

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: A Case Study of Undergraduate Student Employment at a Private University: Exploring the Effects of Social Class and Institutional Context

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This research examined if the trend which finds greater numbers of undergraduate college students working, and in some cases for many hours each week, has differing outcomes for students from different social class backgrounds. Employing a Bourdieuan theoretical framework the study examined if college students' choices about work (e.g., whether or not to work; whether to work on-campus vs. off-campus; and how many hours to work per week) are shaped by their social class and the institutional context of the college they attend. The study also investigated if the policies, practices and characteristics of one private university affected students' work, academic and co-curricular choices.

The research investigated these questions through employing a cross-case study analysis that focused on the work experience of students at a private, four-year Catholic university in the northeast. The case study drew on multiple data sources, including institutional level data collected from students' participation in national

surveys, interviews with students, and interviews with college administrators and student employers.

Findings from the research indicate that students from working class backgrounds were more likely to work more hours per week during the academic year than their middle- and upper-class peers who were employed. Working class students also were more likely to hold more than one job during the academic year and to combine on-campus and off-campus employment than their middle- and upper-class peers. Despite this, working-class students often found a sense of belonging and fit through their jobs.

The study also found that working class students were far less likely to participate in study abroad than their middle- and upper-class peers. Working class students frequently cited a concern for the continuity of their employment as a deterrent to study abroad. Working class students were somewhat less likely to participate in co-curricular programs than their middle- and upper-class peers. Nonetheless, the study found that working class students often pursued campus jobs that provided opportunities for leadership development, community service or interaction with faculty.

A CASE STUDY OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT EMPLOYMENT AT A
PRIVATE UNIVERSITY: EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CLASS
AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work in loving memory of my parents, who were teachers and mentors to so many. I owe all that I have done with my education to them.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

When Ishmael, the melancholy narrator of *Moby-Dick*, declares “a whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard,” this may reflect the author’s conflicted acknowledgement that his education on the deck of a whale ship replaced what he might have received at an ivory-towered institution. Melville’s own education was cut short due to his father’s failed business as an importer and his early death (Hovde, 2003). But Ishmael’s statement also hints at the stratification of American society, divisions that might shape a distinctive working class epistemology—a kind of knowledge different from the knowledge acquired by those who attended college.

While the example Melville provides illustrates barriers to higher education present in the mid-nineteenth century, one could argue that the history of American higher education since that time represents an increasing promise of inclusion for working class people. The Morrill Act of 1862 and 1890 and the accompanying land grant movement are examples of federal legislation that expanded the purposes of higher education and signaled symbolically the opening of universities to the sons of farmers and miners. The G. I. Bill of Rights (1944) provided financial resources for soldiers returning from World War II to attend college and made access to higher education possible for many who would become first-generation college students. The Higher Education Act of 1964 represented a watershed moment not only in its unprecedented federal support for higher education, but also in the financial means it provided to enable low-income students to attend college.

Expanded access to higher education in the 20th century accompanied the idea that a college education could be a powerful vehicle for social mobility. Working class students and their families perceived college as paving the way to middle-class status (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Jencks & Riesman, 1968). Despite the inclusion of more working class students in higher education today, the college experience for such students is at times remarkably different from the experience of their middle- and upper-class peers. A significant difference in the experience of working class students is that they often must work, at times for long hours and away from campus, in order to afford college. This dissertation explores if the necessity of finding employment shapes working class students' college experience and in turn influences different social and academic outcomes than for their middle- and upper-class peers.

Alfred Lubrano's (1994) book, *Limbo: Blue-Collar Roots, White-Collar Dreams* depicts the kind of cultural clash that working class students experience when they attend college. For Lubrano, a Brooklyn bricklayer's son who graduated from Columbia in the 1970s, college represented his first encounter with the upper-class. As a first-generation college student, Lubrano describes how even his classmates' style of dress was foreign to him. He depicts his more privileged peers as "sockless men" who wore "khaki pants" and "wrinkled dress shirts" to class after rolling out of bed in their campus dormitories (p. 73). Lubrano explained that, in order to afford college, he rose early to commute to school on the subway and held down a work-study job in the Columbia law library. Lubrano spoke of his engagement in a kind of class warfare against the arrogant and privileged law students when at night he reshelved the books from their study carrels. When the law students complained about

Lubrano's strict adherence to the rules, he described how he would use his physical size to intimidate them into compliance.

In Lubrano's (1994) example I find elements of what French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1984) termed the *habitus* that shapes and defines working class students' experience while in college. Living at home and working odd hours become part of the expected and perhaps unexamined "rules of the game" that Bourdieu suggests form the hidden constraints associated with one's social class. In the early chapters of Lubrano's book he explains that his working class parents lacked understanding of the kind of effort required to succeed at an elite institution. Lubrano comes to the conclusion that his pattern of work and school while at Columbia shaped a very different social reality for him from that experienced by his more affluent classmates. According to Lubrano, this experience influenced everything in his college life from the kind of women he could date to the development of important social contacts. He says of his experience at Columbia that: "A critical aspect of the immersion in the middle-class would have been to find peers among the new class, relationships to solidify the transition" (p.75). Instead, Lubrano reflects that his experience was largely disconnected from that of his more privileged classmates.

Lubrano's (1994) example demonstrates the kinds of tensions that may shape the working class student's *habitus*. His experience at Columbia, however, is anecdotal and occurred over 30 years ago. In addition, I assert that the cultural clash and isolation that Lubrano experienced at Columbia is shaped by the institutional context. The amount of cultural isolation that students feel when they attempt to balance the dual role of employee and student will vary greatly depending on the

college or university they attend. The feeling of sacrifice a student internalizes as a result of working long hours at an off-campus job will likely be more pronounced for the student attending an elite private institution where the student's peers are less likely to be working. The community college student who lives at home and works might not experience the same sense of isolation and sacrifice because within this institutional context the majority of students are likely to work. Nonetheless, in the next section of the chapter I devote my attention to the broad characteristics of student employment as they are experienced by an increasing number of college students who work while going to college. In addition, I focus on the specific challenges employment presents to working class students.

Statement of the Problem

The percentage of full time college students who work while in school has increased steadily over the past three decades. Hexter (1990), for example, shows that the percentage of full-time students, ages 16 to 24, who worked for pay increased from 35% in 1972 to 46.5% in 1988. McMillion's (2005) analysis of the data available from the 2003-04 National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey (NPSAS) indicates that 78 % of all undergraduates worked during the 2003-04 academic year.

While reasons for the increase in the percentage of undergraduate students who work may vary, recent data from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) annual survey on freshman norms suggest that more students report that they must work while in school to help cover the cost of attending. For example, the percentage of freshmen replying that chances were very good that they would

have to get a job to help pay college expenses increased from 39.5% in 1995 to 46.8% in 2005.

Another concern in college student employment is the number of hours per week that students spend on the job. King and Bannon (2002) indicated that of all full-time students who also worked in the 1999-2000 academic year, 46% worked 25 or more hours per week and 20% worked 35 hours per week or more—almost the equivalent of full-time employment. Despite the amount of time that college students devote to work, King and Bannon (2002) indicate that 84% of those who work still “identify themselves primarily as students working to meet college expenses, in contrast to employees who enroll to take credit classes” (p. 1).

While less information is available about how college student employment may vary across institutional type, the high numbers of undergraduate students working while in school is common at all institutions. Although working has long been a part of the experience of community college students, the greatest increase in student employment has been at public and private four-year universities (Stern & Nakata, 1991).

The trend which finds an increasing number of college students on the job, in some cases for long hours, suggests that the work experience of college students should be of interest to both administrators at institutions of higher education and policymakers. College students’ work experience is an important topic not only because work has increasingly become an essential part of an undergraduate’s life but also because the type of job students hold, and the amount of hours they work, may affect the quality of the student’s experience in college and their chances of success.

While previous research has done an effective job of identifying how certain conditions of employment (e.g., off-campus work and work that exceeds 25 hours per week) negatively impact retention and time to degree (Gleason, 1993; King, 2002; Stern & Nakata, 1991) what is less clear is how the amount and type of work students pursue appear to influence other aspects of the student experience such as academic choices, co-curricular involvement, and social life (Cheng & Alcantara, 2007). What is even less clear is how students make choices about balancing work and school and if these choices vary based on student characteristics.

Work and Unmet Financial Need

Research on college student employment frequently attributes the high percentage of working students and the high average number of hours they work to unmet financial need (King 2002; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagerdorn & Terrenzini, 1998; Stampen, Reeves, & Hansen, 1987). Unmet financial need is a financial aid term referring to “the adjusted (to reflect attendance status and housing choice) student budget less all aid (including loans) and the student’s expected family contribution” (King, 2002, p. 14). A 2002 report of the congressional committee on financial aid claims that unmet need has been increasing over the past several decades due to higher college costs and a declining share of the expenses covered by grant aid (Advisory Committee on Student Aid, 2002).

Previous research has documented dramatic differences in unmet financial need between lower-income and middle-and upper-income students. King (2002) used data from the 1996 Beginning Postsecondary data set (BPS) to make comparisons between lower-, middle- and upper-income students and their unmet

financial need. She concluded that because “the average family contribution for low-income students is very small they face an average unmet need that is more than three times that of middle-and upper-income undergraduates” (p.19). King shows that the magnitude of unmet financial need for low-income students is even greater when one considers that the amount

(\$ 3,556 for her sample from the BPS) represents between 28% and 42% of the annual income for families from this group. By contrast the average amount of unmet need for middle-and upper-income groups (\$994) represents about 1% of their families’ average annual income (King, 2002, p.19). The strain of managing their finances may be further exacerbated for many low-income college students who choose to work because the maximum amount they can earn may be restricted if they are to continue to qualify for federal Pell Grant support (Burd, 2003).

Despite the dramatic differences in unmet need between socioeconomic groups, and the obvious conclusion that we might expect to find working class students on the job more while in college in order to meet college expenses, very few studies on college student employment have taken social class into account (King, 2002; Walpole, 2003 are possible exceptions). The shortcomings of previous research on student employment to consider social class is particularly glaring given the disparity in graduation rates between low-income and middle- and upper-income students (Carey, 2004).

Purpose and Significance of the Study

This dissertation attempts to address the shortcomings of previous empirical research on student employment by examining the work experience of undergraduate

students from a social class perspective. The purpose of the study is to better understand how students make choices about work and school and to examine if these choices in turn influence different social and academic outcomes for students from different social class backgrounds.

In her report “Crucial Choices: How Students’ Financial Decisions Affect Their Academic Success,” Jacqueline King (2002) demonstrates how the seemingly insignificant financial choices students make during their undergraduate career, including student employment decisions, can impact whether or not they successfully complete their degree requirements. King’s report poignantly demonstrates that a significant number of college students make poor decisions about how much to work and how to finance college. King concludes that students have the greatest chance of completing their degree by going to school full-time, working less than 15 hours per week, living on-campus, and taking out student loans to cover the remainder of their unmet need.

Despite these findings King’s (2002) report documents that less than 6% of first-time college students (based on her analysis of the 1996 BPS data set) adopt the strategy of working a limited number of hours and combining work with borrowing. In contrast she finds that nearly 45% of first-time college students from the BPS chose the least successful strategy—borrowing nothing and working 15 or more hours per week.

Despite the fact that many students may make poor choices about balancing work and school, and that these choices may have particularly negative consequences for working class students, little is known about how college students make such

choices. This dissertation holds the promise of contributing to the empirical research on student employment by conducting an in-depth examination of how students make work-related choices.

In this dissertation I examine if a particular university, through tuition policies, institutional characteristics and academic requirements, appear to influence the choices students make about working while in college. In addition, I explore if the social class of the majority of the student body will affect certain student norms about work choices. I speculate that the policies and practices of the institution may combine with student norms to create a unique institutional context that frames the student's work experience. As a result the study could add to our understanding of the effects of student employment by examining it as a function of the dialectic relationship between student choice (agency) and institutional control (structure). Therefore, this research holds the promise of informing institutional policy that could assist with the recruitment and retention of working class and first-generation college students.

Theoretical Framework

In order to explain how students from different social class backgrounds make student employment-related choices, I employ the theoretical constructs that French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984) developed through 30 years of empirical research. In Chapter Two I discuss each of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs and develop a model that applies these constructs to my study. Bourdieu's key constructs of *habitus*, *capital*, *field*, and *practice* form the basis for the conceptual model.

Robbins (1991) compares the primary aim of Bourdieu's sociology to poet Gerard Manley Hopkins' depiction of a bird in flight. Robbins says of Bourdieu that his "main interest from his earliest work to the present has been in human relations in action" (p.1). In this study I apply Bourdieu's constructs in a manner consistent with this aim. I believe that the everyday choices students make about work and school represent what Bourdieu calls *practice* and are an appropriate focus for an investigation applying his constructs.

Bourdieu's work also stands as an important critique of the 20th century notion that the expansion of educational opportunity reduced social inequality (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu's analysis of the French educational system in particular (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) reveals how the processes and policies of educational institutions tend to reinforce and perpetuate social class difference rather than to provide a vehicle for social mobility. By focusing on certain characteristics of what I define as the *field* (the campus where the student attends), I attempt to account for the ways in which students' employment-related choices are shaped or constrained by the institution. In this way the research seeks to explore the efficacy of using Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction to understand student employment decisions in a particular context.

By focusing on the work experience of students from different social class backgrounds within the context of a single institution, the study seeks to understand how students conceptualize the role of work in their undergraduate experience and if this understanding varies based on student characteristics such as class. Specifically, I explore if the necessity of finding work appears to influence working class students to

pursue employment (e.g., higher paying, off-campus, many hours) that inhibit their accumulation of *social* and *cultural* capital and deter social mobility. Moreover, in keeping with Bourdieu I seek to understand if working while in school becomes a marker of social class differences and how these differences are experienced by students on a particular campus.

Research Questions

The research questions for the study were derived from the conceptual framework, which is further described in Chapter Two. The study was guided by the overarching research question:

How do the work choices of working class and middle-/upper-class students who attend one private four year university reflect Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction?

In order to address the overarching research questions the study asked six related sub-questions:

1. What work choices do working class and middle-/upper-class students make and why do they make these choices? (e.g., whether or not to work; how many hours to work; on-campus vs. off-campus employment)
2. To what extent do students' work choices vary by class?
3. How do the work choices of working class and middle-/upper-class students shape their academic and co-curricular choices?
4. How do the academic and co-curricular choices of working class and middle-/upper- class students shape their work choices?
5. To what extent do these patterns of relationships vary by class?
6. How do the work choices of working class and middle-/upper students appear to be influenced by institutional characteristics, policies and practices? (e.g., tuition policies, academic requirements, socioeconomic status of the majority of the student body, employment opportunities)

Research Method and Research Site

I utilized a case study methodology to explore the employment experiences of undergraduates on a university campus. The research site for this study was a private, comprehensive Catholic university located in the northeast. As a private institution with relatively high tuition, the university was a particularly appropriate site for studying the phenomenon of student employment. King (2002) indicates that on average unmet need for students in her sample from the BPS is approximately two and a half times greater at private four-year institutions than at public four-year institutions. The research site (further described in Chapter Three) serves a high percentage of upper-class students. Many of these students may not work or are working for different reasons than are working class students. Therefore, the institution provided a dramatic contrast in student experience.

Within the case study tradition, this dissertation represents a single case with multiple, embedded units of analysis (Yin, 2003). The case under investigation is the phenomenon of student employment on the campus that serves as the research site. The units of analysis for the study are students from different social class groups and college administrators and student employers. These units of analysis were selected because they should offer unique insight into what shapes the phenomenon of interest (student employment) on this particular campus. In Chapter Three I discuss in greater detail the criteria for selecting students to be interviewed in the study. These students were selected in equal numbers from what I define as “working class” and “middle-/upper-class” backgrounds. The administrators and employers were selected because

their roles appear to have influence on policy or as employers of students they may have insight into the role of work for students at the institution.

In following Yin's (2003) recommendations for case study design, I collected evidence from multiple data sources. These sources included archival data, semi-structured individual interviews with students, and semi-structured interviews with college administrators. Data collection and data analysis are described in Chapter Three. The design of the study facilitated a thorough and systematic investigation of the phenomenon of interest—students' employment-related choices.

Definition of Terms

McCarthy (2005) stated that clearly defined terms provide important structure for case study research and a common language to assist in orienting the reader toward understanding the case. For this reason in this section I identify and define several key terms for the research. The theoretical constructs relevant to understanding the conceptual framework for the study are outlined in Chapter Two. The following are important terms for understanding the individual case:

Social Class is a collection of individuals who share similar social and economic circumstances. For the purposes of this study an individual's family affiliation is understood to provide the primary orientation toward class membership. Within the context of this research a student's social class status was primarily determined using two commonly accepted proxies—parents' education attainment (Van Galen, 2000) and parents' employment (Tokarczyk & Fay, 1993).

Working class students were defined as students whose parents did not attend or had only minimal exposure to college and who were employed in occupations from the U.S. Census Bureau which have a combined socioeconomic index (SEI) of less than 50 (Hauser & Warren, 1997).

Middle-class students were defined as students whose parents' educational attainment is mixed, with one parent completing a college degree and the other having not attended. Middle-class students' parents were employed in occupations from the U.S. Census Bureau which have a combined socioeconomic index (SEI) between 50 and 100 (Hauser & Warren, 1997).

Upper-class students were defined as students whose parents' educational attainment includes both parents completing a bachelor's degree or greater and who were employed in occupations from the U.S. Census Bureau which have a combined socioeconomic index (SEI) of greater than 100 (Hauser & Warren, 1997).

Unmet need was defined as the adjusted student budget less all aid (including loans) and the student's expected family contribution (King, 2002).

Summary

The trend which finds more students working while in college is not likely to abate. The increasing costs of higher education, and declining support from state and federal sources, have caused a shift in the burden of financing higher education from taxpayers to students and their families (McMillion, 2005). One consequence of the shifting burden in who finances higher education is a steady increase in the number of students who are working while they are enrolled and an increase in the amount of

hours they spend on the job (King & Bannon, 2002; McMillion, 2005). While there are clear benefits for students who work, including the accumulation of financial resources for college and the acquisition of skills needed for future careers, the amount of time spent on the job limits the time available for studying and participating in other enriching educational and co-curricular activities (Lammers, Onwuegbuzie & Slate, 2001; Walpole, 2003). For these reasons institutional level studies, such as this research, are important for colleges and universities interested in improving the educational experiences of students who work (Perna, Cooper, & Li, in press).

While previous research on student employment has done a good job of identifying how some conditions of employment (e.g., number of hours worked, on-campus vs. off-campus employment) impacts retention and time to degree, very little research has focused on how students make work-related choices and how these choices contribute to their college experience (Cheng & Alcantara, 2007). In addition, very few studies focus on how student employment might vary based on differences in student characteristics such as age, race/ethnicity, and social class. This dissertation filled this void in the previous research by examining the role that work played in the student experience and if that role varies based on class.

Previous research on student employment has been criticized for not providing a theoretical model to explain why students work (Rigger, Boyle, Petrosko, Ash, & Rude-Parkins, 2006). This dissertation utilizes the theoretical constructs of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984) to develop one such model. By applying Bourdieu's constructs to explore how class differences might manifest themselves through the

work experiences of students I contribute a model that was tested within one particular university community. In limiting the study to one institution I seek to add to what is primarily a quantitative and multi-institutional dominated body of research. For this reason one review of this literature suggests a need to conduct “smaller studies across varied settings with more homogeneous groups” (Rigger et al., 2006). This study seeks to fill this gap in the literature and recognizes that the work experiences of students will vary greatly depending on the institutional setting.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The goal of this literature review is to develop a framework for my study and to situate the study within the broader context of related research. In order to accomplish this goal I have organized the chapter into four related sections.

In the first section of the chapter, I review the empirical research that examines the relationship between college student employment and student outcomes. I then discuss some of the shortcomings of this literature, including the failure of these studies to identify adequate theoretical models to guide the research. In the second section of the chapter, I focus on social reproduction theory as the theoretical lens for the study by discussing the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In this section I define each of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, and discuss relevant studies in higher education that use these constructs to guide the research. In the third section of the chapter I offer a conceptual framework for my study on student employment using Bourdieu's constructs. In the concluding section of the chapter I summarize what is known and not known about the topic of college student employment, develop a rationale for the study, and make a case for the proposed theoretical framework.

Research on Student Employment and Student Outcomes

While the empirical research on college student employment is fairly significant in terms of size, the conclusions that this research draws about the

relationship between student employment and student success, in terms of academic and developmental outcomes, varies and in some instances is even contradictory (Rigger et al., 2006). These studies have largely taken one of two forms. The research either uses data from single institutions, collected in response to author constructed questionnaires (Broughton & Otto, 1999; Furr & Elling, 2000; Kane, Healy, & Henson, 1992), or utilizes data from multi-institutions extracted from larger, national data sets (Canabal, 1998; Ehrenberg & Sherman, 1987; Gleason, 1993; King, 2002; McMillion, 2005; Perna, Cooper & Li, in press; Stern & Nakata, 1991; Walpole, 2003). Table 2.1 is a summary of recent research that has focused on college student employment and offers a matrix of the variables of interest in these studies.

Existing empirical research (Canabal, 1998; Ehrenberg & Sherman, 1987; Gleason, 1992; King, 2002; McMillion, 2005; Pascarella, Nora, Desler & Zusman 1994; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagerdorn & Terenzini, 1998; Perna, Cooper & Li, in press; Stern & Nakata, 1991) on college student employment usually examines the effect of employment as an independent variable on one or more dependent variables such as academic performance, retention, and campus involvement. These studies vary considerably in terms of their focus and the research methods they employ. This section of the literature review offers an assessment of these studies and the conclusions they draw about the relationship between student employment and student outcomes.

The Effect of Employment on Academic Outcomes

While one might expect that the experience of working while in college would have a positive “return” by both reducing forgone earnings and preparing students for the work force once they have completed college, one might also expect employment to negatively affect academic achievement. Despite the assumption that working might detract from students’ academic achievement; research on the topic suggests that unless work involves a significant time commitment (25 hours or more per week) employment has little or no effect on students’ grades. Some studies suggest that even when work exceeds this amount there is only a marginal impact on grades (Gleason, 1993).

The majority of the studies that examined the relationship between work and academic achievement conclude that working, even at times when this work involves a significant number of hours per week, has almost no effect on grades (Canabal, 1998; Ehrenberg & Sherman, 1987; Gleason, 1993; Stern & Nakata, 1991). For example, Ehrenberg and Sherman (1987) used data from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of the high school class of 1972 in order to examine the effects of hours worked (both on- and off-campus) on the grades of males attending both two- and four-year colleges. Utilizing equation modeling, Ehrenberg and Sherman were able to determine the marginal effects of on- and off-campus employment on grades. Ehrenberg and Sherman concluded that neither on-campus nor off-campus employment, even when that amount was in excess of 25 hours per week, had any measurable effect on students’ grades. An obvious limitation of the study is that it included only male students and that it utilizes data that are now four decades old.

Table 2.1: Summary of Research Published Between 1987 and 2009 on Student Employment Based on Dependent Variables

Study	Dependent Variable				Data Set Employed
	Grades	Persistence	Cognitive Development	Other/ Involvement	
Astin (1993)		X		X	Cooperative Institutional Research Program: 1985; 1989/1994 follow-up
Beeson & Wessel (2002)		X			Institutional Database
Canabal (1998)	X			X	Illinois Student Survey 1990
Cheng & Alcantara (2007)				X	Focus Group Interviews
Ehrenberg & Sherman (1987)	X	X			National Longitudinal Survey: 1972
Furr & Elling (2000)	X			X	Fixed Survey
Gleason (1993)	X	X			High School and Beyond Survey: 1980, 1982, 1984
King (2002)	X	X			Beginning Postsecondary Students: 1996:98
King & Bannon (2002)	X	X			National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey: 1995/96
Lammers, Onwuegbuzie, & Slate (2001)			X		Study Habits Inventory: 1992
Lundberg (2004)			X	X	College Student Experiences Questionnaire 1998
McMillion (2005)	X	X			National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey: 2004
Pascarella, et al. (1994)			X		Pilot Study for National Study of Student Learning
Pascarella, et al. (1998)			X		National Study of Student Learning: 1992
Perna, Cooper, & Li (In Press)	X	X			National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey: 2004
Stern & Nakata (1991)	X	X			National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Labor Market Experiences: 1982
Walpole (2003)				X	Cooperative Institutional Research Program: 1985; 1989/1994 follow-up
Wilkie & Jones (1994)			X	X	Fixed Survey

Gleason's (1993) study is among the first to use longitudinal data that draws from multiple institutions (High School and Beyond Survey) to explore the relationship between work and grades. Gleason also is one of the first to control for student characteristics such as ability level, the quality of the college attended, and other attitudinal variables intended to capture the student's level of motivation to achieve in the classroom. After controlling for these variables, Gleason concludes that on average employment has only a modest effect on grades. He shows that even working as much as 30 hours per week only results in a small, negative effect on grades. His correlations demonstrate that a student with a 30-hour-a-week job would only find his or her GPA reduced by 0.05 points on a 4.0 scale.

A more recent study by King and Bannon (2002) suggests a stronger, negative correlation between the numbers of hours worked and grades. King and Bannon indicate that students who work 25 or more hours per week "are more than twice as likely to report that working had a negative impact" on their grades (p. 2). However, one of the major limitations of this study is that, unlike Gleason (1993), the authors fail to control for important variables such as the student's ability level or the quality of the college they attended. In addition King and Bannon use data from the NPSAS of 1995-96 and information about the relationship between students' work and grades is based only on the students' perceptions of the effects. Similarly, Perna, Cooper, and Li's (in press) analysis of data from the 2004 NPSAS suggests that a greater percentage of students perceive a negative effect on grades than those that believe working has either a positive effect or none at all. They also demonstrate that the

more hours a student works per week the greater they perceive a negative effect on their grades.

While most of the empirical research on student employment does not consider differences in student characteristics, such as race and social class, the few studies that examine these differences, in at least a cursory fashion, suggest group differences in terms of the effect of work on academic measures. For example, Canabal (1998) found that while employment had little effect on academic performance for the general population in her study, it had a negative impact on academic performance for African American and Hispanic students. While King's study (2002) primarily focuses on retention, she does present data that demonstrate that low-income students' secondary school preparation is less rigorous than middle- and upper-income students, and speculates that higher amounts of employment while in school is likely to have a stronger, negative impact on academic preparation for this group. Research by Lammers, Onwuegbuzie and Slate (2002) sounds a similar alarm concerning the academic preparation of those who work many hours. Their study of 366 undergraduates at a large university in the south found that the students who worked the most hours lagged behind their classmates in terms of study skills and missed class more often.

In conclusion, some recent research does suggest that students who are most at risk due to their academic preparation may face the greatest potential negative consequences of work on academic achievement—especially if they work long hours. However, research has not been consistent over time and is far from conclusive in

establishing a negative correlation between working and academic achievement as measured by grades.

The Effect of Employment on Retention

While research has not definitively and consistently shown a strong, negative correlation between employment while in college and academic achievement as measured by grades, the same is not true for persistence in college. Research consistently suggests that working, particularly working more than 25 of hours per week, has a strong, positive relationship with dropping out of college (Astin, 1993; Ehrenberg & Sherman, 1987; Gleason, 1993; King, 2002; King & Bannon, 2002).

Despite the consistent finding that working while in college generally increases the likelihood that a student will drop out, some studies show that under certain conditions working may have the opposite effect and promote persistence. For example, Ehrenberg and Sherman (1987) utilized follow-up data from the National Longitudinal Study of 1972 of high school seniors for about 2700 male students who attended two- and four-year institutions fulltime between 1973 and 1979. Utilizing logistic regression Ehrenberg and Sherman found that on-campus employment can affect persistence and degree attainment positively, while off-campus employment and work that exceeds 20 hours per week can have an adverse effect on persistence. Pascarella and Terrenzini (1998) speculate that the difference may well be that “on-campus work enhances student involvement and integration into the institution, while off-campus work tends to inhibit them” (p. 76). Freshmen may benefit most from the “social integration” that is provided by on-campus employment. For example, Beeson and Wessel’s (2002) research at a large, public

university in the mid-west found that freshmen who had on-campus jobs in their first semester were more likely than their classmates without jobs to be enrolled in the spring semester and to graduate within six years. These findings must be considered with some caution because the researchers do not appear to have controlled for pre-enrollment characteristics such as academic ability or SES.

Despite the consistent finding that on-campus work can contribute positively to retention, research reviewed by St. John (2003) in *Refinancing the College Dream* suggests that work-study jobs are negatively related to persistence. St. John points to the changing role and purpose of the College Work-Study program (CWS), and believes that as the trend in federal financial aid shifted from grants towards various forms of “self help,” such as loans and work, the value of the on-campus work-study job in promoting persistence diminished. St. John (2003) points to the beginning of the Reagan administration in the early 1980s as the tipping point in which forms of aid such as work-study started to be “overemphasized” in the financial aid package (p. 200). According to St. John this policy shift had two consequences, which in turn negatively influenced persistence. First, St. John claims that the relatively low wage for work-study jobs caused students to have to work many more hours in order to “earn” their award. Second, St. John suggests that a “negative stigma” began to be associated with the work-study job due to its association with low-income status (p. 200). This latter point which relates to student cultural norms and perceptions is interesting but has not been studied widely. The idea that certain types of student employment are marked by class distinctions is worthy of further investigation.

King's (2002) study suggests that college students, regardless of their socioeconomic class, are equally as likely to work more than the "ideal" of 15 hours per week or less. She suggests that the effects of this strategy may be more detrimental, in terms of persistence, for students from low-income families. King found that low-income students are far less likely than middle- and upper-income students to come to college academically prepared and therefore may need to devote more time than other students to academic preparation. King's research also suggests that in order to lower costs, and reduce unmet financial need, higher percentages of low-income students live at home. Although she did not explore this possibility, the tendency for more low-income students to live at home may suggest that they are also more likely to work off-campus, a factor that could further increase the probability of dropping out. While King's research suggests that some of the employment behaviors and choices of low-income students may deter persistence, additional research on the effects of work for students from different socioeconomic classes seems warranted.

Perna, Cooper, and Li's (in press) analysis of the Beginning Postsecondary Students data set (BPS: 96/2001) compares five-year bachelor's degree attainment and drop-out rates for students attending public and private four-year institutions based on the number of hours they work. Their results show that while bachelor's degree attainment is higher and drop-out rates are lower at private four-year institutions, the pattern is the same. Students who work 1 to 15 hours per week attain the bachelor's degree at the highest rate (84.5 % for public four-year and 91.3% for private four-year) and are least likely to drop out (7.7% for public four-year and 5.4%

for private four-year). Students who fair the worst in terms of graduation rates work 21 to 30 hours (50.5 % for public four-year and 62.7% for private four-year). Drop-out rates, however, are highest in both institution types for students who work more than 30 hours per week (32.2 % for public four-year and 17.2 % for private four-year). One striking contrast between institution types is the relatively high bachelor's degree attainment rates for students who work more than 30 hours at private institutions—53.5%. This compares to only a 29.2% degree attainment rate for students who work more than 30 hours at four-year public institutions. These results are interesting and suggest a need to better understand the relationship between work and persistence within different institutional settings.

The Effect of Employment on Cognitive Development

Despite the fact that employment while in college is a significant experience for an increasing number of undergraduate students, only a few studies have considered the effect of work on cognitive development. Indeed, two studies on this topic—Pascarella et al. (1994) and Pascarella et al. (1998)—seem to contradict some of the findings of the research reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter.

The first study by Pascarella et al. (1994) investigated the relationship between on-and off-campus employment and cognitive gains in reading comprehension, mathematics and critical thinking in the first-year of college. The authors controlled for pre-college cognitive level and other influences at the time of enrollment, such as academic motivation, age, and residency status. The study indicates little negative effect of either on-campus or off-campus employment on these cognitive measures. The study found no relationship between cognitive

development in these areas and the amount of hours worked (both on- and off-campus). More confounding is the fact that the study found that off-campus employment does *not* inhibit cognitive gains even though the amount of hours worked off-campus negatively affected the total hours students spent studying. Therefore, the research suggests that even if working detracts from the time students spend on their studies this does not necessarily inhibit cognitive gains. These findings are limited in that the investigation involved only one institution and a relatively small sample of first-year students. The study served as a pilot for a larger longitudinal investigation.

In their 1998 study Pascarella et al. examined the effects of work on four measures of cognitive development for first- through third-year students at 23 colleges and universities (18 four-year and 5 two-year institutions). The students in the sample were participants in the National Study of Student Learning (NSSL). The study explored the relationship between work and four dependent variables (reading comprehension, mathematics, critical thinking, and science reasoning).

The results indicate that working while in school, even when the amount of work becomes as much as 20 to 25 hours per week, has no negative effect on cognitive development during either the first or the second year of college. However, the study did find that employment had a small, positive effect on a composite measure for reading and critical thinking in the third-year. The positive effect on reading and critical thinking held even when the employment was off-campus and between 16 and 20 hours per week. The study found a small, negative correlation between on-campus employment and cognitive development in science reasoning in the second-year. Taken as a whole these two studies indicate that the effect of

employment on cognitive development is complex and that future research should focus on this relationship within the context of the students' maturation over the course of their undergraduate experience.

The findings from Lundberg's (2004) study, which utilized a multivariate analysis of data available from 3,774 undergraduates from a variety of institution types who completed the College Student Experience Questionnaire (CSEQ: 1998), are also perplexing regarding cognitive development. Lundberg found that despite the fact that students who were employed more than 20 hours per week in off-campus locations were less engaged with their peers and their faculty, there was no evidence that this affected learning as measured by a composite of 22 variables across several domains. She speculates that "perhaps working students gain support for their learning through relationships with colleagues and supervisors in the workplace" and may have greater opportunity to apply what they learn in the classroom (Lundberg, 2004, p. 209). These assertions point to interesting differences in the cognitive development and socialization of students who work that warrant further investigation.

Because the results of research which examines the effect of working on cognitive development seem less conclusive than studies that consider the impact of working on retention, more needs to be learned about the impact of working while in college and its relationship to students' cognitive development. The fact that these studies find no measurable cognitive gains associated with employment during the first- and second-year of college suggests that the effect may be cumulative, and that it is only evident once the student has reached upper-division course work. Indeed,

Pascarella et al. (1998) suggest in the policy implications of their study that the somewhat surprising result which found a significant relationship between off-campus employment (16 to 20 hours per week) and cognitive gains in the third-year could be explained because these students' work "may be more focused and integrated with one's academic program and career goals" (p. 91). The other possibility is that the instruments used to measure cognitive development in these studies failed to assess what students learn. Finally, clearly students' cognitive development and their ability to persist are two distinctively different outcomes. Just because working can have a negative effect on retention does not necessarily mean it will inhibit cognitive growth.

The Effect of Employment on Student Involvement

A limited amount of research has focused on the relationship between undergraduate student employment and involvement in student activities, programs, clubs and organizations. The lack of research in this area is surprising given the importance that scholars have attributed to student involvement beyond the classroom in persistence, personal growth, and satisfaction with college (Astin, 1977, 1993; Kuh, Schuh, & Whit, 1991; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Tinto, 1987, 1993).

In his seminal work, *Four Critical Years* (1977) and *What Matters in College: Four Critical Years Revisited* (1993), Alexander Astin considers work as an environmental variable within the undergraduate experience. While work is just one of many variables Astin explores (135 in total), his findings are interesting in the depiction of work as serving to either immerse the student in the campus environment or to detract from that experience, depending on the conditions.

Astin (1993) concludes that working full-time and working part-time off-campus have a detrimental effect on involvement. However, Astin found that holding a part-time job on-campus increases the likelihood that the student will become involved in student government, peer tutoring, and campus programs. Astin also found that the on-campus job had a positive effect on outcomes such as racial understanding and environmental stewardship. Astin attributes the difference in outcomes between on-campus and off-campus jobs to the amount of contact with peers and faculty. He concludes that the on-campus job provides a “degree of immersion in the collegiate environment... that more than compensates, in terms of student outcomes, for the time that students must devote to a part-time job” (Astin, 1993, p. 389). According to Astin, the same cannot be said for off-campus employment.

A more recent study by Lundberg (2004) supports Astin’s finding that off-campus work inhibits involvement. Lundberg’s analysis of a national database of 3,744 undergraduates (College Student Experiences Questionnaire, 1998) showed that students who worked more than 20 hours per week were less engaged with their faculty and peers. Lundberg’s regression analysis suggests this lack of engagement translates into less peer teaching, less interaction with other students on non-academic issues, and less frequency of interaction with faculty.

A study conducted by Furr and Elling (2000) at a southeastern urban institution also supports Astin’s findings. Furr and Elling found that students who worked 30 or more hours per week were less involved with campus activities than students who worked less or not at all. In addition, Furr and Ehling found some

modest differences in involvement based on the student's place of employment. Students who worked on-campus were slightly more likely to join a club or organization than students who worked off-campus. Despite these findings, Furr and Ehling's results are limited given the fact that their study focused on a single institution where respondents were administered a fixed survey over the phone. Moreover, the threshold where work appears to prevent campus involvement (30 hours per week) seems very high.

