain (\bar{x} = 3.27).

NFGSoC report their belonging in the Academic/Career Domain ($\bar{x} = 3.03$) followed by the Counterspace Domain ($\bar{x} = 2.86$). Likewise, FGSoC report their highest belonging in the Academic/Career Domain ($\bar{x} = 2.80$) followed by the Counterspace Domain ($\bar{x} = 2.74$). These results indicate that all race/class groups report either their highest or second-highest mean belonging in the Academic/Career Domain. White students also report high belonging in the Social Domain, whereas students of color report high belonging in the Counterspace Domain.

Figure 3. Box Graphs of Domain Belonging per Race/Class Group

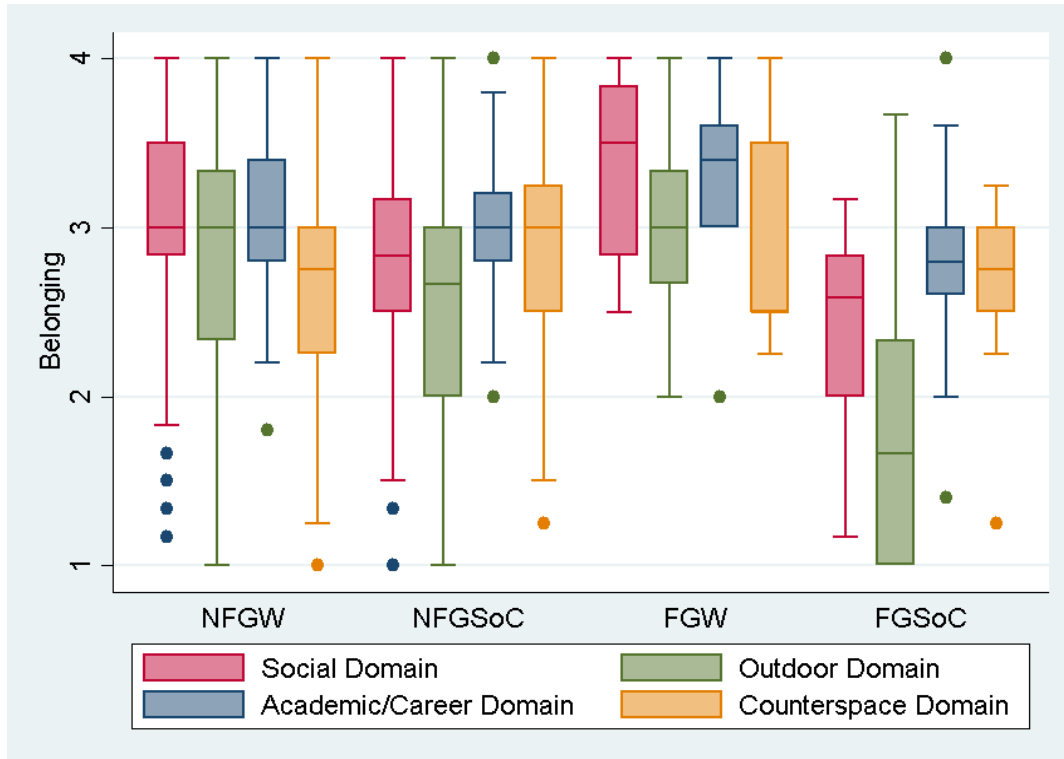


Figure 3 presents the ANOVA results as box graphs of belonging in each domain per race/class group (see Appendix C for a box graph of domain belonging by distinct racial groups). Although the box graphs plot quartile medians rather than mean belonging, they conform to the patterns of belonging in domains by race/class groups as displayed in Table 3 and Figure 2. For example, we see that for FGSoC, their highest belonging occurs in the Academic/Career and Counterspace domains, as those box graphs fall above the box graphs for the Social and Outdoor domains. Figure 3 also illustrates the variation in ranges of belonging across race/class groups per domain. For instance, we can see that box graphs for the Academic/Career Domain (in blue) generally have less distance between them than box graphs for the Outdoor Domain (in green), indicating that there is a lower range of belonging in the Academic/Career domain. In other words, the box graphs demonstrate that race/class groups experience more similar belonging in the Academic/Career Domain than in the Outdoor Domain. Additionally, the blue box graphs are visually higher than the green box graphs, indicating that belonging in the Academic/Career Domain is generally higher across all race/class groups than in the Outdoor Domain.

Because different types of student activities occur at distinct times in the day and over the course of the week and month, sense of belonging may also vary temporally in accordance to the activities experienced at certain times. Figure 4 displays all respondents' mean sense of belonging to the college community by time periods.³ Mean belonging is significantly lower in each consecutive time period; that is, mean belonging is significantly lower during weekday afternoons than weekday mornings ($t = 7.26$, one-tailed $p < .001$), significantly lower during weekday evenings than weekday afternoons ($t = 1.80$, $p < .05$), significantly lower during weekends than weekday evenings ($t = 4.12$, $p < .001$), and significantly lower during school breaks than weekends ($t = 2.67$, $p < .01$). Therefore, all respondents report the greatest mean belonging to the college community during weekday mornings and the lowest mean belonging during school breaks. Because nearly all students at the college attend class from 9:00 am to noon, these results indicate that, on average, students feel the greatest sense of belonging when they are in the classroom.

Figure 4. Mean Overall Belonging per Time Period

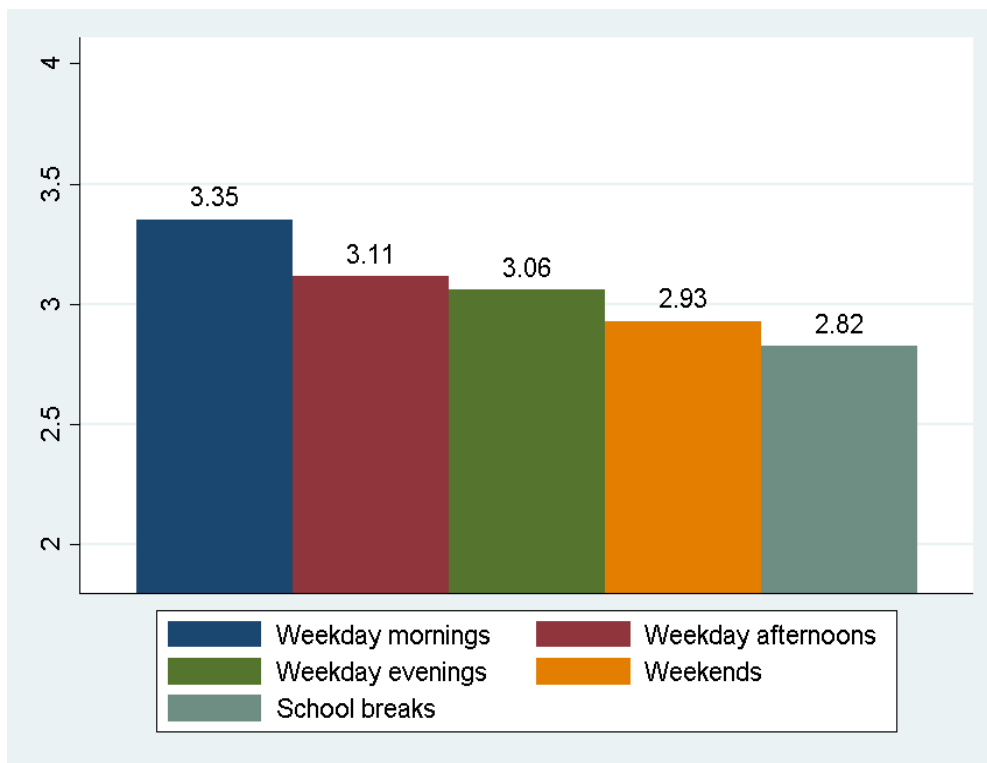
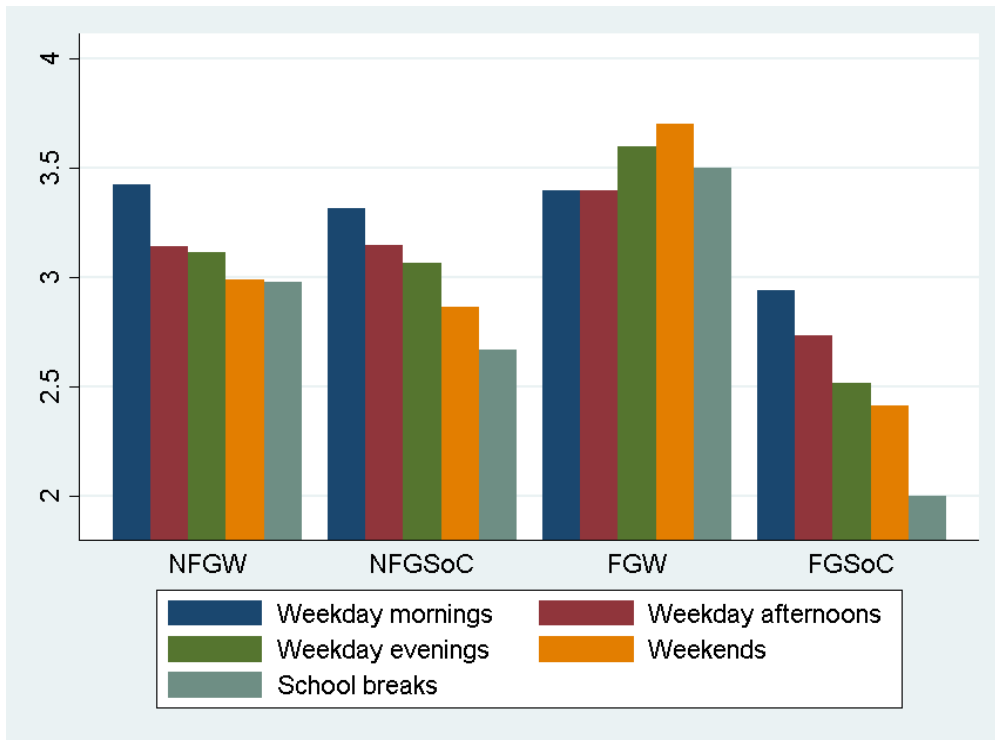