Walpole (2003) offers a more convincing study in depicting the adverse relationship between undergraduate student employment and campus involvement. Utilizing longitudinal data from the Cooperative Research Program (CIRP), Walpole focuses on differences in the student's experiences based on the student's socioeconomic status. She investigates the work and co-curricular experiences of 2,417 students from low SES backgrounds and 2,475 students from high SES backgrounds. In the descriptive statistics section of her results, Walpole demonstrates that low SES first-year students engage in a different pattern of activities than their high SES peers. At least one contributing factor to this pattern appears to be time spent on the job. For example, the percentage of students from her sample that spent more than 16 hours per week working was greater for low SES students than high SES students (34 % vs. 24% respectively). Correspondingly, Walpole shows that the low SES students in her sample reported being significantly less involved with campus clubs and organizations than their high SES peers. Slightly less than half (48 %) of low SES students were not involved at all in these activities and only 14 % reported being involved between 3 and 10 hours per week. This compares to a 34 %

non-participation rate from the high SES group with 25 % participating between 3 and 10 hours. Walpole finds that in addition to being less involved in campus activities low SES students from her sample spend less time studying and have less social contact with their faculty. Walpole concludes that this different pattern of activities for low SES students may well mean that they accumulate less *social* and *cultural capital* while in college. This is an assertion that merits further exploration.

A recent qualitative study by Cheng and Alcantara (2007) raises interesting questions about the relationship between student employment and student engagement in college. Cheng and Alcantara state that “the college experience of working students should no longer be treated as a mere contributing factor to persistence and degree attainment; the experience itself merits close examination in the context of a student’s entire out-of-class experiences as an undergraduate” (p. 303). As a result, Cheng and Alcantara conducted focus group interviews with 14 students who had identified on an institutional survey that they had worked for pay in the most recent semester. The research was conducted at a private, highly selective institution in the northeast. In conducting what they describe as grounded theory Cheng and Alcantara offer propositions about the role of student employment within the undergraduate experience.

The primary assertion Cheng and Alcantara (2007) offer is that student employment often becomes more than a means to meet college expenses and in fact contributes as “a way to make college more academically and socially meaningful” (p. 308). While the assertions the study makes indicate the need for more qualitative research focusing on student employment, the research does not do a good job of

describing how the methods they employed through grounded theory research lead to their propositions about the role of work. Moreover, because the study does not provide much detail about the institutional context for the study, or depth about the type of students included in the interviews, it fails to interpret the role of work within the context of the undergraduate experience—an experience that varies greatly based on where the student goes to college and upon a wide array of factors such as the student’s gender, choice of major, class standing, and age. Indeed, the empirical research reviewed in this section of the chapter is limited because it does not examine how working while in college may influence a variety of student outcomes (academic and social) within the diversity of potential institutional contexts.

The Effect of Employment on Career Development

Despite the fact that some studies on student employment have attempted to account for how employment affects post-college wages (Gleason, 1993; King, 2002; Stern and Nakata, 1991), relatively few studies explore how the types of jobs students have, and the skills they develop in various employment settings, might affect their career development while in college. Two exceptions include Kane, Healy, and Henson (1992) and Luzzo, McWhirter, and Garrison (1997). Both studies explore the relative importance to the career development process of students holding part-time jobs that are congruent with their career interests.

Kane, et al. (1992) surveyed 1,438 students at an urban institution in the west. The focus of the survey was students’ satisfaction with their job. They also asked students about the career interests. The study measured the relative congruence of students’ part-time employment with their long term career goals using Holland’s

classification system. Findings from the study indicated that students who were employed in jobs that were congruent were more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. The study also found that students in certain settings (engineering, health care, laboratory, teaching, and computer occupations) were more likely to be in employed in jobs related to their career interests. Not surprisingly, they found that juniors and seniors were more likely to be employed in jobs congruent with their career interests than underclassmen.

Luzzo, et al. (1997) also explored the effect of employment on students' career development. Their study involved 305 first-year students attending a regional state university in the south. The focus of the study was slightly different than Kane, et al. in that the authors sought to understand if students who were employed in jobs congruent with their career goals had a greater sense of self-confidence about career making decisions. The results indicated this was indeed the case and that students who were employed in jobs congruent with career interests exhibited a greater locus of control over their career decision-making process. While this finding would seem to indicate the need for career planning professionals, and institutions in general, to urge students to think intentionally about the part-time jobs they choose, Luzzo, et al. suggests the need to interpret the results cautiously. This is because it is not possible to determine a causal relationship from the study's findings. That is to say, it may well be that students who already possess a high-level of self-confidence about career decisions seek jobs that relate to their career while in college.

Summary of Empirical Studies: Methodological Issues and Shortcomings of the Research

The empirical research on college student employment presented in this chapter suggests an incomplete understanding of the relationship between this increasingly common experience and an array of outcomes associated with undergraduate education. A recent review of this literature by Rigger et al. (2006) finds that this body of research presents a “complex, at times contradictory, empirical puzzle regarding the impact of employment on the student’s higher education experience” (p. 65). My assessment is that part of the empirical puzzle stems from the fact that very little is known about how students make choices about employment, and what institutional factors and contexts influence these choices.

Perhaps the most significant limitation of the body of empirical research on college student employment results from the fact that the vast majority of these studies, which are exclusively quantitative in nature, narrowly focus on a few rather limited dichotomous, independent variables. For example, in these studies the type of work students engage in is defined as either on-campus or off-campus. None of the studies reviewed in this chapter explore in any depth the type of work student’s perform or whether that work might serve to complement the student’s academic course of study, or future educational and/ or career goals. While it would seem logical that a paid internship in finance for an upper-division business major would serve as a more meaningful work experience than waiting tables at the local restaurant, both types of work would be lumped together as “off-campus” employment in virtually all of these studies.

Another gap in the empirical research on college student employment is the failure of most studies to explore the effects of work based on different student characteristics, such as race and social class. As I established in Chapter One, the relationship between the student's socioeconomic status and unmet financial need (costs of attendance less expected family contribution and financial aid) for college is clear. Consequently, we should expect to find students from lower-income backgrounds with greater motivation to work in order to afford college. Despite this logic only King (2002) and Walpole (2003) explore differences in the work experience of students based on their social class. While these two studies provide a starting point for thinking about these differences, both studies are limited in that they examine the differences based on the effect of work on a limited number of independent variables, such as the amount of hours worked or on- vs. off-campus employment. Again, more needs to be known about how social class might affect the type of work students pursue while in college and the relationship between that work and academic and developmental outcomes.

Riggert et al. (2006) point out that an overarching concern with this body of research is the failure of the authors to explicitly identify theoretical models to guide the studies. My own assessment of the empirical research on student employment reveals that a few researchers do reference human capital theory (e.g., Canabal, 1998; King, 2002; Stern & Nakata, 1991) but fail to fully explore the model. In addition, Walpole (2003) does draw upon Bourdieu's constructs to guide her study. However, I contend the purely quantitative nature of her research makes it difficult for her to explore, in any depth, the nature of the *social* and *cultural capital* students

accumulate and the distinctions of their *habiti*. Due to the shortcoming of the research to identify and develop theoretical models to guide the studies, in the next section of the chapter I more fully develop Bourdieu's social reproduction theory as the theoretical lens for the study I propose.

Theoretical Perspective and Framework

This study suggests the use of social reproduction theory, and specifically the constructs developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, as a useful framework for enhancing our understanding of college students' work-related behaviors. Some of the studies on student employment reference human capital theory (Canabal, 1998; King, 2002; Stern & Nakata, 1991) to help explain how students make choices about work. Becker (1964) was the first to advance a human capital model for college choice which suggests that students will choose to go to college (and presumably stay enrolled) if they perceive that the economic benefits in terms of lifetime wages are greater than both the costs of attending college and the foregone earnings associated with delaying entry into the labor market. From a rational perspective, choosing to go to college therefore has an "opportunity cost" associated with delaying entry into the labor market. Within this perspective, the decision to work while going to college could be seen as a "rational" choice designed to lessen the opportunity costs that are associated with postponing entry into the full-time workforce.

Some of the research on college student employment suggests, however, that students have an inaccurate or incomplete knowledge of the earnings premium that is associated with bachelor's degree completion. Students also may not understand the negative consequence that working could have on the time it takes to complete the

degree and persistence. For example, Stern and Nakata (1991) and King (2002) use economic models to show that working more hours per week (15 or greater) while going to college may in fact lengthen the time students take to complete a degree. These studies project students' actual earnings and demonstrate that when working more hours causes the student to stay in school longer the strategy can lower a students' return on their investment. For example, if working delays degree completion, the wages earned while in school can be less than those that could be earned by completing the degree earlier and pursuing the full-time work force. In these instances attempts by college students to work more hours instead of borrowing cannot be viewed as entirely "rational" and instead may be a reaction to more immediate financial strains (King, 2002).

In contrast to the human capital approach, I contend that most students navigate their college experience, including financial decisions, following a perspective that is less rational than the model Becker (1964) proposes. I believe an appropriate alternate theoretical perspective from which to assess students' employment-related choices is one advanced by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977,1984) whose work in part critiques the rational model of human capital advanced by Becker, suggests that an expanded notion of *capital* must include *social* and *cultural* forms because these forms of *capital* help determine strategies by which members of a specific social class reproduce attitudes and expectations about education (Bourdieu, 1984). Under a model based on Bourdieu's social reproduction theory a student's decision about how much to work, or even what academic course load to maintain in order to make reasonable progress toward completing a degree,

might be constrained by what Bourdieu (1977, 1984) defines as *habitus* or the student's preconceived and internalized system of values and beliefs shaped by the immediate environment.

In response to a question about the difference between his theoretical perspective and the perspective advanced by proponents of human capital theory such as Becker (1964), Bourdieu says: "Orthodox economics overlooks the fact that practices may have principles other than mechanical causes or the conscious intention to maximize one's utility" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 118). Similarly, I think that the majority of studies on college student employment, including those based on human capital theory, overlook the fact that the college job may serve many purposes besides the utilitarian intent to lessen opportunity costs associated with foregone earnings. For working class students the college job may be viewed as part of the sacrifice required to get a college education. For these students the myth of the self-made man or woman, who worked during the day and went to college at night, would suggest that going to college involves tradeoffs that they must accept in order to get a degree. In this way work could be viewed by these students as a necessity rather than as an activity that could compliment or enhance their academic experience.

By contrast, for middle- and upper-class students certain types of college jobs might provide them with the opportunity to accumulate valuable forms of *social* and *cultural capital*, which can in turn assist the student in succeeding in school or in achieving educational or vocational goals upon completion of the degree (Lubrano, 2004). Certain types of jobs may well represent forms of social status attainment among the student's peer group, while other work may have a negative social stigma.

For these reasons, in the next section of the chapter I more fully explore the use of Bourdieu's constructs to guide my study.

Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu

Despite the growing interest in Bourdieu's work among scholars and researchers in the field of education in the United States many challenges exist in utilizing Bourdieu's constructs to guide research. Horvat (2003) identifies three of these challenges which include: (a) The difficulty in understanding translated versions of Bourdieu's texts, especially given the fact that his theory seeks to understand social reproduction through interpreting such diverse areas as art, culture, philosophy, and language, (b) The dense and convoluted nature of his prose which Robbins (1991) has suggested may be intentional in that Bourdieu himself viewed his composition style as resisting classification into a particular discipline or school of thought, and (c) The tendency of researchers to focus on one of Bourdieu's constructs (most often *social* or *cultural capital*) without contextualizing the construct within his larger theoretical perspective—a perspective that evolved over the last four decades of the last century.

In order to overcome the challenges of explicating Bourdieu's constructs to provide a theoretical framework for my study of college students' work experience, in this section of the literature review I refer to Bourdieu's original works (e.g., *Outline of Theory of Practice*, 1977; *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*, 1984; "The Forms of Capital", 1986) as well as several useful secondary texts on Bourdieu (e.g., Calhoun, LiPuma & Postone, 1993; Robbins, 1991; Swartz, 1997). In addition, in order to overcome what Horvat (2003) cites as the tendency of U.S. researchers to fail to understand the genesis of Bourdieu's ideas (primarily due to the

delay in the publication of his translated texts), I begin with a brief biographical sketch of Bourdieu to explain some of the formative influences on his work. In order to avoid focusing on a single construct of Bourdieu's theory I will include a section defining the four major constructs which constitute his theory of social reproduction. These include the constructs of *habitus*, *capital*, *field*, and *practice*. Finally, I briefly discuss the limitations of Bourdieu's model by reflecting on the perspectives of other social reproduction theorists.

Pierre Bourdieu: Biographical Information and Formative Influences

Pierre Bourdieu was born in 1930 and was raised in a lower middle-class family in Southwest France. Bourdieu's father was a postman in the village of Deguin. Bourdieu spoke a dialect reflective of spending his childhood in the rural province of Béarn (Swartz, 1997). Swartz (1997) describes Bourdieu's early life as marked by upward social mobility. As a diligent and gifted student, Bourdieu made his way to the elite academy Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) in Paris where he matriculated in 1951 in order to study philosophy (Swartz, 1997).

ENS in the 1950s represented the apex of French intellectual life. Bourdieu's education at ENS shaped the development of his theory of social reproduction in three important ways. First, scholars report that Bourdieu experienced intellectual life at ENS as a social and cultural outsider (Horvat, 2003; Swartz, 1997). As a result Bourdieu came to a bitter acceptance of his place in the very academy that allowed his rise as an intellectual. At ENS Bourdieu became sharply critical of the French educational establishment which he came to view as antagonistic to the popular classes. Bourdieu's stinging criticism of French university culture suggested that the

educational establishment stymied genuine intellectual inquiry through the imposition of curricular orthodoxy and did little to encourage empirical research (Swartz, 1997). The skepticism with which Bourdieu came to view the intellectual establishment during this period appears to have been the genesis for his later work which explores the tendency of the French educational system in general to replicate certain class distinctions (Calhoun, LiPuma & Postone, 1993; Swartz, 1997).

Scholars note that the second important influence of Bourdieu's education at ENS is his study of philosophy (Swartz, 1997). Despite the fact that Bourdieu eventually would develop as a sociologist, his work does not fit neatly into one academic discipline. Bourdieu's study of philosophy at ENS set the stage for one of the central issues of his later work—resolving the structure/agency problem (Horvat, 2003; Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction appears to have been informed by his initial study of phenomenology and existentialism as a student of philosophy at ENS. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction is grounded in his belief that social structures are embedded in common, everyday events or what he calls *practice*. For this reason, Bourdieu “proposes connecting agency and structure in a dialectic relationship”. (Swartz, 1997, p. 9). Thus, Bourdieu's construct of social action or *practice* seeks to reconcile the dichotomy between recognizing human action as explained by either a response to purely external forces (structure) or as a result of internal factors (agency). The discursive movement between the two forms establishes the basis for Bourdieu's key concept of *habitus*.

Despite his rejection of the French Communist Party, scholars claim that the third formative influence of Bourdieu's education at ENS is his exposure to Marxist

thought. Indeed, Swartz (1997) documents the presence of a highly active communist cell within ENS during the time Bourdieu was a student. Swartz (1997) suggests that the communist cell divided the academy and caused schisms between “adherents to the French Communist Party, those sympathetic to Marxist class analysis but critical of the Party, and existentialists who were more concerned with personal freedom” (p. 19). While Bourdieu did not fit neatly into either of these camps, the presence of a Marxist school of thought at ENS had some influence on Bourdieu’s growing interest in how the educational system served to perpetuate class distinctions from one generation of French society to the next (Swartz, 1997).

Bourdieu’s work as an ethnographer in Algeria during the late 1950s reportedly played a critical role in his development as a social scientist and provided a place for him to test his emerging theory of social reproduction (Robins, 1991). After completing his studies at ENS Bourdieu spent a brief time as a secondary school instructor before he was sent to colonial Algeria for military service. While in Algeria, Bourdieu conducted ethnographic research focusing on the behavior and culture of Berber peasants. This research formed the basis of several coauthored ethnographic works and later informed the development of his theoretical perspective in the seminal works *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) and *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984). Swartz (1997) suggests that Bourdieu, through his research in Algeria, “developed a conceptual language that calls attention to the complex interaction between internalized dispositions and objective structures” (p. 50). It was from empirical research focused on the observation of the everyday experience of Algerian peasants that Bourdieu developed the construct of *habitus*—

the concept that recognizes that internalized beliefs and dispositions, shaped by broader cultural influences, mediate individual social action (Swartz, 1997).

Bourdieu's Theory of Social Reproduction

The four key constructs that emerged out of Bourdieu's field experience were *habitus*, *capital*, *field*, and *practice*. I consider these first in isolation and then examine how they fit together in Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction.

Habitus

Central to understanding Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction is his construct for *habitus*. The similarity of the construct to its root of "habit" is at once instructive and misleading. For Bourdieu the term *habitus* means:

A system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53).

Bourdieu's definitions for his constructs are often abstract and difficult to interpret. However, he frequently turns to game analogies to explain some of his most abstract concepts. Therefore, he offers that another way to understand the idea of *habitus* is to consider the term as the expected and unexamined "rules of the game." For example, Horvat (2003) illuminates the construct of *habitus* by creating an analogy to the "no look" or "blind pass" in basketball. Horvat explains that like a player executing a "blind pass" in basketball, or the pass of the ball to another player made without first looking in that direction, the concept of *habitus* acknowledges that "we all have an internalized, second-nature sense of the operation of place, position, and relation in

our social world” (Horvat, 2003, p.6). Thus, *habitus* most often operates to constrain or regulate social action at an unconscious, almost innate level.

Even though *habitus* involves acting and reacting to the “rules of the game” the term stands in opposition to a strictly rational understanding of social action. For Bourdieu social action is not determined after the actor carefully considers all available options and chooses the strategy designed to maximize personal benefits. Instead, the actor makes decisions based on deep seeded dispositions and a tacit understanding of the “rules of the game.” In this way *habitus* represents an individual actor’s internalization of what is possible within a given *field* (Horvat, 2003). But Bourdieu’s construct of *habitus* is not strictly deterministic. While the individual choice is constrained by social class it is possible for the individual to change or accommodate according to the immediate environment. Bourdieu’s own life stands as an example of this possibility in that despite his lower social class upbringing he pursued education among France’s educational elite. Similarly, undergraduate education in the United States represents a moment when young people are removed from the familiar surroundings that shape their *habitus* and are exposed to new peers, adult mentors and valuable forms of *capital* and conceivably could accommodate new tastes and dispositions associated with social mobility.

Capital

Another important construct for understanding Bourdieu’s approach to the social world is that of capital. For Bourdieu capital takes several forms which the actor can convert into power. Bourdieu outlines three distinct forms of capital in his work “The Forms of Capital” first translated to English in 1987:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 243, italics in original).

Capital for Bourdieu represents resources which form power within a given field. *Economic capital* is the term most readily understood because it stands for the monetary resources belonging to the individual and can be readily converted to gain power. Because this form of *capital* stands for the acquisition of monetary wealth it is the construct most similar to the traditional notion as developed in the field of economics.

However, Bourdieu contends that it is limiting to understand the acquisition of material wealth as the only way that social class groups consolidate and perpetuate access to power. According to Bourdieu, another way that social groups—particularly the dominant class—perpetuate access to power is through establishing and maintaining social networks. For Bourdieu these networks represent *social capital* which he defines as:

The actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 249).

For Bourdieu *social capital* is also culturally constructed and reproduced so as to institutionalize important and lasting social connections. Bourdieu (1987) suggests that *social capital* is converted to power when certain contingent relationships developed through such networks as “neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship” provides access to information and form social obligations (p. 249). An example in higher education might include the tendency of powerful and influential alumni of elite institutions to leverage their relationships with the institution in order to send their children to the same schools.

Bourdieu portrays *cultural capital* as another distinct form and suggests that in this form capital represents the investment in the individual in terms of acquiring dispositions for knowledge about culture such as art or music. Bourdieu also claims that *cultural capital* takes the form of deeply engrained patterns of behavior such as patterns of speech. Understanding Bourdieu’s construct of *cultural capital* is central because he suggests that various social strata not only consolidate power by passing on economic wealth, but that they also do so by cultivating preferences for the arts and music. According to Bourdieu social class groups reproduce intergenerational preferences within the family.

Bourdieu (1987) offers a typology of the forms for *cultural capital* which include; the *embodied state*, the *objectified state*, and the *institutionalized state*. The *embodied state* refers to “long lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 243). For Bourdieu these acquired

dispositions or tastes involve cultivation within the individual (which tend to take on certain preferences within different social classes) and require an investment of time. In its *objectified state* cultural capital takes the form of goods such as “pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.” (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 243). Finally, cultural capital in the *institutionalized state* takes the form of educational credentials. *Cultural capital* in this form is significant for Bourdieu because “the best hidden and socially determinant educational investment [is] the domestic transmission of cultural capital” (1987, p. 244). For Bourdieu educational investment strategies, including the preferences for postsecondary degree attainment, are socially and culturally constructed. Following Bourdieuan logic, preferences for certain types of institutions and specific kinds of degrees are markers for social and political power.

Field

While social scientists often have applied Bourdieu’s constructs of *capital*, they have given less attention to his construct of *field*. The construct of *field* defines the social space in which the various forms of *capital* can be converted into power. Indeed, Bourdieu’s construct of *field* has emerged as important only later in his work and is the most neglected construct in social science research which applies Bourdieu’s theory (Horvat, 2004; Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define *field* as “a network, or configuration, of objective relation between positions” (In Swartz, 1997, p. 117). Various forms of *capital* may have more or less value within the

context of particular *fields*. For example, holding an on-campus job may provide more *social capital* for a student on a small, residential campus than at a large university because of the likelihood that the student employee will encounter other peers and faculty that they know while they are on the job.

If *habitus* represents the internalized understanding of the “rules of the game,” the *field* represents the social space where the rules of the game apply. Horvat (2004) says that “the concept of field as the embodiment of the rules of the game as well as the site wherein the struggle to own or control these rules takes place, is critical to understanding Bourdieu’s model of social interaction” (p. 8). For Bourdieu a *field* can represent (but is not limited to) academic disciplines or institutions where actors struggle to acquire various forms of capital in order to realize power (Swartz, 1997). In any given *field* the actors accept the inherent rules of the game. These same actors may realize that the rules are malleable and subject to the possibility of change, but this change cannot occur without a shift in power relationships.

Practice

An individual’s *practice* or observable everyday human behavior is determined based on the interaction between the three previous constructs (*habitus*, *capital*, and *field*). Bourdieu first expressed the idea of *practice* as a set of relationships in his 1984 work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* in the following formula:

$$[(\textit{habitus}) (\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$$

While Bourdieu's presentation of his model as an equation is instructive in that it articulates the "interrelationship" between his major constructs, as Swartz (1997) points out "the formula confuses more than clarifies the exact relationship among the terms" (p. 141). Swartz says, for example, that it may be incorrect to assume that Bourdieu intended "habitus and capital" as "interactive terms whereas field is additive" (p. 141). For this reason, later in this chapter I present Bourdieu's constructs as a framework for my study on college student employment by representing the interactive relationship between all of Bourdieu's constructs and organizing these constructs in a spatial rather than linear arrangement.

Before I develop the conceptual model for my study, I examine some alternative social reproduction theorists in order to consider rival explanations to Bourdieu. Then I review empirical research in higher education that has used Bourdieu's theoretical constructs in order to set the stage for the model I develop.

Bourdieu Reconsidered: Alternative Models for Social Reproduction

Central to Jay MacLeod's (1987) critical ethnography *Ain't no makin' it* is a summary and review of social reproduction theory and theorists. MacLeod's categorization of these theorists, including an extensive discussion of Bourdieu, is helpful in understanding the limitations of using Bourdieu to guide my study. Moreover, understanding alternatives to Bourdieu allowed me to consider rival theoretical explanations as I interpreted results.

MacLeod (1987) presents social reproduction theorists on a continuum from those he considers to be social determinists, on one end, to those who most emphasize the creative response of individual agency, on the other end. While MacLeod's empirical focus was the mediation of career and vocational aspirations among two distinct youth peer groups, his theoretical focus was on how institutions such as schools serve as the site of the reproduction of class distinctions.

For MacLeod (1987) theorists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) represent the most deterministic end of the spectrum of social reproduction theorists. Their seminal book *Schooling in Capitalist America* emphasizes the role that schools play in preparing students of different social classes for their place in a highly structured and stratified capitalist economy. As economists, Bowles and Gintis's focus is on how family income, rather than individual ability or hard work, determines success in schools. Finding that they "pay scant attention to the creative role of individual and group praxis," MacLeod (1987) rejects Bowles and Gintis' approach as "ultimately too deterministic to determine the complexity of social reproduction" (p.136).

MacLeod (1987) places theorists such as Paul Willis and Henry Giroux on the opposite end of the spectrum from Bowles and Gintis. The work of these theorists focuses on the creativity of the individual (agency) as a cultural response to the power relations inherent in institutions. In particular, MacLeod focuses on Willis's ethnography, *Learning to Labor* (1977), which documents the formation of the working class identity among teens in

industrial England as a result of deliberate and intentional resistance to the culture of the school. Ultimately, MacLeod (1987) sees limitations in this approach as well when he says of Willis that “his insistence on the autonomy of culture means that his account...is remarkably free of attention to structurally embedded constraints” (p. 136). Despite the fact that Willis’s greatest achievement is in revealing how these youth creatively and actively resists the dominant culture, the process of social class reproduction is just as fatalistic. Ultimately, the “lads” in Willis’s study perceive they have traded one prison (school) for another (the factory floor).

MacLeod (1987) depicts theorists such as Bourdieu as holding a middle ground between the structural determinists and the cultural constructionalists. His work devotes significant discussion to the relevance of Bourdieu’s theory in explaining the forces at work in shaping the lives of his “Hallway Hangers” and “Brothers.” While Bourdieu is at times still too deterministic in his approach to social reproduction for MacLeod, ultimately he seems to find relevance in Bourdieu’s representation of the recursive relationship between structure and agency. In particular, MacLeod focuses on Bourdieu’s construct of *habitus* as a way to understand how two groups with seemingly different aspirations end up with equally gloomy life chances. However, MacLeod argues for a more expansive understanding of *habitus* than perhaps Bourdieu intended:

On my reading *habitus* is constituted at the level of the family, and such factors as ethnicity, educational history, peer associations, neighborhood social ecology, and demographic

characteristics are all constitutive of *habitus* (MacLeod, 1987, p. 138, italics added).

Extending Bourdieu's construct of *habitus* beyond the family has been of interest to educational researchers in the United States who have sought to utilize his theoretical constructs. For example, McDonough (1997) defines *habitus* to include organizational cultures, such as schools, in her explanation of how social class effects college choice. Berger (2003) also advocates extending Bourdieu's constructs of *habitus* and *cultural capital* by applying them to organizations—specifically colleges and universities. Berger (2003) states that: “the fact that student bodies may be primarily composed of students from certain socioeconomic classes is not a trivial matter” (p. 107). For this reason, Berger argues that retention models should consider the “fit” between the student's *habitus* and the organization's *habitus*. In this study I explore if working class students will experience tension when the student body at the institution is primarily composed of students from the middle- and upper-class. I examine if for working class students one place the incongruity of the “fit” between their *habitus* and the organization's *habitus* is revealed might be in their work experiences.

Research in Higher Education Using Bourdieu

There is a growing interest in using Bourdieu's conceptual framework to guide education related research in the United States. While no empirical studies using a Bourdieuan framework have focused exclusively on college students' work experience, studies have used his concepts to guide empirical research on a variety of topics within the field of higher education. The

topographical areas these studies address vary quite significantly—ranging from research on college access and choice to the academic and vocational patterns of community college students. Therefore, I will proceed by categorizing this body of empirical research based on the contributions these studies have made to exploring each of Bourdieu’s constructs outlined earlier in the chapter—namely *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. None of these studies explicitly mention *practice* and this is indicative of the fact that most empirical studies utilizing Bourdieu have been limited to exploring at most one or two of his constructs and generally have not attempted to use his entire framework to guide the research.

Research Involving Social and Cultural Capital

A number of studies in the field of higher education focus narrowly and exclusively on Bourdieu’s construct of *social* and/or *cultural capital*. Three examples of studies that focus solely on the Bourdieu’s notion of *capital* include Nesor (1990), Valdez (1996), and Zweigenhaft (1992). While these studies represent appropriate extensions of Bourdieu’s concept, they are limited in that they do not situate Bourdieu’s construct of *capital* within the broader context of his theory of social reproduction (Horvat, 2003).

For example, Nesor’s (1990) study is an application of Bourdieu’s construct to the conversion of *capital* in the student’s acquisition of disciplinary knowledge. In this study Nesor interviewed upper-division students at a large, state research university who were majoring in either physics or management. Nesor’s purpose was to understand how the

curriculum in these majors was experienced differently by students of differing social class status and to reveal how different curricular structures (pre-requisite knowledge, course sequencing, and size of the major) interacted with the student's social class to either foster or deter the student's acquisition of disciplinary knowledge and thereby facilitate or impede academic success.

Nespor (1990) found that lower-income students majoring in physics were disadvantaged in their ability to participate in study groups—which became an effective if not essential pedagogical tool for successful completion of upper-division course work and that the physics major demanded the formation of close-knit cohort group which often helped students persist through early required courses in the major designed to weed out students. Nespor found that lower-income students were deterred from participation in study groups due to commitments at home and a lack of tolerance for the abstract study of physics.

On the other hand, Nespor (1990) found that the management major had a less precise sequencing of courses, required academic skills which varied widely from course to course, and employed a variety of pedagogical approaches. Therefore, the same types of cohort groups were not necessary for successful completion of academic work in this major. Instead, Nespor found that students in the management major gained valuable *social capital* through belonging to certain campus organizations such as clubs and Greek organizations and that these organizations often shared information about courses, including how to study for exams, which faculty to select, and how to

approach many of the academic tasks required by the major. Nespor found that these networks also facilitated connections for career development.

Zweigenhaft's study (1992) of the accumulation of *social* and *cultural capital* of Yale College graduates, who attended public high schools versus prep schools, represents another study that focuses exclusively on the role of the accumulation of *social* and *cultural capital*. Zweigenhaft's quantitative study draws conclusions about the role *social* and *cultural capital* play in shaping the academic and career aspirations of Yale graduates.

Zweigenhaft's (1992) study draws on autobiographical data entered by Yale College graduates from the class of 1963 in their twenty-five year reunion book and uses descriptive statistical analysis to conclude that public school and prep school graduates of Yale differed in two significant ways. First, the study suggests that accumulation of *cultural capital* through academic achievement manifests itself differently based on the graduate's pattern of schooling. For example, Zweigenhaft documents that Yale College graduates who attended public schools prior to entering Yale were more likely to complete the Ph.D. or the M.D. Zweigenhaft concludes that for Yale grads from public school backgrounds, the accumulation of *cultural capital* through credentials was important in order for them to enter certain status occupations. Yale College graduates who attended prep schools were more likely to complete the M.B.A. and enter the corporate professions because many of these graduates had strong family ties or social connections to certain companies.

The second way that Yale graduates differed based on their pattern of attendance of either public or prep schools was in their accumulation of *social capital*. Zweigenhaft (1992) found that prep school graduates were more likely to belong to prestigious secret societies than public school graduates and to mention sending their children to prep schools while graduates of public schools were more likely than prep school graduates to mention Yale in their autobiographical statements, and to write longer entries. Zweigenhaft concludes that this means that for Yale public school graduates the institution played a more significant role in their social mobility.

Zweigenhaft's study (1992) also traced different patterns of educational attainment for the spouses of Yale public and prep school graduates. He found that a higher percentage of wives of prep school graduates than wives of public school graduates had completed their formal education without receiving a bachelor's degree. While Zweigenhaft does not provide a conclusion about these data, they suggest that social connections rather than educational attainment were a more important factor in deciding who to marry for prep school graduates. Conversely, these data may suggest that public school graduates were more likely than their prep school counterparts to meet their spouses at Yale or while in graduate school.

Valdez's (1996) case study of a rural community college uses Bourdieu's construct of *cultural capital* to explain how certain policies and practices at the institution acted to constrain lower-income and first-generation students' academic achievement and career aspirations. Valdez's

study, similar to my research, involved the collection of multiple data from a variety of sources (interviews with faculty and students, statistical reports, direct observations, and classroom interactions) at a single institution. Valdez concludes that lower-income and first-generation college students at the community college lacked certain cultural competencies needed to succeed academically and that often these students are placed into remedial courses or are encouraged toward vocational tracks, which in turn shaped their aspirations and impede academic achievement.

Valdez's study (1996) is effective in its examination of how the policies and practices of the community college often impede social mobility for lower-income and first-generation students through his use of in-depth interviews with these students to display that they often had an incomplete understanding of the consequences of their academic decisions. Moreover, Valdez (1996) also utilizes interviews with faculty and college administrators to “demonstrate that institutional practices of the community college— assessments, advisement, and placement—are not organized to take advantage of the skills and knowledge of working class students but instead work to the benefit of the middle-class” (p. 407).

Taken as a whole, these three studies by Nespors (1990), Zweigenhaft (1992), and Valdez (1996) seem to illustrate what Horvat (2003) refers to as a shortcomings of research designed to apply Bourdieu's theory because of the “selective and truncated use of individual concepts without positioning within the larger model” (p. 3). The studies by Nespors and Zweigenhaft represent

limited examples of research designed to apply Bourdieu's constructs. Nespor's study references Bourdieu's construct of *social capital* but never defines it. Moreover, while his findings reveal how differences in the conversion of *capital* may influence the accumulation of knowledge within a particular discipline, his study misses an opportunity because it fails to identify the various actors and their roles in the process. Zweigenhaft's study, through its retrospective approach to identifying the characteristics of Yale's graduates based on their high school affiliation, is an inadequate extension of Bourdieu. Zweigenhaft's purely quantitative approach to the problem, for example, does not reveal the site of class conflict at Yale, or whether or not differences among students are in fact reinforced by the institution.

Of these three studies Valdez's (1996) case study is the most effective at utilizing Bourdieu's construct because he does a good job of identifying the actors and depicting how the institution itself (the community college) serves to reinforce social class distinctions. Indeed, Valdez (1996) says in his conclusions that "to understand the role of the institution in influencing the decisions and aspirations of students, we must...examine the social construction of these arrangements" (p. 407). I believe this is consistent with Bourdieu's intent and is how I approached this research.

Research Involving the Role of Habitus and the Importance of Field

The role of *habitus* is central to understanding Bourdieu's method. Horvat (2003) explains that *habitus* is the "mechanism whereby individual action is shaped . . . [and] is central to Bourdieu's effort to reveal a picture of

society that transcends the structure/agency dichotomy” (p. 7). Despite the centrality of the concept of *habitus* to understanding Bourdieu, relatively few empirical studies in the field of higher education have examined the concept. Studies by McDonough (1997) and Horvat (1996, 2000, and 2004) are exceptions because they examine Bourdieu’s construct of *habitus* in addition to *social* and *cultural capital*. Patricia McDonough’s (1997) book *Choosing College: How Social Class and Schools Structure Opportunity* is a cross-case analysis of twelve high school girls at four different California secondary schools. The book examines the college choice of each of these girls by accounting for the students’ socioeconomic status and what McDonough refers to as the *organizational habitus* of the particular school each attended. Therefore, McDonough’s work extends Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* to include organizational cultures such as schools.

In order to examine how schools operate to constrain each student’s college choice, McDonough (1997) conducted in-depth interviews not only with each of the girls who were the focus of her study but also with each girl’s parents, high school guidance counselor, and closest friend. In this way McDonough depicts the intersection between the influences of each girl’s family and school. McDonough’s study is highly pre-structured in that she included an equal number of girls from low- and high-SES groups and she controlled for possible mediating factors, such as ability, by selecting subjects within similar grade point averages and SAT scores and intentionally selected secondary schools that varied in terms of the predominance of the social class

the schools served (high and low) and the level of college guidance and support they provide (high and low). In this way McDonough seeks to extend Bourdieu's construct by describing what she defines as each school's *organizational habitus*. She suggests each school's structural arrangement for delivering college guidance is accompanied by certain normative behaviors which shape expectations about college choice.

McDonough's (1997) study seeks to more fully depict what Bourdieu describes as the dialectic movement between structure and agency, through identifying the role that schools play in shaping *organizational habitus*. McDonough (1997) states that Bourdieu's model for social reproduction is "underdeveloped" and suggests that her research more accurately depicts "how social class operates through high schools to shape students' perceptions of appropriate college choices, thereby affecting patterns of educational attainment, and how individuals and schools mutually shape and reshape each other" (p.107).

Horvat (1996, 2000, and 2004) is another researcher whose empirical work has reflected an interest in applying Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to topics within the higher education field. Horvat suggests that *habitus*, through revealing embedded structures, is an effective construct from which to examine the influence of race and social class on the decisions of students.

Horvat's dissertation work (1996) focuses on college choice—specifically the college choice of African American girls. Horvat's dissertation traces the experience of 14 African American girls at three

different high schools and like McDonough (1997) Horvat situates the experience of these girls within the context of different high school experiences. She selected two comprehensive public high schools as sites for her study with one of these schools as having a “low” general socioeconomic composition and the other as having “mixed” socioeconomic composition. The high school with “low” socioeconomic composition is predominantly black and the other public high school she characterizes as “mixed” in its racial composition. Finally, she includes an independent girls’ prep school which she characterizes as “high” in terms of socioeconomics and racially as “predominantly white.”

In her exploration of the role of *habitus*, Horvat adds a layer of analysis by considering the simultaneous effects of race and class on college choice. For example, Horvat (2000) depicts high school students like Lauren whom she describes as: “excluded from the circle of Black friends in her neighborhood because of the markers of her *habitus*, her light skin and upper middle-class amenities differentiate her from them. Both race and class serve to create the boundaries of belonging for Lauren in this *field*” (p. 229, italics added).

Horvat (1996) describes how Lauren is caught between two social worlds in that she, like other Black girls, struggles to fit in at her prep school which is predominantly white. Horvat examines the tension that Lauren feels over everyday concerns like the type of music that is played at school dances: “These cultural preferences which are part of everyday *practice* in social life

at school served as markers of exclusion for Lauren” (Horvat, 2000, p. 230, italics added). Horvat depicts Lauren’s college choice of Spellman over UC Berkley as based on her selecting a place where she would belong—both in terms of SES and race.