Figure 5 shows mean belonging in time periods by race/class groups. All groups except FGW students display the pattern visible in Figure 4, with mean belonging to the college community decreasing from weekday mornings to school breaks. FGW students display a reversal of the pattern in Figure 4, with higher mean belonging during weekends, evenings, and breaks than during weekday mornings and afternoons. FGSoC report the lowest mean belonging in each time period, compared to all other race/class groups.

³ Ordinal measures of sense of belonging per time period treated as interval variables to find mean.

Figure 5. Mean Overall Belonging per Time Period by Race/Class Groups



In comparison to measures of sense of belonging, measures of participation across domains offer a more direct assessment of how race and class impact actual student behavior. Figure 6 displays pie charts with the proportion of respondents in each race/class group who participate in activities in all four domains. These students can be classified as the most omnivorous, as they participate in every domain of activities. The relationship between race/class groups and participation in all domains is statistically significant ($X^2[3, n = 401] = 10.38 p < .05$). NFGW students have the largest proportion of omnivores ($n = 42$, 16.94 percent). FGW students have the second-largest proportion ($n = 2$, 14.29 percent), while NFGSoC have a sizably smaller proportion ($n = 7$, 7.0 percent). Out of the 39 FGSoC, only one respondent participates in all four domains (2.56 percent). The low number of omnivores in all race/class groups indicates that such complete omnivorousness, with participation in all domains, is rare.

To examine whether participation across certain domains mirrors patterns in belonging by race/class groups, I created two additional “omnivore” variables. The first variable groups participation in the Social and Outdoor domains, and the second groups participation in the Academic/Career and Counterspace domains. These groupings were informed by the results displayed in Table 3 and Figures 2-3, which indicate that the Social and Outdoor domains have the greatest disparities in belonging between race/class groups, whereas Academic/Career and Counterspace Domains have less variation in belonging.

Figure 6. Proportion of Proportion of Respondents per Race/Class Group who Participate in all Domains

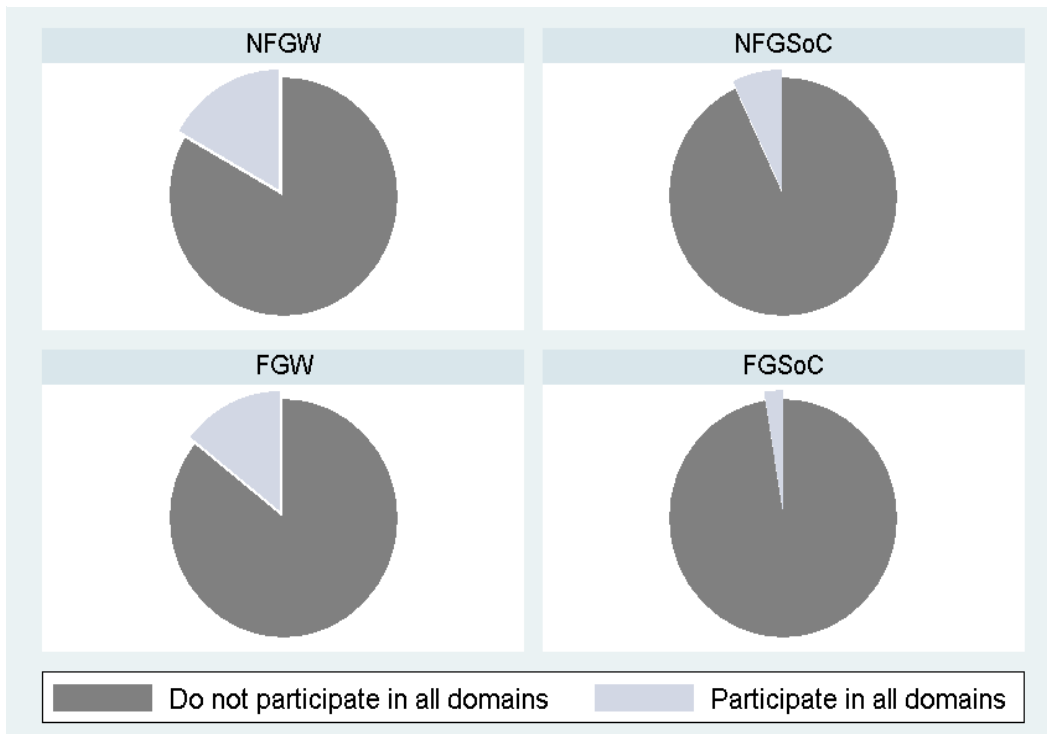


Figure 7 displays pie charts with the proportion of respondents in each race/class group who participate in activities in the Social Domain and Outdoor Domain. The relationship between race/class groups and participation in the Social and Outdoor domains is statistically significant ($X^2[3, n = 401] = 31.6; p < .001$). The patterns of participation roughly mirror Figure 6. NFGW students also have the largest proportion of social/outdoor omnivores ($n = 113, 45.56$ percent). FGW students have the second-largest proportion ($n = 4, 28.57$ percent), while NFGSoC have a slightly smaller proportion ($n = 25, 25.0$ percent). Only two FGSoC respondents participate in both the Social and Outdoor domains (5.13 percent).

Figure 8 displays pie charts with the proportion of respondents in each race/class group who participate in activities in the Academic/Career Domain and Counterspace Domain. The relationship between race/class groups and participation in the Academic/Career and Counterspace domains is not statistically significant ($X^2[3, n = 401] = 4.42; p > .05$). Although the relationship is not significant, the pattern of omnivorous participation by race/class groups in these domains still merits examination, as it contrasts with the previous “omnivore” variables. FGSoC have the largest proportion of academic/counterspace omnivores ($n = 13, 33.33$ percent), while NFGSoC have the second-largest proportion ($n = 25, 25.0$ percent). FGW students have a slightly smaller proportion than NFGSoC ($n = 3, 21.43$ percent), while NFGW students have the smallest proportion of academic/counterspace omnivores ($n = 48, 19.35$ percent).