The longitudinal nature of Horvat’s (1996, 2000, and 2003) research allows her to account for Bourdieu’s construct of *field* as well. By extending her original dissertation research to include follow-up interviews with her subjects while they were in college, Horvat (2000) examines the role of race and socioeconomic status on college satisfaction. Lauren, for example, whom Horvat describes as caught between two social worlds in high school, fits right in at Spellman, a prominent, historically black institution. Horvat (2000) uses interview data with Lauren to depict how at Spellman she gains a sense of belonging not only because of her race but also because “her upper-middle class status placed her within the norm for students who attended the school” (p. 232). Recall that for Bourdieu *habitus* represents the tacitly understood “rules of the game,” and *field* represents the social space in which the game takes place. By contrasting the same student’s high school experience with her collegiate experience Horvat (2000) is able to draw conclusions about the role of the students’ *habiti* as it is played out in different *fields*: “the important point is to note how the meaning of Lauren’s class status changed over time as the *field* of interaction changed” (p. 232, italics added).

In general McDonough (1997) and Horvat (1996, 2000, 2003) enhance our understating of Bourdieu’s construct of *habitus* through their empirical

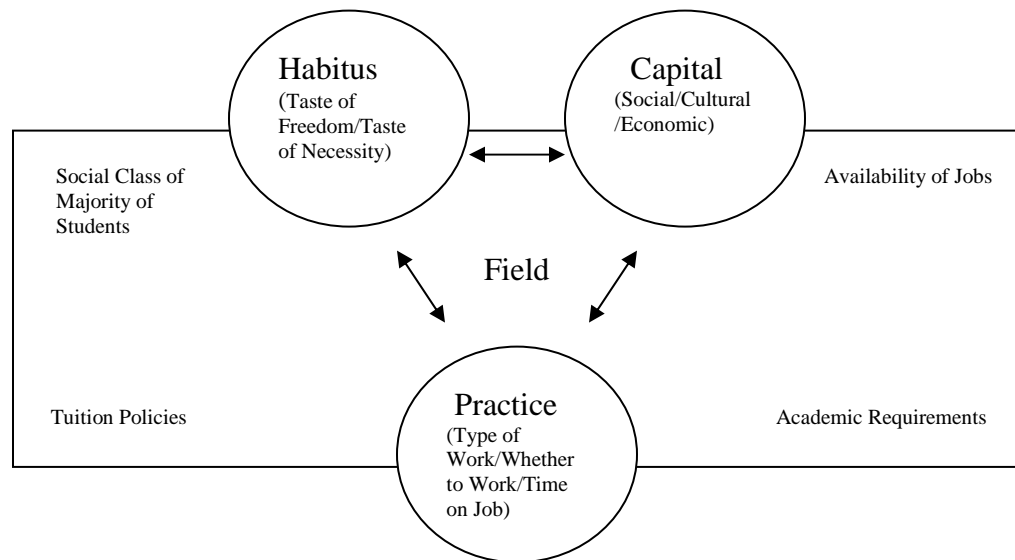
research. Their work explores the tendency of educational institutions to reinforce class distinctions. McDonough's extension of Bourdieu's construct to include organizational cultures seems to differ from Bourdieu's explanation of the construct to primarily represent how individual choice and taste are shaped by the family. Alternately, I think Horvat represents what McDonough describes as *organizational habitus as field*. Horvat's work identifies the differences between characteristics of institutional settings as related to Bourdieu's construct of *field* her work reveals how these differences shape students' experiences while in high school and college.

Conceptual Framework for the Study: Applying Bourdieu's Model

Previous research in the field of higher education often has focused narrowly on one or two of Bourdieu's constructs (Horvat, 2003). In an effort to better account for all of the elements in Bourdieu's framework I offer a model (Figure 2.1) that explores how students make work choices and presents the interactive relationship between all of the pieces of Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus.

The depiction of Bourdieu's key constructs in Figure 2.1 illustrates the recursive nature of student employment-related choices—or what Bourdieu calls practice. Through this model I explore if college students will make choices about working while in school and if these choices are shaped by the students' *habitus* and the various forms of capital they bring to college. Figure 2.1 suggests that initial choices about work reinforce the students' *habitus* and shape their future

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for College Student Employment as “Practice”



accumulation of capital while they are in college. Therefore, I depict two directional arrows to mark the interaction of *habitus* and *capital* and the *practice* that results from this interaction. In this way I explore if the process of the development of differentiated class distinctions is one that evolves over the course of the student’s undergraduate career.

The key construct for understanding how Bourdieu (1977, 1984) believes social class structures are reproduced over time is *habitus*. For Bourdieu *habitus* represents the expected and perhaps “unexamined rules of the game,” largely shaped by the social class of the student’s family, that act to constrain the student’s choice. In *Distinction* Bourdieu (1984) distinguished between the “working class” *habitus*, which he characterizes as being shaped by a “taste of necessity,” and the “dominant class” *habitus*, which he characterizes as being shaped by a “taste of freedom.” As Figure 2.1 illustrates,

I explore if this distinction is relevant when examining the choices that undergraduates make about working while in school.

Consistent with Bourdieu's (1984) notion of the *habitus* of "necessity," I speculate that working class students' choices about employment while in college are shaped largely by the need to pay for a portion of tuition, room and board, and fees. The working class student focuses on the accumulation of economic capital in order to afford college. As a result these students may be more willing to work more hours and to accept off-campus employment; they also may be more likely to live at home in order to control costs. Figure 2.1 suggests that these choices about work, or what Bourdieu would call *practice*, may have certain opportunity costs associated with the future accumulation of *cultural* and *social capital*. For example, both the amount of hours worked and the fact that the work is more often off-campus may limit the student's exposure to campus events. These events may include lectures, extracurricular opportunities in the arts, music, literature, and sporting events. Therefore, I will explore if these students accumulate less *cultural capital*—at least *cultural capital* in a form that is perhaps most valued by the institution. Similarly, the work experience of these students would have an opportunity cost associated with the accumulation of *social capital*. Put simply, these students may have less interaction with faculty and less opportunity to develop peer networks because of work. Because I speculate that these work-related choices may shape the accumulation of *social* and *cultural capital* while the student is in college, I present two directional arrows between practice and capital.

Conversely, for middle- and upper-class students I explore if the pattern may be the opposite and characterized by what Bourdieu (1984) labels the “taste of freedom.” Due to the possession of greater economic capital these students are more likely to be able to pay the full cost of tuition, room, and fees or their families may be more willing to borrow money to cover these costs. Therefore, because these students are likely to have greater choice about employment, they are free to work in settings (on-campus) that allow them to further accumulate *cultural* and *social capital* or are free to choose not to work during the school year. Moreover, because they are less dependent on work as a way to help pay for their education, these students are free to seek employment that can further their academic or career interests. Middle- and upper-class students also may be working for different reasons than working class students. They may work to afford certain status or lifestyle “luxuries” such as parties, spring break trips, music (CDs and concerts), clothes, or cars. Working to afford status items would be consistent with Bourdieu’s notion of a habitus distinguished by a “taste of freedom.”

Of course the choices that students make about work do not occur in a vacuum. In this study I explore if some characteristics of the campus where the student attends may constrain students’ choices and influence the decisions they make about working while in school. In Figure 2.1 I present the college campus as being analogous with Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) construct of *field*. While Bourdieu means many different things when he uses this construct, one way to understand what he means by *field* is as the social space where the rules of the game are played out.

Consequently, Bourdieu explains that the various forms of capital will have value only within certain fields.

As an educational institution, a college or university has several characteristics that I suggest may shape students' choices regarding the role of work in their undergraduate experience. Figure 2.1 depicts some of the characteristics that I speculate may be important to understanding how the university as a *field* shapes students' choices about work. One of these characteristics is the college's tuition policy. Indeed, one could argue that the college itself plays the most significant role, after the student's family, in shaping the *economic capital* available to students through policies that determine merit and need-based financial assistance available to students. Academic policies and requirements also may affect students' work choices. Policies that dictate specific requirements within certain majors such as course sequencing, lab hours, and internship obligations would be examples of institutional characteristics that might affect work decisions. For example, the institution where I conducted my study has an internship, a service, and a study abroad requirement for all business majors. Such academic requirements might prevent certain students, who must work in order to afford college, from selecting that major. The availability of campus and proximate off-campus jobs and the socioeconomic status of the majority of the students served by the institution may also affect students' work-related choices.

Figure 2.1 presents the influence of the college or university campus as *field* as more than simply additive. In this study I explore if some of the campus characteristics described above reinforce different work choices based on differences

in social class. Therefore, I represent the *field* as the college campus or the social space where the rules of the game are played out.

The model I develop will be explored within the unique institutional context of one university. While I come to the model with the desire to explore Bourdieu's constructs, I realize there are likely many other student characteristics (besides social class) that will influence students' work choice. For example race, language ability, or even resident status for international students could dramatically affect how students approach, or even *if* they can consider, working while attending college.

Research Questions Derived from Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for the study applies Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) constructs as a way to explore how students on a particular university campus make work choices. Through the use of this framework, I attempt to reveal how and why these choices may vary based on class differences. The study is guided by the overarching research question:

How do the work choices of working class and middle-/upper-class students who attend one private four year university reflect Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction?

In order to address the overarching research questions the study asks six related sub-questions:

1. What work choices do working class and middle-/upper-class students make and why do they make these choices? (e.g., whether or not to work; how many hours to work; on-campus vs. off-campus employment)
2. To what extent do students' work choices vary by class?
3. How do the work choices of working class and middle- upper-class students shape their academic and co-curricular choices?

4. How do the academic and co-curricular choices of working class and middle-upper-class students shape their work choices?
5. To what extent do these patterns of relationships vary by class?
6. How do the work choices of working class and middle-/upper students appear to be influenced by institutional characteristics, policies and practices? (e.g., tuition policies, academic requirements, socioeconomic status of the majority of the student body, employment opportunities)

Summary

This chapter suggests that the literature on college student employment presents an incomplete picture of the effects of work on the undergraduate experience. The greatest problem with the empirical research on this topic is that these studies examine the effects of work without any real focus on the reasons and motivations the student might have for working while in college. The review of the body of empirical research in this chapter demonstrates that these studies are somewhat limited in the conclusions because of the nature of the questions they ask about how students make choices about work and school. In these studies differences in student employment are examined based on limited dichotomous or artificially defined continuous variables. Work is defined as either on-campus or off-campus, as less than 15 hours per week or greater than 15 hours per week. As a case study which includes interviews with students, this study holds the promise of probing deeper into students' motivation for working while in school and in understanding the meaning they derive from that employment. The study also will look more critically at differences in the types of jobs student hold while in school, and

how this employment might shape students' accumulation of *social* and *cultural capital*.

Another shortcoming of most of the research on college student employment is the limitation of these studies to examine the effects of work based on differences in student characteristics. This is a particularly glaring gap in the literature given that students from lower SES status often have greater unmet financial need while in college. For this reason we might expect students from lower SES backgrounds would seek employment while in school for very different reasons than students from higher SES backgrounds. This study seeks to fill that gap by exploring differences in students' work experience based on social class.

The empirical research on student employment has been criticized for the lack of theoretical models used to guide these studies (Rigger et al., 2006). In this chapter I propose that Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction provides an appropriate analytical tool for examining students' work-related choices within the context of their undergraduate experience. I develop a conceptual model which uses Bourdieu's constructs to explain these choices. Because students from lower-income and working class backgrounds may be compelled to work in order to afford college, the purposes and types of jobs they pursue might be quite different than jobs pursued by students from middle- and upper-class backgrounds. Here, Bourdieu's (1984) elaboration of the working class *habitus* is quite relevant. He suggests that it is characterized by a *taste for necessity*. This is in contrast to the dominant class's *taste for*

freedom (Swartz, 1997). I suggest, for example, that working class students' employment may be shaped by the *necessity* of finding work for the practical and utilitarian purpose of paying for college, whereas middle- and upper-class students may have the *freedom* to either not work at all or to find a job to help build their resume or establish important social contacts for future employment or graduate school. Likewise, I suggest that as a significant majority on the campus where I conducted my study middle- and upper-class students may establish certain norms or expectations about work choices that will influence students' choices.

There is a growing interest in utilizing Bourdieu's theoretical constructs to guide studies in the field of higher education in the United States. This chapter suggests that the most relevant examples of empirical research for this study (e.g., Horvat, 1996, 2000, & 2004); McDonough, 1997; Valdez, 1996) situate the research within Bourdieu's entire theoretical apparatus and identify the various actors within a given *field* of power relationships. Because most of the empirical research on student employment is quantitative, and often has involved multiple institutions, the research has virtually ignored the influence of institutional context on student employment. This dissertation contends that institutional characteristics, policies and practices play a role in shaping students' attitudes and choices about working while in school. Some of the institutional characteristics that appear to be important in shaping students' work choices include whether the institution is public or private, large or small, urban or rural, residential or commuter. Therefore, in keeping with Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) theoretical framework this study will focus on how key characteristics

of the *field* (the university which serves as the site for the study) influence students' work-related choices and overall college experience. In this way the study will examine if the institution itself tends to reinforce social class differences.

In the next chapter I discuss my use of case study as the methodology for conducting the research. Experts on case study (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2003) contend that it is a particularly effective methodology for examining a social phenomenon within a specific context. I suggest that this study, which examines the work choices of students at a particular university, is well suited for case study design.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This research uses a case study methodology to explore how students on a particular university campus make choices about their part-time employment. I begin this chapter by discussing why case study is an appropriate methodology to answer my research questions. I then discuss the rationale behind the case selection and provide additional detail about the institution where I conducted the study. These characteristics are important because the study explored if students' work experiences were shaped by the unique institutional context of the college they attend. I then describe the data sources that I utilized to conduct the case study and my approach to data collection and analysis. In the final section of the chapter I discuss my approach to ensuring the trustworthiness of the study through the triangulating of data, maintaining a case study data base, and demonstrating a chain of evidence. In addition, I discuss the ethical concerns that I faced as a researcher.

Case Study Justification

In utilizing case study this dissertation closely follows Yin's (2003) definition of an exploratory single case study with multiple, embedded units of analysis. The case is the phenomenon of student employment at a particular university. The embedded units of analysis include the phenomenon of student employment as experienced by two groups—working class and middle-/upper-class students. Additional embedded units of analysis included the phenomenon of student employment as interpreted by administrators and student employers.

I have selected the case study methodology for three reasons. First, my interest in exploring the usefulness of Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) theoretical framework to help explain students' choices is consistent with Yin's (2003) belief that case study is a particularly effective methodology for testing or expanding existing theory. Indeed, Yin suggests that the development of theory in case studies, before data collection is undertaken, is essential. Yin (2003) states that this a priori use of theory differentiates case study from "related methods such as ethnography and grounded theory" (p.28). For Yin the development of theory is central to the design of an effective case study.

The second reason that case study was an appropriate methodology for this study relates to the phenomenon under investigation—students' work choices. This research explored if students' employment choices were shaped both by the students' social class *and* by the practices and characteristics of the university they attend. I believe that it is difficult to understand students' work choices apart from the institutional context. Authorities on case study methodology suggest that it is a particularly useful methodology for examining a phenomenon within a specific context, especially when the boundaries between the two are not clear (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2003).

Finally, case study was an appropriate methodology for this research because it relies on multiple data sources. This research study drew on archival data collected from surveys, interviews with college administrators, and interviews with students. Utilizing each of these sources assisted me in the development of what Merriam

(1998) describes as a “holistic description and explanation” of students’ work choices (p. 29).

Case Selection Rationale

The specific case under investigation in this study was the work experiences of students at St. Luke’s College (a pseudonym). St. Luke’s is a private, Catholic university in the northeast established in the mid 1850s. St. Luke’s has approximately 3,700 full-time undergraduates and approximately 2,400 predominately part-time graduate students. I chose to study the work experiences of undergraduate students at St. Luke’s for two primary and interrelated reasons.

The first reason for selecting St. Luke’s as the site related to the phenomenon under investigation. Previous research indicates that unmet need is greatest for students attending four-year private institutions (King, 2002). I believe that unmet need creates the condition in which many students feel the need to work in order to afford college. However, students from working class backgrounds may have been under more pressure to work.

Table 3.1 represents the estimated student budget at St. Luke’s for the academic year 2008-09. These costs are only estimates and do not represent the student’s adjusted budget that takes into account financial aid from federal, state and institutional sources. At St. Luke’s 64% of undergraduates receive some form of financial aid.

Nonetheless, the total cost of attendance at St. Luke’s is high. In addition, historically St. Luke’s tuition discount rate (the percentage of the total cost of attendance funded by institutional forms of support) has been relatively low (27%-29%). Because of St.

Luke’s high cost of attendance and low discount rate, I expected to find many students working while going to college. While the relatively high percentage of affluent families at St. Luke’s is a partial explanation for the low discount rate, it was likely that some students from working class and even middle- class backgrounds had significant unmet need. Therefore, as a research site St. Luke’s represented a university where the phenomenon of interest—students’ work choices—was very visible.

Table 3.1: Estimated Student Budget: St. Luke’s College: 2008-09 Academic Year

	On-Campus	Off-Campus	With Parents
Tuition	\$35,140	\$35,140	\$35,140
Fees	\$1,100	\$1,100	\$1,100
Room and Board Allowance	\$9,740	\$6,200	-----
Commuter Living Expense Allowance	-----	-----	\$2,350
Books and Supplies	\$1,010	\$1,010	\$1,010
Transportation	\$360	\$400	\$1,050
Personal/Miscellaneous	\$1,060	\$1,060	\$1,060
Total	\$48,410	\$44,910	\$41,710

Source: St. Luke’s College Office of Financial Aid

The second reason that St. Luke’s was an appropriate site for a case study of students’ work experiences, particularly one that focuses on social class differences, was that the institution provided a dramatic contrast between the experience of working class and middle- and upper-class students. St. Luke’s is characterized by serving a high percentage of middle- and upper-class students and their families. I suggest that this made the sacrifice that working class students make in order to afford St. Luke’s feel more pronounced.

An indication that St. Luke’s serves a high percentage of middle- and upper-class students is the relative low percentage of first-generation students attending St. Luke’s. For example, only approximately 7% of St. Luke’s class of 2010 is first-generation (based on data from 2006 Cooperative Institutional Research Project). By contrast, data show that there are a high percentage of fairly affluent students at St. Luke’s. For example, the annual family income of St. Luke’s class of 2010 is summarized in Table 3.2. The percentage of students who estimated their parents’ income as less than \$50,000 is only slightly more than 9 percent. In contrast, over a quarter of the class estimated their parents’ annual income is more than \$200,000, with over 20% estimating their parents’ annual income as \$250,000 or more.

Table 3.2: St. Luke’s Class of 2010 Parents’ Combined Annual Income

Parent's Income	Frequency	Percent
Less than \$50,000	70	9.20
\$50,000-\$99,999	213	27.90
\$100,000-\$149,999	165	21.60
\$150,000-\$199,999	111	14.50
\$200,000-\$249,999	46	6.00
\$250,000 or more	158	20.70
Total	753	100.00

Source: Institutional data for St. Luke’s from Cooperative Institutional Research Program’s (CIRP) annual survey 2006

* 96 students or 11.2% of the original sample were missing data on this item. Parent income is the student’s “best guess” of parents’ income from all sources in the most recent year before taxes.

The relative affluence of a significant portion of the student body at St. Luke’s may create a campus culture where working becomes a marker of social class distinctions. For example, 43% of the class of 2010 is “full payers” or students who received no institutionally funded aid (data in this section provided by St. Luke’s Office of Financial Aid). These students have an average family income of \$211,279,

and while a small portion of these students (14%) qualify for need-based loans or work-study, I contend that they may be employed for different reasons than working class students. Adding to this difference between social class groups on St. Luke's campus is the fact that historically the institution's conservative approach to tuition discounting meant that it capped the institutional aid for the most needy students at between 65% and 75% of their total need. This policy changed for the class of 2011 when the institution began meeting the full need of all students who were admitted. This made the class of 2010 a unique cohort group for the study.

Data Sources

Generally speaking case study researchers collect data from multiple sources (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2003). In an effort to develop a rich case study that focused on a phenomenon (students' work choices) within a specific context (the college campus), I utilized three data sources: archival records, semi-structured interviews with students, and semi-structured interviews with college administrators. In the next section of the chapter I discuss these data sources as they relate to the purposes of the study.

Archival Data

Yin (2003) suggests that "survey data...previously collected about a site" may be useful in case study research. In order to accurately describe students' employment-related choices at St. Luke's I utilized survey data collected from the institution's participation in the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE) and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) annual survey on freshman norms. St. Luke's participated in both surveys during the academic year 2006-2007.

The NSSE survey contains data collected on freshmen and seniors while the CIRP survey contains data on entering first-year students. The two surveys include questions about student employment.

The data files used in this case study included institutional level data for St. Luke's from the 2006 CIRP and the 2007 NSSE. The 2006 CIRP surveyed 859 entering freshmen from St. Luke's class of 2010 and had a return rate of 91%. The 2007 NSSE surveyed 299 seniors from St. Luke's graduating class of 2007 and 410 freshmen from St. Luke's class of 2010. The 2007 NSSE had a return rate of 37 % for seniors and 44 % for freshmen. The students interviewed for the study were from the class of 2010. The next section of the chapter discusses why I chose to study sophomores.

I used data from the CIRP and NSSE surveys to describe the characteristics of student employment at St. Luke's (e.g., how many students work, how many hours per week students work, whether employment is on-campus or off-campus). I also used the survey data to describe how students at St. Luke's spend their time outside of the classroom. For example, I describe how many hours per week St. Luke's students typically spend preparing for class and how frequently they are involved in community service and clubs and organizations. While I believe the use of the survey data was helpful in describing the context of student employment at St. Luke's, I primarily depended on interviews in order to understand how students make and explain their work-related choices.

Semi-Structured Interviews with Students

In order to answer research questions about how students' make work choices, and about how these work choices shape their academic and co-curricular experiences, I conducted interviews with second semester sophomores. I chose to interview students in their sophomore year for several reasons. First, because by the second semester of their sophomore year students must choose a major, I was able to examine whether and how the student's employment choices affected their choice of a major. Second, I focused on the sophomore year because a major point of emphasis at St. Luke's is study abroad. Typically, approximately half of any class at the institution goes abroad during their junior year. By interviewing second semester sophomores I spoke to students while they were in the throes of making a decision regarding study abroad. The prospect that differing work experiences might influence such decisions could be noteworthy because I speculated that working class students may participate less in study abroad, which could deter them from accumulating certain *social* and *cultural capital* provided by the institution. Finally, I chose the sophomore year because by this time most students have established patterns of participation in co-curricular activities. Again, I explored whether working class students "chose" work over co-curricular activities, a choice that could prevent them from developing *social* and *cultural capital*.

Sampling for Student Subjects

In order to answer research questions about how students' explain their work and co-curricular choices, I interviewed a total of 24 students. Sampling for student subjects for the study was purposeful and followed the logic often employed in

qualitative research where the aim is to “develop information rich cases for study in depth” (Patton, 2002, p. 230). In this study I utilized what Patton (2002) describes as maximum variation sampling by first identifying “the diverse characteristics or criteria for constructing the sample” (p. 235).

Because my research questions focused on the differences in work experiences of students based on social class, I selected an equal number of sophomores (N=12) from what I define as “working class” and “middle-/upper-class” backgrounds. For the purpose of this study, a student’s social class background was defined as “working class” if they were first-generation college students and their parents’ occupations total less than 50 on Hauser and Warren’s (1997) socioeconomic index (SEI). Students selected for the study were defined as “middle-class” if their parents’ educational status is mixed, with one parent having graduated from college and the other having not attended. The middle-class students’ parents had occupations, if both parents worked, that totaled between 50 and 100 on Hauser & Warren’s socioeconomic index (SEI). “Upper-class” students selected for the study were from families where both parents have a college degree or higher and were employed, if both parents worked, in occupations totaling 100 or more on Hauser & Warren’s socioeconomic index (SEI). Because the work-related choices of students may be influenced by the student’s gender as well as social class, I included 12 male and 12 female participants equally distributed based on social class. A summary of the students who were selected for the study is presented in Table 3.3.

In order to identify the student participants for the study, prospective subjects completed a Student Participant Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix A). I

recruited subjects from the entire sophomore class of 2010 by posting an advertisement in the sophomore class newsletter and soliciting names from student employers. However, because of the small number of first-generation students at St. Luke's, I relied on student life colleagues, administrators in academic affairs and priests who live in the residence halls to assist me in identifying students who fit my definition of working class.

As noted in Chapter Two, previous research which examines the relationship between work and student success often focused on several independent variables of interest (e.g. number of hours worked, on-campus vs. off-campus employment). While I did not use these criteria to select student participants for the study, information on these variables were collected on the Student Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix A) and are presented as part of the findings in Chapter Four. As I explain in the next chapter, students in this study often switched between on- and off-campus jobs and/or altered the number of hours they worked from one semester to the next.

Because previous research tended to ignore the type of employment students obtain, I selected participants who held a variety of jobs. Students were selected whose primary places of employment are both on-campus and off-campus. I selected students whose work ranged from hourly employment in the service industry to paid internships. While my empirical focus on the work experience of students of different class background determined my primary selection criteria, I attempted to portray as much diversity of student experience of the phenomenon as possible. Patton (2002) stresses this is important in maximum variation sampling because “any

patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon” (p. 235). In order to include as much variation in the types of jobs students held I had to make a concerted effort to recruit students whose employment was strictly off-campus. When my first wave of recruitment yielded very few students in this category, I utilized a key student informant (the Sophomore Class President) to find additional students who worked off-campus.

Finally, because the study focused on the work experiences of undergraduate students who may struggle to balance their employment with academics, students who participated in the study were paid a \$100 stipend. The stipend seemed the most appropriate incentive for a study that focused on the work choices of undergraduates and signaled respect for the time students invested in the project.

Interviews with College Administrators

In addition to semi-structured interviews with students I conducted semi-structured interviews with college administrators at St. Luke’s. These administrators included the Vice President of Enrollment Management, Director of Financial Aid, Dean of International Student Services and the Dean of Academic Services. While these members of the administration certainly do not have unilateral authority to determine institutional policy, I believe they possess unique insight as to how the specific institutional practices and characteristics described in Figure 2.1 (Page 65) might affect students’ work, academic and co-curricular choices.

Table 3.3: Subject Selection by Parental Educational Attainment and Occupation

Student	Father's Education	Mother's Education	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	Social Class
Maura	Some College	High School Grad.	Comm. Waterman (25.61)*	Homemaker	Working Class
Sarah	Some High School	Postsecondary other than college	Factory Worker (21.23)*	Job Coordinator (26.59)*	Working Class
Sukeina	Some College	High School Grad.	Unemployed	Insurance Agent (41.02)*	Working Class
Sydney	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Factory Worker (21.23)*	Secretary (30.01)*	Working Class
Alicia	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Butcher (21.63)*	Mobile Park Manager (33.91)*	Working Class
Brooke	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Owner Printing Bus. (39.33)*	Owner Advertising Bus. (36.84)*	Working Class
Lou	Some High School	Grammar School or less	Custodial Engineer (28.49)*	Home Attendant (25.98)*	Working Class
Luis	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Tech Support (43.94)*	Homemaker	Working Class
David	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Fire Fighter (37.40)*	Maid (13.84)*	Working Class
Carlos	Some High School	Associates Degree	Cook (15.80)*	Teacher's Aid (30.06)*	Working Class
Taylor	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Unknown	Bus Matron (19.29)*	Working Class
Paul	High School Grad.	High School Grad.	Unknown	Disabled	Working Class
Emma	Postsecondary other than college	Postsecondary other than college	Pool Business (44.57)*	Unemployed (Nurse)	Middle-class
Katy	College Degree	High School Grad.	CPA (63.44)*	Elementary Para. Prof. (30.06)*	Middle-class
Claire	High School Grad.	College Degree	Building Inspector (32.74)*	Artist (45.11)*	Middle-class
Alex	Graduate Degree	College Degree	Minister (38.54)*	Teacher's Aid (30.06)*	Middle-class
Chris	College Degree	High School Grad.	Manager Tyco Elec. (46.10)*	Religious ed teacher (42.90)*	Middle-class
Red	Some Grad School	High School Grad.	Risk Analyst (55.63)*	Pulmonary Technician (36.01)*	Middle-class
Anna	College Degree	College Degree	Hotel Manager (55.18)*	Homemaker	Upper-class
Karen	College Degree	College Degree	Treasurer-Credit Union (54.01)*	Registered Nurse (63.57)*	Upper-class
Rebecca	Graduate Degree	Graduate Degree	State Investigator (46.08)*	Business Executive (55.85)*	Upper-class
Gareth	Graduate Degree	Graduate Degree	CPA (63.44)*	HR Professional (46.03)*	Upper-class
Nick	College Degree	Graduate Degree	Stock Broker (59.51)*	Salesperson (43.47)*	Upper-class
Manny	Graduate Degree	Some College	Physician (74.72)*	Registered Nurse (63.57)*	Upper-class

*Numerical values for equivalent occupation as identified by Hauser and Warren's (1997) Socioeconomic Index for Occupations

In addition to interviewing these administrators, I interviewed other individuals who supervise student employees. These individuals were selected following what Patton (2002) describes as snowball or chain sampling. In other words, I interviewed student employment supervisors who the above administrators suggested may have unique insight about student employment. I also interviewed employment supervisors who were identified by student subjects in the study. These were employers who students said were particularly influential in assisting them with their academic and vocational choices.

Data Collection and Analysis

Creswell (1998) suggests that an appropriate visual model for data collection and analysis is that of a spiral in which each phase of the process both repeats and builds upon the previous phase. I find this visual particularly applicable to this case study, and view Creswell's model as consistent with Merriam's (1998) description of the data collection and analysis process as "recursive and dynamic" (p. 155). In this section of the chapter I describe data collection from each of the three data sources and how I analyzed these data in order to develop the cross-case study analysis.

In the first phase of data collection and analysis I reviewed and analyzed survey data. As stated above, the two sources of archival data that were used in this study included institutional level data collected through St. Luke's participation in recent implementations of the NSSE and CIRP surveys. The use of this data provided me with valuable background information about campus characteristics related to student employment. Although my analysis of the data was limited to descriptive

statistics, this analysis assisted me when I conducted student interviews. Appendix A lists the specific questions from the CIRP and NSSE survey that I utilized in my analysis. Appendix A maps each survey question to Bourdieu's construct(s) and identifies the corresponding research question it addresses.

Individual semi-structured student interviews comprised the second phase of data collection and analysis. Appendix C represents the Interview Guide for these sessions. The Interview Guide includes several primary questions that I asked each participant, and several sub-questions or prompts that could be explored depending on the student's response. I piloted the use of the Interview Guide with a student who was not a participant in the research study and revised the Interview Guide prior to my first interview. The Interview Guide maps each question to Bourdieu's construct(s) as well as to the applicable research question. These interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. I audio recorded these interviews and labeled and stored them electronically on my password-protected hard drive. I then transcribed each interview prior to data analysis. After conducting my initial interviews with students, I often contacted them by email to clarify items that they spoke about in their interviews. In two instances, I conducted follow-up interviews with subjects in person in order to add clarity to information they provided in the first interview.

My interviews with college administrators comprised the third phase of data collection. These interviews were semi-structured and lasted 60 to 90 minutes. Appendix D is the Interview Guide for these sessions. In my interview with these administrators I began by asking each to comment, based on their experience, on how they believed institutional policies, practices and student characteristics might

influence students' work choices. I also shared with them certain characteristics of the student data I had collected and asked for their impressions concerning the data. Finally, toward the end of the interview I shared my conceptual model with them and asked them to comment on its accuracy. I audio recorded the interviews and labeled and stored them electronically on my password-protected hard drive. I transcribed each interview prior to data analysis. I had several follow-up conversations with some of these informants (either by email or over the telephone) in order to clarify items they had discussed. In addition, I requested specific information about policies and practices of the institution from the Director of Financial Aid. These data proved important to the development of the section on the policy implications of the study.

Merriam (1998) explains that data analysis for case studies happens simultaneously with data collection. She emphasizes the “interactive nature of data collection, analysis, and reporting” (p. 153). In keeping with this strategy, I employed what Merriam describes as the constant comparative method of data analysis (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967) for my case study on student employment. Following this method I began by analyzing the survey data available from St. Luke's participation in the CIRP and NSSE surveys and reached some tentative conclusions about the overall characteristics of student employment at St. Luke's (e.g. number of hours student work, on-campus vs. off-campus employment) and how these might relate to students' social class. I then compared what I found from the survey data with what each student and administrator told me during the individual interviews. As Merriam describes, my goal was to use the transcripts and field notes from my

first interview and to compare these to the transcripts and field notes from the second interview and so forth.

In following the constant comparative method I adopted Merriam's strategy of "keeping notes, comments, observations, and queries" in the margins of each transcript and set of field notes in order to construct categories of themes that emerged from the data (Merriam, 1998, p. 181). As Merriam (1998) describes, the next step in the process was naming categories to express the themes that emerged from the data. Merriam says that this process of developing "classification schemes can be borrowed from sources outside the study at hand" (p.183). Because my overall research question sought to understand if Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction illuminated how students make work choices, I returned to my conceptual model (p. 63) to aid in the development of these classification schemes. Nonetheless, I attempted to stay very close to the data itself and when possible I used subjects' phrases and words to describe themes.

My classification of data collected from the student interviews into categories and themes followed Merriam's (1998) recommendations for cross-case analysis. As such, I first analyzed data within each individual unit of analysis and searched for similarities within the group of students identified as "working class." I then followed the same process for the students who were identified as "middle-class" and "upper-class." After completing the within case analysis, I proceeded to conduct what Merriam (1998) describes as the cross-case analysis where I attempted to "build abstractions across cases" (p.195).

This process of identifying categories lead to what Merriam describes as the “third level of analysis [that] involves making inferences, developing models, or generating theory” (p. 187). For my study this step involved an analysis of how adequately Bourdieu’s theory was in explaining students’ behavior, and whether or not the institution, through its policies and practices, tended to reinforce class distinctions.

Trustworthiness

Yin (2003) discusses three principles of data collection and analysis for case studies that can be employed by the researcher to enhance the study’s validity and reliability. These three principals include using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study data base, and maintaining a chain of evidence. I used each of these principles in order to ensure that the conclusions I made from the data were trustworthy. In this section I briefly discuss how I applied each of these principles to the research study.

I used multiple sources of evidence (e.g., archival records, semi-structured interviews, and semi-structured interviews with college administrators) to explore the usefulness of Bourdieu’s constructs to explain how students make choices about working while attending college. Yin (2003) explains that effective case studies involve “data triangulation” where “multiple measures of the same phenomenon” corroborate any conclusions the researcher makes about the data (p. 100). In order to draw conclusions, I examined data collected from my three sources of evidence to determine points of convergence. I also attempted to reconcile data that presents

conflicting evidence. Yin asserts that the triangulation of data is one way that the case study researcher can address issues of construct validity.

Yin (2003) also advocates keeping a case study data base to allow any external reviewer to examine all the raw data collected in the case. I kept an accurate data base on each of my sources. The case study data base included the actual files and analysis of the survey data. I also recorded and saved field notes and transcriptions from the interviews with students and college administrators. Yin asserts that keeping a well organized and documented case study data base “increases markedly the reliability of the entire case study” (p. 102).

Finally, the conclusions that I draw in this case study were documented following what Yin calls a chain of evidence. In this way the final case study report traced the conclusions obtained from the “relevant portion of the case study data base” (Yin, 2003, p. 105). By maintaining a chain of evidence, I traced the information from the case study data base to my original research question and the construct it was designed to explore. Yin (2003) believes that this process of “clear cross-referencing [of] methodological procedures...to resulting evidence” provides an important measure of reliability for case studies (p. 105).

Ethical Considerations

Merriam (1998) suggests that the issue of anonymity is often problematic in case study research. She explains that because case study by its very nature involves “an intensive investigation of a specific phenomenon...it is nearly impossible to protect the identity of either the case or people involved” (p. 217). Despite this challenge, I made every attempt to provide anonymity to the institution that agreed to

serve as the research site and to the individuals who agreed to participate in the study. While I use a pseudonym for the institution where I conducted the study, I made it clear to the leadership of the university that some readers of the study may inadvertently determine the research site. Nonetheless, I also took additional steps to protect the anonymity of the “case” by changing the names of administrative and academic units that were unique to the institution and therefore might make the case readily identifiable. In addition, I took great care to provide pseudonyms for additional college personnel named by students during the interview process. Names of administrative and academic units unique to the institution were also changed. Similarly, I changed all references to actual campus buildings, landmarks and street names. All of these changes are identified as pseudonyms within the text of the quotations for the study.

An equally sensitive issue for this case study was the researcher-participant relationship. Because I was particularly interested in students’ genuine response about the role of work in their undergraduate experience, and delved into potentially sensitive issues of class difference, I provided students who participated in the study anonymity through using pseudonyms instead of their actual names. In addition, I took care not to provide identifiable demographic characteristics of participants that were so specific that the individuals could be easily identifiable if the research site were revealed. For example, I for the students whose parents were immigrants to the United States I referred only to the part of the world that they immigrated from and not the actual country. I describe each student’s hometown but do not name it. Finally, while I used the students’ parents’ occupation to identify the sample, and

discuss how their employment shaped the student's habitus, I took care not to provide the actual names of the companies or business that were their employers and often referred to these by pseudonyms. In addition, at least one of the participant's primary co-curricular experience was changed to protect his anonymity. While I was dependent upon colleagues and other students to identify prospective participants for the study, I did not share with any of these individuals the names of students who were selected for the final sample. In addition, while I sought confirmation of my model from the administrators I have identified as informed experts, I did not share any actual student responses with them nor did I share the identity of any of the participants. This was particularly important because some of the student participants were critical of some of the characteristics of the campus culture at St. Luke's and were critical of certain administrative policies. All of the audio recordings and transcripts from student interviews were secured, and file names were coded based on the students' pseudonyms in order to avoid any possibility that students' identities could be disclosed.