Figure 7. Proportion of Respondents per Race/Class Group who Participate in the Social Domain and Outdoor Domain

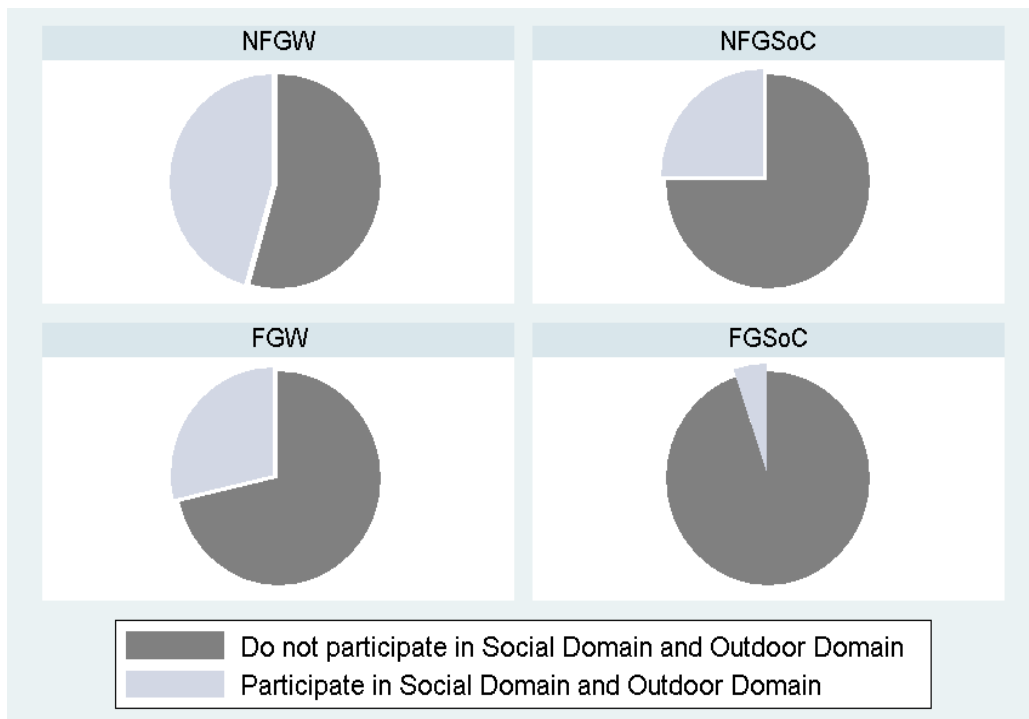
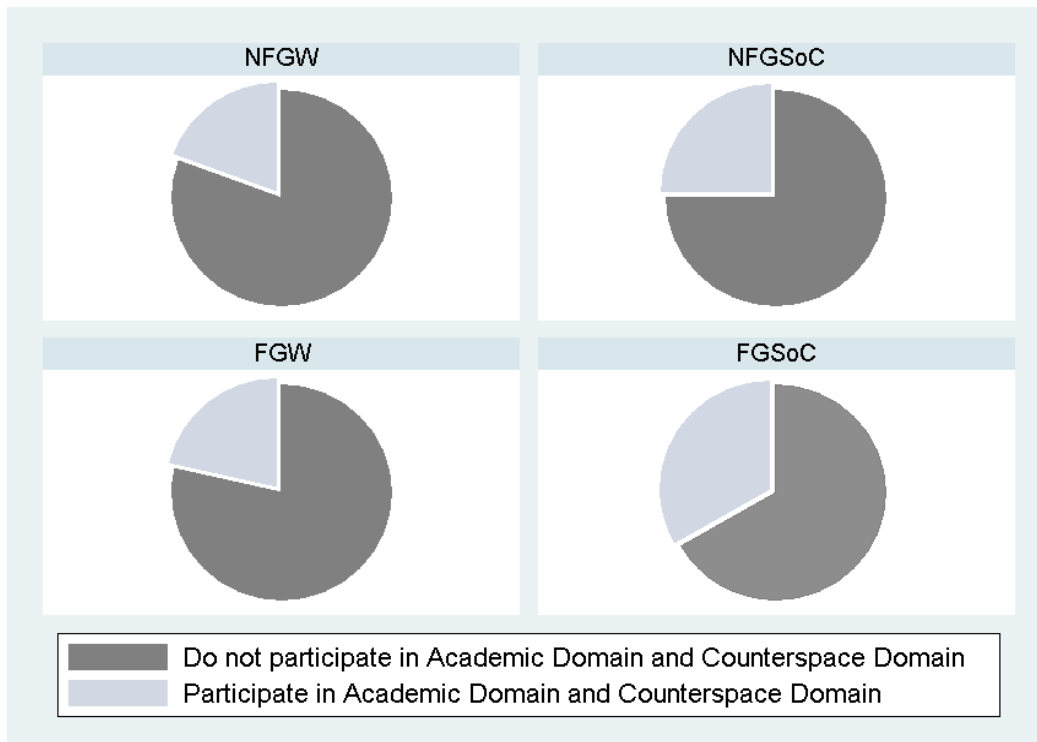


Figure 8. Proportion of Respondents per Race/Class Group who Participate in the Academic/Career Domain and Counterspace Domain



Race/class group participation across domains roughly conforms to patterns of belonging, as white students (irrespective of first generation status) exhibit the largest proportions of respondents who participate in Social and Outdoor domains, whereas students of color exhibit the largest proportions of respondents who participate in Academic/Career and Counterspace domains. White students (both NFGW and FGW) also exhibit the largest proportions of respondents who participate in all four domains, whereas students of color (both NFGSoC and FGSoC) exhibit smaller proportions of complete “omnivores.”

Qualitative Results

The nine interviews with students from each race/class group revealed a series of themes regarding their experiences of belonging, the organizational habitus, and participation on campus. The following sections detail these themes.

Differences between FGW students and FGSoC in the Outdoor Domain

The quantitative data illustrates that the greatest discrepancies in belonging in each domain often occur between FGW students and FGSoC (see Table 3). Interviews with FGW students and FGSoC revealed that although the two groups share first generation status, they experience many facets of student life in distinct ways. Such differences were especially prominent in students’ experiences with outdoor recreation. Almost all the first generation students cited money, materials, and prior experience as obstacles to outdoor activities. Most had not grown up hiking or skiing, so did not own the appropriate gear and often did not even know what materials were needed for such outdoor activities. Many first generation students also described feeling embarrassed or demeaned in interactions with peers who were more outdoorsy or knowledgeable about outdoor activities. Lucy, a FGW student, said that even though she enjoys outdoor activities, she has not joined the outdoor recreation student organization because when she went on one of their kayaking trips she, “100 percent got this sense like ‘more outdoorsy than thou’ from a lot of them.” Desmond, a FGSoC, also felt demeaned when he would ask students about skiing, saying:

I would ask people who are going skiing, ‘what do I need’ ... and I’m like ‘can you write that down for me?’ And they’re like, ‘you don’t know it?’ And I’m like, nope. It’s kinda hard to bring myself to ask that because it puts a sense of embarrassment on you. Because we go to a school that’s very, very wealthy, so when you’re a student who doesn’t fit in that category, it’s hard and it’s embarrassing, and it’s discouraging to speak up about the fact that you cannot afford something.

In this way, outdoor activities accentuate the class divide at the college, as students with extensive outdoors experience, gear, and greater financial resources perceive outdoor recreation as easy and assume that all others also share their interest in and comfort with the outdoors. In reality, many first generation students report that the cost of outdoor activities and their own inexperience constitute barriers to participation in the Outdoor Domain. Yet the class-based barriers of money, materials, and knowledge do not prevent all first generation students from participating in outdoor activities; instead, such participation appears to be divided along racial lines. While both of the FGW students I interviewed frequently participate in outdoor activities,

none of the three FGSoc I interviewed ski or snowboard, and all had only been hiking a handful of times.

Lucy and George, both FGW students, share a similar passion for the outdoors. Even though Lucy does not feel fully accepted by members of the outdoor recreation student organization, she nonetheless loves hiking and tries to ski “as much as possible.” While Lucy grew up participating in outdoor activities, George had never skied or hiked before coming to college. Upon arriving at the college, George met people who insisted he should try skiing. In response, George remembers thinking, “I’m active, I like to do sporty things, so... why not?” George used his savings from past summer jobs to purchase an all-access ski pass at the start of the year. Equipped with a friend’s old snowboard, George has spent seven days on the ski slopes and can now go down “an easy black.” He is aware that because he cannot afford lodging for ski trips, he must always find friends with whom he can stay for free. When asked why he decided to learn to snowboard despite his lack of prior experience, George answered “I like to try new things, not much else to it.”

The FGSoc participants did not share George’s experience in the Outdoor Domain. Unlike George— who disregarded the precipitous class-based barriers to participation in outdoor activities, thinking “why not?” when friends encouraged him to participate— Prudence, a FGSoc, saw such barriers as insurmountable. Like George, she reported that people would insist she try skiing, saying “oh, you have to, you have to go.” This insistence frustrated Prudence, as she felt that others did not understand that the expense of skiing made it unfeasible for her. Jude, another FGSoc, said he did not participate in outdoor activities because “it’s just not something that appeals to me, it doesn’t sound fun. I have friends who do it pretty frequently and they’re like ‘you want to go?’ and I’m like, ‘no.’” Unlike George and Lucy, FGSoc interviewees reported turning down friends and acquaintances who invited them or insisted they go on outdoor excursions. Jude attributes his and other first generation students’ dislike of outdoor activities to past experiences of discomfort, saying:

What I’ve heard from a lot of first gen students and low-income students, and what I’ve experienced myself as well, is that a lot of us have already been put in discomfort for a lot of our lives, so camping, hiking, climbing, those are situations where we’re putting ourselves back into those situations of discomfort, so why would we want to do that? Why would we pay money to do that?