As an insider at the institution where I conducted my study I faced some specific ethical challenges in collecting data from students. Because my position as an administrator in student affairs at the institution involves me in a variety of duties, including some responsibilities with student conduct, I distinguished for student participants the difference between my administrative responsibilities and my role as researcher. Symbolic of this distinction, I conducted the student interviews at an on-campus site other than my office. Prior to beginning the interview I made it clear that my role in this research was separate from and independent of my job.

Finally, I believe the findings from this study could have real benefits for both the leadership at the host institution and the students. For this reason I will provide a summary of my findings to all the subjects in the study, administrators and students. The summary of the findings will connect the study to previous research. Following this I will host two open forums in order to discuss the results—one for administration and faculty and one for students.

Summary

This chapter outlined the methodology I used to investigate the phenomenon of student employment on a particular university campus. I suggested that case study is an appropriate methodology given the theoretical framework and conceptual model I introduce in Chapter Two. In this chapter I presented a rationale for the selection of the research site and described the data sources from which I drew information to develop the case study. In addition, the chapter described the data collection and analysis procedures that I used and discussed my approach to ensuring the trustworthiness of the study. In the final section of the chapter I discuss the ethical challenges that I faced as the researcher. I then outlined my approach to sensitive ethical issues including protecting the anonymity of the research site, providing confidentiality for the subjects in the study, and establishing and maintaining the trust of student participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings for the study. The chapter includes three sections. The first section describes the institutional context for the phenomenon of student employment at St. Luke's College. This section utilizes archival data made available through St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research, including data collected as part of the institution's participation in the 2007 National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE) and the 2006 Cooperative Institutional Research Program's (CIRP) annual survey on freshman norms. The second section of the chapter presents 24 case summaries of the student participants in the study. This section draws upon each student's Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix A) and interview. The case summaries describe, through the students' own words, their experience of working while going to college. The final section of the chapter presents themes drawn from the interviews conducted with campus administrators and student employers.

Description of the Field:

The Context of Undergraduate Student Employment at St. Luke's College

St. Luke's College was founded in 1852, and while the campus has moved twice, the institution has always resided in the same large, northeastern city. After World War II the institution primarily served working class Catholics, many of whom were the first in their families to attend college. Often these were the sons of Irish, German and Polish immigrants. St. Luke's did not admit women until 1971 when it

merged with an all women's college located in the same city (Source: St. Luke's Fall 2007 Fact Book, Office of Institutional Research).

St. Luke's opened its first dormitory in the fall of 1967. However, the institution primarily served commuters until the 1980s. At that time St. Luke's 23rd president, a priest with significant stature and tenure at the institution, transformed the university from a local, commuter college to a regional and residential campus. This was accomplished by an intentional recruitment effort that drew heavily from Catholic high schools that were located out-of-state. At the same time, St. Luke's constructed dormitories and acquired private apartment buildings, which were converted to student residences. The result was that by the mid 1990s St. Luke's was primarily a residential campus.

Today nearly 90% of St. Luke's students live on-campus. Most of the remaining students live in nearby apartment buildings and town homes. The undergraduate commuter student, which was once St. Luke's mainstay, is now virtually non-existent. While St. Luke's has two satellite campuses that support graduate studies, all undergraduates attend the main campus. The vast majority of St. Luke's undergraduates come from out of state with approximately 80 % coming from four states located within a two to three hour drive of the campus. Another 14% of St. Luke's undergraduates come from five states that are further away, yet still within a four to seven hour drive of the campus (Source: St. Luke's Fall 2007 Fact Book, Office of Institutional Research).

St. Luke's Catholic Mission and Identity

St. Luke's has remained strongly Roman Catholic. All 25 of St. Luke's past presidents have been priests from the same Order. In addition, many other priests have active roles in the campus community. These are highly educated men who serve as members of the faculty and in other key administrative positions. Most of the priests on St. Luke's campus live in their own residential community. However, each year several priests will live in the residence halls with undergraduate students.

The undergraduate student body at St. Luke's has remained predominantly Catholic as well. For example, 71.8% of the class of 2010 (the cohort that is the focus of this study) identify as Roman Catholic (Source: 2006 CIRP Survey, N=843). The next highest category of religious preference listed by the 2010 cohort were those indicating "none" (6.8%), followed by "other Christian" (4.7%). Three mainline Protestant denominations (Lutheran, Methodist, and Presbyterian) constitute a total of 6.9% for the class of 2010 (Source: 2006 CIRP Survey, N=843).

The Catholic mission and identity is evident in most aspects of undergraduate student life at St. Luke's. This identity is celebrated in many of the annual traditions of the campus. Each academic year begins with the Mass of the Holy Spirit and ends with Baccalaureate Mass. In addition, the campus supports a large and active campus ministry unit and many students participate in chapel choir, and as acolytes and liturgists. The campus ministry unit also supports an active retreat program.

The other aspect of Catholic identity and mission that is evident in the undergraduate student culture at St. Luke's is a commitment to social justice through service to the materially poor. The hub for this activity is the Community Service

Center, which was founded in 1992. The Center supports community service programming amongst the student body and fosters relationships with external service sites. The Center organizes student volunteer work at service sites that range from soup kitchens to construction sites for Habitat for Humanity. In addition, the Center provides students the opportunity to participate in other more remote domestic service projects during an alternative to spring break program. The Center also supports two popular international service opportunities in Central America. The Community Service Center works with faculty to promote service learning opportunities as part of their courses and a number of classes are designated as having a service learning component.

Participation in the various service opportunities at St. Luke's is high. For example, 46.5% of students from the class of 2010 reported they had already participated in community service when they completed the 2007 NSSE survey during the spring semester of their freshman year. Another 44.5% of the students from this cohort said they planned to participate during their four years (Source: 2007 NSSE Survey, N=380).

Characteristics of Undergraduate Education and Co-curricular Experiences at St. Luke's

St. Luke's curriculum is grounded in the liberal arts. Students are required to take 17 courses in order to satisfy the liberal arts core. These include two courses each in English, philosophy, theology, history, and additional courses in math and sciences. Each student must take an effective writing course and a course in ethics. Demonstrating proficiency in foreign language is also a requirement. Due to such

extensive requirements in the core curriculum, students spend a great deal of time during their first two years at St. Luke’s fulfilling these courses and accordingly are assigned a core advisor when they enroll as freshmen.

St. Luke’s offers the Bachelor of Arts degree in 23 fields, the Bachelor of Science degree in six fields, and the Bachelor of Business Administration in two fields. Students are assigned a faculty advisor in their major when they declare at the end of their sophomore year. St. Luke’s has a well known business school and the undergraduate degrees in business are quite popular. The communications major is among the most popular in the arts and sciences. Students pursue a wide range of majors and some students combine coursework in more than one discipline in order to complete interdisciplinary degrees.

St. Luke’s is an academically rigorous institution. Typically students take five courses each semester and are expected to spend a significant amount of time preparing for class. Table 4.1 demonstrates the distribution of the number of hours that the class of 2010 said they spent preparing for class during a typical 7-day week their freshman year.

Table 4.1: Class of 2010: Hours per Week Spent Preparing for Class

Hours per Week	Percent
1-5	7.4
6-10	20.0
11-15	26.8
16-20	18.9
21-25	15.0
26-30	6.6
More than 30	5.3
Total	100.0

Source: Institutional Data for St. Luke’s from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=380

These data suggest that over 60% of the freshmen class spent between 11 and 25 hours per week preparing for class. This means that most students spend at least one hour studying for every hour they spend in class.

Another characteristic of the academic environment at St. Luke's is the relatively low faculty to student ratio. The 2007 Fact Book for the institution cites this at 1:12. Consequently, most students at St. Luke's should have the opportunity to develop close relationships with their faculty. Table 4.2 provides the frequency with which students in the Class of 2010 said they discussed ideas from their readings or classes with their faculty outside of class. While the relatively high frequency (35.8%) of students who answered "never" may be a result of the fact that this survey was administered during the freshmen year, a majority of the students answered either "sometimes" or "often".

Table 4.2 Class of 2010: Discuss Ideas with Faculty Outside of Class

Frequency	Percent
Never	35.8
Sometimes	44.7
Often	12.1
Very Often	7.4
Total	100.0

Source: Institutional Data for St. Luke's from 2007 NSSE, N=380

An emphasis of undergraduate education at St. Luke's is the opportunity to study abroad. Study abroad opportunities are highlighted during the recruitment of new students and the primary focus for these programs is on the junior year. Nearly half of every cohort will study abroad for one or two semesters during the third year. The vast majority of these students (85% during the 2007-2008 academic year) study in one of the eleven programs that are sponsored directly by the institution (Source: Fall 2007 Fact Book, St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research). The institution has

program coordinators, and in some case faculty in residence, at universities in the following locations: Alcala, Spain; Auckland, New Zealand; Bangkok, Thailand; Beijing, China; Cork, Ireland; Leuven, Belgium; Melbourne, Australia; Newcastle, England; San Salvador, El Salvador; Paris, France; and Rome, Italy. In addition, each year a few students participate in St. Luke's exchange programs with other universities, affiliated programs and non-St. Luke's programs.

As a residential college St. Luke's provides students with a wide array of opportunities to get involved in activities and leadership roles outside of class. The institution has an active student government and student elections for student government and class offices are competitive. The Office of Student Activities sponsors a range of activities from concerts and entertainment to family weekend. The office also supports over 100 clubs and organizations. In addition, the Office of ALANA Student Services provides support for students of color and offers cultural programming for the entire campus through its sponsorship of the various cultural clubs and organizations. St. Luke's sponsors 17 Division I intercollegiate athletic teams and students turn out in large numbers for home contests in basketball, lacrosse and soccer. St. Luke's also has a large and active campus recreation program. Intramurals and club sports are popular and the campus opened an outstanding recreation facility for students, faculty, staff, and alumni in the fall of 2000.

Student participation in co-curricular experiences is high and a typical part of many students' experience at St. Luke's. Table 4.3 summarizes the number of hours that the class of 2010 estimated they spent per week on activities ranging

Table 4.3: Class of 2010: Number of Hours per Week on Co-curricular Activities

Hours per Week	Percent
0	18.7
1-5	40.8
6-10	18.4
11-15	9.1
16-20	7.1
21-25	3.7
26-30	1.1
More than 30	1.1
Total	100.0

Source: Institutional Data for St. Luke's from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=380

from student government and publications to intercollegiate sports and intramurals.

The vast majority of students (59.2%) participate between 1 and 10 hours per week in these activities. The relatively high percentage of students who say they do not participate in co-curricular activities (18.7%) may be due to the fact that the survey was completed during the second of their freshmen year and a greater number of students are likely to become involved over time. Because the NSSE survey includes intercollegiate athletics as a co-curricular activity, perhaps those who estimate the greatest number of hours are athletes.

Tuition Policy and Financial Aid

As was described in Chapter Three, St. Luke's has a high cost of attendance (See page, 72). In addition, the institution has had a conservative tuition discount strategy. The tuition discount rate is the percentage of the total cost of attendance covered by institutional forms of aid. Table 4.4 displays St. Luke's tuition discount rate for the past 10 academic years. While the institutional financial aid budget has increased dramatically, primarily in order to keep up with the increase in the cost of

Table 4.4: Undergraduate Tuition Discount Rate at St. Luke’s College 1999-2009

Academic Year	Institutional Financial Aid	Discount Rate
1999-00	14,128,113	24.8
2000-01	16,806,860	25.0
2001-02	18,156,256	25.1
2002-03	19,465,195	25.1
2003-04	21,364,182	25.7
2004-05	23,653,475	26.5
2005-06	25,832,266	26.8
2006-07	28,536,019	27.6
2007-08	32,897,248	28.8
2008-09	39,788,961	31.7

Source: St. Luke’s College Office of Institutional Research

*Institutional financial aid includes academic scholarships, need-based grants, and athletic grants for tuition. These amounts do not include loans.

tuition, the discount rate only rose marginally each year. The largest increase in the tuition discount rate at St. Luke’s was seen in the most recent year. This was primarily due the institution’s decision to meet full need for all students for the first time. In addition the increase in the tuition discount rate for 2008-09 was a result of a slight decline in the number of students who were so called “full payers.” Despite this recent trend, the tuition discount rate has remained remarkably low. The low tuition discount rate is one indicator of the relative affluence of the student body because it indicates a high percentage of students who can pay St. Luke’s total cost of attendance.

St. Luke’s offers three primary types of financial aid. The first type is merit based scholarships. The institution offers five levels of merit based scholarships to academically talented students. The scholarship levels for these awards are determined by minimal SAT scores. The minimal SAT scores for each of St. Luke’s merit based scholarships for the incoming class of 2010 are summarized in Table 4.5. The yield rate represents the percentage of students accepted by the institution at each

scholarship level who in turn accept the offer of admission. Clearly, the financial aid package offered to

Table 4.5: St. Luke’s Merit Based Scholarship by Award Value for the Class of 2010

Scholarship	Value	Offers	Accepts	Yield Rate	Average SAT
Merit I	31,270	52	13	0.25	1524
Merit II	17,500	165	21	0.13	1436
Merit III	12,500	271	29	0.11	1365
Merit IV	10,000	379	64	0.17	1338
Merit V	7,500	474	68	0.14	1290
Total		1,324	195	0.15	

Source: St. Luke’s Office of Institutional Research

a student is thought to be one of the reasons the student might choose to attend that particular institution.

The second type of financial aid offered to students at St. Luke’s is need based grants. These grants are based on the student’s ability to pay. All students who wish to apply for financial aid at St. Luke’s must fill out both the FASFA form and the CSS Profile. The CSS Profile utilizes an institutional methodology designed to assess the student’s expected family contribution. After the student’s expected family contribution is calculated, St. Luke’s offers institutional grants to students who still have unmet need. St. Luke’s need based grant awards for the class of 2010 are summarized in Table 4.6. One strategy St. Luke’s has employed in the past to keep its tuition discount rate low is to “cap” financial aid awards for those students who were admitted who required the most need. The last class where students from the highest need category had their financial aid “capped” was the 2010 cohort. Table 4.6 indicates that 14 % of the students from the highest need category in the class of 2010 had their need based grants capped when admitted as freshmen.

Table 4.6: St. Luke's Need Based Grants by Award Value for the Class of 2010

(Cap Rate 75%)	Award Range	Offers	Capped	Accepts	Capped	Yield Rate
	23,450	140	14%	62	22%	0.44
	20,000-22,950	97		42		0.43
	16,000-19,950	143		48		0.34
	12,000-15,950	155		46		0.30
	8,000-11,950	150		40		0.27
	4,000-7,950	152		26		0.17
	0-3,950	130		18		0.14
Total		940		282		0.29

Source: St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research

For these students their financial award only represented 75% of what St. Luke's calculated as their full need. Nonetheless, the yield rate for these students is higher than for any other category of need based award recipients. In addition, the yield rate for students from the 2010 cohort who received need based aid is higher overall (29%) than for those students who received merit aid (15%).

The third type of financial aid awarded by St. Luke's is multicultural scholarships and need based awards. In an effort to increase racial and ethnic diversity the institution awards both need based and merit financial aid to admitted students of color. Table 4.7 summarizes merit awards offered to students of color for the 2010 cohort.

Table 4.7: St. Luke's Merit Based Multicultural Awards for the Class of 2010

Scholarship	Value	Offers	Accepts	Yield Rate	Average SAT
Multicultural I	31,270	19	4	0.21	1412
Multicultural II	20,000	40	5	0.13	1327
Multicultural III	17,500	70	11	0.16	1259
Multicultural IV	12,500	54	9	0.17	1273
Multicultural V	10,000	85	18	0.21	1226
Total		268	47	0.18	1272

Source: St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research

In addition to offering merit awards for academically talented students of color, St. Luke's offers need based awards for ALANA students in slightly greater amounts than for majority students. Table 4.8 summarizes the need based financial aid awards for the 2010 cohort. As was the case with majority students, the highest yield rates for students of color were for students from some of the highest need categories.

Table 4.8: St. Luke's Need Based Multicultural Awards for the Class of 2010

Range	Offers	Accepts	Yield
28,000-31,270	41	13	0.32
24,000-27,950	20	12	0.60
20,000-23,950	18	12	0.67
16,000-19,950	32	8	0.25
12000-15,950	21	7	0.33
8,000-11,950	29	9	0.31
4,000-7,950	17	3	0.18
0-3,950	16	3	0.19
Total	194	67	0.35

Source: St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research

The relatively small number of merit awards (Table 4.7) and the relative low yield rate for these awards demonstrates that as a pre-dominantly white institution St. Luke's struggles to attract these students in a competitive recruiting environment. Similarly, one would expect St. Luke's would have difficulty attracting students of color with high financial. However, in some categories the yield rates are exceptionally high (over 60%). The yield rate for ALANA students who receive need based grants (35%) is higher than for any other category of financial aid recipients. Therefore, it appears that while there is a small number of low-income students of color that apply to St. Luke's is small, once these students apply they are more likely than other financial aid recipients to accept the offer.

Student Employment at St. Luke's College

Employment opportunities on St. Luke's campus are widely available. The Office of Human Resources reports that in the most recent academic year (2007-08) over 900 hourly wage jobs were filled by students. Many of these jobs are offered to students as part of their financial aid package because the institution is a participant in the Federal Work-study Program. Table 4.9 demonstrates that for the past three academic years between 500 and 600 work-study positions have been filled at St. Luke's. The Office of

Table 4.9: Federal Work-study at St. Luke's College between 2006 and 2009

Academic Year	Work-study Offers	Work-study Positions	Percent Accept
2006-07	1035	550	0.53
2007-08	1093	595	0.54
2008-09	1124	554	0.49

Source: St. Luke's Office of Financial Aid

Financial Aid reports that while there are many work-study opportunities available, each year only approximately half of the students who receive work-study accept the award. In some cases this may be because students and their parents believe that working may adversely affect their studies.

While in any given year slightly more than half of the jobs on St. Luke's campus go to students who qualify for work-study, another 400 jobs are filled by students who do not qualify. These jobs are created by departments who needed additional student employees and are supported directly by their operational budgets. Student employees who are not awarded work-study are commonly referred to as "direct hires" on St. Luke's campus. Three of the departments with the greatest number of direct hire employees include Residence Life, Recreational Sports, and Annual Giving. Residence Life employs students as desk assistants at two security

desks that operate 24/7 during the academic semester. Recreational Sports uses many direct hire students in order to staff the Rec. Center and to support a wide array of programming. Annual Giving utilizes many students to solicit donations from alumni. While these three departments are the largest employers of direct hire student employees, work-study positions are available in just about every academic and student service department at St. Luke's. The wage scale for direct hire employees typically starts at minimum wage (just as work-study). However, positions which require special qualifications such as lifeguards or positions where students have supervisory responsibilities over other students may pay more. In addition to hourly wage jobs, Residence Life employs approximately 185 students per year as Resident Assistants (RAs). RAs receive free room and \$2,000 per year stipend that can be used towards tuition, books, or meals.

The number of hours that students spend working at their on-campus jobs is regulated by their employers. A number of the administrators and student employers interviewed for the study discussed the "informal" policy that work-study students are not permitted to work more than 15 hours per week during the term. Table 4.10 displays the

Table 4.10: Class of 2010-Hours per Week Spent Working for Pay On-campus

Hours per Week	Percent
0	54.1
1-5	9.3
6-10	16.5
11-15	13.5
16-20	5.4
21-25	0.4
26-30	0.4
More than 30	0.4
Total	100

Source: Institutional Data Available for St. Luke's from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=380

number of hours per week that students from St. Luke’s class of 2010 estimate that they spent working at their on-campus jobs. The high percentage of students who state that they do not work on-campus (67.6 %) is partially due to the fact that students from this cohort completed the survey during their second semester on-campus. A number of students who were interviewed said that they did not want to work at all their first year in order to focus on their academics. In addition, many students reported they found it necessary to work after the completion of their first year because the costs of attending St. Luke’s were higher than they anticipated.

Table 4.12 presents the number of hours that students from the class of 2008 reported working on-campus at St. Luke’s during their senior year. These data suggest that more students work on-campus and for

Table 4.11: Class of 2008-Hours per Week Spent Working for Pay On-campus

Hours per Week	Percent
0	54.1
1-5	9.3
6-10	16.5
11-15	13.5
16-20	5.4
21-25	0.4
26-30	0.4
More than 30	0.4
Total	100

Source: Institutional Data Available for St. Luke’s from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=279

more hours their senior year than as freshmen.

Far fewer St. Luke’s students work off-campus than work on-campus. This is likely due to the fact that there are only two commercial areas within close proximity of the campus that support service industry jobs. Working off-campus is made more complicated because St. Luke’s students are not allowed to have a car on-campus during their freshmen year. Despite these deterrents, a small number of students do

have off-campus jobs in their first year. Table 4.12 displays the number of hours per week that students from the freshmen class of 2010 reported working at off-campus jobs. Over the

Table 4.12: Class of 2010-Hours per Week Spent Working for Pay Off-campus

Hours per Week	Percent
0	67.6
1-5	4.7
6-10	16.3
11-15	9.7
16-20	1.4
21-25	0
26-30	0
More than 30	0.3
Total	100

Source: Institutional Data Available for St. Luke's from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=380

course of their four years at St. Luke's more students do seek employment off-campus. For instance, Table 4.13 shows that more seniors work off-campus and for more hours than freshmen. Of course, it is likely that more seniors are pursuing paid internships

Table 4.13: Class of 2008-Hours per Week Spent Working for Pay Off-campus

Hours per Week	Percent
0	60.2
1-5	5.7
6-10	13.3
11-15	7.2
16-20	7.5
21-25	4.3
26-30	0.4
More than 30	1.4
Total	100

Source: Institutional Data Available for St. Luke's from 2007 NSSE Survey, N=279

and other relevant employment opportunities in anticipation of entering the work force after graduation. Nonetheless, the fact that 40 % of St. Luke's students work off-campus during their senior year, and in some cases for many hours each week,

suggests that the employment choices of students at St. Luke's shift during the course of their undergraduate education.

One limitation of analysis of the NSSE data available on students' work choices is that students are asked separate questions about on-campus and off-campus employment. Therefore, it is likely that some of the students who responded to these questions work in both on-campus and off-campus employment settings during the same semester. Indeed, in the next section of the chapter, when I present the case studies of the student subjects for the study, it is evident that working class students more often combine on-campus and off-campus employment than their peers.

Working Class Students and their Jobs

This section of the chapter presents 12 case summaries of the working class students selected for the study. These students were selected based on the criterion described in Chapter Three and outlined in Table 3.3 (page, 80). The case summaries describe each student's work, academic and co-curricular choices. These case summaries establish the student's employment history and identify elements of their personal background that shape their choices about work and school. Table 4.14 is a summary of each student's job(s), hours worked per week, and academic and co-curricular choices. In addition to meeting the classification of "working class," subjects were selected in order to represent as much variation in the type of employment they held as possible. While four of the working class students in this study were Residence Assistants (RA), all of these students held at least one additional job, either on or off-campus.

Maura

Maura is a local working class student. Even though she commuted during high school in order to attend an archdiocese school that was not in her neighborhood, she has always been a residential student at St. Luke’s. Maura is unusually academically and

Table 4.14: Working Class Students’ Work, Academic and Co-Curricular Choices

Student	Job(s)		Hours	Major	Abroad
	On-Campus	Off-campus			
Maura	Desk Assistant (Residence Hall)	Primate Keeper (Zoo)	16-20	Bio-Psych	No
Sarah	Office Assistant (Career Center)	Flower/Gift Clerk; Retail Clerk; Babysitting	16-20	Math	No
Sukeina	Service Coordinator; Teach for America	Food Expeditor (Red Robin)	31-35	Psychology	No
Sydney	Campus Event Staff		11-15	Political Science	No
Alicia	RA; Office Assistant; Yearbook Editor		36 +	Communications	No
Brooke	RA; Office Assistant (Intramurals)	Babysitting	11-15	Communications	Rome
Lou	RA; Building Supervisor (Rec. Center)		11-15	Psychology	Bangkok
Luis	Lab Assistant (Biology Dept.)	911 CAD Support	16-20	Biology	No
David	RA; Lifeguard (Rec. Center)		16-20	Communications	No
Carlos	Baseball Manager (Athletics)		11-15	Theology	No
Taylor	Desk Assistant (Residence Hall)		6-10	Sociology	No
Paul	Office Assistant (Admissions)	Sales Associate (Gap Inc.)	26-30	Business	No

vocationally focused. A significant contributor to most of her choices is her experience caring for primates at the local zoo. She began working at the zoo as a volunteer when she was just a freshman in high school and continues to work there as a part-time employee.

Maura’s father was a self-taught bookkeeper. Maura explains that when she was growing up he worked as an accountant for several nonprofit organizations. When he was doing this work he took a few courses at a community college, but this is the extent of his college experience. After her father had a heart attack he became a commercial waterman. Maura’s mother completed high school but did not go to college. Maura’s mother has a back injury and is unable to work. Maura estimates

her family's annual income as between \$20,000 and \$25,000. She explains that because her mom recently has been successful in filing for social security for her disability, her family's income will increase during the next school year. Maura receives a merit scholarship of \$33,150 per year from St. Luke's. She also receives a Pell Grant in the amount of \$2,460 per year, a Federal ACG Grant of \$1,300 and a Senatorial Scholarship of \$500. Maura takes out \$4,500 per year in loans and covers her own meals, which she estimates at \$700 for the school year. Because of her family's economic situation she says that they currently are not able to contribute to her education.

Maura began her work at the zoo as junior keeper. She started this work before she could drive and so her parents would have to take her and pick her up each time she worked. Her responsibilities as a junior keeper, a position she now supervises, included "helping out the regular keepers with special projects and day to day cleaning." As a result of her dedication and commitment to her volunteer work at the zoo, the summer before her senior year in high school she became a part-time employee.

Maura was talented enough academically to consider many different colleges. While she says that having a job at the zoo was not necessarily the deciding factor "it was kind of beneficial that coming to St. Luke's I could keep the job that I had." Because of St. Luke's proximity to the zoo Maura explains that "it's actually closer to St. Luke's than it is from my house." The greatest difficulty she had maintaining her job during her freshman year at college was due to the fact that St. Luke's does not

allow students to have cars on-campus their first year. Maura says that she tried to appeal this policy because it made it difficult for her to keep her job:

Last year was really tricky because I couldn't have my car on-campus, but I still wanted to work off-campus... We looked into it before coming in the fall... if because I had an off-campus job would they let me keep my car [on-campus]? But they wouldn't.

Despite the fact that it was not convenient Maura says she was able to continue to work "because the zoo is so close I was able to carpool with people who picked me up and dropped me off on their way." While this solution worked, unfortunately she says "I just worked one day a week." Now that she is a sophomore and is able to have a car on-campus it allows her to work as many as "12 hours during the school week at the zoo." Unfortunately, now Maura has to pay \$350 per year for parking. Because she pays for all of her college expenses herself these fees are particularly hard felt: "I guess the biggest thing was thinking its \$350 to park on this lot for a year. That's like two months of work... So it was kind of hard."

In addition to her work at the zoo Maura has an on-campus job as a desk assistant in one of the residence halls. She found out about this job from her roommate freshmen year. Maura explains that because she did not receive work-study in her financial aid package she had to wait until all the students who had work-study had been placed. Despite this she was still able to get a job at the residence hall that is located immediately adjacent to where she lives. She explains that her job as a desk assistant is pretty simple. She swipes ID cards and checks in students' guests. She also is there in case there is an emergency. She sees two real advantages to this job. First, there is great flexibility in terms of the hours. She explains that once a week they "schedule shifts for the entire week, so if you have a club meeting or a big

test you can schedule around it.” The second advantage to her job as a desk assistant is that she can study while she is on the job. During the second semester of her freshman year Maura took on a third job as the student recycling coordinator for the campus. This was a paid position where she worked directly with campus services to coordinate the student recycling effort. However, even though she was interested in being an advocate for recycling at St. Luke’s the job was too much for her. Through this experience she says she “realized that I couldn’t keep that up long term [and] in order to have the on-campus job it’s definitely something I need to be able to do my school work at.”

Because Maura’s scholarships cover most of her tuition, she primarily uses her loan and work to pay for most of the costs associated with living on-campus and commuting to her job. These include the expenses that all residential students have like housing, food and books. Because she needs to have her car she has to pay for insurance and car payments. She explains that she has a used car and she is “paying back my grandfather and uncle who bought the car for me.” Recently Maura got into a car accident with another St. Luke’s student and she explains the difference in personal accountability between her and her classmate:

You know like when someone’s car got into an accident their parents are usually going to pay to get it fixed—whereas if I get into an accident then the increase in the insurance falls on me. I just got hit two weeks ago and I know that her dad is paying for all of the finances and the fixes...Little things like even if I wanted to go out on the weekends...I work on Sunday mornings or you know I’d have to pay my own cab fare. I kind of have to be smart about where my money goes...and I think people whose parents pay for their books and pay for food and that kind of thing have their job as more of a luxury to pay for the fun stuff.

Maura views the two jobs that she holds while she is going to college as serving different purposes. She came to St. Luke's with the intent of going to veterinary school but has become more interested in the behavioral aspects of working with the animals. Maura believes her job at the zoo and her long tenure there "is more for my resume and just experience and the career...path." She states that her job as a desk assistant "is primarily just for extra spending money." Maura says that during the entire time she has worked at the zoo her salary has only gone up \$.23 per hour. Even though her job at the zoo is not high paying it helps out. She speculates that "if I didn't have the zoo, if it wasn't providing the resume experience, I would still need another job to help supplement my education...so either way I would be working but it's a plus that it helps my career."

Maura also sees major differences in the amount of responsibility she has with her two jobs. She explains that at the zoo she volunteered for two years as training. The work she does now with the animals involves a lot of responsibility:

I mean you work well with your team members...but you definitely have to be really responsible at that job because you're working with wild animals...If you forget to lock a lock or something then you pay personally...Also, it could be potentially dangerous and a bad situation so you have to be responsible. If I forget to make this diet and feed that animal then they are the ones that suffer, so there is a lot of responsibility.

Maura emphasizes that her job working with primates can be physically and mentally demanding. While she likes the fact that she is active when she is at her job, Maura admits that sometimes when she gets back from a shift "I'm pretty tired so getting motivated to do school work is a little hard." Conversely, her job as a desk assistant is not as difficult and does not involve as much responsibility. She states that the

training for the job “was maybe a 15 minute or so orientation” and that the job is mostly about “following instructions from other people.” Maura finds the hardest thing about working at the desk is that it is staffed 24/7 during the term and she feels pressure “to take those middle of the night shifts that no one wants, which really screws up your sleep.”

When Maura came to St. Luke’s she had the career goal of becoming a veterinarian. For this reason she started out as a biology major. Through her work at the zoo Maura became more interested in primate behavior and this influenced her course selection and choice of a major:

I came into it just being bio with the intent of going to veterinary school and then I started taking chem. class and realizing all of the other sciences you need for just the biology major...Then working with animals I got more interested in their behavior and I thought psychology would supplement that very well. I mean our psychology program here is very human in clinical ways but I can take some of the applications and apply them, especially because primates are really similar.

As a consequence of her career discernment Maura now intends to complete an interdisciplinary major in bio-psychology.

Maura has decided not to go abroad—at least in the traditional sense. Again her level of seriousness and focus comes through because she says that “my parents wanted me to go abroad.” She asserts that while she would have liked to go abroad the demands of her course work would have been difficult to fulfill and more importantly she was concerned about her job at the zoo. She says she would feel awkward “leaving my job at the zoo for awhile, not that they have expressly said that, but I didn’t want to leave my responsibilities there.”

Despite the fact that she is not going abroad in the same fashion that most St. Luke's students do (for an entire semester at one of the institution's programs) Maura has worked out an international experience that will be shorter in duration. Maura sought out a scholarship that is coordinated through St. Luke's fellowship office and she plans to use the funds to go to Costa Rica to study primates for a month this summer. The process for receiving this scholarship was pretty involved. Maura says that it was based on "your grades and your experience and your personal statement." The fact that she was able to obtain the scholarship speaks to Maura's resourcefulness in connecting her practical work experience with studies. She explains that after she found out about the program in Costa Rica online she discovered that some of her colleagues at the zoo, who were recent college graduates, had gone through the program.

Maura has had a few academic and career mentors who have assisted her with the choices she has made while in college. Specifically, she mentions the full time staff at the zoo saying: "I definitely feed off all the dedication that my supervisors and full time staff have and want to be as good as they are at what they do." Maura specifically mentions one of her supervisors who has "been a really great motivator because she was a psychology major so that has been really helpful to see what she has been doing with that major." In addition, Maura explains that it was a faculty member in Computer Science at St. Luke's who she "knew from church" who helped her complete the scholarship process for Costa Rica.

Maura's working class parents were slightly disappointed with her decision not to pursue veterinary school. She states that "I guess since I was really little I said

I wanted to be a vet, so they got the whole doctor image for me, so they thought that it might be a step down.” Maura understands that her parents still support her decision and she takes ownership saying “I pretty much have my scholarship and pay most of my expenses so it was kind of my decision to make...so they just wanted more information.” Maura is the youngest in a family of three. Both of her older sisters started college but did not complete it. Maura believes that her sisters were not as fortunate as she is and did not have a scholarship. She explains that they tried commuting to a local college and this proved difficult. She says, “I saw what they went through and tried to make it through college...I guess I am doing some of the things that they weren’t able to...I’m kind of motivated to do that.”

In summary, Maura is a working class student who chooses to work one on-campus and one off-campus job. Her work choices are shaped by institutional policies and practices (e.g. parking policies and fees; work-study policies; availability of on-campus jobs). Maura’s early career interest and work experience shape her academic and extra-curricular choices (e.g., choice of interdisciplinary major; scholarship to take course abroad; participation in environmental causes). She chooses not to go abroad in the traditional sense because of affordability and the obligation she feels for her off-campus job. Maura has identified adult mentors at her off-campus job who have provided her guidance. In addition, she has connected with faculty, one of whom assisted her in applying for a significant scholarship.

Sarah

Sarah is a local working class student. Sarah is extroverted and opinionated and was eager to talk about how her work and her social class background shaped her

experience at St. Luke's. She has a fair amount of cynicism about some aspects of the culture of St. Luke's and yet is quite engaged and connected. Her cynicism seems a result of her own difficult childhood (which she only references occasionally) and her obvious contempt for the attitude of privilege of some of her classmates.

Sarah's mother is a high school graduate who, other than taking a few units at a community college for her job, has no experience with college. Sarah's mom works as a job coordinator for a door and hardware company. Sarah's dad, who only attended some high school, is not in her life. He lives in another state and Sarah claims that he drifts in and out of employment as a factory worker, painter and handyman. Sarah's mom has remarried and lives with her stepfather. Sarah describes both of them as supportive of her education, though they provide little financial assistance other than some minimal support for her tuition. She estimates their combined annual income to be between \$50,000 and \$60,000.

In describing the jobs she had before coming to college Sarah says "I have been working since I was 13, which is the age we are allowed to start working here." She explains that she also played soccer and ran track in high school and "so I would go to school, go to practice and then go to work for five or so hours...then go home and do my homework." During high school Sarah worked a variety of jobs, primarily in the service industry. These jobs included working in a cafeteria at a nursing home, bussing tables at a country club and performing food prep and cash register duties at a pit beef stand.

Sarah says that finding a job was not really a factor in what college she chose. She is confident and resourceful and says "I knew I would be able to find something

somewhere.” Currently, Sarah was holding down three jobs and was babysitting on the side. One of the keys to her success in finding so many jobs was the work-study position that she secured at St. Luke’s Career Center in her first semester. In fact, it was somewhat serendipitous that she got the job in the Career Center in the first place. During her first week on-campus Sarah was looking for work and applied online for a position in the Career Center as an evening receptionist. When she discovered that this position was fulltime, she inquired about work-study. She explains that “they had an opening, and I went in for an interview...and I was hired on the spot.”

Sarah’s second job is at a gourmet supermarket that is located near St. Luke’s. The Career Center often ordered food catered from the supermarket. In securing a job there she says that “I’m like okay, I’ve eaten there a few times...I’ll just go and apply.” Sarah has been working at the supermarket for about a year as a gift clerk. Sarah has just started a third job with a company called Super Sweet [a pseudonym] making gift baskets. Sarah needs to work a lot during the summer in order to afford college, so she was looking for a second job for summer. The only catch with the job at Super Sweet was that she would have to start before the school year was over. She also found this job through her work-study position. She noticed the job on a listing faxed by the company to the Career Center. “I post them,” she says. In addition, Sarah has found all of her babysitting jobs at the Career Center. According to Sarah the best thing about working as a babysitter is how easy she finds the work and the extra income it provides. She proclaims that “Yeah its extra...for basically making sure kids sleep.”

Despite the fact that Sarah works so many jobs she seems to have a system for balancing all of the employment with school:

Well, for the most part it's kind of easy, believe it or not because I have school every day of the week, except the weekend obviously. And then so Monday, Wednesday, and Friday I work at the Career Center—every day after class until they close, which is at five. So I don't really have anything to do after five, as far as work goes, during the week. And I work one day a week at Beverly's [a pseudonym for the supermarket], which is usually Sunday. And...um...as far as Super Sweet goes, it's more of an off and on kind of thing. She'll ask me 'Hey are you free on Tuesday morning of next week?' And so it's more sporadic. It's not like every day. Or on certain days, I'm babysitting and I just call whenever I can fit it in on the weekend.

Sarah chose jobs that she not only knew she would be good at but that would compliment her academic schedule. Because she has such extensive employment experience and is unusually mature, Sarah often becomes a default supervisor of other students or employees. She explains that at the Career Center “my Director has actually pulled me aside a couple of times and thanked me for how good of a job I've been doing in helping the new work studies, and just making sure everything's done to how she likes it.” Similarly, at the supermarket she is “second from the top.”

Sarah explains that the manager is quite dependent on her:

I taught the other girls that are there, taught them how to make baskets, and taught them how to do things there...and keep Jane (her manager) in check. She forgets things a lot. Like I usually do...all the ordering...and the inventories...I did the schedule for awhile.

Sarah does not feel that any of her jobs have directly influenced her choice of a major. She is a math major and secondary education minor. Sarah is planning to teach middle school math. She explains that for the past five summers she has been working with middle school kids at a summer camp and that helped her decide what grade level to teach. While working at the Career Center Sarah says she “took an

interest test and it said basically I should be a teacher or social worker.” This just confirmed for her that she was on the right track with her career. Despite the fact that she seems committed to this profession, she has had some academic challenges because majoring in math is difficult:

I was really good at math and I knew that I loved algebra so I just picked it...I've had some crisis moments because math is just so difficult, but I think that that's really what's gonna make me happy.

While Sarah is able to balance her work schedule with school, the demands of her employment do appear to have prevented her from pursuing extra-curricular activities and programs. She has primarily chosen activities that are not too big of a time commitment. She belongs to the math club and plays intramural soccer. She explains that after being involved as a runner throughout high school, she really wanted to go out for track in college but she did not feel like she had the time:

When I came here I wanted to be on the track team. But I knew that I would not have enough time for practice, school, homework and work. So something had to go. But I had to financially support myself so it wasn't work, and it wasn't school, and so it had to be track.

Similarly, Sarah claims that she never considered study abroad because of her finances and the pressure she felt from her mother to be realistic about what she could afford:

That's a decision I made probably before I even came here. And it wasn't really me that made it. It was that my Mom made it. Because she's like 'there's no way we can afford for you to go abroad.' And I understand that it is part of tuition to like live there and to be enrolled in college. But as far as like spending goes while you're there, most students say that they spend between \$5,000 and \$8,000 dollars...just on traveling and everything like that. And I was just like, 'there's no way for me to do that.'

Sarah's relationship with her father is difficult for her to talk about. She explains that "my Dad is not a very nice person and I did not have a very good childhood." While she was reluctant to provide specifics about her father, she hinted at the cause of his problems when she revealed that she is a member of an ACOA (Adult Child of Alcoholics) group on-campus. When describing her college aspirations Sarah says: "So, from my upbringing I basically rooted myself in saying, I'm going to college and I'm not being like him. So my dad has influenced me because I knew that that's not who I wanted to be."

Sarah's relationship with her mother is better, though it is definitely tainted by tensions associated with affording college. Sarah says that her mom was the one who encouraged her to apply to St. Luke's: "She's actually the one that told me to apply here. Even though we couldn't afford tuition, she was like just go ahead and apply and see how much aid you get." Despite receiving "way more aid" at St. Luke's than at another local state university, Sarah really struggles to afford the institution. Sarah's mother understands that Sarah must hold several jobs as a reality associated with their financial predicament. Sarah also says that her mom understands that at times Sarah's employment may affect her grades: "She knows everything. I tell her. I call her after every interview...And she knows that if a grade falls here or there, it'll be OK because she knows that I am doing what I need to do."

Another significant and influential relationship for Sarah is with her boyfriend. He also is a student, but not at St. Luke's. He goes to a local

community college. She explains that: “We’ve actually known each other since middle school and have been dating each other since sophomore year in high school. So he’s a pretty big part of my life.” Most of what little social life Sarah has revolves around her boyfriend. She says that they might “catch a movie, go eat dinner or something.” She explains that “usually we split it because he knows how financially strapped I am, and he works way more than I do.” Sarah’s financial difficulties were complicated by the fact that her mom and stepfather have moved to another county that is further away from St. Luke’s. Because she wants to be near her boyfriend, she has decided to live at St. Luke’s year round. She says that, “This year I’m living on-campus because I’m not living in Orange County (a pseudonym). I told my mom and my step dad that I was not moving in with them. So I have taken out a loan from Bank of America in my name to live here and take two courses over the summer.”

Sarah’s financial responsibilities and obligations have caused her to view the relative privilege of some her classmates with contempt. She believes that many of them are not being taught real life lessons of adult responsibility because they are so dependent on their parents’ support. Sarah complains about their use of the One Card [a pseudonym], for example. The One card is a campus ID that can be used as a debit card to purchase many items on-campus (e.g. books, food, vending). Because she pays for all of these items herself, during her first semester Sarah noticed how conspicuous her classmates’ consumption of these items was:

Well a lot of kids, their parents put money on their meal plan. They're like, 'Oh well my kid has to eat, so I'm gonna put X amount of dollars on their One card.' And, 'Oh I don't care...it's my dad's money, swipe.' So it's just teaching them that since they don't have to pay for it it's not a responsibility they have. Like their credit cards. A lot of parents still pay for their kid's credit cards. And if they overdraw, it comes out of their parents' accounts...It's just frustrating sometimes. I'm like 'man I wish my mom put money on my meal plan' or stuff like that, or 'I wish she paid my credit card bill' ...must be nice.

Another characteristic of the student body that Sarah suggests reveals a culture of privilege is the party culture. She says:

I work for the necessities and whatever money I have left over I either save or treat myself to something. But I don't, I *can't* spend exorbitant amounts of money like everybody else does. Like a lot of kids party all the time. And so they're just putting it on the credit card...And like I don't, I *can't* do that (italics added for emphasis).

Perhaps because of the issues she has faced with her father, or perhaps because she simply has a difficult time fitting into the student culture, Sarah's objection to the "bar scene" at St. Luke's almost has a moral tone. In discussing the tendency of students at St. Luke's to go away for spring break she says: "There's no reason to do that. I will go my senior year (when she is 21) and that will pretty much be it. I work all of the breaks." In terms of her participation in the student culture that surrounds drinking she says: "I don't go to the bars because I don't approve of it and I'm not legal." Sarah has ruled out this part of college life as not worth her time and something that is for others but not her.

In summary, Sarah is a working class student who balances her academics with as many as three jobs during the semester. Her on-campus job in the Career

Center serves as an anchor for her and has in fact helped her find other work. Sarah has been working since a very early age and because of this she has gained a sense of pride about her own work ethic and skills. Sarah has acquired a degree of self-efficacy and confidence from excelling in a variety of employment roles but has not experienced the same level of academic success. Her work at a summer camp seems to have influenced her career choice. Despite this, she knows that the necessity of working a lot in order to afford college has caused her grades to suffer at times. Sarah's work choices seem to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., high cost of housing and food; availability of jobs; high tuition but high aid). While her boyfriend and parents seem to have influenced her choice to live on-campus year round, except for the Director of the Career Center, she does not mention adult mentors on the campus. Sarah has little time for extracurricular activities and will not study abroad because her family considers it too expensive.

Sukeina

Sukeina is a working class student from a rural town located in a state that borders St. Luke's. Sukeina chose St. Luke's because of its academic reputation and because it was Catholic; she went to a Catholic high school. However, she has been disappointed by the lack of socioeconomic diversity on-campus and explains that "if I had to do it over again I would want...a state school that has a reputable education." While she is not sure she would choose St. Luke's again, Sukeina is unusually focused on some of the core values the institution professes; this is especially evident in her commitment to issues of social justice. Sukeina's level of responsibility and

commitment to her academics, employment, and extracurricular activities is remarkable.

Sukeina's father graduated high school and took a few courses towards a business degree. He is currently unemployed and Sukeina stated rather matter-of-factly that her dad is a cocaine addict. Sukeina's mom is a high school graduate who works as an insurance agent. Sukeina says that her mom is an alcoholic. Sukeina's parents are divorced and she has very limited contact with her father. Her strained relationship with her dad is awkward because she says her grandparents on her father's side provide financial assistance for her college education. Sukeina estimates her mother's annual income as between \$25,000 and \$30,000. Exactly how she has financed her college education to this point is a little unclear. Despite her family's economic situation, she failed to apply for financial aid her first two years of college, which is indicative of the fact that her parents were either unwilling or unable to assist her and that she did not receive guidance about the process from her high school. Sukeina receives \$20,000 per year from her grandparents for her education. She estimates that she contributes \$10,000 per year through her savings from work. Sukeina applied for financial aid for her junior year and will begin receiving \$15,000 per year from need based grants from St. Luke's and Pell Grant support.

When she was a high school junior Sukeina got her first job at a small restaurant called "Hoagies, Steaks, and Shakes." She was a three sport athlete in high school, so she only worked at the restaurant on weekends. Beginning the summer after her junior year she got a job at Applebee's. She worked at Applebee's during her entire senior year and when she came to St. Luke's Sukeina "just transferred

restaurants.” She started working at the Applebee’s that was located nearest to the college.

Sukeina faced a dilemma because she wanted to work off-campus and freshmen are not allowed to have a car on-campus. For this reason, she told me that she did not start her job at Applebee’s until after Thanksgiving. After she lived on the campus for several months Sukeina was certain that she could find places to park on or near the campus without registering her car with the school. Concerning her dilemma about St. Luke’s parking policy she said sarcastically, “I had to scope out the parking scene and stuff, so I saw that I could have a car and I love St. Luke’s now.”

Sukeina worked at Applebee’s from Thanksgiving until the end of her freshmen year. Sukeina worked as many as 30 to 35 hours per week at the restaurant during her first-year. She observed that, “I think it was the week before finals, I had worked like 45 hours and I was hitting overtime.” Sukeina was also involved as a volunteer at the Community Service Center [a pseudonym] during her first year. Toward the end of her freshmen year she found out that the Center had a few paid service coordinators. She applied for one of these positions and was accepted. As a result, she started working as a paid service coordinator as a sophomore. Meanwhile, through her job at Applebee’s, she got to know a few people who also worked at Red Robin. As a result, for a brief period during her sophomore year she worked at both restaurants. Sukeina says, “I was making more money at Red Robin so I just started working there.”

In addition to her on-campus job and her job at Red Robin, Sukeina took a third position as a campus coordinator for Teach for America. She was able to accommodate this job because it had no set hours. In effect Sukeina worked to recruit student leaders as candidates for Teach for America and actually helped the organization select applicants from among those who applied. Sukeina did not like this job and was planning to quit at the end of her second year.

Sukeina states that all three of her jobs served different purposes. She says that her job at Red Robin is essential given her financial situation. Sukeina states that “on-campus jobs don’t pay very well.” While she makes \$8 an hour as a service coordinator, she claims that most campus jobs are for minimum wage. At Red Robin she can make between \$20 and \$30 an hour depending on tips. Because she is in demand at the restaurant she is able to pick the shifts that will be most likely to generate more tips. She explains that as a “food expeditor” she gets “one percent of the sales of the restaurant, so if they have a \$9,000 shift for their sales then I get \$90 cash.” This is over and above her hourly wage of \$7 per hour. Sukeina says that at Red Robin, “I have a huge amount of say in my position and everything like asking for raises.”

Sukeina sees an additional advantage to working off-campus at Red Robin. She says that it has helped her meet college students more like her. Because the restaurant is located near a large state university the employees all tend to be students from that school. She says that this environment is more comfortable for her and that:

I guess it’s nice to meet different people other than at St. Luke’s because here it’s like a double edge sword. I don’t really like a lot of people at St. Luke’s, the crowd is a lot different...I think...working off-campus I meet people who have car payments and pay for rent.

But they are the same age as me and we have similar interests. I feel more distant from St. Luke's.

Sukeina believes that her job as a service coordinator on-campus provides her with a significant leadership opportunity. She also understands that this experience will be great for her resume. In addition, her job with community service provides an experience that is affirming of the institution. She says:

The job at Community Service...is probably the only thing that keeps me in the loop in the St. Luke's community. And there aren't many drawbacks to the job. It's a little bit stressful but I mean its inspiring stuff because of the community service...I get to meet a lot of people and I have a lot of opportunities.

Yet even on the job with Community Service Sukeina experiences tension with classmates she views as more entitled. She complains about the lack of follow through and responsibility of her fellow service coordinator. She says:

I have a co-coordinator and sometimes communication with her can be difficult. She's the exact opposite of me. She doesn't have a car. She doesn't drive. Her parents pay for everything...She's the exact opposite, so that's tough and that's why it's stressful.

Sukeina took her third job at Teach for America because she wants to start her career as a special education teacher working with autistic children. She felt like working as a recruiter with Teach for America might help her gain insight into working in a school setting. However, she has been uncomfortable with the role. She finds it difficult trying to recruit her classmates not knowing if they will be selected.

Sukeina's jobs help her afford college. She states that she helps her grandparents with tuition and she spends the rest of her earnings on "living expenses in general." She says these are necessities like her "food" and "cell phone." She explains that "I paid for my car and I'm trying to save up for another car...just based

on how my car is acting.” She says she also pays for “car insurance.” Sukeina reluctantly admitted that sometimes she has even loaned her parents money. Her dad is not in the picture much but she says:

My mom couldn’t pay her car insurance once and I had to lend her money...I feel like sometimes when those things happen I’m not necessarily going to get...the money returned to me.

Perhaps it is because she had to take on adult responsibilities so early that Sukeina is so decisive in her choices. She is a psychology major and she chose her major before she even came to St. Luke’s. Ultimately, Sukeina hopes to work with autistic children. While she intends to fulfill a minor in special education and begin working in a school setting, she says “ultimately I would like to work in a more institutional hospital setting.” While Sukeina does not see much of a causal relationship between her career path and her jobs, clearly her positions with Teach for America and Community Service supplement and contribute to her interests. In her job as a service coordinator she organizes a Special Olympics event on-campus. She states that if she were to take an assignment with Teach for America “chances are I’d work...like downtown Baltimore and...have kids in [the] classroom with emotional and behavioral issues.”

Sukeina was interested in going to Argentina in order to supplement her course work in Spanish. However, she has ruled out going abroad:

In my ideal world I would want to go. I just don’t think I could afford it. I can’t save enough money while I have to pay for these things and then go and not have a job for awhile...and then come back and not have any money. That and my family can’t support it.

While Sukeina’s relationship with her parents is strained she remains in contact with her mother. While her mom struggles with alcohol Sukeina tries not to

judge her. She says, “I guess I’ve learned to look past her alcohol problem and stuff because my dad makes her look so much better by being so much worse.” With steely determination Sukeina says her parents have provided her with “motivation” to succeed. Sukeina proclaims that their examples are something that “I don’t want for my life or for my future family or for my little brother...I’m going in a different direction.”

While Sukeina’s parents are virtually absent from her college experience, she does point to a few other adults as people who provide stability in her life. Perhaps the most significant of these are her boyfriend and his parents. She explains that she met him at Red Robin and that he is a student at the nearby state university. His parents have welcomed her into their family:

My boyfriend’s parents, I value their opinion a lot. I see them a lot, like I see them on holidays...Thanksgiving, Easter, Christmas break... They live around here, so they are kind of like my parents away from home.

In addition to her boyfriend’s parents Sukeina seems to place a great deal of trust in her supervisor at the Community Service Center. She values the personal connection with him and that she can go to him with problems. He even asked Sukeina to babysit his kids, which she considered a sign of genuine trust.

In summary, Sukeina is a working class student who chooses to work three jobs. She works two jobs on-campus which supplement her academic and co-curricular interests. She works another off-campus job, which she views as essential in order to afford college. Sukeina’s off-campus job also provides her with a social connection to students more like her than the majority of the students on St. Luke’s campus. Sukeina’s choices appear to be influenced by institutional policy and

practices (e.g., relatively low wage of campus jobs; cost of study abroad and inability to work; parking policy hinders off-campus employment). Finally, while her parents are largely absent from her college experience she has made connections with staff members through her on-campus job and other adults through a relationship at her off-campus employment.

Sydney

Sydney is a working class student from a rural farming community that is located a little over two hours from St. Luke's. She was born in Asia and her parents adopted her as a small child. She is somewhat quiet but self-assured. Sydney is an interloper between two social worlds. She does not fit in at home where the "girls" from her high school went on to be "secretaries or nurses" and the "boys" pursued "physical labor" jobs. However, her comments indicate that at times she has felt equally out of place at St. Luke's amongst a culture of affluence and privilege.

Both of Sydney's adopted parents graduated from high school but neither attended college. Sydney's dad is a factory worker on an assembly line that produces motorcycle parts. Sydney's mom is a secretary and dietary aid. Sydney estimates her parents' combined annual income as between \$30,000 and \$39,000. Sydney missed the deadline for financial aid for her first year at St. Luke's. Consequently, she paid for her first year of college from savings from work and by taking out loans. She said that her parents had to refinance their home. For Sydney's second year at St. Luke's, she received a need based and merit scholarship for students of color in the amount of \$30,000. She continues to take out \$10,000 per year in loans and pays the rest of her expenses by working.

At her parents' urging Sydney worked a lot while she was in high school. She says that she started working during "her junior year of high school at a restaurant doing food service...preparation and clean up." During the school year she "worked about 5 hours a night during the school week." She explains that she had longer shifts on Friday and Saturday nights. The restaurant was closed on Sundays. The job at the restaurant has been a main stay for Sydney, and she continues to work there during every break from college and during the summer. She explains that when she was in high school "during the summer...I picked up a second job and I worked in retail at JC Penny and worked in another restaurant." She states rather matter-of-factly that "during the summers I worked like 60 hours if I could in a week."

As a result of her long tenure and capable service, the restaurant offered her a job as manager when she graduated from high school. When she chose to go to college her parents were disappointed:

My parents wanted me to keep working at home. They didn't really want me to go to college...They really just wanted me to have a kind of blue-collared kind of job. They didn't really think it was necessary for me to go to school.

Not only did Sydney's parents not support her decision to go to college, they were particularly concerned about her college choice:

Well, the actual step of me telling my parents I was definitely going to school was the hardest part because they were really opposed to the idea. I mean going to college, especially out of state and especially a private school. If I had said I was going to community college, or a state school nearby, they probably would have been a little happier but they weren't exactly thrilled with my St. Luke's decision.

Sydney's failure to complete her financial aid application for her first year at St. Luke's also had an impact on her ability to find on-campus employment. She

explains that she applied for work at the library and for Phone-A-Thon during her freshmen year but that she did not get either job because their policy was to take work-study students first. Even though Sydney qualified for work-study her sophomore year, she did not have it her first year because she missed the financial aid deadline.

Beginning her sophomore year Sydney took a job at Phone-A-Thon soliciting donations from alumni on behalf of the Alumni office. Even though her job offered incentives where she could earn more money, Sydney really did not like working for Phone-A-Thon. Sydney says that she was not very good at the job because she felt “guilty” asking people for money. She explains that the job was particularly hard for her because “I know myself and I don’t have that much money and to call people and ask them for money, especially...young alumni who are paying for grad school, I just felt terrible.”

Fortunately, because of a tip from a roommate, Sydney was able to quit her job at Phone-A-Thon and go to work for Campus Events [a pseudonym]. The work at Campus Events suited her better. Sydney states that she can work plenty of hours for Campus Events and that they are “really flexible as far as the actual hours during the week.” Sydney also feels that through working on the Events staff she was able to meet some students who were more like her. She says “it’s a good clique...they are really a good group of friends that are working together.” Sydney asserts that “it was a different group of kids than you’re used to seeing around St. Luke’s, that’s for sure.”

Sydney believes there is a lot of responsibility and independence with her job on the Events staff. However, she found the job difficult at first because she did not get much training: “I’m the kind of person who likes to have written directions so it’s something that I had to adjust to...being shown how to physically do something without having a set list of what to do.” Sydney takes pride in the fact that in her job with Campus Events she is entrusted with a great deal of responsibility:

You might be the only person at a certain event. Like if there is a certain event...in Daniel Hall [a pseudonym] I might be the only person there supervising the event and if something goes wrong then I have to make sure I know what to do to take care of the situation, whether it be sound or lights or an emergency.

Working at Events has helped Sydney feel like she is a representative of the college.

She recalled a specific example where she helped a parent of a prospective student:

Just this past week I had a mother come up to me and ask me a personal question from a student’s perspective about how I feel about St. Luke’s and she obviously approached me because I was in my event staff uniform and I still look young. So she was like ‘Oh well this girl is working and going to school.’ So she was able to ask me questions and I was able to be helpful to her.

The only downside that Sydney can see to her job with Campus Events is that most of the hours occur on the weekends and sometimes these are very long shifts:

The down side I would say is that you never have weekends off. That’s pretty much it. I’m always working on the weekends, which makes finishing your homework on the weekends kind of tough. And I’m exhausted a lot because the shifts are really, really long. They can be up to like...12 to 20 hours in one shift.

While Sydney works long hours, particularly on the weekends, she feels that she is able to balance working at Events with going to school. She says without hesitating that “my school work comes first and I do put Campus Events on the back burner from time to time.”

Sydney is dependent on the jobs that she has to help pay for her college expenses. Even though she now has a significant grant from St. Luke's, she still has some tuition to cover. She says that her work helps her "afford my own bills, my car insurance, and my cell phone bill." She explains that freshmen are not allowed to have a car on-campus but now that she does she has "to pay for my parking." Sydney also pays for her own food so she tries to cook for herself as much as possible. She uses the money she earns to buy groceries. Sydney bought her car when she was in high school and she considers it a necessity. She says she uses it about "once a week [to] drive my roommates to the grocery store." She says that having the car on-campus "is really convenient when I want to go home." Occasionally Sydney will use some of what she earns to go out to eat with her friends, but she sees a definite difference in how she spends her discretionary income compared to other St. Luke's students. She identifies this difference in attitude about money stemming from students who come to St. Luke's from two states in particular. She says:

I usually see kids that are looking for fun and they want to flaunt their money. I really think that a lot of kids at St. Luke's have an attitude...like an indifference towards expenses and things...It sort of offends me...because I work really hard to make money and I don't take anything for granted...I feel like a lot of kids here have the luxury of being able to do that and it's a completely different socioeconomic background that I'm thrown into...I mean it's not true for all cases, but the majority of St. Luke's kids come from private schools...and like the [two states] area, and it's not a type of social atmosphere that I am used to.

Sydney has declared her major as political science. She does not see any direct connection between her choice of the major and the jobs she has held. She says that she came to St. Luke's intending to major in political science because in her hometown her mom had a job for a short time as a clerical assistant with the

government. When her mom had that job, Sydney says she “liked getting involved” at the “township meetings.” Even though Sydney does not see a direct connection between her job and her major, she does think that her job at Campus Events has assisted her in the development of communication skills that benefit her in the academic setting. She says, “I think with St. Luke’s a lot of times in class discussion you have to interact with people and learn to communicate well and I’ve learned a lot about communication in Campus Events.”

Sydney has decided that she will probably not go abroad during her junior year. Her decision seems primarily due to her financial situation and her comfort zone. She says:

I don’t really know if I’d be able to adjust well on my own and financially in another country. It was something that was kind of scary to me and I know I’ve settled into a routine here...I have a job that’s guaranteed steady and I don’t want to leave my job back home...I mean I leave it during the school year but I don’t want to cut all ties...just like occupational ties that I didn’t want to sever by going abroad.

While she has decided not to study abroad Sydney says she does “want to travel some day” and states that “even though I was born in Asia...that was the only time I’ve been out of the country.”

Sydney was involved in several extra-curricular activities before she got her on-campus job. During her freshmen year she volunteered at a local parish school through St. Luke’s Community Service Center. She spent time there “doing homework help with the kids.” She was also involved with Chapel Choir, which she says helped her see “another side of St. Luke’s students—like more spiritual kids and

that was something really healthy.” In addition, Sydney says that she attended some events sponsored by the Asian Students Association.

Even though Sydney’s transition to college was characterized by some tension around fitting in, both at home and at St. Luke’s, it appears that she has turned the corner. Concerning her relationship with her parents now she says:

They’re always like ‘just come home.’ And then when I did come home for summer last year they’re like ‘you don’t have to go back.’ But I think at this point if I dropped out they would be pretty angry at me for spending all this money and not following through with it.

While Sydney is not sure yet what she wants to do with her political science degree she is beginning to think about working for the NSA or the CIA. She says that she was exploring a NSA scholarship that is available through St. Luke’s but she did not think she was quite ready. Regardless of what profession she winds up in Sydney wants to be more comfortable than her parents:

It’s a huge influence on me because I basically don’t want to be in the situation that they’re in, which isn’t terrible but it isn’t comfortable that’s for sure. Like my parents they struggle with finances but it’s nothing that we can’t survive on. Where I live...the cost of living is really low. I just don’t know if I really want to live in [her home state] for the rest of my life. I know that if I’m ever going to be able to support myself I need to make more than that and going to college is my way to solve that.

Despite the fact that Sydney has to a large extent had to persist in college without her parents’ guidance and support, she does appear to have had an adult mentor to assist her. She points to her “godmother” who lives in a nearby town as her inspiration:

I have a godmother and...she went to college...She was always in the background kind of like encouraging me and telling me I’d be okay...She always asks me where I’m working, what I’m doing...She cares about the job decisions. If I had picked a job that she didn’t approve of she would say something or she would offer me money in exchange for finding another job in the meantime.

In summary, Sydney is a working class student who chooses to work an on-campus job. Sydney also chooses to work many hours at a business in her hometown during school breaks. Sydney's work choices appear to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., financial aid deadlines; qualification for work-study; availability of on-campus jobs). Her college choices, including the types of job she chooses, seem to be influenced by her social class and the tension that she feels with the peer culture at St. Luke's. Her academic and co-curricular choices seem to be influenced by institutional policies and characteristics (e.g. does not study abroad because of expense and work; participates in service and campus ministry activities). Her ability to persist seems to have been buoyed by finding students like herself through her job and because she was able to identifying a role model and mentor outside her family.

Alicia

Alicia is an in-state working class student. She is from a suburban area that is about 35 minutes from St. Luke's. She is the type of young person who excels in many areas and who does not let on how much stress she is under. She is always cheerful and even was level headed when she was critical of the institution.

Alicia's father is a butcher. He graduated from high school but did not attend college. Her mother is also a high school graduate and is a mobile home park manager. Her parents are divorced but their relationship is amicable. In fact Alicia even indicated that at times they had attended college events together with her younger brother who is 14. Alicia estimates their annual income as between \$60,000 and \$75,000. Alicia receives a Senatorial Scholarship from the state of \$25,000 per

year. She also is an RA and receives free housing and a stipend. Alicia takes out \$4,000 per year in loans. She estimates that her parents contribute \$3,000 per year toward her college education. Alicia devotes \$1,000 each year from her savings from work.

Alicia worked a lot when she was in high school. She started working “retail” on the weekends when she was in 10th grade. She found a job during her senior year in high school “at a gym” and she says “they promoted me to sales.” She took advantage of the fact that she only went to school half days during the second semester of her senior year in high school, so she “would work from 12 to 5 everyday.” In addition to the retail jobs she had during the school year, Alicia worked at a summer camp.

Even though Alicia worked a lot in high school, having a job was not a deciding factor in where she chose to go to college. She only applied to three schools, which included a less expensive private school than St. Luke’s and a state institution. Both of these institutions are less selective. Alicia explains that even though she was admitted to the honors programs at the other schools, she really wanted to go to St. Luke’s. She was not admitted to the honors program at St. Luke’s, but she says “I got a decent financial aid package first year, so I decided to come here.”

Alicia secured a work-study job as a freshman in the Provost’s office. She stated that she knew she needed to find a work-study job right away, so she looked for the offices that had the most openings. Even though the Recreation Center had many work-study positions she said she “was tired of working at a gym.” Alicia

believes that the Provost's office was a great find because the people there took a personal interest in her and really understood that she was a student first. Her work in the Provost's office was light at first and involved answering phones and performing clerical tasks. However, over the course of the year Alicia became a trusted student employee and was assigned more specific tasks and projects that were under the guidance of a staff member who was responsible for diversity initiatives.

Alicia says she struggled socially during her first year at St. Luke's. Even though she was doing well in her classes and made the Dean's list, she felt out of place at St. Luke's and a lot of that had to do with her social class:

I didn't feel like I was making a lot of friends here because I felt so different. My roommates would talk about their maids and their nannies and I was like 'Oh I clean my house and my mom cleans her house.' So, seeing what others had and seeing what I had, or what I had to work for, made me a little hesitant to make friends. Like I wouldn't be quite as accepted...I really frown upon the underage drinking and the bar scene because a lot of these kids are just handed money and their parents just know where it's going. My parents could never just hand me money.

In addition to having a difficult time fitting in socially, Alicia knew her parents were struggling to afford St. Luke's. While she felt that she got a solid financial aid package, Alicia found the costs associated with living on-campus were high. She explains that during her first year:

My parents had to pay \$6,000 out of pocket without the meal account. And I could tell that was wearing on them, even though \$6,000 isn't much. It's hard for someone who is living paycheck to paycheck basically.

Because of her social experience, and the fact that she was struggling to afford the school, Alicia considered transferring at the end of her freshmen year. She explains that she "was looking at state schools where I knew I would get scholarships

because St. Luke's didn't offer me any scholarships when I came here." Around the same time Alicia began to investigate becoming an RA and applied. She says that when she was accepted as an RA this "was definitely a deciding factor as to whether or not I would attend my sophomore year."

Alicia's experience at St. Luke's her second year was much better. Because her financial aid package changed due to the fact that she was receiving remuneration for room and board, Alicia no longer had a work-study grant. Despite this, the Provost's office brought her on as a "direct hire" to do special projects. One of the major projects that she became involved in was the organization of an academic conference that occurs every summer on St. Luke's campus. The conference brings together theologians and scientists to discuss the topic of faith and science. In her role with the conference she is delegated a fair amount of responsibility. She explains that her supervisor has her "making contacts" and "calling people." Due to her role with the conference she was planning on staying on-campus for about half of the summer.

Alicia also enjoys her job as an RA. Alicia believes that because of her working class roots she is self-motivated and an independent worker. These are traits she believes serve her well as an RA. She says that as an RA "we have responsibilities and we meet with our supervisors, but I have the independence to create programs for my floor, to go places, to do things." She also does not see a conflict in enforcing community standards and disciplining her fellow students if she needs to. She says that for the most part her job as an RA does not seem like it is work:

The RA job, a big factor was the money because it's room and board. Therefore, I am grateful for the work that I have and I really love

working with my residents. I don't feel like it's a job. I feel like I am getting to be a leader on a floor and I am being rewarded for it by having free room and board.

Financially, Alicia sees her jobs as serving different purposes. Her job as an RA brings down her total cost of attendance by providing housing and a stipend. Because she never actually receives a wage for her RA job, she still needs her job the Provost's office she says "because that's my only means for incoming cash." Even though Alicia estimates she makes as little as \$100 every two weeks at the Provost's office she uses that money to "buy groceries or gas." Alicia has a car but she says "my father pays car payments, I pay everything else." Alicia explains that because she does not drink she saves a lot of money that most students spend on the social scene, but she does occasionally go out to eat or to the movies with friends.

During her sophomore year Alicia also took on a third job, which is an outgrowth of co-curricular interests. Alicia was involved with the yearbook during her freshman year and now she is paid a stipend to be editor. She explains that this job is pretty easy for her, especially because with advances in technology she can do most of the work from the computer in her residence hall room.

Even though Alicia is busy with three different jobs she claims that she does not have a difficult time balancing the work with her academics. One of the keys she thinks is that all of her jobs are on-campus and the hours for these jobs do not conflict with each other. She says:

Being an RA...my night time shifts are like Friday nights when I know I can put my homework off until the weekend. My work schedule, (at Provost's Office) it's ten hours per week but its spread out over two or three hours a day. Then yearbook, a lot of it is done from my room.

While Alicia professes that this balancing act between her jobs and academics is easy, she attributes her ability to manage it all to her working class roots:

I think the way I was raised, everyone in my family always worked. My mom and dad always worked seven days a week. I always learned that you work and you succeed and you always push yourself. So that is kind of the mentality I've always had. I've been a self-motivator and so working lights the fire under my butt to get things done. If I didn't have things to do I would probably sit around and do nothing.

While Alicia sees great value in the work she does as a college student and believes it has shaped her character, she does not believe it has affected her academic choices. Alicia is a communication major with an emphasis in digital media. She is hoping to work for a publisher one day. Alicia claims that her primary motivation for pursuing this academic interest is to shed her working class roots and live more comfortably than her parents. She explains her choice of the major and her career interest saying:

I like history but I know if I graduated with a degree in history I could be a teacher or I could go to grad school. I knew that I wouldn't make too much as a high school teacher so that was scratched. I considered marketing because I knew with a business degree I could get a job and I could make money, but I was like 'number crunching isn't for me.' So I fell somewhere in between, where I could be creative and I could use knowledge and I could use practical business skills to create a foundation for a job.

Alicia considered going abroad but she has decided not to. Her primary reason for ruling it out is financial. She explains that not being employed for an extended period definitely factored into this choice:

I want to go to Italy but I can't afford to go to Italy. With loans and stuff I could definitely get over there, but living there for three or four months...I couldn't because I couldn't have a job...Like my loans, my federal grants would all cross over. Flights, airfare, are all paid for. But you have to pay for your meals...not transportation but if you

want to travel...and so not having a job abroad definitely affected my decision in applying to go abroad.

In addition to holding three jobs and carrying a demanding academic load, Alicia has been quite active with extracurricular and co-curricular activities. Her main activities tend to fulfill two primary purposes. First, her experience with St. Luke's own student press supplements her academic and career goals in publishing. Alicia explains that she has been involved with something called the Printing Press [a pseudonym], which she says "is our own campus publishing press." She exclaims proudly that, "Last year I designed a book that was published which I was really excited about." Alicia's second area of involvement is as a club officer for something called Alternatives [a pseudonym]. She explains the purpose of this student organization saying:

Alternatives is a program that offers alternatives to students rather than just the traditional college social life—rather than what is associated with, on St. Luke's campus, the bar scene or drinking or drugs...I do not drink. I know that I have been affected by friends and family members of mine who do, and it's just been a choice of mine not to. So we go off-campus and we go to different places in the state for fun social gatherings, just to create a sense of community.

In a very real sense then Alicia's second area of involvement centers on creating the kind of community that she found absent during her first year at St. Luke's.

A definite benefit associated with both Alicia's extracurricular and co-curricular interests and her work has been her exposure to faculty and administration at the College. In particular, she mentions the two faculty members who work with the Printing Press. Because she worked with faculty through the student press, in addition to having them as course instructors, she describes the relationship saying:

They see me in the light of like a worker and so I move out of the student role for them. So, the same with John...I worked with him with the Printing Press before I was ever a student of his in the classroom... It kind of creates this alternative relationship with faculty, and then I become their student.

In addition to developing relationships with faculty through the Printing Press Alicia explains that her evolving role with the Provost's office has introduced her to many members of the administration. She says, "I think there are a lot of administrators I have met through my job at the Provost's office."

In summary, Alicia is a working class student who chooses to work three jobs on-campus. Her job as an RA and the remuneration that it provided, coupled with her extracurricular involvement, helped in her decision to stay at St. Luke's. Her work choices appear to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., chose to come due to financial aid package; lost work-study because of RA job; benefitted from availability of campus jobs). In addition, her academic and co-curricular choices were influenced by her social class (e.g., chooses a major and career that will provide a comfortable income; leadership roles allows her to create community and find students like herself; will not study abroad because she cannot afford it and needs to work).

Brooke

Brooke is a working class student from a suburban area located almost four hours from St. Luke's. Because almost two decades ago St. Luke's recruitment strategy began to focus on attracting students from many Catholic "feeder" schools in this location, a high percentage of students in each class come from several parochial

high schools in this densely populated region. As a result, many of Brooke's high school classmates also attended St. Luke's and she chose to room with several of them her freshman year.

Both of Brooke's parents graduated from high school but neither attended college. Brooke's parents became entrepreneurs. They both own their own businesses. Brooke's mother has her own advertising business, which she has operated as a one person shop for the past 13 years. Brooke's father owns a printing business. As a result of their hard work and drive to succeed, Brooke's parents definitely view college as a vehicle for social mobility. They desire for their children to make the investment they are making in their education "pay off." Brooke estimates her parents' income as between \$100,000 and \$150,000 per year. Her parents' income is the greatest of any of the working class students in the study. Brooke is the middle child of three. Her older brother also attends St. Luke's. The following year her sister will attend another Catholic university that is closer to home but very similar in cost and institutional characteristics to St. Luke's. Brooke receives \$14,000 per year in need based aid from St. Luke's. Her job as an RA provides free housing and board. Brooke says that she and her parents cover the rest of the cost of her attendance by taking out loans.

Brooke did not work much in high school. She says that "my parents didn't really like during the week jobs." Brooke says that she did work on the weekends during high school, mostly in jobs her parents arranged with business clients. She says "mostly like secretary type things like filing and billing...and...a few of [the jobs] were cashier type things." Brooke began working various jobs at the Recreation

Center she says because “I went to the Center a lot...in my freshman year.” Her social interaction at the Rec. Center, and her participation in activities like intramural basketball, led her to work there. Now she works for the intramural director “making schedules and emailing and doing all that.” She also works as an assistant to the athletic trainer because “he needed help filing.”

Brooke’s roommate situation during her freshman year was not good. Even though Brooke was rooming with “girls from high school,” she said that before coming to St. Luke’s “we weren’t like really close friends.” She explained that she discovered her roommates were “into a lot of things that I didn’t know they were into.” Brooke clarified that it was not just the drinking scene at St. Luke’s that her roommates participated in. She said “it was a lot of drugs actually. It wasn’t even partying, it was drugs.” As a result of being in a roommate situation like this, Brooke found herself under scrutiny by the St. Luke’s residence hall staff. Fortunately for her, one of these staff members was able to identify her as not being involved but guilty by association: “I got documented one time and it wasn’t my fault...Philip Meyer [a pseudonym], my building A.D. and I—we just became friends and like I stayed in touch with him throughout the year.” Brooke says that it is a “funny story” that this led her to apply and become an RA.