Yet George’s passion for outdoor activities contradicts Jude’s line of thinking. George grew up on farm, where he was tasked with caring for horses early in the morning and repairing tractors and other mechanical devices throughout the year. This hard manual labor of farm work is what Jude might consider “discomfort.” So why does George continue to seek out uncomfortable outdoor experiences? It is possible that George is an outlier, that his experiences are unrepresentative of other FGW students. Yet the quantitative data indicates that George may not be an outlier, as all FGW students report similarly high belonging in the Outdoor Domain (see Table 3). It would seem, therefore, that involvement and inclusion in outdoor activities is not based solely on first generation status and income. Rather, it appears that there is a prominent racial divide when it comes to “outdoorsyness.” That outdoor activities are racialized would help explain why George and Lucy ultimately overcame class-based obstacles (i.e., money, materials, and knowledge) to participate, while Jude, Desmond, and Prudence have never gone skiing and rarely hike. Under the organizational habitus of the Outdoor Domain, “whiteness” appears to be

a form of valued cultural capital; belonging and participation in that domain may be founded to large extent on being white. For this reason, FGSoC perceive an additional (and often insurmountable) obstacle to participation in outdoor activities: the racial divide.

Jude later arrived at the conclusion that the dislike he and other first generation students harbor for outdoor activities is not solely based on prior experiences of discomfort. In discussing how many members of the outdoor community at the college had participated in outdoor education semester programs during high school, Jude said:

Outdoor activities are very... privileged... the idea that education can be bought for a certain amount and can be justified as academic if you're paying a certain amount while being in nature, just seems really uncomfortable to me. Because I'm thinking, you can do exactly what you love to do, hike and be outdoorsy, and even exclusive away from people of color and low-income people and get college credit for it—seems weird to me, this whole system.

Thus, Jude perceives the type of outdoor activities that many outdoorsy students have participated in before coming to the college as exclusionary on the basis of class and race. Jude believes it is “weird” that these outdoor programs reward academic credit to participants for hiking and “being outdoorsy,” because such pursuits also enable them to be “away from people of color and low-income people.” He characterizes the “whole system” as odd because it rewards “whiteness,” wealth, privilege, and exclusivity. In this way, Jude experiences the organizational habitus of the Outdoor Domain as unwelcome and alienating for people of color, especially from lower socioeconomic strata.

When we consider FGW students' high sense of belonging and participation in the Outdoor Domain, we see that the organizational habitus seems to grant membership on the basis of “whiteness” over wealth. While all first generation students perceive money as a barrier participation in outdoor activities, the ones who report overcoming it to participate are white. Jude also shows that money is not the largest hurdle to participating in outdoor activities by claiming that the administration is constantly offering funding for first generation students to go on outdoor excursions. Likewise, Lucy said that affordable materials for outdoor activities are not very difficult to obtain because of the rentable options at the Gear House. Because of the relative availability of funding and gear, class-based obstacles to participation in outdoor recreation may be practicable to overcome for almost all first generation students. What may be far less practicable to overcome for FGSoC is the racial divide in the Outdoor Domain.

Counterspace: support systems, institutional control, and informal alternatives

The interviews revealed that there is variety both in the types of counterspace on campus and in the extent of their benefits to underrepresented students. Interviews with FGSoC, NFGSoC, and FGW students showed that the most beneficial formal (i.e. institutionally-sponsored) counterspace is the Link Program. The Link Program is an orientation program for underrepresented students that occurs prior to the larger new student orientation for all freshman. Link also organizes seminars and activities for underrepresented students throughout the year. Desmond, Jude, Molly, and George were Link participants and had almost exclusively positive things to say about it. These participants claimed that the Link Program helped them build community with other underrepresented students, make friends before all other freshman arrived on campus, learn about the social and academic elements of the college, discover resources like

the Writing Support Center, and connect with inspirational mentors who would support them and recommend additional resources throughout the year.

Molly (a NFGSoC), Jude (a FGSoC), and Desmond (a FGSoC) reported finding their closest friends through the Link Program. Molly said that because the Link Program provided her with a strong community of students of color, she did not feel the need to seek additional networks of underrepresented students, such as through Diversity Center-sponsored ethnic organizations. George (a FGW student) also made friends through the Link Program, whom he says he continues to see almost every day. Yet unlike many FGSoC, George also made close friends with white students outside of the Link Program (such as through his fraternity). For students of color, the networks Link provides to other students of color seem invaluable for their well-being, sense of belonging, and success at the college. Molly claimed that without the Link Program, she “wouldn’t be the same person,” as her network of Link friends and mentors made her more confident, inspired her to get involved in extracurriculars, and challenged her perception that she was “only here as a number.” Her positive experience in the Link Program motivated her to become a Link mentor, so that she can “[make underrepresented students] feel at home by telling them that they deserve to be here and that they can own this place.” By promulgating rhetoric like Molly’s, the Link Program challenges the dominant organizational habitus by making underrepresented students feel worthy, welcome, and powerful.

The Link network is also invaluable for students of color in instances of marginalization, as is highlighted by the differences between Desmond and Prudence’s experiences. Desmond (a FGSoC) reported feeling extremely upset when he realized that he would have to work to prove his worth as a Latino for the rest of his life. Yet he did not have to suffer alone; Desmond described crying about this realization one night alongside other students of color, who provided an empathetic support system. At many other moments in his interview, Desmond described how having a network of students of color has helped him feel legitimated, understood, and welcome on campus. Unlike Desmond, Prudence (also a FGSoC) lacks a supportive network of other students of color. Although she was invited, Prudence did not attend the Link Program due to a scheduling conflict. Prudence said that by not attending Link, she missed out on opportunities to connect with other students of color; that by the time she arrived on campus, many students of color had already developed friendship networks that were difficult for her to penetrate. Now in her third year, Prudence said she still has not found ways to connect with other students of color on campus.

Over the course of one weekend during fall semester 2015, a series of anonymous racist comments were posted by students on a popular social media platform. Prudence reported that she was, “very hurt by the comments and also very hurt by what even my close friends thought about [them]... they were like, ‘oh man, it’s just free speech’... and I didn’t feel safe on campus, and like my roommates didn’t understand that and they didn’t want to acknowledge that.” Prudence claimed that she “didn’t really find any support” on campus during this painful period of alienation and fear. Unlike Desmond, Prudence could not turn to a network of students of color for empathy and support when she felt marginalized and diminished on the basis of her race. In this way, the Link Program is vital for its ability to build supportive communities of students of color who can bolster one another in the face of a hostile organizational habitus.

However, the Link Program is not exempt from participants’ criticism and concerns. Several Link participants were unhappy about the prominence of outdoor activities in Link programming. Molly claimed that Link organizers have recently reduced the number of outdoor activities in Link programming, after realizing that such activities were costly and that many

participants were not interested in the outdoors. However, Link and other first generation programs continue to sponsor outdoor trips throughout the year, as well as offer seminars about and funding for outdoor activities. Jude was frustrated that the college is:

Always trying to push [outdoor activities], where it's like 'we have funding if you're interested.' And to be honest, it's kind of like still promoting a culture that's already here rather than creating a new culture for first generation, low-income students and encouraging things that aren't the norm that they might be interested in, things like going to Denver, participating in cultural events... I think those are things that would be better.

Here, Jude indicates that the college's promotion of outdoor activities does not resonate with underrepresented students' interests and needs. In fact, Jude perceives this emphasis as validating and reproducing a culture that already exists on campus; one that most underrepresented students are not a part of and may not be interested in. Jude also reported that the college has begun to mandate outdoor activities in another formal counterspace: Diversity Center student organizations. Jude said that at the start of the year, the Diversity Center:

Funneled...thousands of dollars into having the co-chairs of each [Diversity] Center group do a mandatory Outward Bound trip, which no one agreed to and no one wanted to do... That caused a lot of tensions with the [Diversity] Center to start off the year. The [Diversity] Center partnered with Outdoor Education to do it.

Jude saw the mandatory Outward Bound trip as part of a perceived trend of increasing administrative supervision and control over Diversity Center student organizations. Jude indicated that this supervision was also manifested in regulations on student meetings; he claimed that all student groups were required to send a meeting itinerary to the Diversity Center staff before each meeting, and then a summary of meeting minutes afterward. He reported that these groups were also required to attend a number of formal meals with other student leaders and administrators, and to sponsor a certain number and type of events per month. To my knowledge, student organizations outside of the Diversity Center (e.g., health and medicine clubs, community service clubs, outdoor recreation clubs) are not held to these same regulations and expectations. Jude said that many students have expressed anger and frustration regarding what they perceive as the over-policing of Diversity Center groups, believing that it forces underrepresented student activists to "[play] into the respectability politics of the institution." In this way, pervasive administrative control over Diversity Center groups may corrode their effectiveness and validity as a counterspace, as many underrepresented students may no longer view the Diversity Center as an alternative to the dominant organizational habitus. Jude's narrative suggests that the Diversity Center has the potential to become an arena for the dominant organizational habitus to exert control and enforce its standards over underrepresented students' communities and collective action.