The two on-campus jobs that Brooke has are completely different. While she estimates that she works between 16 and 20 hours per week, it is hard for her to account for how many hours she actually spends being an RA. She believes that the RA job has a lot more responsibility and that the hours associated with it are endless. She says of her position as an RA that:

RA, I'd say, it's definitely like the leadership thing. And it just teaches you to be on a schedule. Like cause you have just...we have meetings like random times, random days for random things. And students will come to you and you'll have to drop something and go to them, and it will screw your whole day up. And it just teaches you how to be on your toes I guess. I know it's helped me get this job, my internship. It was really competitive.

While she had a rough time socially her freshman year because of her roommate group, becoming an RA has turned that around. Brooke says that "I met so many amazing people through this job. I love it." While she definitely has enjoyed getting to know the residence life staff, Brooke is mostly talking about other students who have made a difference in her social life. She explained to me that she now lives in a residence hall where several RAs live together in a suite-style apartment. Her roommates now seem to represent the polar opposite of the students she roomed with her first year. She says "my roommates are both leaders." She explains that her roommates are really dedicated to activities like campus ministry and community service. "Both my roommates are big in that area. One of them is a campus ministry intern and the other is a community service intern,"

Brooke does not view her job at the Rec. Center in the same way as she views her work as an RA:

The Rec. Center it's not great money. I mean sometimes I'm like is it really worth even going up to the Rec. Center...like even walking to the Rec. Center, is it even worth it? But I mean it's just so much fun and for me that's my break from work actually. Like that's my recreation 'cause everyone that I know really works there. And I have so much fun with them. So I just have a great time working there.

Brooke also does some babysitting on the side to make some money. She finds these jobs through the Career Center and she looks for easy babysitting assignments that will help her earn extra cash: "I'll look through the Career Center stuff. I mean I

babysat at home and have a lot of experience babysitting. I mean if I see someone who is like 5 kids, 7 dogs, and \$ 10 an hour. I'm like absolutely not."

Brooke says that one of the advantages of having these jobs, especially the RA position, is that it helps afford college and allows her to do what she wants to do. She states that the RA position provides "free housing, stipend, food." Because Brooke's parents have two kids in college, with a third to start soon, they definitely appreciate the compensation she gets as an RA: "The stipend is like food and books and stuff. I mean just free room, that's almost ten thousand dollars, which is great." Brooke says that she mostly uses the money she earns at the Rec. Center and babysitting to go out to eat with friends or to go shopping. She says that she tries to save but that her social life sometimes prevents it: "It's really bad, like I just love going out to eat, and I'll go [downtown] with friends. And then I'll come back and be like I spent \$60 and I don't know how."

Brooke does not have a car at St. Luke's and her parents pay for her cell phone. But she says that at St. Luke's there often are fees for things she wants to do:

A lot of other things are just things that will come up, *especially at this school*. Just random things—like even signing up for an intramural team. It's like like 15 bucks here, 10 dollars for something else...And then we had a 350 dollar deposit for going abroad that I had to come up with (italics added for emphasis).

Even though Brooke's parents had greater financial resources than the other working class students in this study, she did not ask them to pay for all of these extra fees.

Even though Brooke works a lot of hours she does not feel her work has compromised her academics:

I think if anything being an RA has improved my grades. I would think so. I have to have a schedule every day. I just have to because if

I don't pencil in the time to do this paper I will never do it. I won't have time. And the Rec. Center jobs, they're great hours for me. For me, they're hours that I probably wouldn't be doing anything anyway. It's like usually 8-11:30 at night...So that's just great hours for me and I can always study after.

Even though Brooke thinks that her jobs have helped her with time management and provide structure for her day, she does not see them as particularly relevant to her course of study or intended career. Brooke is an interdisciplinary "psych and communication" major. She explains that she started off as a business major but was scared off by a course in macro economics. She says she did so poorly in macro that she dropped it. Then she said she began to review the business curriculum: "I looked into where I would go as a business major...I would have to take this class and this class...And it was like ew...that sounds awful and I don't want to do that." Brooke says that next she turned to psychology. She says that she liked these courses and she could apply them to some of the situations she found herself in as an RA:

I am usually dealing with people my own age (as RA) who have problems or are having problems with roommates or things like that. And both my roommates are psych majors. So we always find ourselves analyzing something or someone somehow, which is funny but it does happen.

Even though she enjoys psychology Brooke decided to add an interdisciplinary emphasis in communication because she wants to pursue a career in advertising. Of advertising she says "I think my Mom just got me into that."

Brooke views her chosen career path in advertising as more lucrative than psychology. Brooke is very clear that her career needs to be something that she can make money at and that her parents encourage this type of thinking:

I just love making money. I will work at whatever to make money. I think that psychology you had to be more in love with it to go on with

it. And I just wasn't. I wasn't willing to just spend this money in school and be in school forever and I just wasn't feeling it at all. And I just wanted to get out and make money. That's what I wanted to do. And my mom was making money in advertising. So I checked that out and I love it. It's competitive and it's creative and I just love it.

Brooke speculates that her parents' working class background causes them to emphasize the importance of her getting a good job after college and influenced her selection of her major:

They are both very profit driven. I mean even when I was going into psych, they were like 'what do you really want to do that for? Do you want to go to school forever?' I mean they were educated but not past high school. And so it was out of high school and into the workplace. That's what they did. So that's just what they know.

A recent focus for Brooke includes the paid internship that she has arranged for the summer and her plans to study abroad in Rome next fall. Brooke devoted a lot of time to finding an internship in advertising. She is quite proud of this and says that the process was very competitive: "That was really important for me. Like Christmas break, I was working on my resume forever. And on Easter and spring break that's all I did were interviews." In particular, the interview she did with the advertising firm that hired her for her internship affirmed for Brooke both her choice of career and course of study:

The lady that interviewed me was a psych major. And it's helped her a lot just in the business world and in advertising. So she saw that and thought that was great...Coincidentally, [she] went abroad to Rome. So that worked out in my favor.

Brooke looks at studying abroad in Rome as a great opportunity to broaden her horizons. She equates this with being able to do something that her parents have never been able to do. She says, "I have never been to Europe and neither have they. They think it's an amazing experience. They are really excited about it." Because of

the nature of the jobs she has, and the fact that they are on-campus, Brooke is not concerned about leaving her jobs to go abroad. Of her position as RA she says “I told them I was going to be gone in the fall, but they will place me in the spring.” She says her positions at the Rec. Center will be there for her when she returns from abroad as well. “They are really flexible with that. They want you to go abroad,” she says.

While Brooke says her parents are “very supportive of everything” they definitely want her to complete her degree and to get a good job in order to help them pay back the loans that have helped finance her education. Of her parents philosophy she says they want her to get “the education to get the job to pay back the loans.” She believes “that’s why they are like get your resumes out and get your internships and build relations with these companies so you can...have somewhere to go.” While Brooke seems to be enjoying her education, and is trying to get the most out of the experience of attending St. Luke’s, she says that her parents “make sure that we know that we’re lucky to be here.”

In summary, Brooke is a working class student who has chosen to work on-campus. Her work at the Rec. Center provides her with social interaction and enhances her experience there as a participant. Her experience as an RA has provided her a leadership opportunity and exposure to peers with similar interests. Her choices are influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., leave of absence from campus jobs while abroad; availability of jobs; stipend for housing from RA job; Pell Grant and availability of loans). Brooke’s parents’ working class background and upward social mobility appears to have influenced her academic and vocational

choices (e.g., she focuses on advertising over psychology to make money; she prioritizes and obtains a paid internship; she plans to study abroad in Rome for a semester with the support of her parents). While Brooke's parents' working class background makes her very aware of work and money as they relate to her vocational choices, their upward mobility allows her to consider aspects of the co-curricular experience such as study abroad. In Brooke's mind her accumulation of social capital through participation in St. Luke's program in Rome helps her make a connection with a supervisor for a paid internship.

Lou

Lou is a first-generation, working class student whose parents immigrated to the United States from the Caribbean. He is from a large, metropolitan area that is about four hours from cam. Lou is gregarious and engaging. He speaks with a level of formality that is not typical of many St. Luke's students or even teenagers in general. When he answers a question in the affirmative he frequently begins his sentence with "indeed" and he often prefaces what he intends as a genuine comment with "quite honestly."

Lou's father attended high school in the Caribbean but did not finish his schooling. He is currently employed as a custodial engineer at a New York City courthouse. Lou's mother completed grammar school in the Caribbean but had no further education. She works as a home attendant for the elderly. Lou estimates his parent's annual income as between \$75,000 and \$99,000 per year. Lou receives a need based grant and scholarship from St. Luke's for students of color of \$28,000 per year and a Pell Grant of \$2,000 per year. He takes out loans in the amount of \$8,000

per year. He estimates his parent's contribution to his education is \$1,000 per year. He reports that he contributes \$200 per year from his work directly to his education, but he also receives room and board as compensation from St. Luke's because he is an RA.

Lou did not work during high school. He explained that his "parents didn't like during the week jobs" because they wanted him to focus on school. He also says that working would have been difficult because he was involved in after school activities like chess, choir and drama club. During his first semester at St. Luke's Lou did not work. Lou explains his decision not to work during his first term:

It could take some a week to get used to St. Luke's. It could take some a whole year. Fortunately it took me a couple of months to acclimatize to the campus—just to get used to the activities and some of the clubs they had, but especially to focus on my academics. I was pursuing biology, so that was something that I had to be serious about and I felt that having a job first semester would kind of hinder the process as a freshman.

After his first semester on-campus Lou felt like he needed some "cash flow." Lou says that he "had to start paying bills" and that "quite honestly it got a little bit tiring because I used to have to call my mom like every two weeks and I was like mom I actually need \$20 to...do this and do that." Lou states that because he had a friend who was taking "Music Fundamentals" he found out about a job in the Music Department. Lou only worked as an assistant in the Music Department for one semester because he took a job as a building supervisor at the Rec. Center that summer. An important consideration for taking the job as a supervisor at the Rec. Center was that in addition to paying him a wage the department covered the cost of summer housing for its employees.

Lou mentions that a factor that was instrumental in his adjustment to life on St. Luke's campus was that he was assigned a peer mentor. The relationship developed out of Lou's participation in a multicultural awareness orientation program designed to help students of color make the transition to the predominantly White campus. The multicultural awareness program is sponsored by the Asian, Latino, African American, and Native American (ALANA) Services office. Lou says that ALANA was "quite honestly one of the best programs on this campus." Lou explains that after the four day orientation program each student is assigned a mentor who is also a student of color. As it turns out, Lou's mentor was influential not only in helping him find the building supervisor job at the Rec. Center but also in assisting him in pursuing an RA position. Concerning his mentor Lou says:

So he took me and showed me around campus and basically helped me develop myself on this campus. One of the things he helped me do was get the job at the Rec. Center...After seeing him and many others pursue leadership positions on-campus, I was eager to see what kind of leadership things I could pursue sophomore year. One of the things he did was become an RA. So he was telling me about the job, the good, the bad, and the ugly, and it was attractive. So quite honestly half the reason I got the job was because of him.

Lou considers his jobs as a building supervisor and as an RA to be leadership opportunities as well as employment. He believes that both jobs can be hard, time consuming and stressful. Nonetheless, Lou indicates that he has learned a lot about himself in these positions and they have helped him to grow as a person in addition to allowing him to collect a paycheck. For example, in the building supervisor role at the Rec. Center Lou is responsible for all of the student employees in the building during his shift. He explains that this means "you have to be in charge of employees your own age, maybe even older than you." In addition to supervising his peers Lou

is responsible for communicating with the general public that uses the facility. Sometimes this means articulating and enforcing policies and procedures that are not necessarily popular. He explains that this can be “something as simple as if you don’t have a [ID] card you can’t enter into the facility.” He explains that this policy infuriates some patrons and that “many a time, honestly people just blow up.” Lou believes that learning to deal with unhappy patrons has helped him see “customer service” in a new light and to develop people skills.

Similarly, Lou has had to enforce unpopular rules as an RA. He says this was particularly difficult because as a sophomore he was chosen to be an RA in a freshmen area. Lou had to learn how to balance his desire to be liked by his residents and his responsibility to develop community with his role in enforcing rules. He explains it this way:

I did have a couple of problems on my floor in that they did like to drink. They weren’t allowed to drink. I had to write them up and they ended up not liking me. So the RA job is actually really hard. It’s really hard. I have learned through that experience that indeed Residence Life needs you to reprimand anybody who goes outside the boundaries in terms of documenting them...I see that as not always the answer...There are different paths to take and sometimes that is something as simple as talking to them about why they do the things they do.

In addition to providing an opportunity for personal growth, Lou is quick to acknowledge that both of his jobs allowed him to become more fully integrated into the community. Because the building supervisors at the Rec. Center represent a select group of students with additional responsibilities he says they are “treated a little bit more like a family.” He provides an example that indicates that sometimes this cohesiveness involves sacrifice:

...Just this morning my co-worker called me at 2 AM saying she had perhaps broken her arm and could I open for her at 8:30. I said sure because even though I could have slept in...we have to be there for each other.

Lou has developed important and lasting relationships with his fellow RAs as well.

He says that “it’s a great job community wise.” Even though he has had some difficulties with his residents, Lou also credits his job as providing him with the opportunity to meet students that he would not have likely associated with: “It gives me a chance to interact with freshmen...a whole new breed, something that I was last year, but something I would not interact with if I wasn’t an RA.”

Because Lou has chosen two on-campus jobs that represent significant time commitments and can be stressful, he has had difficulty balancing these jobs with his academics. He says he constantly has to try to remind himself that “I am a student first, not a Building Supervisor, not an RA, but a student first.” Lou has struggled with his intended major, and he believes that despite the fact that he has declared biology as his major he may have to change:

It’s a hard subject, quite honestly. I had a hard time this year keeping up with my bio class, so I had to unfortunately withdraw from it. And I am taking my chemistry class right now and...I am doing poor in it. And I try to blame my job and I try to blame my extracurricular activities and they do play a fair part in it. They are very time consuming. But quite honestly you just have to take a step back and ask yourself...it might just be me? I might just not be good at chemistry or I might just not be applying myself. And quite honestly that’s the answer. I haven’t been applying myself.

Because Lou is struggling with courses for his major it appears as if he will change it at the end of his sophomore year. While it looks as if Lou will change his major to sociology this presents him with another dilemma:

...Unfortunately if I was to do that I am pretty behind in the sociology major. One thing I have to do is make sure I graduate on time. So one thing I have to do is...start talking to some people in the Sociology Department [to] make sure what classes I need and [to] make sure that I am still able to graduate on time.

Further complicating Lou's ability to graduate on time is the fact that he has decided to go abroad to study in Thailand at the end of his sophomore year. St. Luke's program in Thailand starts in May and goes until November, so he will be away from campus for an entire semester. Lou's decision to study abroad was influenced by students he met on the job at the Rec. Center. Lou recounts how one student in particular influenced his study abroad choice:

...Fortunately I had the opportunity to work at the Rec. Center over the summer and about two or three other people that I worked with studied abroad and actually went to Thailand. And it was kind of funny how it came up, somebody I worked with...I think she had a tattoo on her neck...So I asked her I said, 'Hey where did you get it from?' She was like 'Thailand.' That was a good answer. We spent the whole summer talking about her experience in Thailand....This girl pretty much spent the whole summer telling me how she traveled in jungles, went through caves, rode elephants, and spent nights with tribal people. I think that is the experience that you want. So I handed in my application to Thailand and I got in fortunately.

Despite the fact that Lou may be behind academically because of changing his major and studying abroad, he is not considering taking an extra semester to complete his degree. Lou states that he must avoid taking extra time to complete his degree because: "I am well aware that my [St. Luke's] Grant expires after my four years, so that if I were to do a 5th year I would be paying the rest of the tuition."

In addition to working two jobs on-campus Lou has been involved in extra-curricular activities. Lou became involved with Campus Ministries primarily through

his participation in the retreat program. He says that because he was involved in the freshman and sophomore retreats he got to know the two priests who ran these programs. As a result, Lou was invited by them to assist in a leadership role with a retreat for the soccer team: “So I am actually pretty cool with Father Bill and Father John [pseudonyms]. So that was a pretty cool experience. I got to know the soccer team. I didn’t know any of them.” In addition to Campus Ministries Lou has stayed involved with ALANA Services. Lou is the fundraising chair for the Black Student Association (BSA).

A lot of Lou’s work ethic and drive to succeed as a leader comes from his parents. Of his parents Lou says:

Well, basically my parents emigrated from the Caribbean. I forget the year but I believe early 80s. Of course things weren’t handed to them and they definitely have to work for it. Of course they don’t have the best jobs and they taught me that. But they did teach me the meaning of hard work....I guess that’s why you could say that I am a little bit more ambitious than people. And they taught me that I’ve got to go places.

Despite the fact that Lou’s parents were very supportive of him attending St. Luke’s this was a hard transition for him at first. Lou described the culture shock that he had when he first came to campus for an admission event:

Quite honestly I am from the [major metropolitan] area. So I am not too familiar with too many Caucasians...So definitely it was a huge culture shock when I came on-campus. I didn’t really see too many African Americans so I was a bit taken aback by it. But my mom liked the college. I quite honestly didn’t like the College when I first got here...I didn’t have my niche yet. But she liked it and thought it would be a good place for me.

Besides participating in the multicultural orientation, Lou’s on-going relationship with staff in ALANA Services has helped him find his niche at St.

Luke's. Lou specifically mentions the Director of ALANA Services as being instrumental in helping him adjust to life at St. Luke's: "Simply Mr. Conway Harper [a pseudonym], Director of ALANA Services. He is the man. Quite honestly, without him my St. Luke's experience would be a bad one." Lou credits him with convincing him to participate in the multicultural orientation when he was set against it because he would have to arrive on-campus early. He explains that once he arrived on-campus Mr. Conway was always able to assist him:

He has an open door policy. I am always able to walk in and tell him what's going on, academically, socially, anything that's wrong with the job or just a positive note. He's definitely been a force in my college experience.

In summary, Lou is a working class student who chooses to work two on-campus jobs. He considers both of these jobs to be leadership opportunities in addition to providing employment. He believes that both jobs have benefitted him greatly but that they may have influenced his academic choices (e.g., changes in major partially because of the demands of his work). Lou's choices are seem to be affected by institutional policies and practices (e.g., takes a job that provides housing; time limit on his grant prevents him from taking extra semester; availability of campus jobs) but are also appear to be influenced by his peers (e.g. ALANA mentor helps him find jobs; co-workers influence his study abroad choice). Finally, as a student of color on a predominantly White campus, Lou's integration into the college community has been aided by his relationships with priests and staff members within ALANA Services.

Luis

Luis is a Latino working class student from a nearby county to the St. Luke's campus. His father is a St. Luke's employee and this may partially account for the fact that St. Luke's is the only college he applied to. Luis's parents immigrated to this country from Latin America, though he, his 17 year old sister and 5 year old brother were born in the United States. Luis is exceptionally bright and a diligent student. Luis's father has worked at St. Luke's less than the 5 years required in order for employees to receive the free tuition benefit for their children.

Luis's father works in a technology support position with St. Luke's. When he first immigrated to this country from Latin America he lived in Queens, NY. Most of what Luis's father knows about computers and technology he taught himself. However, while he was in Queens he was able to take a few courses at a community college. Luis's mother immigrated to this country with his father. She completed high school in Latin America but shortly after arriving in this country Luis was born and she never pursued any further education. She is a "stay at home mom." Luis reported his family's annual income as between \$40,000 and \$49,000. Luis receives almost \$35,000 per year in need based aid from St. Luke's. He receives another \$1,600 in the form of a Pell Grant. Luis takes out approximately \$ 4,500 per year in loans. He says that his family contributes approximately \$ 4,000 per year to his education and he estimates that he directly contributes about \$ 2,000 a year for books and other expenses.

Luis explains with a sense of pride that his first job was as an altar boy with his church but the only time he was ever paid was when he "did weddings." "It was

like \$20,” he said. Luis said that eventually he also worked at the church answering phones and “assisting parishioners” after school. Luis says that his first “real job started the summer after my graduation from high school.” Because he had developed an interest in computers, and had some specialized course work in high school, Luis was fortunate to get a paid summer internship with the county’s CAD 911 Center. He said that at that job he learned how to assist “operators or any other members of the Center with anything technology related.” Luis explains that this internship became a part-time job because the 911 Center “received me very well.” Luis still works for the county’s 911 Center while attending St. Luke’s

During his first term at St. Luke’s Luis decided not to work. He states that “the first semester I didn’t even go to the 911 Center, I decided to focus strictly on academics.” Luis says that because he was the first in his family to go to college he “felt a lot of responsibility to me and to my family to be successful here.” However, after his first semester he said that he “felt a little more comfortable with the academic component and able to juggle more, as the adage goes, and take on a new responsibility with an employment position.” He started working again at the 911 Center and began to look for work on-campus. During the spring semester of his freshman year he found a work-study job as a desk assistant in his residence hall. However, when he returned to campus for his sophomore year he changed his work-study job and began to work for the Biology Department. He says that “I felt that because my major was biology...I really wanted to immerse myself more than I had so far.”

Luis tries to save as much money as he can from his two jobs. Luis describes his rationale saying, “Seeing how tuition is very close to the annual income in my household, I need to contribute as much as possible and basically pay everything on my own.” Due largely to the generous need based grant that he receives from St. Luke’s he does not have to contribute a great deal toward tuition. Even though Luis is a local student he chooses to live on-campus, so he does have expenses associated with room and board. He says that he covers as much of those costs as he can and tries to save because he is taking out loans. He says, “The good thing about these loans is that they don’t actually kick in until I graduate so I can buy time and...well save basically.”

Luis also attempts to live fairly frugally. For example, he lives in apartment style housing on-campus and says that “most of the time I just buy groceries and I cook because it’s cheaper.” Luis buys his own books and this is very expensive because he is a biology major. He says, “It breaks my heart every beginning of the semester.” He states that, “I resorted last semester to going on e-bay and getting them at a substantial break from what the bookstore asks.” Finally, Luis does not have a car on-campus. He is extremely knowledgeable about free and public transportation and he uses this to get to and from his off-campus job. At St. Luke’s there is something called the University Exchange shuttle, which is free transportation between the area colleges and the main attractions in the city. In order to get to his job he takes “the College Town shuttle and if they are not running then I take the 11 bus from here or the 8 bus from home.”

Luis mostly sees the jobs he holds as beneficial to his college experience.

They enhance his personal and intellectual growth; concerning his job at the 911

Center Luis says:

I am able to grow in my knowledge and my interest in technology. I also get great interactions with the operators and administrators, the whole department there. I get to see how government works because of the other jobs I do there. I was a records person, supplying 911 calls to lawyers and district attorneys that obviously have play in the courtroom in certain cases.

Of his ability to find such a significant job at such a young age, Luis says “my technology interests were something my father instilled in me...I built my first computer when I was seven.” Luis says the only drawback about his job at the 911 Center is that he has to use public transportation to get there: “Sometimes going to [the county] seems out of the way and I get really tired because the week was hard...On the public bus it’s an hour, on the private shuttle it’s still a half hour.”

Luis sees an advantage in working in the Biology Department as well. He has been able to get to know most of the professors in the department and has benefited from their advice concerning the major and his goal of becoming a doctor. He describes how his role as a work-study has allowed him to get to know his faculty on a very informal level:

At the Bio Department it’s not so much the money that I care about because honest to God the faculty are just amazing. I just hang out with them, and we share a similar sense of humor. So we are just joking around, especially in the last few weeks when there is nothing left to do. We were just playing outside on the quad, playing Frisbee. It’s pretty awesome.

Luis also feels the work that he does at the Biology Department supplements his study. He says that “since I am taking courses in the department I can see what is

going on behind the scenes during the lab, so the means of preparing the medium in which we are studying.” He says that what he is asked to do on his work-study job can be “something as complex as setting up an auger sample that I can do DNA recognition in biology.”

Even though Luis’s father encouraged him to pursue a degree in Computer Science, Luis has had his heart set on becoming a doctor, so he is majoring in biology. Luis says that he took computer science classes during his junior and senior year in high school that taught him “the protocol of networking that’s used in a lot of major corporations.” Even though Luis says that he enjoyed those courses he “knew that’s something that I did not want to do for the rest of my life.” Luis explains that “from a little boy I always wanted to become a doctor.” Luis is hoping to become a cardiologist. He has a family friend who is in that specialty who provides him guidance regarding his academic and professional preparation.

Luis is not planning on studying abroad. However, his reasons for not going abroad do not appear to be financial. Luis was interested in several of St. Luke’s abroad programs. He viewed studying abroad as a way for him to better himself personally and intellectually:

I really wanted to go. I was thinking about Thailand for the purpose of being immersed in a completely different culture, or Spain or Argentina too...to integrate myself with my heritage, to kind of cultivate it more and to refine my Spanish speaking abilities a little bit more.

Despite wanting to go abroad Luis was concerned with the pressure that a missed semester would put on him academically. He was influenced by the advice of the

friend of his family who he considers to be his career “icon.” Luis articulates his friend’s advice saying:

He basically just said that grades come first and it’s more important to do well in your classes here than taking a bunch of classes later on, not being able to put the same amount of time and effort because you are so thinly spread out.

Despite the fact that Luis has a very demanding major and two jobs he has been able to become involved in a number of extracurricular and co-curricular activities. He has been involved in the Drug and Alcohol and Drug Education Team. Essentially, these are students who volunteer to present programs to their peers informing them about the effect of alcohol and other drugs on the campus community. Luis says that “I help them out with activities and I brainstorm for activities for them.” Even though Luis is involved in this activity as a peer educator he does not seem to judge or stereotype his peers. For example, when he speculates about why many of his peers have jobs he says:

I mean I can see that many students work just for the paycheck to do their lifestyle on the weekends. But I am also sure there are many students, as in my case that intend to gain something sort of more organic and develop that.

Luis’s other extracurricular activities include being involved in ALANA (Asian, Latino, African American and Native American student services) and ALANA Pre-Health. Luis says that ALANA Pre-Health is a “branch of pre-health students but one that focuses on ALANA students.” Luis says he also was “recently inducted into the Tri-Beta Honor Society for biology” and that he is an organizer of a team for “Relay for Life.” Relay for Life is a large scale student effort on St. Luke’s campus to raise money to cure cancer.

As a first-generation college student Luis feels a special responsibility. Of his parents Luis says, “Although they didn’t complete a BA or anything I am completely certain that it was within their abilities...it was within the situations that presented themselves at the time that prevented them from doing so.” Of the opportunity that he has to pursue a first-class education and become a doctor Luis says:

There is a mentality that wherever any member of the family goes the whole family goes as well. So, again I take great pride and responsibility in completing my studies here and taking advantage of all the resources that are available to me and to push myself as hard as I can and as far as I can to accomplish the most that I can.

In addition to the strong role that his parents play in his life Luis seems to have quite a few adult mentors who have assisted him with the choices that he has made as a college student. The friend of his family that is a cardiologist is perhaps top on that list. Luis says that he met him because his mother attends a bible study with his wife. In addition to the academic advice he has provided Luis says “there is a great religious influence that is strengthening within that relationship as well.” Clearly, his relationships with faculty members in the Biology Department have also proved useful. For example, he says that “I’ve opened up with Dr. Shivers [a pseudonym] on certain concerns of mine with medical school, and academically when I am concerned with something, he has allowed me to realize that I have what’s needed to become a doctor.” Finally, Luis’s supervisor at the 911 Center seems to be a great friend and supervisor:

My other great mentor is my boss at the 911 Center, Ray. He is a great friend. He is always willing to listen to any problems that I do have and advise me on what to do.

In short, Luis seems to have a number of great adult mentors in his life and even though his parents did not attend college he is able to depend on a number of people to help guide him through the process.

In summary, Luis is a working class student who works on-campus with the Biology Department and off-campus with the CAD 911 Center. His work choices seem to supplement his academic and intellectual interests (e.g., he chooses a work-study job in the department where he is a major; he works in technology support because he studied it in high school). Luis's work seems influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., works to cover room and board; availability of work-study jobs allows him to switch jobs). However, some of his choices seem primarily related to the pressure that he feels from his family to succeed academically and rigors of his major (e.g. chooses not to go abroad because of the demands of his major and his desire to be a doctor). Despite having both an on-campus and off-campus job, Luis is involved in extracurricular and co-curricular activities. Finally, Luis has found many mentors within the institution (e.g. faculty within the biology department) and outside as well (e.g., family friends and work supervisors) that guide him in the choices he makes as a college student.

David

David is a soft spoken but assured young man. David is a local working class student from a city neighborhood. Because he is from the city where St. Luke's is located, he received a waiver from the residency requirement for first-year students and commuted to the campus during his freshmen year. He found the experience of being a commuter at St. Luke's to be very isolating:

I didn't mind the school itself but I just had no social interaction...I was going to class and going home...or just going to class and going to work and then going home. The only people I knew were other lifeguards (his on-campus job)...and maybe the people sitting on either side of me in class. That wasn't really what I was looking for. I felt very secluded.

Neither of David's parents went to college, though both graduated high school. His father is a captain with the city fire department and his mother is a maid. David was unable to estimate his parents' annual income. He said, "I really have no idea. My parents do not share this information with me." David receives a significant aid package in order to attend St. Luke's. This includes a Presidential Scholarship (St. Luke's merit based award) and Pell Grant assistance from the federal government. He also has a small state and Senatorial Scholarship. For the rest of his expenses David has taken out loans, which he says his parents have agreed to repay.

David went to an all boys' Catholic high school run by the local Archdiocese. David has two older sisters. One of his sisters attended community college, but he is the first in his family to attend a four-year institution.

David has had a variety of jobs ever since he was fifteen years old. His first job was as a cart boy at a local grocery store. During the summer when he was 15 he got his life guarding certificate. He has been life guarding at several pools ever since, and he also worked as a bus boy and bar back at a restaurant during the summer after he graduated from high school. Because he had his life guard certificate, David was able to get a job at St. Luke's recreation center during his first semester. Even though he says the pay isn't that great (he only earns \$6.75 per hour) he has kept at that job because it is convenient. He makes a better wage when he guards during school break periods, and because he is a local student he is always in demand. Even though

he says that holding down a job didn't influence choosing St. Luke's, he says that the necessity of having a job "was one of the many reasons that I stayed local...because I knew I was going to be working."

David almost transferred after his first year at St. Luke's. He was considering attending another local state university that he felt was more "commuter friendly." He says, "I was thinking like Metro State [a pseudonym]...I have friends who commute to Metro." Because of his desire to have a residential experience David also considered transferring to another private university, located in a nearby county to St. Luke's, because the total cost of attendance was less and he felt he might be able to afford to live on-campus. "I considered going somewhere where I could live on-campus for like the same amount as going here. And that would have been like Martinsville [a pseudonym] or someplace like there...I could have went there and lived there for the same amount as going here without living here."

David decided to stay at St. Luke's. He says that he was encouraged to stay by his parents "because I guess the prestige the school has." St. Luke's is more selective than either Metro State or Martinsville. One of the key factors that convinced David to stay at St. Luke's was that he was selected as a Resident Assistant (RA) for his sophomore year. As a RA David received free room and board and was able to move on-campus. Because neither of his parents went to college, David says it was difficult for them to understand why it was so important for him to live at St. Luke's. He says of his first year that he "would see everyone walking around having fun with all their friends and I was just waiting for class and then I'd leave. I just think they (his parents) didn't understand why I needed that social aspect."

Because he knew his parents wanted him to continue to live at home, and he knew they would not understand what being an RA entailed, he pursued the job without letting them know. After reading about the job on St. Luke's website he attended an information session about it that was offered by the Office of Residence Life:

I was done with class at noon that day and the information session was like at six, so I was sitting around all day...But it seemed interesting and it appealed to me. I applied to it and did all the interviewing and essays on my own. I did a lot of it without even telling my parents about it because they were unsure about me living on-campus to begin with. They didn't know why it was necessary because neither of them went to college...So I did a lot of it kind of under the radar until I got it. Then I told them I got it and I really wanted to do it. And at that point they really couldn't say no. I mean if I did all that work. You know what I mean?

Even though having the RA job has allowed David to live on-campus he still struggles to afford the costs associated with going to St. Luke's. He explains that, in addition to free housing, the RA job pays for his meals when he eats on-campus. He also says that he uses the stipend from the job to pay for his books. He says that the money he makes life guarding "that's cash for my car payments and car insurance...that's pretty much all I got."

David explains that because he is a local student, and his family expects him to come home fairly often, having a car is a necessity. He got the car when he was 16. When he got his license his parents allowed him to cash in savings bonds that he had been receiving as Christmas gifts from his great grandfather. He used the cash from the savings bonds as a down payment on the car. David's two older sisters got their cars the same way. They also make their own car payments and pay for

insurance. “We all have our own cars,” he said sarcastically. “We are all trapped with them now.”

While David was initially attracted to the RA position because of the free room and board, he says he is really passionate about the job now. David says that the RA job is very demanding and time consuming but he likes the fact that he is “considered a student leader.” He says “that looks good and feels good to me.” Besides being part of the RA staff and being considered a student leader, David really likes the responsibility associated with the job and the role he plays with his residents. He says an important part of the job has been “getting to know the 72 people that live on your floor and having them trust you and being responsible for them.” David takes pride in rising to the challenge of being an RA: “I really do feel like it is a lot of work, especially for a college student to be working among his peers. I think it will really help as you get older, and you have a professional job, you will be working among your peers.”

David went through most of his core courses and really did not find anything of interest to major in. He did well in his classes, particularly in writing and English classes. However, he did not really want to major in these subjects. He says he had a good advisor who pointed out the field of public relations. He is taking intro to public relations and really likes it. David is signed up for two more public relations classes next semester and is planning on majoring in communication. David sees a connection between his interest in the field of public relations and the skills he is developing as an RA: “I do think that being an RA that is pretty much all it is in a sense—public relations in a sense. I mean, building relationships or mending

relationships and keeping harmony on the floor. So I definitely think it influenced the job I hope to have.”

Between his job as a lifeguard and being a RA David does not have a great deal of time for other activities. Because he keeps his car on-campus his parents expect him to come home a lot. David is not planning to go abroad during his junior year. “It is not affordable to be honest,” he says. “I really have to keep a job here and I can’t see myself getting a job if I were going abroad.”

In summary, David is a working class student who has chosen to work two different on-campus jobs—as a lifeguard and RA. David commuted to campus his freshman year before he became an RA. As a commuter he lacked any positive social connection with the institution and considered transferring. David’s experiences appear to be influenced by institutional policies and characteristics (e.g., high tuition and high aid; availability of campus jobs; stipend for RA position). While he has benefited in tangible ways from both jobs, the RA position in particular has allowed him to develop his leadership skills and become part of the residential community. Both of these dimensions associated with his education outside the classroom are keys to his retention and success. David has benefited from guidance from mentors on the Residence Life staff and his faculty advisor. David will not study abroad because he feels he cannot afford it and he has to work.

Carlos

Carlos is a Latino working class student who is reticent to speak despite the fact that his English is quite strong. In many ways his story is atypical of St. Luke’s students in general, but even differs from that of other working class students at the

institution. He was recruited by St. Luke's to play Division I baseball. Carlos would have received a full scholarship, but just before the start of his freshmen year he blew out his ACL while trying out for a professional team. Even though his baseball scholarship fell through because of his injury, he was able to attend St. Luke's primarily because he now receives a large need based financial award from the institution and Pell Grant support from the federal government. Carlos estimates his parents' annual income to be between \$40,000 and \$49,000. His family has taken out a \$2,000 loan to support his education. Carlos does not receive any direct monetary support (other than the loan) from his family in order to attend St. Luke's.

Carlos is the son of first-generation immigrants from Latin America. He is from an urban area outside of a large city. Carlos's father commutes six days a week to the city where he works as a cook. His mother works as a teacher's assistant with special education students. Carlos's father never finished high school in Latin America. His mother attended a university in Latin America. She then completed an associate degree at a community college in her home state in order to be a teacher's aide. Despite being quiet by nature, Carlos spoke with conviction and passion concerning his parents' immigration to the United States:

Both of my parents are from pretty poor areas of Latin America. My Dad moved to Mexico when he was about 18 to work in the jean factory, and then went to California. My Mom went to college in Latin America and then she moved to Texas and that's where they married. Then they moved to [a large city in the northeast] and my mom continued studying. My dad started work at Johnnie's [pseudonym for a restaurant]. He's been working there ever since he moved to the United States. My mom used to work as a cleaning lady in an apartment [in the city]. The lady who owned the apartment helped my parents get papers to get their citizenship here. So they have been through that. My Mom was very grateful for that.

Both Carlos and his sister, who is 15, have been employed with his mom in her aftercare job where they work with special education students. Carlos explains that this was the only job he ever held prior to coming to St. Luke's:

I used to go Monday, Wednesday, Friday and work those days with my mom and I would get paid through the Board of Education. I used to do that, and over the summer I used to help my mom with the summer camp with special education children. That's really the only job experience before this...was the special education children.

Even though it is apparent that Carlos' parents guarded against him and his sister working too much while they were going to school, he speaks with a sense of appreciation and resignation about how hard they work. His father has worked as a cook in the same restaurant in city for 23 years. Carlos says that when his family was in the city they lived in the basement of one of the employees of the restaurant. Carlos says that his father has remained there, despite the long commute, out of loyalty. Carlos says his dad has remained so loyal to the owner of the restaurant because he hired his dad and his uncle when they were illegal immigrants. Carlos' father commutes to his job in the city every day and works "from four in the afternoon to about three in the morning." Carlos says "Wednesday is his only day off."

Carlos' mom works at a local elementary school as a teacher's aide, and also works in an aftercare program for special education children three days a week as well as a camp for these students during the summer. Carlos says that his mom is "actually considering getting another job over the summer...maybe working at Giants stadium I think it was." Carlos says that once his mother received citizenship she was able to bring his grandmother from Latin America to live with them. He explains that

his grandmother also works as a cook at a before school and after school program for “underprivileged children who go to school and they have nowhere else to go...like if their parents are working.” Carlos explains that in addition to working hard to support their family, his parents still “have a lot of family members living in Latin America, so we send money back just to help them out.”

Even though Carlos suffered an injury before he ever started playing baseball at St. Luke’s, he has been able to stay close to the baseball team through his work-study job. Carlos works as the team manager. He estimates that he works between 11 and 15 hours per week as manager but he says “it’s a very flexible job...I don’t have any set hours.” He explains that sometimes he helps set-up drills during practice. He also assists with game day preparation and recruiting. Lately he has been working with game film. He explains “actually right now I’m working on the highlight video...so he’s (the head coach) like you don’t have to come in for three hours, you can just go and work on the video somewhere else.” Even though his job is very flexible, Carlos says that one of the only draw backs is that he sometimes misses class because he travels with the team. “I have to travel with the team...so I miss a lot of classes. Last semester I missed a lot of Friday classes ‘cause usually the team travels Thursday afternoon until Sunday.”

Even though the work that Carlos does with the baseball team does not seem excessive, he says it helps him avoid more debt. Of working he says, “It’s a way to have more money for college...Last year I had some scholarships because I actually played baseball...Now it’s different. It’s either like a scholarship or I get a loan, and my parents really don’t want a loan right now.” Carlos explains that he does not have

the job in order to pay back his \$2,000 loan but instead to prevent his family from needing to borrow more to support his college attendance.

Even though Carlos says that if he wanted to go into coaching his job would be great experience, he is not thinking he will pursue coaching as a profession. One of the main benefits he seems to get out of the job is the camaraderie with the players. For Carlos his work-study job as manager is how he was able to stay connected to the team:

I really wanted to be part of the team 'cause I was with the team since August of my freshman year. It was a great time, like all the guys were really nice. It (the job) was a great way to continue just being with them and talking with the coach.

For Carlos the social benefit of being connected to the team is not only significant because these were student athletes that he knew when he came to St. Luke's, but also because the team represents a unique subculture at St. Luke's. The baseball team at St. Luke's has many international players and for Carlos this seems to have eased his transition to a campus that lacks diversity or a significant international population.

He says of his teammates that:

I roomed with them (other players); last year with all baseball guys. Two were from Texas and one is from Delaware, but he's originally from Columbia...One of them actually quit...and it seems like he's not sort of with us...when we go to the team breakfast or team lunch...It would just seem different if I didn't go to those things with the baseball guys.

Despite such a tight connection with the baseball team, Carlos's academic path at St. Luke's seems unusually independent. He says, "I'm actually a theology and classics double major...I'm planning to go to graduate school." Carlos explains that when he first became interested in majoring in Theology one of his mentors was the

chair of the Department. Of his evolving relationship with this faculty member Carlos says, “I told him I thought about majoring in this, and he’s been pretty helpful. He’s a pretty well known bible scholar in New Testament and he said if I know the languages it’s gonna be a lot easier to get into graduate school.” By “the languages” Carlos is referring to the Latin, Greek, and other ancient languages he will have to take in order to complete his majors.

Carlos explains that while he always has been interested in reading and thinking about scripture, the study of ancient languages has been difficult:

I’ve actually never taken any languages before (laughter)...yeah I speak Spanish at home. I learned Spanish and speak English and my friends taught me Portuguese. I have to learn ancient Greek and Latin...A lot of students (at St. Luke’s) have already taken Latin or Greek in high school...I’ve never taken any formal language because in high school I always took the easy way out. Took the Spanish, get the A (laughter). But I actually wanted to learn something, so I actually started last semester taking Greek and Latin and it was a struggle. But this semester it’s been better. I’m actually taking Hebrew right now.

Since becoming a Theology major Carlos has made connections with a number of faculty

in the Department and with several priests in Campus Ministry. These individuals seem to have given Carlos consistent encouragement and advice. “I’ve been talking to a couple professors. I talked to them a lot to see what possibilities I have to go to graduate school. They said first, financially that I wouldn’t have a problem. That knowing the languages would help a lot.” Carlos mentioned that he is even thinking of applying to Yale, Duke and possibly Princeton Divinity schools.

Carlos's interest in Theology has extended beyond the classroom. He is an officer in the Theology club. This is a small organization with "only about ten people." Their activities include attending "different churches to see different forms of worship." He says that they are starting their own journal. Each member will submit an article he explains. In addition, Carlos participated in the Community Service Center's Jamaican experience. Despite some exposure to international travel (in addition to going to Jamaica Carlos has visited family in Latin America) Carlos is not planning on studying abroad during his junior year. He said, "I wanted to go to Belgium, but I just decided it would be better to stay here...I could actually get some money I think, working with the team." Recently, Carlos' contacts in the Theology Department, and his involvement in extra-curricular activities of the Department, presented him with the opportunity to change campus jobs. The Theology Department "offered him a work-study (job) next year because a student was going abroad." Yet, Carlos noted that he will keep his job with the baseball team as a way to keep one foot in each of these social worlds.

Despite the fact that Carlos seems settled on his choice of a major, and resigned to the fact that he will be unable to play baseball again, there appears to be some tension with his father about his choice of a major and disagreement about whether he can play again. When Carlos first came to St. Luke's he was going to major in biology and go to medical school. Carlos did pretty well in biology his freshmen year but says that his plans to go to medical school waned when he took chemistry. Even though Carlos has a difficult time acknowledging his father's disapproval for his plans to major in theology, it is apparent when he says:

Either baseball or doctor, cause in Latin America...it's different...if you have like a doctor or something you're considered a very professional person in Latin America. They respect you very much. And they're (his parents) sort of looking for respect I guess. But I find a lot of interest in theology for me, and scriptures. I really love reading the bible, everyday. And that's been...helpful in my transformation through life I think.

Carlos's dad does not appear to have adjusted to the idea that he might go to divinity school instead of medical school. Carlos says that his father thinks that there are some colleges that do joint degree programs: "He's like maybe you could do theology and still do..." Carlos' father seems to be holding on to his previous aspirations. Carlos believes that his parents are mostly concerned that he chooses a profession that will provide him a secure future. He states, "they just don't want me to live like they did, working hard. They just want me to have enough, like live comfortable."

In summary, Carlos is a working class student who has chosen an on-campus job working with the baseball team. He strongly identifies socially with this team. His academic and co-curricular choices are both independent of his economic background (e.g., he will major in theology and classics despite the fact that this differs from his parents' aspirations for him) and seem to be directly influenced by it (e.g., he will not go to Belgium in order to stay home and make money). St. Luke's financial aid policies and on-campus job opportunities, as well as access to caring and engaging faculty and priests, have strongly influenced his college experiences and retention thus far.

Taylor

Taylor is a working class student from a suburban area located four and a half hours from St. Luke's. While he has always lived in this area, Taylor "moved around a lot as a kid." Taylor is stocky and he has a scruffy beard and wears thick glasses. Taylor likes to play computer games and started the Historic Swordsmanship Club at St. Luke's. Taylor seemed like the type of student who would have difficulty fitting into the mainstream student culture socially, but nonetheless had found his own niche.

Taylor has no contact with his father who left his mother when he was very young. Taylor knows that his father completed high school but he knows nothing about his current occupation or where he is living. Taylor's mom has a mental handicap and finished high school by getting her GED. Taylor's mom works as a bus matron for a county school district. Specifically, Taylor explains that his mom supervises children with disabilities on one of the buses. When Taylor is at home he lives with his mom, grandparents, and his uncle. Taylor estimates his mom's total income as between \$30,000 and \$ 40,000 per year. Taylor receives a Pell Grant of \$ 4,310 per year from the federal government. He estimates that he receives approximately \$ 30,000 per year in need based grants and work-study from St. Luke's. Taylor estimates that he takes out loans in the amount of \$ 9,000 per year which he intends to repay himself.

While Taylor indicated that his family does not contribute anything to his college, he also noted that his extended family, particularly his grandparents, helps with his incidental expenses. His financial aid package was one of the critical pieces in determining if he would go to St. Luke's. Taylor said, "We don't have the most

money in my family so one of the biggest things was always if I could go there and if I could get enough money to go there.” Taylor explains that in applying to college and for financial aid he really had to depend on his uncle. He says, “My uncle was the first person in my family to go to college so he basically had to do the whole process himself and he has really helped me through a lot of it.”

Taylor worked a variety of jobs during high school. He started working “as soon as possible” and said that he has “an overdeveloped sense of responsibility.” Taylor’s jobs in high school included working as a camp counselor, supervising kids in an after school program, and working for a catering company. He said that when he worked catering it was only “2 days a week, but it was for 12 hours straight.” The last job that Taylor had during high school was at ShopRite, where he stocked shelves and assisted customers. He had this job until he started college and continues to work there during his breaks from school and over the summer.

When he first came to St. Luke’s Taylor worked briefly for Phone-A-Thon, a job where students solicit funds from alumni over the phone. He felt that at Phone-A-Thon “the pressure was really high.” While his job at Phone-A-Thon offered a few incentives that allowed students to earn more money, Taylor says “they were very inflexible about them.” Taylor was unhappy about this and quit his job with Phone-A-Thon toward the end of his first semester.

After leaving his job at Phone-A-Thon, Taylor was able to find a job as a desk assistant in his residence hall. Taylor says that his job as a desk assistant is “such an easy job.” Taylor says because shifts as a desk assistant are available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, they never conflict with his classes. He says that occasionally he

might have to work from “12 AM to 4 AM or 4 AM to 8 AM but aside from that there’s not many big sacrifices.” Taylor says that the job itself “doesn’t have a lot of responsibility, I am just sort of a buffer really.” One of the difficult parts of the job can be the conflict that arises when other students do not have their ID to check in to the residence hall or do not want to check in their guests as is required by policy. Even then Taylor says that “if there’s a big problem with students you call Campus Police and they take care of it.” By contrast to his job at Phone-A-Thon, Taylor’s job as a desk assistant is a “really casual job.” Taylor believes that while there is a variety of jobs on-campus, it is possible to pick the job that fits your personality and your purposes for working. He explains his rationale for being a desk assistant this way:

I have a friend that works with the Community Service Center and he’s pretty religious and he’s very into community and things like that, and that’s the kind of job for him. Whereas, I suppose for myself personally I’m just looking to get a little bit of pocket change...and being a desk assistant is a very casual job...I have plenty of time to study. Even when I am at work, I can get some work done.

Taylor uses his “pocket change” to support having a car on-campus. Between his work-study job and his job at ShopRite, Taylor is able to afford the insurance on the car. Taylor says that he needs to have the car and enough cash to pay for gas “in case something goes wrong...in case I need to go back home for anything.” However, Taylor says that he primarily uses the money that he earns on the job “for my own recreation.” In terms of his own recreation Taylor says that he buys movies and video games, but mostly he buys personal equipment for his recreational interest in sword fighting. Recently he has purchased “protective gear” and “an aluminum sword to practice with.”

Taylor has declared his major as sociology. Taylor says that “he came into school as writing major” but that he switched because he thought as a writer it would be “a hard career to get off the ground.” Taylor says that he became a sociology major primarily because “he had a very good professor last semester.” He said that he really liked “the way she taught” and that he really enjoyed the material. He said “I would actually be upset when I didn’t have time to actually read it because of work for my other classes.” While Taylor says that he does not think that his part-time jobs had any influence on the major he chose, he does say that he thinks it makes working as a desk assistant and at ShopRite more interesting. He says, “sociology is all about people and how they interact and no matter what profession you’re in, unless you’re in a cubicle 24-7..., you’re going to have to interact with people.”

Taylor has decided that he is not going to go abroad. One of the reasons for this is that it was a big deal for his family when he decided to go away for college. He does not think they would understand it if he went abroad and could not come home when he was needed. Of his decision concerning study abroad he says:

It’s not really as big on my list of priorities as it is for other people. I’m just perfectly fine staying where I am. I moved around a lot as a kid, so I’m fine just setting my roots so to speak...It was a really big adjustment when I moved away for college.

Taylor’s extracurricular interests have really focused on his creation of the Historical Swordsmanship Club. Taylor says that he has been interested in martial arts for a long time:

Basically if I had to go way, way back, I got picked on a lot because I always moved around...I was always the new kid, so I got into martial arts, and it was really interesting to me...I had a talent for it. So I’ve been going to different schools off and on for years...This is just a different style for me, especially with the long sword there’s hand-to-

hand techniques. This is one aspect of it...my involvement in martial arts.

Through starting the Swordsmanship Club at St. Luke's Taylor has developed his organizational and management skills. Of the skills and talents that were required of him to get his club off the ground Taylor says:

I see this as my work and I feel as though I have taken more from this than I have from any job that actually paid me—both on a skill level and a personal level. I have had to deal with the administration—both cooperation with them and resistance with them. I've had to acquire managerial skills pretty quickly. I had to manage funds. I had to recruit. I had to make sure we had space and times to meet, and at the same time...I learned that this is something that I really love to do. I love to teach people what I know...I could definitely see myself opening up a martial arts school and doing this for a living.

For Taylor one of the associations that evolved from starting a club at St. Luke's was the relationship that he developed with an affiliate member of the faculty. Each club that is recognized at St. Luke's has to have a faculty moderator. Taylor explained the unexpected way that he found a moderator for his club:

I was screwing around before I actually knew anything [about swordsmanship] on the quad with one of my roommates. He [the member of the faculty] actually came over when he was walking across campus. The funny thing was I was about to e-mail him that night because I had heard that he was possibly involved in some kind of sword fighting organization...He came over and was like 'no that's not how you do it' and he showed us some of the sword fighting techniques.

While Taylor does not think that his family has played much of a role in his academic and career interests, he does think that he has learned a lot about work from each member of his extended family. Taylor says that "I guess if anything the way that they've inspired me is that no matter what job each one of them has they do their hardest at it and they excel at it as well." Taylor believes that while his mom "has a

fairly simple job” he sees that “she loves working with kids on the bus and helping out” and he has drawn inspiration from the pride she takes in her work. Taylor’s grandmother works at a hospital as a nurse’s assistant and he admires her patience and tolerance for working with “people in the worst parts of their lives.” Taylor’s grandfather has had a variety of jobs “where he works with his hands.” Taylor says that “I really admire people that work with their hands because they don’t really get any glory...but sometimes they keep the wheels kind of rolling.” Finally, Taylor indicates that it is his uncle that helped him the most in making his college choice and figuring out how to finance his education. He says, “my uncle is a little bit more like the way my family sees me.” Taylor explains that his uncle is “an intellectual and he’s a lawyer.”

In summary, Taylor is a working class student who chose a job as a desk assistant in one of St. Luke’s residence halls. Taylor’s choice of St. Luke’s was influenced by institutional policy (e.g., availability of need based aid and work-study job). However, his selection of his job appears to have been influenced by convenience and his ability to study when he is at work. Taylor’s extracurricular involvement in starting a club has allowed him to pursue his recreational interest and to develop organizational and management skills. Taylor’s college choices also appear to be influenced by his extended family. His extracurricular involvement has introduced him to an affiliate member of the faculty.

Paul

Paul is an African American working class student. Paul is from a suburban area from a bordering state and has lived on-campus since coming to St. Luke's. Paul is "commuting" to St. Luke's even though his home is over two hours away. Despite this, he knew a lot about the institution and had made many connections during his time there. Paul is often critical of the institutions' lack of socioeconomic diversity.

Paul's father is a high school graduate who he describes as self-employed. His father does not provide financial support for his education and Paul has only sporadic contact with him. Paul's mother is also a high school graduate who was a clerical worker before she went on disability. When he is home from school Paul lives with his mother and grandmother. Paul estimates his family's annual income to be between \$10,000 and \$15,000 based on his mother's disability. Paul receives a combination of need based and merit aid from St. Luke's for students of color in the amount of \$32,000 and another \$8,000 in the form of a Pell Grant. Paul covers the rest of his college costs by working. He works as many as 30 hours per week, sometimes more.

During high school Paul worked at Starbucks. His work there almost seemed to be an extension of his social life in high school. He says, "Starbucks was cool. First of all it was a cool job. I loved it. A lot of my friends worked there." Despite working as many as 15 hours per week during his junior and senior year, Paul was able to serve as Student Government President at his high school. Paul was even able to become a "shift leader" at the store during his senior year. Then after graduation

from high school, during the summer, he got a job at a printing business in the largest city near his home town. He commuted about 20 minutes each way for this job.

Paul's first campus job at St. Luke's was with Technology Services. He says that even though the Director of User Services understood that he did not have "many skills as far as computers are concerned" he hired him because he was thinking about becoming an MIS (Management Information Systems) major. Paul received a work-study job as part of his financial aid package and when he was on-campus for summer orientation he saw a job listed with Technology Services. He said he chose the job "because it was a higher pay [than other work-study options] and I knew I was going to get the job that makes the most money possible." Paul switched his work-study job his sophomore year and went to work for Admissions because the work was with multicultural recruitment efforts and this interested him. In his new job Paul works with undergraduate multicultural recruitment. Paul explains that he has significant responsibility for planning events for prospective minority students. He says that his "boss" in Admissions "basically leaves me in charge of a lot of things." He explains that one of the main initiatives he has worked on is a program where prospective multicultural students spend a weekend at St. Luke's and "shadow" a current student of color. He explains this program is important "because it is different coming from a minority student perspective and a majority student perspective."

In addition to his job with Admissions, Paul works off-campus at the Gap. The Gap store that he works at is located in a major shopping mall that is about 15 minutes from campus. Paul says that he got the job because he was shopping at the store and one of the sales managers recruited him:

I was at the mall...buying a new t-shirt. And one of the guys who was working there was like 'you should get a job here'...And I was like 'yeah,' and he happened to be one of the hiring managers...I had no idea how I was gonna go back and forth between (the mall) but I was like 'OK, I'll do it.' So I interviewed and got the job.

Paul's job at the Gap pays well (he now makes \$ 9 per hour). In addition, Paul likes the job because it helps him afford things that help him fit in at St. Luke's. To begin with, Paul explains that his job allowed him to buy a car:

I got my car...I started working at the Gap in January. I got my car in May. I was like 'OK I have pretty decent credit because I've had credit cards since I started school'...So, I went to a car dealership and I just took the money I had saved up and used it as a down payment on a car cause I was running back and forth, and the bus system here is not great at all.

Paul explains that besides needing the car to get to his job, having the car on-campus has enhanced his social life. He says, "It (owning a car) definitely makes you fit in more...people call you because they need to go somewhere." In addition to allowing him to buy a car, Paul likes the job at the Gap because he gets a discount on clothes. He explains that "this school is very big on name brands, so name brand clothing is a big thing and that's expensive." He says that once he started working at the Gap he was able to "buy clothes and look nice and that sort of thing." In addition to the Gap he "met people who work in the mall so I get discounts at other stores too." In fact, Paul explains that part of the reason that he works so much is because of the consumer culture at St. Luke's:

But now I work so much because like, here at St. Luke's, it's kind of the social climate...that most people have a lot of money. So it tends to be that if you don't then you don't hang out as much or if you don't then...you don't necessarily fit in...But just to be one of the typical kids you have money or whatever, so I work so I can have money in my pocket at different times.

Besides holding down his job as a work-study with Admissions and working at the Gap, Paul began his sophomore year as an RA. However, he resigned the position at mid-year due to conflict with the Residence Life staff. He explained that:

I was working very hard as an RA. Trying to make sure my residents were OK, trying to make sure I was doing everything that was supposed to be done. And I felt like it wasn't...that wasn't the case across the board. And when I tried to talk to people about it I got the run around. And I don't like to be part of something I can't stand behind.

The consequence of leaving the RA job in the middle of the year was that he suddenly had a bill to pay for spring housing. He explains that when he got the RA job it reduced the "amount of loan" he took out. Quitting the RA job meant that Paul would suddenly have to pay for on-campus housing and he says "it was \$4,000 I didn't have, so I decided to commute." Paul explains that he usually only commutes home (more than two hours each way) three days per week. His sister attends another private school that is located less than a mile from St. Luke's and sometimes he stays with her or with friends on-campus.

Despite the fact that Paul says that he does pretty well in school he acknowledges that the amount of hours he works and his commute is affecting his grades:

My grades have suffered and I haven't done as well as I think I could. What ends up happening is that I have to work and then I'll have a club to be at or something like that and then if I have time I'll spend some time with a friend. And what ends up happening are that the only thing I can really sacrifice on is studying...I am getting better with it. I have planned next year to be less involved with extra-curriculars on-campus because I just feel I need to get my academics in order.

Paul is a business major with a concentration in management and information systems. He also is considering going to law school. For this reason, he is pursuing a political science minor. Despite the fact that he works so much Paul is not planning to take fewer courses and stay in school longer. Paul says that: "My plan is to graduate in four years. Hopefully that works out the way I want it to. Because I want to minor in Political Science, if I am not finished with my minor then I probably won't graduate in 4 years." He explains that part of the reason for this is that no Political Science courses are offered at St. Luke's during the summer.

Paul has been very involved as a leader with the Black Students Association (BSA) and the office of Asian, Latino, African American, and Native American students (ALANA). He explains that his work with Admissions enabled him to be the President and Founder of the Multicultural Outreach program and he also is the chair of the social affairs committee for the BSA. This past fall he served as a mentor for a first-year student of color through the ALANA office.

While Paul has not completely ruled it out, he seemed doubtful that he will go abroad in the traditional sense: "I was thinking about going abroad next spring. But I think I'm gonna do a study tour instead because again if I go abroad...I won't be making any money while I'm abroad." As a business major Paul is required to complete two out of four co-curricular experiences. These include study abroad, study tour, internship, and service learning. Paul thinks that he will do an internship and the study tour. He explains that even though the study tour is expensive (he thinks it costs between \$4,000 and \$5,000) it only lasts for two weeks and therefore he will not miss as much work. Paul resents the fact that the Business School has co-

curricular requirements saying that they do not take into “account that there are people that have to work for money.” He explains that while studying abroad for a semester is common place at St. Luke’s, “not everyone’s parents can support them being in another country with the exchange rate being the way it is.”

Paul’s relationship with his father was strained because he chose to come to St. Luke’s. Paul says that he was admitted to all seven colleges that he applied to and his father really wanted him to go to Land Grant State [a pseudonym]. Paul explained that when he visited St. Luke’s he really liked the school but his father disapproved of the choice:

My Dad really wanted me to go to Land Grant State and I didn’t want to go to Land Grant State. So we compromised, and he was like ‘OK. Why don’t you go to National?’ [a pseudonym]. He was against me going to St. Luke’s. He said from what he knew, St. Luke’s was a school where rich kids wasted their parents’ money. I saw the school totally different. I came here, and stayed here for a weekend. I thought it was a great community and I liked it a lot. And it was where I wanted to go. And his answer was: ‘If that’s what you want to do then that’s fine. But if you go there, I’m not going to support you with school. You’re going to have to figure it out.’

Paul’s relationship with his mother is good but because she is on disability she cannot support his education either. It appears that Paul’s greatest support has been his grandmother. He explains that while his grandmother did not go to college she knows a lot about the process. Paul says his grandmother works for the state and that “she works for the division of families and one of her jobs is she helps these kids that come in...helps them find education...helps them to find grants and things like that.” Paul’s grandmother knew how to fill out the FASFA form, for example. Paul says, “The FASFA form is very, very confusing.” In addition, St. Luke’s also requires students to fill out a separate profile and Paul says “it was just very confusing and I

wasn't sure, you know, like the different terms that they use...and I wasn't sure what I was supposed to put...but she (his Grandmother) knew all the information and she helped me fill it out.”

In addition to assistance from his grandmother, Paul seems to get help navigating college from other extended family members as well. He specifically mentions academic advice he has received from two of his cousins:

I have a cousin who's in law school right now who has given me great advice on different things. A cousin who works in MIS...she actually works at the Pentagon. She gives me advice on different things, on what certifications I'm going to need to get.

In addition to extended family Paul mentions two specific adult mentors. He says that his former 8th grade math teacher has helped him decide his academic course of study:

She was the one who told me that you don't have to major in Political Science. Don't be pigeon holed into that just because you want to go to law school. She was the one who told me to pick my major based on my classes. If I like the classes then take them.

Finally, Paul explains that meeting the Director of ALANA Services when he first visited campus and establishing that relationship really helped him with his choice. In fact Paul says that part of the reason that he chose St. Luke's was the connection that was made between the Director of ALANA Services and his grandmother. He says that “she influenced me to go to St. Luke's because she came on my tour with me and met Howard Barker (the Director of ALANA Services—a pseudonym) and ALANA services...and she loved it here.”

While the amount of work that Paul does during the academic year does seem like a distraction, some of what he is learning on the job appears to be shaping his

career choice. Despite the fact that his current major is technical in its orientation, he is not looking for an internship in the IT field. He states that he is looking into internships with a big retail chain: “They are called Urban Outfitters and I was looking into their internship programs. They actually have internships in MIS but I’m working in retail right now so...it influenced things.”

In summary, Paul is a working class student who has had more than one job on- campus and works off-campus as well. His current work-study job, with the office of Admissions, seems aligned with his extra-curricular interest in issues of diversity and multiculturalism. His off-campus job pulls him away from the campus and is motivated by his financial situation, but also reflects his need to fit in with peers of greater means (e.g., his job helps him afford name brand clothes and allowed him to by a car). Paul was likely a top student at his high school, but he himself acknowledges that his grades have suffered because of how much he works. Paul’s choices seem to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., his decision to leave the RA position adds to his cost of attendance; choice of study tour over study abroad is necessitated by the need to work; St. Luke’s peer culture affects his desire to work). While Paul has mentors in the ALANA office, he most often seeks guidance and support from his extended family (e.g., his grandmother and cousins).

Middle-Class Students and their Jobs

This section of the chapter presents six case summaries of the middle-class students selected for the study. These students were selected based on the criterion described in Chapter Three and outlined in Table 3.3 (page, 80). The case summaries describe each student’s work, academic and co-curricular choices. These case

summaries establish the student’s employment history and identify elements of their personal background that shape their choices about work and school. Table 4.15 is a summary of each student’s job(s), hours worked per week, and academic and co-curricular choices. In addition to meeting the classification of “middle-class,” subjects were selected in order to represent as much variation in the type of employment they held as possible.

Table 4.15: Middle-Class Students’ Work, Academic and Co-Curricular Choices

Student	Job(s)		Hours	Major	Abroad
	On-Campus	Off-campus			
Emma	Office Assistant (Residence Life)		11-15	Business	Leuven
Katy	Campus Events		21-25	Business	Beijing
Claire		Waitress	21-25	Communications	No
Alex	Campus Events		16-20	English	Auckland
Chris	RA; Office Assistant (Campus Ministry)		11-15	Secondary Ed.	Transferring
Red	RA	Sales Associate (GNC)	26-30	Business	New Castle

Emma

Emma is a middle-class student from a community in a neighboring state to St. Luke’s. She is a serious student and has been focused on academics since the first day on-campus. Emma’s mother attended community college in order to become a nurse. Her father attended a trade school after high school and he owns his own pool mechanical business. Emma’s mother is not currently working because she is caring for her younger sister after she had back surgery. Emma estimates her father’s annual income from his pool business to be between \$60,000 and \$ 75,000. Emma receives a merit scholarship of \$25,880 per year from St. Luke’s and takes out \$15,000 per year in loans. She says her parents contribute about \$4,000 primarily for her food and she contributes \$1,000 per year toward her education from her work-study job.

Emma did not work a lot during high school. She says that she mostly “focused on school and sports.” She explains that after her sophomore year in high

school she became a lifeguard. She says “over the summer, since then, I have worked every summer.” Even though she received work-study as part of her financial aid package, Emma did not work during her first semester on-campus at St. Luke’s. She says candidly that: “I’m the oldest child, so I didn’t have any brothers or sisters telling me what college was like. So I kind of wanted to get used to it...and make sure I was doing OK in school and then start working.”

After getting the first semester under her belt, Emma found a job in the office of Residence Life. Emma says “I think I actually just went into Residence Life asking if they knew of any work-study jobs, and they had an opening.” She works between 11 and 15 hours per week during the term. Emma works quite a lot as a lifeguard in the summer and tries to save money from that, but she says that her work-study job primarily is for spending money for “going out or buying groceries...stuff like that.” Even though Emma has a car, she says that it is old and was handed down to her by her parents and they do not owe anything on the vehicle. She says that her mom usually pays for car insurance and the only thing that she pays for is the gas. Emma’s parents also pay for her cell phone. Some of what Emma earns does go toward her books, but her parents pick-up most of those cost and pay for her meal plan.

Even though Emma did not work during her first semester out of concern for her academics, she has not found it difficult to manage having an on-campus job and her studies. She says “it’s a job but it’s still a break from studying or class.” She also says that “it’s easy to manage because occasionally I can get some homework done at work.” Emma says that one of the draw backs of her campus job is that it does not

pay very much. However, she really likes getting to know college staff through her job. She says “everyone in the office is really nice...I get to meet new people.”

Emma describes her work saying “I do a lot of simple office work...Like I answer phones, I answer people’s questions...A lot of filing, like there’s judicial files and housing files.”

Even though Emma does not seem to think that much of what she does on her job is relevant to her classes or to a future career, she does believe she is developing conflict resolution skills. She often has to answer phone calls from parents of other students. Because the office handles student conduct, often the parents that call are angry. Emma explains:

I have to talk to people well and communicate on the phone...and help people with problems...Sometimes people call and will be angry and you...can’t always talk them down, but you kind of have to be able to deal with it...I think it kind of helps in that aspect...just dealing with people.

Emma says that it was difficult at first to be a student responding to irate parents. However, Emma says now that she has developed skills in this area “I kind of almost like the challenge a little bit.”

Emma makes more money in the summer as a life guard than she does in her campus job. She feels that she earns that pay because as a beach life guard there is a lot of responsibility. She says that she works “eight hours a day, five days a week.” Emma tries to save from her guarding job for expenses she has during the school year. Despite the fact that she believes she could make more money during the school year if she worked at an off-campus job, she really likes the convenience of working on-campus.

Emma is a business major with a concentration in economics. She also is completing a minor in math. Emma decided on her major even before she got her job with Residence Life, and so she does not really see any specific relevance of her job to her major. She does not really know yet what she wants to do with her degree but she does feel her job has taught her time management skills and responsibility. She is pretty sure that these skills will be helpful when she looks for an internship.

Emma's main extra-curricular activity has been club lacrosse. She explains that she played lacrosse all through high school, but never considered playing at St. Luke's because the program is division I. She thought about trying out for the intercollegiate team when she was a freshmen but she says that "I think if I played (varsity) I wouldn't be able to work or even do a lot of other things." She says that even "club lacrosse takes up a good amount of time." She says that "we have practice a few nights a week and games on weekends." She explains that being on club team also means travel and being away from campus. "We actually were away all last weekend for a tournament."

Emma has decided to spend her whole junior year abroad in Belgium. She says "It'll be a big change...I've never been out of the country, so it will be an experience." Giving up her campus job in order to go abroad was not a deterrent for Emma. She says "I think I'll be able to get the job again when I come back." She also is thinking that she might want to work

off-campus when she returns. She anticipates she will need to work her senior year “especially after going abroad, I’ll be spending money going abroad.”

Emma is planning on taking full advantage of being in Belgium for the year. In addition to going to school at St. Luke’s program in Leuven, Emma plans to travel as much as she can. For this reason, Emma’s year abroad has motivated Emma to work more before she leaves and she is contemplating taking out more loans in order to afford the experience:

I think that I might have my guarding job and then have a waitressing job for nights. That way I could save more...I want to save as much as I can. I probably won’t be able to save enough. I mean I’ve heard from information sessions (on study abroad) what people tend to spend. It’ll probably be more than I have saved, and I may have to take out a little bit of a loan for that. I’ve talked to my parents about that and I feel like it will be a good experience. It will be something to do. If I go to Belgium, I might as well do the traveling and see as much as I can see.

Emma is fortunate in that she is going to be able to take a number of courses for her major while she is in Belgium. While she has not settled on a career, the idea of studying business while she is overseas seems to be influencing her thinking: “Like being in a different country...I’ll be open to new experiences and new kinds of things to do in business...I was actually thinking about maybe I could get an internship abroad over the next summer.”

While Emma does not explicitly state that her middle-class parents struggle to afford St. Luke’s, it is clear that the interruption in her mother’s employment and the seasonal nature of her father’s work make it difficult. She explains:

Since now...my dad has his own business, it's very seasonal. I mean like in pools a lot of his income comes in the summer. So summer is always fine, but every once in a while in winter he does a lot of stuff on the side, like he'll do electrical stuff. So he has money coming in the winter but...We kind of have to budget a little bit over the rest of the year.

Emma's father's ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit have influenced Emma in obvious ways. She says:

My dad worked for a pool company and did lots of technical stuff and now has his own business...I always liked technical stuff. I like computers and he got me into that...Now he has his own business, not that I necessarily want my own business, but that may be why I got into business.

Even though her father's influence is clear, Emma expresses a desire to succeed in business in order to have a more secure future than her parents.

She articulates this less as a measure of social mobility and more in terms of comfort and social status. She says of her future career in business:

I mean if I have a good business job, it's not even so much to make more but I'd like a good business job kind of like for the prestige more, and also it comes with making money. That would be a good thing, and not having to worry about paying bills or anything.

In summary, Emma is a middle-class student who receives a significant merit scholarship from St. Luke's. Nonetheless, due to her family circumstances Emma and her parents still struggle to afford St. Luke's. Even though Emma did not work right away when she came to campus, her choice of an on-campus job is related to institutional practices (e.g., availability of work-study jobs; availability of scholarships and loans). Emma's academic choices also appear to be influenced by St. Luke's policies and characteristics (e.g., leave of absence from campus job for study abroad). Emma's extra-curricular choices are related to her abilities and talents

as well as institutional characteristics (e.g., she chooses club lacrosse over varsity so that she can work). Interestingly, despite expressing some financial hardship some of Emma's choices appear to be influenced by the peer culture of the relative affluence at the institution (e.g., she is willing to work more and borrow in order to afford a whole year abroad). Her campus job has allowed her to develop important conflict resolution skills and introduces her to administrators who serve as role models and mentors.

Katy

Katy is a middle-class student from out of state. Her hometown is located in a small town in a suburban area approximately four hours from St. Luke's. She has a soft-spoken assuredness and an impressive early career focus. Her interest in accounting was central to her choosing St. Luke's due to its strong programs in business. In addition, she is confident in her place at the institution as a "non-Catholic" Christian, and she appears to have been drawn to the school in part because of its faith based mission.

Katy's father attended college and majored in business. He is a CPA with a mid-size firm. Katy's mom graduated from high school but did not attend college. Katy has a younger sister and her mother was a "stay at home mom" during their elementary school and high school years. Now Katy's mom is a teacher's aide at an elementary school in Katy's hometown. Katy's mom has lived her whole life in the small town where Katy grew up.

Katy estimates her parents' annual income as between \$60,000 and \$75,000. She explains that their burden for financing her education increased dramatically this

past academic year when Katy's sister started college. Katy receives a need based grant (which she explains increased when her sister started college) and a merit award from St. Luke's. Her financial aid from these two sources totals \$29,800. She also takes out a loan in the amount of \$7,000 per year. She estimates that her parents contribute \$2,500 per year toward her college costs and she contributes \$3,500 from work.

Katy explains that she worked very little during the school year when she was in high school. She says, "I just worked during the summer...I mean every once in awhile I would baby sit but for the most part I just focused on my studies." In addition to her studies, Katy was quite involved in a variety of activities after school and on weekends. During high school Katy was in band and in three different choirs, went to church regularly and played on the tennis team. She believes that "trying to fit a job schedule into all of that, plus homework, would have been way too much to handle."

Even though Katy did not work during the school year in high school, she held a job at a local amusement park during the summer. She worked in the retail department the first summer she was there. She helped "keeping the store clean, restocking, and running the cash registers." Katy proved herself a responsible employee and she says that in the "two subsequent years I worked in cash control at the same amusement park." This involved a significant amount of responsibility for a teenager in that each day she went to the "vault" and was responsible for reconciling the "revenue from the previous day." Her other responsibilities included "bringing

change out” and “doing pickups when our food cash drawers had too much cash in them.”

Katy found a job doing community service for three hours a week during her first semester at St. Luke’s. She says that she had received work-study as part of her financial aid package and found this “volunteer job” that was a paid position. She says that seemed “a little bit of a conundrum.” Katy left her job with the Community Service Center after the first term because she was looking for an on-campus job that would provide more hours. She says, “I was a bit concerned about how I would be able to handle collegiate level work and whether I would have enough time between studying and other activities to really be able to handle a part-time job.” However, after her first term Katy discovered that she could “use a little more cash” and she found work with Campus, thanks to a recommendation from her roommate. Now she works 20 hours per week on the Events staff. She says that she is “pretty sure I’ve...made over what I’m supposedly allotted on paper” (as a work-study). She believes this is because she is a dependable and regular employee and no one on the Events staff has said she has to limit her hours.

Katy internalizes the struggle that her parents have in financing her education. She notes that their burden has become more severe now that her sister goes to college. Even though she thinks her financial aid package at St. Luke’s is quite generous, she says her sister “went to a smaller college and they just don’t have as much financial resources.” Katy works as much as she can in order to cover as much of the cost of her tuition and fees as possible. She says what she can contribute varies from semester to semester but that last semester she “actually wrote out the check (for

the entire amount) and sent it.” For the current semester Katy says her parents paid “one-third but I paid the other two-thirds.” Katy takes a great deal of pride in contributing to financing her own education:

I mean my parents are always there, and my mom is always telling me ‘If you need money let me know.’ But at the same time, I really hate asking for money when I know that stuff is strained, like finances are strained.