Unlike institutionally controlled formal counterspaces, informal counterspaces may offer a viable alternative to the dominant organizational habitus. Jude indicates that the library may act as an informal academic counterspace, where "first generation students, queer students, students like that, from various marginalized groups" study, talk, and "hang out." Similarly, one dining

hall, affectionately called “Jojo’s,” may act as an informal counterspace. Almost all participants of color (except Prudence) said they prefer to eat at Jojo’s, which offers an Asian food station and burger grill. Jude claimed that, “a lot of students of color frequent [Jojo’s]” because it is the “only place on campus with seasoned food,” and “a good amount of workers of color.” Jude also said it is the only dining hall where students can “get food that is not the stereotypical... food [at this college]: vegetarian, vegan, and gluten-free.” Desmond echoed Jude’s remarks by saying he disliked the largest dining hall on campus because he had not grown up eating vegetarian food or salads, and prefers to eat the burgers at Jojo’s. Conversely, George (a FGW student), Max (a NFGW student), and Lizzy (a NFGW student) said they either have no preference or prefer to eat at the largest dining hall or another smaller eatery that, in George’s words, offers “finer” food.

Participants of color indicated that informal counterspaces enable the formation of deeper relationships between underrepresented students than in highly controlled, formal counterspaces. For example, Jude said that informal counterspaces are more important to him than Diversity Center groups, as he is able to form closer relationships with other underrepresented students and not have to feel as though he is constantly being watched by the administration. In this way, informal study groups in the library, meals at Jojo’s, and casual get-togethers in student housing may be the most persistently meaningful counterspaces for marginalized students. However, formal counterspaces like the Link Program seem invaluable for their ability to foster initial connections between underrepresented students. As Prudence’s case demonstrates, students who do not participate in the Link Program may be unable to access crucially supportive informal counterspaces and networks of underrepresented students.

Academic Domain: failures, microaggressions, and overcoming challenges

First generation interviewees (both white students and students of color) reported feeling more overwhelmed by classwork at the start of their college careers than NFGW participants. Although all first generation participants shared common experiences of academic struggles, FGSoC differed from FGW students in their experiences of being disciplined and publicly shamed by faculty. Yet all students also said they overcame setbacks and failures in the classroom, learned to meet academic standards, and did not feel that the Academic Domain was the most marginalizing or alienating domain.

Desmond (a FGSoC) reported feeling overwhelmed and lost during his first classes at the college, and said he struggled to speak up and ask for help. He also described an instance in the classroom when he received unequal treatment on the basis of his socioeconomic class status. When several of Desmond’s peers missed a couple classes to go skiing, his professor said it was fine and waved away their absences. Yet when Desmond missed one day to “take care of something,” his professor sent him a chastising email. Desmond felt like this was “unfair treatment,” but did not confront his professor, accepting it instead as “a discipline thing.” Jude (a FGSoC) reported a similar experience of unfair discipline on the basis of his class status. One professor told Jude, “this is college, we use actual vocabulary, so you need to rewrite this paper” and, in front of the rest of the class, instructed Jude that, “we talk more articulate here, we use big words here.” Jude felt demeaned and was upset that his professor failed to demonstrate sensitivity regarding the academic challenges that first generation students face. Because no one in Jude’s family had gone to college, he felt he did not know what to expect and initially struggled to understand and meet academic standards. Jude initially internalized his failures as his own fault, saying, “I didn’t see [my struggles] in a difference of resources or background,” but rather, “as everyone is smart and better, and I’m not.” Eventually, Jude learned to modify his

vocabulary to meet faculty standards, but also gained an awareness of the role of power and privilege in the creation and reproduction of such standards, asking “should everyone have to learn academic language to participate?” To Jude, it seems unfair that “in order to survive [academia], we have to adopt it.” In this way, Jude feels that by meeting academic standards, first generation students are forced to comply with an organizational habitus that is defined and dominated by those with greater privilege.

Like Desmond and Jude, George (a FGW student) also felt overwhelmed by classwork during his first semester. After failing his first two exams, George sought help from Link mentors, professors, the Writing Support Center, and the Math and Science Tutoring Center. Yet unlike Desmond and Jude, George reported no instances of unfair discipline or shaming by professors; instead, he said his professors were highly supportive and crucial to his academic success. First generation students were not the only ones to struggle in classes; Lizzy (a NFGW student), Max (a NFGW student), and Molly (a NFGSoC) also reported feeling challenged, overwhelmed, or intimidated by classwork. In fact, Lizzy said she believes that failure and struggles (both academically and socially) are an intrinsic part of the college experience. Yet Lizzy did not report ever feeling unfairly disciplined or publicly shamed by professors. In this way, FGSoC reported confronting an additional challenge in the classroom, apart from overwhelming classwork: interpersonal microaggressions perpetrated by faculty.

Despite these microaggressions, FGSoC asserted that the classroom is not the most uncomfortable or marginalizing space on campus. Instead, these participants claimed that student culture was more intimidating and alienating. Unlike the Academic Domain, in which all interviewees eventually found ways to adapt to and overcome challenges, student culture presented insurmountable obstacles to belonging. As Desmond said:

Yes, I was uncomfortable in classes, but I’m getting over that. The [college] culture, I really can’t get over that; it’s too hard, how do I adapt? You can’t give me a book that says this is how you adapt to [this college’s] culture after coming from a small high school of around 200 students, and dealing with no issues of color or race or sex or gender or anything along those lines. And it’s so hard because you’re dealing with so many judgments [at this college].

Here, Desmond indicates that he feels most judged and overwhelmed in domains outside of academics. In these other domains, Desmond does not know how to adapt to and overcome challenges along lines of race, class, and gender. These insurmountable challenges are more nebulous and indiscernible than interpersonal microaggressions in the classroom; while Desmond, Jude, and Molly were able to describe discrete instances of overt, interpersonal hostility in the classroom, they described moments of alienation in the Social and Outdoor domains in more sweeping, generalized terms.

In this way, students of color seem to experience most marginalization less as interpersonal aggression and more as insinuated invalidation. Even the racist social media postings during fall semester followed this pattern of vague repudiation; although they were submitted by individuals, their anonymity created a generalized, yet ubiquitous sense of aggression. Prudence explains that after the comments, “all spaces turned a little hostile,” and she felt “a strange aura...surrounding like interracial contact... just a very strange dynamic.” Prudence’s description indicates that she experiences the hostile organizational habitus as an indiscernible yet omnipresent sense that she is not welcome in all spaces on campus. This

dominant organizational habitus, which (in Prudence's words) represents the aggregate "aura" of countless interactions with other students and institutional practices, caused Desmond to feel he has to work hard to prove his worth as a Latino, prompted Jude to see outdoor activities as generally "weird" and exclusionary, made Prudence feel unsafe walking through campus, and informed Molly that she was "only here as a number." Interpersonal microaggressions in the classroom seem to be one expression of a hostile organizational habitus; however, such a habitus seems to be more often manifested in less discernible moments in interactions outside of academics. Thus, while many FGSoC report instances of public ridicule and alienation in the Academic Domain, they report experiencing the strongest, yet also most nebulous sense of marginalization and powerlessness outside of the classroom.

Ease, making friends, and having to "work" in the Social Domain

Interviews with FGSoC revealed that their experiences in the Social Domain differ from FGW and NFGW students, but align more closely with NFGSoC, thereby pointing to the role of race in social belonging and participation. All FGSoC described moments when they have felt judged, insulted, or unwelcome based on either their race or first generation status. Desmond (a FGSoC) claimed he constantly has to work to prove that he's a worthy member of the college community and to break stereotypes about Latinos, saying:

For me, I have a standard I have to meet, it's like I'm working a job. And I have to meet this quota. And this quota is very hard, it's challenging every day. And these quotas are that I have to set a standard, or break the mold for people who see me on campus.

Desmond said the only time he feels like he does not have to work to meet this "quota" is during school breaks, when most white and wealthier students leave campus. Desmond indicated that these breaks represent a hiatus from the dominant organizational habitus, as underrepresented cultural capital becomes legitimate, valued, and appreciated all over campus. He said:

Now when you're on... break, that quota isn't needed anymore, you don't have to set a quota, you're relaxed, you are around people who get you, who understand what you're going through. People start talking slang and it's easy to understand everything that's going on, like we're not talking so highfalutin ... like that's bullshit, I'm sorry, it's just too ridiculous sometimes. So having people on campus who aren't doing that anymore, it's so great, it's a break from that annoyance, you're just enjoying the company... and not having to dress as professional as you usually do, you can dress as you want to and people will understand and they'll comment on it and say, 'yeah that's fly as fuck, like I appreciate it and I feel you,' and I appreciate that. So that connection on campus brings a holistic view of how much we appreciate one another and how we are a support for one another.

Here, Desmond describes how underrepresented patterns of dress and speech surface during breaks, as students no longer feel that they have to meet the cultural standards of the organizational habitus that dominates campus during the normal school week. Desmond reports that the students who remain on campus during break empathize with and support one another, as

they understand the daily work that goes into proving their worth under a hostile organizational habitus. In this way, Desmond suggests that breaks become a sort of temporal counterspace, as underrepresented students (in particular FGSoC) can let their guards down, display and validate their own cultural capital, and create community.

However, Desmond's claim that many underrepresented students experience belonging and community on campus during school breaks contrasts with the temporal belonging data displayed in Figure 5. This data shows that FGSoC report their lowest mean belonging to the college community during school breaks, and that this mean is much lower than all other race/class groups. It is possible that while FGSoC experience relief from the dominant organizational habitus during breaks on campus, they also feel excluded or alienated from the off-campus cultural practices of many white and wealthier students. The sense that the "norm" (as determined by more privileged students) is to go off campus during breaks may cause underrepresented students who remain on campus to feel inferior or left-out and disconnected from the dominant college community. Moreover, the sense of community and cultural validation that underrepresented students experience during break may not have any long-lasting effect on the dominant organizational habitus. Once white and wealthier students return to campus, the status-quo organizational habitus likely returns as well, unchanged and untouched by the displays of underrepresented cultural capital that occurred on campus during break.

Like many FGSoC participants, Molly, a NFGSoC, reported feeling unappreciated and unwelcome in social spaces. Upon arriving at the college, Molly sensed that she and other students of color were admitted only on the basis of their contribution to racial diversity, claiming she has heard other students of color say, "I don't feel like I belong here, I feel like I'm only here as a number, as their diversity quota." In this way, Molly indicates that many students of color feel the administration does not view them as holistic human beings who are worth more than their race. Other interviewees of color reported feeling unappreciated in interactions with peers. Desmond said he has tried hard to make new friends from very different backgrounds from his own, but has been frustrated when his peers do not return his interest and attention, saying, "I don't get the friends I want to... I put in a lot of effort, but sometimes that effort is not reciprocated." Desmond said he experienced the most occurrences like this with his former fraternity brothers, whom he found would not "meet me half way." Desmond also said most of his fraternity brothers were white and affluent. Conversely, Desmond felt that students from similar backgrounds "definitely reciprocated" his efforts to get to know them. As a result, most of Desmond's close friends are other students of color. Likewise, Molly and Jude said most of their closest friends are students of color.

While participants of color rarely mentioned instances of overt aggression or racism in the Social Domain, they nonetheless felt unaccepted, unappreciated, and stereotyped through institutional policies and practices (such as admission office diversity quotas) and interactions with white and wealthy peers (who failed to reciprocate their efforts to make friends). As mentioned in the previous section, FGSoC indicated that student culture was more alienating and marginalizing than academics. These participants felt that they could adapt to and overcome challenges in the classroom, but could not determine how to overcome the sense of generalized invalidation and repudiation they felt in interactions with dominant groups of students and non-academic institutional practices.

In contrast to students of color, white participants, regardless of class background, reported feeling comfortable everywhere on campus, and liked and accepted by everyone. George (a FGW student) claimed, "I have not met one person here who I do not like, and I mean

that truthfully. I like everyone here, I like this place.” George described himself as a “very sociable person,” saying, “there’s no one set friend group that I hang out with, I like to bounce around a lot, I can relate to anybody... I’ll make a friend anywhere, there’s no place you can’t really make a friend, I suppose.” George is involved in a fraternity, and felt that he has made strong friendships with his fraternity brothers. This contrasts sharply with Desmond, who found it difficult to make friends with his white and wealthy fraternity brothers, as he felt they failed to reciprocate his efforts. It seems that there are some places where students of color cannot easily make friends; specifically, in networks dominated by white students.

Like George, Lucy (a FGW student) described herself as “a very, very social person.” Lucy indicated that there was no space on campus where she did not have friends, and said, “a place I associate with having really great times, that could literally be anywhere.” Lucy and George exhibit ease in their ability to make friends anywhere and everywhere on campus. Additionally, Lucy and George are unique from all other interviewees in that they participate in activities from all four domains on a consistent and frequent basis: Lucy was involved in Diversity Center groups (Counterspace Domain), environmentalist housing (Social Domain), informal outdoor activities (Outdoor Domain), an internship off campus (Academic/Career Domain), tutoring at the Writing Support Center (Academic/Career Domain), and work at the alumni fundraising office (Academic/Career Domain). George played club sports (Social Domain), had a leadership role in his fraternity (Social Domain), went skiing and hiking (Outdoor Domain), participated in an academic club (Academic/Career Domain), took a language adjunct course (Academic/Career Domain), and attended first generation programming (Counterspace Domain). While other interviewees also participated in activities from various domains, no one except for Lucy and George participated in activities from all four.

Like Lucy and George, Max (a NFGW student) exhibited ease and mobility through campus spaces, saying that his favorite place on campus “could be anywhere,” depending “on who was there.” Max also claimed to have no least favorite place on campus, saying “there’s no place I avoid, no place I feel really bad at.” This contrasts with most participants of color, who mentioned several places throughout their interviews where they felt uncomfortable due to elements of the social/cultural environment. For example, Jude said his least favorite place on campus was fraternity house parties because of their culture of “toxic masculinity” and sexual assault. While FGW participants also reported least favorite places on campus, they attributed their dislike to architectural features, such as the absence of windows or un-renovated bathrooms, rather than negative social/cultural aspects.

In sum, participants’ experiences in the Social Domain were patterned primarily by race. Most FGSoc and NFGSoC interviewees reported feeling judged, unappreciated, and unwanted through interactions with institutional practices and with white and wealthier peers. Desmond’s description of having to work hard to prove his worth and break stereotypes demonstrates that the dominant organizational habitus is hostile to students of color. This organizational habitus demands that students of color work exhaustively to meet its standards of legitimate and valued cultural capital, which appear to be rooted in “whiteness” and privilege. In contrast to FGSoc, FGW participants exhibited ease, as they were able to make friends, feel included, and participate in all domains on campus. Likewise, Max (a NFGW student) reported feeling comfortable everywhere on campus. Under the same organizational habitus, white students make friends easily and feel at home in almost any space on campus, while students of color work hard simply to break denigrating stereotypes and prove they have a legitimate claim to membership in the college community.

DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Unequal belonging and participation along racial lines

The quantitative and qualitative analyses reveals that differences in student belonging and participation fall most directly along lines of race, as opposed to class. If class were more influential than race in promoting or precluding belonging, we would expect that students with similar levels of parental education, irrespective of race, would report similar means of belonging in all (or most) domains. This is not the case; in fact, the largest disparities in mean belonging are between FGW students and FGSoC in every domain except Counterspace. That white students, irrespective of first generation status, report a greater sense of belonging than students of color in all domains except the Counterspace Domain and have the largest proportions of students who participate in all four domains suggests that “whiteness” is equally (if not more) influential in the development of omnivorous patterns of belonging and participation as socioeconomic class. This is not to say that class is irrelevant in patterns of belonging; for example, the elevated class status of NFGSoC may enable them to attain a greater sense of belonging than FGSoC in all domains. However, that NFGSoC report lower belonging than white students in almost all domains indicates that while non-first generation status boosts belonging, it does not have as strong an impact on belonging as race.

Qualitative results further reveal the importance of race in belonging, especially in the Outdoor and Social domains. White participants, irrespective of class, were more likely than participants of color to exhibit ease across domains and feel comfortable and included anywhere on campus. The salience of race in patterns of student belonging and participation across domains indicates that race matters in the development of omnivorousness and ease. For this reason, the tendency in existing literature on omnivorousness to overlook the unique role of race may be misguided (Peterson 1992; Peterson 1996; Van Eijck 2000; Chan and Turner 2015; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2007; Khan 2013). Because student belonging and participation across domains is racialized, race should be considered in studies of omnivorousness and embodied ease.

Formal counterspace: benefits, institutional control, and importance of informal alternatives

The quantitative analysis demonstrates that the Counterspace Domain exhibits a distinct pattern of belonging and participation compared to all other domains. Students without any marginal or underrepresented status (i.e., NFGW students) feel the lowest belonging in that domain, whereas students of color (both NFGSoC and FGSoC) and first generation students (both FGW and FGSoC) report higher means. In this way, marginality seems to enable greater belonging in the Counterspace Domain, whether on the basis of minority racial group or first generation status. These results resonate with literature that suggests that counterspace enables underrepresented students to define their own cultural capital as legitimate and valuable, and to create a sense of membership and belonging (Yosso et al. 2009; Museus et al. 2012).

That the Counterspace Domain is the only domain to not exhibit a statistically significant positive effect on the ordered log odds of overall belonging at the college (see Table 1) also aligns with literature that suggests that counterspace provides community for underrepresented students, while also restricting their cultural ownership to marginal spaces on campus (Harper and Hurtado 2007). As Harper and Hurtado (2007) claim, the dominant organizational habitus continues to privilege “whiteness” in the majority of spaces outside the Counterspace Domain. In this way, belonging in the Counterspace Domain may have a contradictory effect on overall

belonging at the college; while underrepresented students feel belonging and create community in counterspaces, they also continue to feel unwelcome in most other domains. Thus, belonging in the Counterspace Domain does not necessarily translate into a greater sense of overall belonging on campus.

Additionally, interviews suggested that there may be challenges to underrepresented students' autonomy in formal counterspaces. Pervasive institutional control over Diversity Center student groups may extend the dominant organizational habitus into spaces that are meant to provide refuge from and an alternative to prevailing standards of cultural capital. Such over-policing may cause many underrepresented students to view formal counterspace as yet another arena in which they must work to conform to policies and values defined by those with greater power and/or privilege. The interviews also showed that informal friendship networks that thrive in less-policed spaces (e.g., the library, certain dining halls) may provide the greatest sense of belonging and comfort for underrepresented groups. These findings build on the work by Yosso et al. (2009) and Museus et al. (2012) by suggesting that the benefits of some formal counterspaces may be constrained by their ties to the institution and dominant organizational habitus. That said, the interviews also underscored the importance of the institutionally-sponsored Link Program in fostering empathetic support systems for underrepresented students. Such networks are invaluable for their ability to bolster members in the face of a hostile organizational habitus.

Hostile organizational habitus: interpersonal microaggressions and generalized repudiation

The quantitative results show that belonging is relatively consistently high for all race/class groups in the Academic/Career Domain (see Table 3 and Figures 2 and 3). Temporal belonging results (see Figures 4 and 5) further suggest that the Academic/Career Domain is not the most problematic in terms of marginalization and unequal belonging. This finding may be useful as the college develops programs to address critical issues of inclusivity on campus.

However, the Academic/Career Domain is not free of concerns; interviews with FGSoc revealed that they have experienced interpersonal microaggressions perpetrated by faculty. Yet despite these microaggressions, participants indicated that they felt more uncomfortable and disparaged outside of academics. Marginalization in these other domains seems to be most often experienced as a generalized and omnipresent sense of insecurity and invalidation. Dr. Carolyn Finney describes modern racism in these terms, saying it occurs in, "All the other stuff—it's the 'not sure,' the 'am I just sensitive, what's happening here,' the double guessing, the feeling insecure in places" (Finney 2016).

Finney's description and interviewees' reports also align with the concept of institutional microaggressions, which Yosso et al. (2009:673) argue are "the most difficult types of microaggressions to discern, explain, or prove" but nonetheless "diminish the value of Latina/o undergraduates within the campus community." The insidious, indiscernible quality to institutional microaggressions may also be characteristic of a hostile organizational habitus. The interviews indicated that the hostility of the organizational habitus may be expressed as an indifference to or disinterest in students of color, prejudiced judgment (for example, on clothing), pervasive institutional control over formal counterspaces, the college's promotion of outdoor activities, and the occasional anonymous, and therefore generalizable, instance of symbolic aggression (such as social media postings). Participants' narratives indicate that these widespread and relatively minor instances of hostility collectively generate the vague yet omnipresent sense of repudiation and invalidation of students of color. While interpersonal microaggressions may

also express the hostile organizational habitus, participants suggested that the generalized, insidious marginalization they experience in most other domains is the most distressing manifestation of the hostile organizational habitus.

These findings expand Stuber's (2011) concept of the organizational habitus by considering the role of institutional programming *and* the actions, outlooks, and cultural practices of dominant groups of peers. While FGSoC and NFGSoC certainly reported experiencing the hostile organizational habitus through institutional practices (e.g., admissions' diversity quotas, administrative control over Diversity Center groups), they also felt unwelcome and unwanted in interactions with white and wealthy peers. In this way, an organizational habitus that is hostile to students of color is enacted and reproduced by both the institution and by a majority of privileged white students.

Participants' experiences with the hostile organizational habitus can also be framed in terms of social risk (McAdams 1986). Interviews indicated that participation in domains governed by an organizational habitus that prioritizes "whiteness" and privilege seems risky for underrepresented students (in particular, students of color), as they feel inadequate, unwelcome, and even unsafe in these spaces. Prudence's feelings of fear and apprehension when simply walking around campus in the aftermath of the anonymous series of racist social media comments exemplify the risk students of color face under a hostile organizational habitus. Similarly, the racialized nature of involvement and inclusion in the Outdoor Domain may make participation seem uncomfortable, unappealing, and risky for many students of color.

Surprising FGW student patterns: role of race and selection effect

FGW students' consistently high pattern of belonging across domains is surprising, since literature on diversity on college campuses indicates that students from lower socioeconomic classes, irrespective of race, often experience marginalization and alienation (Aries and Seider 2005; Aries 2008). Like NFGW students, FGW students may be able to attain greater belonging in most domains than students of color because the dominant organizational habitus rewards and privileges "whiteness." Yet it is surprising that FGW students demonstrate even higher belonging than the "doubly privileged" NFGW students. It is possible that this pattern can be partially explained by the small sample size of FGW students ($n = 14$), which reduces the reliability of results, and partially by a selection effect.

Because the college is not "need blind," it prioritizes the admission of students who can afford to pay the full price of attendance (approximately \$60,000 per year). The college also seeks numerical diversity, as is common practice in most institutions of higher education (Berrey 2011). However, the necessity to admit students from wealthy homes may decrease the probability of seeking diversity on the basis of class. Instead, it is possible that the admissions office frames diversity primarily in terms of race/ethnicity. In this way, the admissions office expresses the dominant organizational habitus, which rewards wealth and "whiteness," but also seeks numerical diversity in terms of race and ethnicity (yet does not ensure that numerical diversity translates to qualitative diversity). Ultimately, these practices may make admittance most unlikely for first generation white students, who often lack the ability to pay the full cost of attendance and who do not contribute to the school's racial diversity. This would help explain why there were so few FGW respondents to the survey: there simply may not be many on campus. To be admitted to the college as a FGW student, one may need to be exceptional; FGW students may be selected for admittance only if they are exceedingly competent and/or capable of thriving in every domain, from academics to the social sphere. Thus, FGW students may be

predisposed to feel more belonging than even NFGW students, and to participate across all domains.

Indeed, the FGW interviewees were unique from all other participants in their self-reported sociability and their consistent and frequent participation in all domains. While I would venture that other interviewees were exceptional in ways that the FGW participants were not, FGW interviewees' exceptional sociability and passion for trying new things may help explain why they feel more belonging in all domains than NFGW students. However, the role of FGW students' race in enabling their widespread sense of belonging cannot be overlooked. While FGW students' ascribed characteristics may constitute a disadvantage in the college's admission process, their "whiteness" likely acts as an advantage once they arrive on campus. Unlike students of color, FGW students' race may afford them entry to and inclusion in most domains and activities, as the organizational habitus seems to reward and privilege "whiteness." In this way, FGW students' remarkably high belonging may be attributable mostly to their race, and partly to a selection effect that predisposes them to feel more belonging than even NFGW students. Perhaps Lucy and George's exceptional sociability and, in George's words, commitment to "[being] a part of it all" help them attain greater belonging than their NFGW peers.

Implications of the college's promotion of the Outdoor Domain

Results reveal that inclusion and involvement in the Outdoor Domain is highly racialized, with students of color reporting much lower belonging and participation than white students. Many interviewees of color saw outdoor activities as exclusionary, white, and privileged, and expressed disinterest in participating regardless of the relative accessibility of gear and funding. These participants preferred other activities, such trips to cities, meals, networking events, and cultural events. Despite their disinterest, participants reported that the college makes a concerted effort to involve them in outdoor activities. By mandating and encouraging outdoor recreation for underrepresented students (whether in Link programming or Diversity Center trips), the college seems to insist that underrepresented students partake in activities that resonate with many white students' cultural capital. In so doing, the institution reaffirms the prominence and power of white cultural capital, while failing to value, reflect, and respect many underrepresented students' cultural capital.

The college also prominently features outdoor recreation in its mission, branding, and programming for all students. The college's "Mission and Vision" statement includes a component of "Drawing upon the adventurous spirit of the Rocky Mountain West," which describes the school's "unparalleled access to the outdoors," proximity to "world-class skiing," and "opportunities to explore and endeavor away from the rigors of the classroom." In this way, the college positions involvement in outdoor activities as a central component of the dominant organizational habitus. The college's recently redesigned logo further emphasizes the centrality of "outdoorsyness" in the school's identity; the new logo prominently features the outline of a mountain range. In its "Visual Identity Guidelines," the college describes the mountains in the logo as symbolic of its place in the Rocky Mountain West. While the school's proximity to mountains is an undeniably distinctive feature of its place, the exclusive symbolic representation of the outdoorsy, mountainous aspects of its place may conceal other prominent features, such as its urbanity (the college is located in the state's second-largest urban center).

Furthermore, the college requires all freshman to partake in a service-learning trip during orientation that often includes an outdoors component (like hiking, backpacking, or trail

restoration). Like the mission statement and branding, these freshman orientation trips communicate that “outdoorsyness” is central to the college’s community and identity. To reiterate, this study indicates that inclusion and participation in the Outdoor Domain may be divided along racial lines. This finding suggests that by equating “outdoorsyness” with the college as a whole, the institution may also inadvertently equate “whiteness” with its identity and imply that “whiteness” is required for full community membership.

To reduce the hostility of the organizational habitus, the college must demonstrate that it also values underrepresented students’ interests and cultural capital. Because “outdoorsyness” is associated with “whiteness,” students of color do not see themselves represented in much of the college’s marketing, mission, and sponsored programming. Diversifying the rhetoric and symbolism surrounding the college’s identity to include the interests and pursuits of underrepresented students may alter the organizational habitus to be more genuinely inclusive and less hostile. While students with an interest in the outdoors merit institutional support and symbolic representation, students without those interests are also worthy of the same treatment.

CONCLUSION

To understand how inclusion and marginalization are manifested and experienced on college campuses, one must consider the relationship between the dominant organizational habitus and students with diverse types of cultural capital. An organizational habitus that roots standards of legitimate and valued culture in “whiteness” and privilege may act as a barrier to belonging for many students of color, whose cultural capital does not resonate with these standards. Under such an organizational habitus, white students may be more likely than students of color to exhibit embodied ease, manifested in omnivorous patterns of participation across domains, or at the very least, in a consistently high sense of belonging in most campus spaces. For this reason, participants of color did not share many white participants’ conviction that they could, in George’s words, “be a part of it all.”

These findings are relevant for colleges seeking to achieve greater inclusion for diverse students. Recognizing and remedying the ways in which institutional practices and policies, as well as elements of dominant student culture prioritize and reward “whiteness” may help colleges change their organizational habitus to be more welcoming and inclusive for all students. Peers, programs, marketing, and mission statements that respect, reflect, and value the cultural capital of underrepresented students may help colleges progress toward qualitative diversity.

Further research might examine the role of additional intersectionalities in student belonging, experiences of the organizational habitus, and participation across domains. For instance, interview data from this study indicated that race and class may also interact with gender, sexual orientation, and multiracial status to produce differential experiences with the organizational habitus. Future research might also consider the validity of an additional and distinct “cyberspace” domain. Examining how social media and virtual spaces influence student belonging and participation seems pertinent, considering how social media provided a platform for the hostile organizational habitus at this college. Studies with larger samples, as well as comparison studies between small private colleges and large state universities would also contribute to this body of work.

Numerical diversity on college campuses will only translate into genuine inclusion for all members of the community if students, staff, and faculty take responsibility for a hostile organizational habitus and take action to change marginalizing values, practices, and policies.

The nebulous and insidious quality of most marginalization experienced on campus should not circumvent action to change student culture and alter the organizational habitus. While generalized hostility is a less discernible foe than overt, interpersonal aggression, it can be conquered by committed, reflective members of the community.

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APPENDIX A: Survey Questions

Q1 What is your current academic year?

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Other (please specify): _____

Q2 What is your gender identity?

- Man
- Woman
- Transgender
- Gender queer
- Other (please specify): _____

Q3 What is your sexual orientation?

- Bisexual/Pansexual
- Heterosexual/Straight
- Gay
- Lesbian
- Queer
- Asexual
- Questioning
- Other (please specify): _____

Q4 Please indicate how you identify your race/ethnicity. Check all that apply.

- American Indian/Alaska Native
- Asian
- Black/African American
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- White
- Hispanic/Latino
- Other (please specify): _____

Q5 Please write your major in the space below. If you have not yet decided on a major, write "undecided."

Q6 Are you an international student?

- Yes
- No

Q7 Is English your first language?

- Yes
- No (please specify first language): _____

Q8 What is the highest level of education completed by your first parent/legal guardian?

- Less than a high school diploma
- High school graduate or GED
- Some college
- Associate's (two-year college) degree
- Four-year college degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Other (trade school, specialized training)

Q9 If applicable, what is the highest level of education completed by your second parent/legal guardian?

- Less than a high school diploma
- High school graduate or GED
- Some college
- Associate's (two-year college) degree
- Four-year college degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Other (trade school, specialized training)

Q10 From what type of high school did you graduate?

- Public
- Public charter
- Public magnet
- Private day school (non-boarding)
- Private boarding
- Home school
- Other (please specify): _____

Q11 During fall semester, how much time did you spend during a typical week doing the following activities?

	None	Less than 1	1-3	4-6	7-10	Over 10
Meeting with professors during office hours	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting the Career Center	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting the Writing Center	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hanging out on the Quads	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting Tutt Library	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Skiing or snowboarding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting the Outdoor Education Gear House	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending house parties off campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eating at Rastall Dining Hall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending student organization meetings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exercising at the gym on campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Meeting/rehearsing for dance, music, or drama productions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending speaking events, exhibits, or productions on campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending religious/spiritual gatherings in Shove Chapel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending sporting events (e.g., hockey games, soccer games)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting Worner Student Center	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Going on trips off campus (unrelated to class)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Working for pay on campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Working for pay off campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking adjunct courses	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Volunteering off campus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12 During the block break between blocks 3 and 4 (November 12-15, before Fall Break), what did you do? Select all that apply.

- Went on a trip off campus that was not sponsored by CC (for example, drove to Denver; flew home)
- Went on a CC-sponsored trip (for example, a Campus Activities-sponsored block break program)
- Stayed on campus

Q13 For the following questions, please select how much you agree with each statement. Even if you have never gone to the place or attended the event described in the statement, please select an answer based on how you think you would feel in the given context.

- I have read and understand this information

Q14 In the classroom, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q15 I often speak up in class.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q16 In professors' offices, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q17 In the Career Center, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q18 In the Writing Center, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q19 In Tutt Library, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q20 Outside on the Quads, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q21 On the ski slopes, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q22 On Outdoor Recreation Committee (ORC) trips, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q23 On the Incline, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q24 At house parties off campus, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q25 On Campus Activities-sponsored block break programs (e.g., pumpkin patch trip, wolf sanctuary trip), I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q26 In student housing, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q27 At Rastall Dining Hall, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q28 At student organization/club meetings, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q29 At the gym on campus, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q30 Attending sporting events (for example, hockey games, soccer games), I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q31 At meetings/rehearsals for dance, music, or drama productions, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q32 Attending speaking events, exhibits, or productions on campus, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q33 In Shove Chapel, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q34 In Worner Student Center, I feel like I belong.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q35 In general, I feel like I belong at Colorado College.

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q36 For each time period listed below, select how much you agree with the statement, "I feel I belong to the Colorado College community."

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
During weekday mornings (7am-12pm)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
During weekday afternoons (12pm-5pm)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
During weekday evenings (5pm onward)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On weekends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
During block break	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q37 If you are interested in being interviewed as a follow-up to this survey, please enter your email address below. Your survey responses will remain confidential.

APPENDIX B: Interview Questions

1. Take me through your schedule for a normal week (or this week).
2. Why do you participate in these activities? Have you ever considered participating in (insert activity from unlisted domain/s)?
3. Where is your favorite/least favorite place to be on campus? Why?
4. Are there any places at CC where you feel like you don't fit in? Where/why?
5. Are there places at CC you avoid going to or feel like you shouldn't/can't go to? What are the consequences of going to these places?
6. Where at CC do you feel most comfortable?
7. What would you say a successful CC student is like? What standards do you think CC asks students to meet?
8. What do you look for in a friend? What kind of things should this person like to do?

APPENDIX C

Box Graph of Belonging in Domains by Racial Groups