Because she tries to contribute as much as she can to her own education Katy is frugal about spending money on herself. While she says she will occasionally go out to eat or shopping with her roommates she admits “that I haven’t gone out a lot recently cause I’ve been working all the time.” Katy “owns” a used car that her parents helped her buy when she was in high school but she does not keep it at school. She says that her mom pays for her cell phone because they have a family plan. She also says that she spent more money on food her first year, but now that she works on the Event staff she is pretty good at getting free food:

My mom and I have kind of gone back and forth on covering my food for the year...Last year we put \$1,000 on (her meal card) and I think I went through \$100 worth a week. And this year, I think \$50 lasts me a week and a half...I’m getting better at finding free food (laughter)...I think college kids become very good at finding free food.

Katy works a lot of hours with Campus Events. Nonetheless, she does not seem to find it that hard to manage primarily due to the flexibility associated with her employment. She says “it’s been an interesting and sometimes very intricate and careful balance, but I’ve found a lot of the hours come from weekends.” Katy explains that the Campus Events office requires students to work a certain number of “mandatory call” hours and that these are for major campus events that are usually on weekends. She also picks up “block hours” during the week by assisting in the office

or at the box office. Katy believes that working this much has taught her time management but that her academics have not suffered:

I do have to budget my time more wisely. And a lot of time when I don't, I find that leads to sleep deprivation. But I feel to a certain extent every student finds ways to procrastinate and one of my ways just happens to be work. But if it wasn't work there would be other reasons for me to not to do homework and putting it off and staying up late. I don't really feel like work adversely affects my school work.

Even though Katy says that one of the negatives about working a lot on the Events staff is that she misses social interaction with her roommates, one of the positives she feels is how cohesive the group of students are that work for Events. Katy says, "I've met so many great people...I really like the people I work with." In fact she says that because she started the job during the middle of the academic year it was a little difficult to get used to the student culture of the Event staff workers:

First coming into it, it was a little intimidating because it is a very tight knit group. We do spend time outside of work together—a lot of people hang out quite frequently. And sometimes I was like 'How can you do that? You just spent 12 hours with these people and you want to spend more time with them?' (Laughter)...So that has both its strengths and its drawbacks. Because you know being a part of that is really great.

As Katy reflected on whether she learned anything through her work with Campus Events that helped her with her classes Katy initially said that it helped her with time management and responsibility. In addition, she cited a few examples of how she made connections between her work and what she was studying in class: "I mean in some ways it's interesting because I find ways that it (her work) applies to my business classes." Katy believes that through her work for Campus Events she better understands the process joining an "organizational unit" that she learned about in her business class. Katy was able to apply what she had learned to this setting and

benefited because her course work taught her “to first observe and understand the business culture.” In this way Katy has applied the theory that she was taught in class to her own transition to this work environment. She says that “I’m learning how to interact with these people on both a personal level and then a more professional level.” Katy thinks her course work helped her identify “appropriate social levels in the workplace”. She also found that her work has enhanced her appreciation of some of what she is studying outside her major: “Like I’m taking physics and music and sound. And one of the chapters is about electronic equipment, and I’ve worked with some of that stuff. So [I learned] hey, that’s what it does.”

Katy came to St. Luke’s intending to major in business with a concentration in accounting. She will major in the subject in spite of the fact that at one point in high school she felt like she would never want to do what her father does for a living:

It’s kind of funny because I never thought I would want to do that because of how stressed my father gets around tax season. And it always seemed kind of boring. But then through a series of interesting events and scheduling mishaps in high school, I ended up taking an accounting course and found that I really like it.

Now that she has decided on accounting as her future career Katy is grateful for the advice that some of her father’s colleagues have been able to give her:

But then actually once I decided I wanted to do accounting, I got to visit his firm and talk to the people there which was really nice, and they were really open to talking to me about what they did.

Outside of her academic focus on accounting and her work with Campus Events, Katy is able to stay involved in several extra-curricular activities. These primarily represent extensions of the interests she pursued in high school, though she says that “now I can take a step back and really pick and choose the things that I want

to do.” Katy continues to stay involved in a variety of volunteer opportunities through St. Luke’s Community Service Center. She is also involved in St. Luke’s Christian fellowship. Katy likes being involved in a more “non-denominational type of service” and that it is “nice” to feel connected to students who have “similar values because we’ve all been raised Christian.” Finally, even though she claims that she does less with her music than she did in high school, Katy is a member of the Chapel Choir and both sings and plays the flute.

Katy is very excited about her plans to go abroad to Beijing, China. Katy plans on going to China during the spring semester of her junior year. She says that she always “intended to go” and that it is “very exciting.” Katy’s study abroad experience will be the “first time [that she has been] out of the country unless you count Canada.” She is glad that Campus Events is flexible with students who go abroad and knows that she will be able to have her job back when she returns. Campus Events considers study abroad to be “like a leave of absence.” In fact, Katy says that having her job is helpful in that “right now I’m working more hours and intending to save up for tuition and all that, but also to have some extra spending money while I am abroad.”

Both of Katy’s parents appear to have shaped her attitude about working while she is in college. In particular her mom’s example seems to have shaped her attitude about college as a privilege. She says that even though her mom never went to college that “she is smart enough, I know she is.” Katy says that they have “been able to have in depth debates about very academic topics and she’s been able to hold her own.” Katy believes that this “makes me appreciate my education so much

more.” Katy contrasts this with what she feels is the general attitude of students at St. Luke’s:

The atmosphere of St. Luke’s is it was kind of just expected. ‘My parents went...I’m going...My grandparents went...that type of deal.’ Whereas...I mean there is definitely a percentage here that are like it’s not a given and they have to work really hard and they really appreciate that they’re here.

Katy seems to have found more students like her, who view their education as a privilege, on the Campus Events staff. In fact another student involved in this study is her roommate and is a first-generation college student.

In summary, Katy is a middle-class student whose campus job is on the Campus Events staff. Katy’s work helped her find other students like herself. Katy’s academic choices appear to be influenced by several institutional policies and practices (e.g., financial aid for her at St. Luke’s is greater than her sister who attends another private college; leave policy from her job for study abroad; availability of campus jobs). Despite balancing her work schedule with a demanding major, Katy has been able to stay involved in many of the extra-curricular and co-curricular experiences she pursued in high school. Indeed, it appears to be Katy’s ability to balance all of these involvements that has lead to her retention and success.

Claire

Claire is a middle-class student who lives approximately four and a half hours from the St. Luke’s campus. Claire was involved in extra-curricular activities in high school and was a cheerleader. However, Claire’s sarcastic wit and cynical side did not seem to fit the role of an ambassador of school spirit and her college experiences revealed a quite different path.

Claire's parents separated when she was six. Her father was a carpenter for 18 years who, only recently, became a building inspector. Claire explained that he earned this "promotion" through years of hard work and by passing the exams that are required to be an inspector. Claire's father graduated high school but never attended college. Claire's mother is an artist who returned to college to get her bachelor's degree later in life. She is self-employed doing graphic design and web page development. Claire's mother also does print media and promotions for other artists, including two sculptors who live near her home. When Claire is not at school she lives with her mom, grandmother, and her 15 year old sister. Claire's family struggles to afford St. Luke's and she lists her mother's annual income as only between \$ 30,000 and \$ 39,000 per year. Her father has remarried and does not contribute towards her education. Her financial aid package at St. Luke's includes a need based grant of more than \$20,000 per year. She also receives a Pell Grant of over \$ 8,000 per year. The rest of the cost of Claire's attendance is covered by her mother and grandmother, what Claire can contribute through her work, and loans.

Claire began working when she was 15 and held a number of jobs while she was in high school. Her first job was as a cashier in a grocery store near where she lived. She started this job one summer and then "carried it into the school year." She was involved in cheerleading after school and then would go "directly to working...until 9:30 or 10." Her next job was at an ice cream shop where she worked "six hour shifts" for "five days a week" during the summer. She also worked at the ice cream shop in the evenings after school until the weather turned cool. Finally, she got a job at Agway, which is a pet and animal supply place. She says they do "large

distribution” items like “hay and corn feed and 50 pound bags of dog food.” She explains that during her senior year in high school the store was “under new management” and “so I was helping them move the store around...they were renovating the store”. Because Claire worked at Agway a lot during her senior year, and the summer before she started at St. Luke’s, she entered college with considerable savings. As a consequence, she decided not to work at all during her freshman year of college. Because she chose not to work when she first came to St. Luke’s, Claire had what she calls “more of a college experience” during her first year.

Claire was offered work-study employment as part of her financial aid package at St. Luke’s but turned it down. She did consider getting a work-study job her first year but decided against it:

I was thinking of doing work-study but when I looked further into it...It doesn’t really make a lot of sense to me I guess. You get paid very low wages and you’re not even allowed to work more than a certain amount with them...I don’t even know the exact amount but even if you worked the maximum amount it would not add up to very much. And then the hours are just different because most of them are during the day so you have to work the hours around your classes. So you are only putting in two hours here, or an hour there, rather than going in for a shift. So it was just very bizarre to me I guess (laughter).

Claire did not reject work-study because of any negative stigma associated with these jobs but rather because she just felt like it was not a very efficient way to earn money in order to support her education. Because Claire brought a significant employment history with her to college, and was accustomed to hard work that included long shifts and some physical labor, the work-study jobs seemed irrelevant to her experience. For example, she compares her off-campus job to friends of hers who had work-study jobs at the campus post office:

They can go in whenever they want. It's not like I work these hours on this day. It's like I think I might go to work today or I might not (sarcastically). So they can show up whenever. They can put in an hour here an hour there. They like it because none of them are actually paying for school or actual things, so it's just like spending money for the weekends.

After living carefully on her savings as a freshman, things changed for Claire her second year. To begin with, her mother had less money to support her tuition. She says "last year my Mom was able to help me out a little bit, and this year she kind of told me there was no way she was going to be able to help...like she doesn't pay for food or any of those things." On top of her mother's financial situation, Claire decided to bring a car back to school for her second year. While Claire got the car because "someone was going to get rid of it that I knew," she immediately discovered that it needed lots of work:

Things are always breaking down...I mean as soon as I got it here things were always going wrong with it. It needed new brakes; it needed a tune up; new tires...

Due to the change in her financial situation Claire found an off-campus job at the beginning of her sophomore year. One of her roommates from freshmen year helped her find a job waiting tables at a restaurant-bar. Claire's roommate lives close to St. Luke's and worked at a produce stand that sold food to this particular restaurant. Her roommate called her "the first week of school" and she says that she "got hired on the spot and started the next week." Now Claire works between 20 and 25 hours per week at the restaurant.

Claire's work as a waitress is both demanding and time consuming. She works in a small, local restaurant where the wait staff has a lot of responsibility. Claire works three nights per week. For one of those shifts she is the only wait staff.

She shares the shift with another waitress on the other two nights because the restaurant has an “upstairs and a downstairs, so you kind of cover everything.” Claire received very little training for this job despite the fact that she had never waited tables before. She describes the owner/manager as her only supervisor and explains her management style this way:

She’s not really in favor of affirmation. It is always what you are doing wrong. She feels like the more she yells at you the better you’ll get. And we never really had any training because she is not good at training. So the first day we got there, never waitressed, she was like ‘well, you’ll figure it out’ and then just through us in. But then whenever we made a mistake it was a huge deal and we would get yelled at.

Fortunately for Claire the owner only drops in occasionally and she got good at her job very quickly. She says that:

I actually love waitressing. I never really enjoyed working. I don’t enjoy working hourly. But I definitely prefer waitressing to any other job because it’s paid on performance...Which I think is great. So if you work hard and you really hustle then you get more money...I really get paid on how much I work and how many tables, like your turn over rate, and how many tables you go through. I have actually learned different strategies for organizing people and planning tables.

The fact that Claire values work that is paid on performance is indicative of her ethic. In addition, she has really come to depend on the money she makes as a waitress, particularly through the tips she receives, to support herself as a student. She pays for all her own food, car repairs, and the gasoline she needs to get her back and forth to work. She also helps pay for her own tuition each term. Claire describes how difficult it is for her and her mother to pay for her tuition each term:

We are usually late with tuition. I don’t know if I am allowed to say it, but we are usually late with tuition because when the tuition bill comes in we are always scraping stuff together. My grandmother has got to

help or loan my mom money. It is always kind of a mess and kind of chaotic as to how we get the money.

Another dimension of the tension that Claire feels at St. Luke's because of her working class roots surrounds how her roommates feel about her job. She says:

My roommates give me a hard time for working sometimes. They don't understand why I work so much. Some of my friends have ended up resenting me, I feel like a little bit, for working so much and not spending time with everyone else. They don't understand the whole thing that you don't have a safety net or someone to fall back on. If they run out of money, they just call their parents. Their parents will say I'll send you some or put some in your account. And they will say you just pay me back during the summer or whenever. But they don't understand that if I run out of money then I don't have anyone to call. So that's the main difference, when there is no safety net it's stressful because you feel like you have to have enough money for whatever comes.

Ultimately, the difference that Claire feels between herself and her more affluent classmates, who do not have to work as hard to afford college, has led to a feeling of isolation. She says:

It is hard. It makes me feel sort of alone in a way because I don't have anyone else to relate to. I mean I have friends here and I can be social with them and go out with them but it's hard when this is a big part of my life, and it creates a lot of stress, and no one understands it. Like I get home from work and they don't understand why I am in a bad mood. Maybe I had a really bad night at work. You know what I mean? It's difficult because there is no one to kind of commiserate with about it.

Claire's desire to socialize with friends who are "more like her" appears to be pulling her away from the campus. She has decided to live off-campus next year with her boyfriend, who she met at the restaurant. She describes him as "older" and he is not a student. In her mind, even though she will have to share rent with her boyfriend and commute to campus, this will simplify her life. She says it will be easier "to be able to come out of the house and go to my car" and go to work. Claire has even

started to study at the restaurant after her shift ends. She explains her new study habits saying:

I actually have started to take my homework there to study. I actually find that I can focus better at work because we have an upstairs that gets closed. So if I go up there, I don't have any of my roommates and I'm up like in a room with a table by myself.

Despite the fact that the first semester that she was working presented a difficult transition academically, Claire says that "I actually think...this semester...has been my best semester at St. Luke's." She credits that to the fact that her job has forced her to do a better job of planning ahead. She says, "Now I plan ahead and I tend to make lists and schedule things ahead...so I have lists of when things are due and the day things are due."

Claire is a communications major with a concentration in public relations. She originally thought that she wanted to major in journalism and perhaps go into broadcasting. She even volunteered at the campus radio station doing the 5 o'clock news during her freshman year. She decided that while that work was satisfying it did not involve enough interaction with people. Now she thinks that she wants to do public relations and event planning for a non-profit organization. While she is not certain that her job as a waitress had a direct effect on her career choice, Claire acknowledges that her job had some influence on her decision to change majors:

I guess it did a little bit because I didn't know if I was going to be any good at waitressing. And once I actually started working there I really enjoyed meeting different people and getting to know different people. I mean PR obviously is not waitressing but the whole interaction part is definitely similar.

Claire is Italian and was very interested in studying abroad in Italy. However, she has decided not to study abroad and describes her decision saying:

I am Italian and I have taken Italian classes here. I had always planned on it when I was younger. I always thought I would go abroad, but after researching into it I found it was actually \$5,000 on top of the actual tuition and I already have a hard enough time with what I am paying for now. And I know that in Italy I wouldn't be able to get a job so I would have to come up with the \$5,000 for the program and for any expenses that I had while I was in Italy without ever actually having a job and I don't think that I could ever actually get that much savings.

The few extra-curricular activities that Claire has been involved in were limited to her freshman year before she started working. She says that she volunteered to give Admissions tours and participated with her roommate on the freshmen retreat. Now that she is working she says, "Actually I am not involved in a lot of extra-curriculars. I was in high school and I actually did a lot of stuff. I know this is not great but when I am off work I don't really want to be doing other things." Claire does not have adult mentors at St. Luke's who assist with her academic and co-curricular choices. She is influenced by her family and extended family but does not mention connections made on-campus.

In summary, Claire is a middle-class student whose family only has modest means to support her education. She chose not to work during her first year of college and turned down work-study opportunities that were offered to her. Now she works 20-25 hours per week waiting tables at a local restaurant. Claire's choices and experiences seem to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., she rejects work-study because of low wage; does not go abroad because of her need to work). Claire's social integration at St. Luke's is deterred due to her feelings of separation and alienation from her more affluent classmates. Finally, Claire's work appears to have some positive effect on her personal development (e.g., it teaches her

to better plan for academics and focus on her studies; she gains a sense of self-confidence and independence from her job). In addition, she attributes the interpersonal competence she has gained as a waitress to reinforcing her decision to major in communication and to pursue a career in public relations.

Alex

Alex is a middle-class student from a suburban area located about 20 minutes from the St. Luke's campus. Alex is intelligent and somewhat introverted. He attends St. Luke's as a member of the Honors Program. Even though Alex grew up in a religious family, he has rejected formal religion. Perhaps because of this fact, and because he chose to attend a Catholic university, some of his answers to questions seemed uneasy and even evasive.

Alex's father is an evangelical pastor from a Protestant denomination. He has a graduate degree in theology. Alex's mom has a college degree but was "a stay at home mom" for most of Alex's childhood. After Alex went to college his mom took a job as an instructional aide at an elementary school near to where Alex grew up. Alex estimates his parents' annual income as between \$60,000 and \$75,000. His family has the additional resource of living in the manse provided by his father's church. This was Alex's home when he was growing up. Alex receives a merit scholarship of \$17,500 per year to attend St. Luke's. He also says that he receives other scholarships and grants totaling \$15,000 per year. Alex says that he takes out \$12,000 per year in loans and that an additional \$1,500 per year comes directly from his family.

Alex had two jobs when he was in high school. He worked for a brief period at a golf course as a bag boy. He said he only worked at the golf course a few months because he got the job toward the end of the summer and the course closed in December. After that Alex was able to get a job at a public library. He worked a few days a week after school and during the summer and he kept the job up until he went to college.

Alex says that even though he was guaranteed a work-study job as part of his financial aid package at St. Luke's, he did not pursue it during his first year. It was not until the end of the year that he got a job on-campus. Alex explained that at "at the end of my freshman year I needed a summer job." He said that he "could've gone back to work for the library if I wanted to but I kind of wanted to do something else." He happened to see a flyer in his mailbox that Campus Events was hiring students to work over the summer and that housing was also provided. Alex was interested in the job, and in staying on-campus, because he said "I figured I could be on-campus and meet a new group of people...and still work and be close to all my friends and family." Alex worked the whole summer for Campus Events assisting with commencement, alumni weekend and new student orientation. He really found a home on the Events staff and he has been working there ever since.

Alex works primarily in order to afford the "little things" that he did not want to have to ask his parents for anymore. Alex says that he does not have a car but that he does spend some of the money that he earns "buying a movie or CD." He likes music and so he spends a fair amount of his money "going to concerts and shows." In addition, Alex uses his money to buy groceries so that he doesn't have to eat at the

campus food service locations all the time. He also mentions that he is planning to go abroad to New Zealand and he is trying to save for that as well as the everyday costs associated with going to college. He says, “I’m trying to pay for more of my own stuff, like books. I’ll buy online with my own money rather than use my parents’ money.” More than anything having a job seems to have allowed Alex to gain a sense of financial independence from his parents. This is important to him because he does not agree with some of their fundamentalist social values.

Alex says that he works between 15 and 20 hours per week at Campus Events. He explains that working for Events is not like some of the other jobs on-campus and that it is “a lot more involved.” Specifically he mentions that he felt the job had a steep learning curve, he says:

It’s a hard transition for a lot of people to just start working because they expect you to know everything that needs to be done very quickly. Everyone’s first day normally sucks...there really is no training at all.

Despite the fact that the job was sink or swim at first, Alex likes the fact that he is trusted to do a lot now and has a fair amount of independence. He says “they won’t be supervising us all the time and they’ll kind of expect you to be self-sufficient.” Sometimes Alex feels the level of responsibility that he has can be kind of stressful but when he proves himself he gains a great sense of accomplishment. He mentioned a specific event that he worked on that was challenging:

When you’re actually working an event, like you’re sitting in on it, there’s a lot of times when it’s just you there and if there’s a problem you to have to know how to handle it. I just had a lecture with Leo Bretholz, who is a Holocaust survivor. There was a lot of confusion surrounding it. I had to bring up a different microphone and put out more chairs and try to fit everyone’s need.

Besides developing his self-confidence by working with a great deal of independence, Alex thinks that another benefit has been learning more about how the college works. He says:

It gives you just a greater understanding of what goes on at the college and what it takes to run the college. So, it's kind of eye opening...something that we kind of all say that we wish everyone would just see what it takes to prepare for an event...just once.

Beyond developing his sense of independence and self-confidence, Alex does not see the work he does with Campus Events as particularly relevant to his course of study. Due to the fact that Alex has had some difficulty in declaring a major, he did “actually switch around a lot.” He says that it was not until recently that he “declared as an English major and a minor in math and film studies.” While he says that he was good in physics in high school and for awhile was considering majoring in the subject, after starting down the path to be a physics’ major at St. Luke’s he realized it “wasn’t something I was truly passionate about.” It does appear that the amount of time that Alex was spending on the job with Campus Services reinforced his decision not to major in physics. He says:

I think it was like the first two weeks there were a lot of events going on, so I ended up working over a 40 hour week like the first week of school and that probably had something to do with it. Just because I was so burned out at the time that I definitely didn’t think I would have time to do physics.

While Alex is not sure what he wants to do for a career his growing interest is with film. Alex thinks that once he completes his undergraduate degree he will likely go to graduate school in film studies.

Alex is planning on going abroad to New Zealand during the spring semester next year. He says that he chose New Zealand because “I’ve always had a fascination

with that part of the world.” He said that while he always wanted “to go to Australia when I was younger” he spoke with some other students on the Events staff. After talking to them Alex said “it seemed like you were in New Zealand longer and there were more things that you could do and there were more trips that you took.” Alex wants to take full advantage of being abroad so he plans to continue to work as much as he can with Campus Events over the summer and during the fall semester so that he can afford to travel while he is in New Zealand.

While he knows that he can come back to his job with Events when he returns from New Zealand, he is not sure if he will do that. He is hoping to find an internship for the summer after he goes to New Zealand. He is exploring doing an internship with the British Film Institute in London. Alex explains that “it’s something that I would be really interested in looking into.” Alex said he had “just started reading the pamphlet” about this internship and did not “know if I would have A) the funds or B) the means to get into it.”

Alex is not involved in many extracurricular programs or activities. He is a member of the Honors Program but says “there’s not too much with that besides the courses you take.” He explains that with the Honors Program “there are certain events that you have to go to like you have to go to a colloquium every semester, but it doesn’t really take up too much of your time.”

Alex has a good relationship with his parents and he says that they are supportive of the choices that he makes as a college student. However, clearly Alex’s rejection of his father’s religion and participation in his church has caused tension. He says that for him “just my father’s line of business is kind of like a touchy

subject.” He explains that life in his father’s congregation was “my life when I was growing up, up until about middle or high school years when I started to have different points of view than my father.” In terms of his academic choices he says that “there’s never any pushing by my parents for me to go in a certain direction, like I guess they supported me once I told them I felt differently, although I guess they are disappointed...I don’t know they are okay with everything.”

Since Alex received a significant scholarship to attend St. Luke’s he does not have to depend on his parents a great deal in order to pay for his tuition. However, since he did not work during his first year in college he was more dependent on his parents to help with the incidental costs of being in college. He says, “that first year my parents had to bail me out once and put some money in my checking account but I guess that’s another reason that I did get a job because I didn’t want that to happen again.” In short, because of his personal differences with his parents Alex feels he needs to work in order to live more independently.

In summary, Alex is a middle-class student who chose an on-campus job with Campus Events. Alex’s choice appears to be influenced by policies and practices of the institution (e.g., summer housing provided with his job with Events; availability of jobs; availability of merit based financial aid) and reinforced his academic choices (e.g., too busy to pursue physics). The amount of hours Alex works also seems to have been affected by his desire to study abroad. For Alex the campus job has represented an important opportunity for establishing financial and emotional independence from his parents. Alex’s job has allowed him to gain a greater

appreciation for certain management functions of the college and has connected him with other students and staff members.

Chris

Chris is a middle-class student from a neighboring state to St. Luke's. His hometown is about an hour and a half from campus in a rural, farming community. Chris is thoughtful and introspective. He and his twin sister are the youngest in a family of six. His sister goes to another Catholic university that St. Luke's considers to be a peer institution and is located in his home state. Chris has decided to transfer at the end of his sophomore year.

Chris's father completed college and works for an electronics company as a project manager. Chris's mother finished high school but did not go to college. Chris's mom stayed at home and raised six children but now works part-time as a religious teacher. She is responsible for the confirmation class at Chris's parish. Chris estimates his parents' annual income as between \$75,000 and \$99,000 per year. Chris estimates his family's annual contribution to his education as \$ 10,000 per year. He says that he contributes \$3,000 toward his tuition through the money he saves from work. Chris is an RA and so during his sophomore year he received room and board as compensation. Chris estimates that he takes out about \$6,000 per year in loans and that the rest of his cost of attendance is covered by need based grants from the institution.

Chris worked some as a bus boy in high school during the summers. Chris tried to work some at the restaurant during the school year but in high school he "had nine different classes" and it was just too hard. The summer after his junior year in

high school he worked the dinner shift at the restaurant, which meant that sometimes he only worked until 9 or 10 at night, while other times he worked until 1 AM. After Chris graduated from high school he took a job “at the United States Post Office as a mail handler.” Chris worked the “third shift” at the post office, which meant six nights per week from 8 PM to 6 AM. He says during that summer he worked 50-55 hours per week and because he worked the third shift he received 80 cents more per hour. He told me that he “learned quickly it wasn’t worth it.”

Chris came to St. Luke’s intending to major in psychology. For this reason he pursued a work-study job as an office assistant in the Psychology Department. Chris says that he found the job on the St. Luke’s website and that “I just kind of went with my interest...and the Psychology Department was one of the first few that I got a hold of and they asked me to bring my paperwork in and they hired me.” Chris enjoyed this job and says “I got to know my professors...and secretaries and just some of the grad students and it was just a lot of fun.” However, at the end of his first year Chris attended an information session about being an RA, he says “just on a whim.” He says he went to one of the sessions because they “had big Gatorade signs all over the place saying ‘Become an RA.’” Chris says that he decided to pursue the position because he “thought that it would be better money than work-study and...you get the stipend and you get free housing.”

Despite the fact that Chris was originally attracted to the RA position because of the compensation, the nature of the work also seemed to compliment his desire to become a counselor. He says that when he came to college “my initial plan was to be a family and marriage counselor...so just the counseling aspect that if my residents

needed something I was there...appealed to me.” Despite his genuine interest in both the compensation for being an RA and the people skills that he would develop, Chris found the job to be more than he could handle at times and believes that it is a lot to ask of a student. Concerning the RA position Chris says, “I quickly learned that the money is not worth it...I was told by several of the professional staff that they worked it out one year and an RA gets paid roughly ten cents an hour for the work they do.” Despite the fact that he stuck out his sophomore year, it was clear that there were aspects of the job that Chris really did not like. In particular, Chris grew tired of policing his fellow students when he was required to do “rounds” in the residence halls:

The 2 AM calls that say someone is smoking marijuana or there is a big party with alcohol and you have to get up and go out and address it, then write all the paperwork that goes with it...I mean, no one really enjoys that part of the job... We do a walkthrough of a freshman hall, the Riley Ct [a pseudonym]. I’ve caught a few of those kids and they really are ruthless. They really just think they are on top of the world and that nobody can tell them what they can and can’t do. They are just not happy when they get caught.

Despite the fact that there were parts of the RA job that Chris did not like and that he was not sure the compensation was worth his efforts, Chris says that he was able to balance his work and school. In fact, despite his hectic schedule Chris got a second job as an office assistant with Campus Ministries during the second semester of his sophomore year. Chris promised his dad that the money he earned over the summer (\$3,000) would go directly to his tuition. The compensation he received as an RA covered his housing and books. As a result, half way through his sophomore year Chris discovered that “I had no steady income to kind of spend for me.” Chris was very involved in campus ministry and he explains that “before Christmas” he

asked the “secretary in Campus Ministry if they had any openings.” Chris explains that she called him back over the break and offered him a job.

While there are difficult aspects of the jobs Chris has held on-campus, particularly the RA position, he expresses an appreciation for the connections they provided him to the St. Luke’s community. He said:

A definite benefit for Campus Ministry and RA is the close-knit community you get with other workers. The RA job has all-staff meetings for all of the RAs and cross campus get-togethers where we can all chat and then we have the training sessions...so you get really close. You get to know people in your direct staff and then people just outside. It’s really nice that you have that community. And then Campus Ministry is the same way. You just get really close to those people.

Chris explains that because he and his twin sister are the last of six children in his family to go to college things are pretty tight for his family financially. Chris understands that he needs to find a summer job each year and that he must earn at least \$3,000. He explains that his dad expects him to contribute that money to his tuition. Chris says, “I write him a check at the end of the summer.” During the summer before his sophomore year Chris worked at a dinner theater, and had secured a job the summer after his sophomore year back home at the “Twizzler Factory.” Because things are fairly tight for Chris, he uses the stipend he earns from the RA job to buy his books and he keeps his other costs down. For example, he does not have a car.

Chris’s academic plans have evolved over the two years he has spent at St. Luke’s and relate to his discernment concerning his future vocation. Chris explains that while he came to St. Luke’s thinking he would major in psychology and become a family counselor, for quite awhile he was considering becoming a priest. Chris said

that in many ways he had been discerning a call to be a priest since the 8th grade. His reflection about this path came to a head during his first two years at St. Luke's.

Concerning this process Chris says:

At the end of last year I was actually considering the priesthood...I applied and was planning on...I had been accepted as of January this year and I was planning on going. After that was all over I just kind of prayed about it, and thought about it, and that was a decision that I wasn't going to do. And during that process I started thinking...What are my options after seminary? What majors could I come out with? And one was a history major. And history was something I'm very interested in and something I've enjoyed through the years. So somehow it came out that a secondary education [degree] in [teaching] social studies, right around 8th or 9th grade, is something that would be a lot of fun and something that I'm passionate about.

Chris's choice of becoming a secondary education major is a big part of the reason that he has decided to transfer. While St. Luke's Education Department has a teacher education program, Chris felt he would be better served if he pursued this degree at another institution. In addition, because he desires to return to his home state to teach, he has decided it would be easier to transfer and pursue his certification and student teaching there:

I'm actually going to transfer after this year...My secondary education choice...I'm going to move back home to a campus that has an education program slightly better than what St. Luke's provides in an area that I know a lot of teachers that I could student teach under, and being that I want to teach in [his home state] I would have my certification right after college.

While Chris's decision to transfer is primarily a result of his future career considerations, his family's ability to afford St. Luke's is also a factor. The university Chris has decided to transfer to in his home state is a state university and he will qualify for in state tuition:

That was one of the more deciding factors. It's [the school he is transferring to] about one third the price of St. Luke's. I think my total cost is going to be \$17,500. They factor in a little bit of the books and the food and everything. So that was a factor in I knew that being here every year I slowly was losing some of the grant and gaining a little bit more loans and down the road just putting me in the hole a little bit more.

There are two factors that seem to have impacted why Chris's financial aid package at St. Luke's changed in composition to where he lost grant aid and had to take out more loans. The first was that after his first year in college his older brother graduated from another institution and so he received less need based aid in his financial aid package. The other reason had to do with the compensation he received as an RA. Of his changing financial aid package at St. Luke's Chris said:

Well when I first started we had three kids in college. I have a twin sister and I had an older brother that was in college. And then my older brother was not in college. It was just me and my sister, so the financial aid package went down a little bit and then with the RA job it went down probably a little bit further than it would have. So, just because it's not a stable package that I can rely on, like a scholarship would be, it's kind of difficult to see where I am going to be and how much I really do need to work each year.

While Chris is transferring from St. Luke's because of vocational and financial reasons, his involvement in the life of the campus would not have indicated that he might leave. Besides being an RA and working in Campus Ministries, Chris has been involved in community service, including alternative service programs for spring break. St. Luke's has extensive service offerings during spring break and Chris participates in these. Chris also does regular service at a homeless shelter where he "plays with little kids while their parents go off to parenting class." Finally, in addition to participating in service Chris explains that he loves dance and was a

part of St. Luke's dance company. Chris said that because of the demands of his schedule he had to give dance up when he became an RA.

Despite the fact Chris is transferring, at least partially because his family struggles to afford St. Luke's, he is clear that the decision to transfer was his and not his parents. In fact, he indicated that while they have been supportive of his decision to transfer it definitely was a surprise. He describes his parent's reaction to his decision to transfer this way:

I mean for a couple weeks they kept asking me how it came about because it was something...It wasn't that they couldn't see me in it [teaching], just everything that I kept talking about was just kind of pulled from nowhere...I mean for me it was something that over a long, long period of time I was able to kind of figure out...But they're very supportive of the decision.

In summary, Chris is a middle-class student who chose to work several on-campus jobs. His reasons for choosing these jobs appear to be influenced both by institutional policies and practices (e.g., work-study award; RA compensation) and out of his desire to choose work that complimented his academic and career interests. Chris's campus jobs provided him with a strong connection to other students, faculty and staff, particularly within Residence Life and Campus Ministry. Chris will be transferring after his sophomore year. His decision to leave is appears to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., high cost of attendance; changes in financial aid package) and his academic and career choices (e.g., decision to return to his home state to become a teacher). As a student who by all accounts seemed uniquely connected to the campus and its' mission, Chris's case suggests that the retention decision can be influenced by interrelated issues of sensitivity to cost and the student's academic and career trajectory.

Red

Red is a middle-class student who went to an elite, all boys' Catholic high school in New York City. He commuted from another borough to go to this school. Red is extroverted and gregarious. He is quite engaging and humorous. He readily discussed his self-awareness concerning his own type-A personality and what he tries to do to keep balance in his life.

When Red is not at St. Luke's he lives with his mother and stepfather. Red's mother graduated from high school but did not go to college. Red's mother worked at a hair salon that was a family run business until she was diagnosed with cancer. Red says she needed health insurance so she started doing clerical work in a doctor's office. Working in a doctor's office allowed her to pursue a certification as a pulmonary technician. Now she makes pretty good money. Red's stepfather also graduated from high school but did not attend college. He is a teamster and works at a baking supply warehouse. Red's "biological father" (as he referred to him several times) completed graduate school and is a risk analyst. He does not contribute to Red's college. Red estimates his mother and stepfather's annual income is between \$75,000 and \$99,000. Red receives a merit scholarship of \$12,500 per year to attend St. Luke's. He also says that his family contributes \$7,000 per year towards his education. He estimates that \$5,000 per year comes from his savings from work. His family takes out loans of \$7,000 per year and he earns free room and board because he secured a Resident Assistant (RA) position.

Red “had quite a commute” to attend high school and he “did a lot of activities in school.” For this reason his work during high school was limited to summers and weekends. Nonetheless, he managed to work in several capacities. His first job was at the family salon where his mom worked. He says he did “odd jobs and cleaning” and that he “got paid off the books.” After that he says he worked one summer in a “restaurant of a family friend bussing tables” which was “off the books as well.” When he was a senior in high school Red explained that he “kind of knew that I had to get a real job” and so the summer after his senior year he went to work for Starbucks as a barista, which means he prepared beverages for customers. He says that when he was at Starbucks “I knew everyone who worked there, they were all friends of mine” and he says Starbucks was “a great company.” Red says that he considered working for Starbucks when he came to St. Luke’s but the school did not allow him to have a car on-campus his freshmen year: “I considered working at Starbucks last year but I figured I would have to wait for a cab or rely on a bus.”

Even though Red says that having a job did not affect the college he chose, he says, “I planned to work because I knew that I would need the income.” When Red came to St. Luke’s he had a difficult time finding a job at first even though he qualified for work-study. At first he inquired about working at the Rec. Center but discovered that they had a waiting list. Eventually, he found a job in the office of Residence Life almost by accident. He said he happened to be in the office and asked if they had any openings. Because he worked in Residence Life his freshman year he found out more about the application process to become an RA. He explains that he decided to apply for several reasons:

I've always been kind of a leader and stuff and my RA coming into St. Luke's was great and I knew it would be a great way for me to get more in touch with the campus and more in touch with the other students...Of course it's great for the monetary reasons but just to be an RA really attracted me.

Red found another significant employment opportunity when he was selected for a paid internship with the New York Power Authority (NYPA) during the summer between his freshmen and sophomore years. He learned about this potential opportunity from his biological father. He says:

When I got into college I was looking for something more towards what I wanted to study here so I got a job, actually through my biological father because he was looking for a job at the same time. He was transitioning out of another job and he applied for the New Jersey Power Authority...He noticed that they had internships and he told me about them so I applied and I actually got the job.

Red's experience at the New Jersey Power Authority (NJPA) turned out to be excellent. He explains that he worked full-time that summer and was treated more like an employee rather than an intern. He says that:

I worked in the Marketing Department and did some rate analysis, just how much we would charge customers for electricity. It was very, very interesting...steep learning curve, like a lot of specialized material, like acronyms I'd never heard before in my life and you would never hear if you don't deal with that business. But it was very intriguing because...electricity used to be regulated by the government and then it was deregulated in New Jersey.

During his sophomore year at St. Luke's Red left his office job at Residence Life and became an RA. In addition he got a job off-campus at GNC (a nutritional supplement store). Even though Red took this off-campus job because of the pay and because it was on the weekends, he could not sustain working there. He says of the job at GNC that:

It was more pay and it was on the weekends. So it filled in what time I had free, kind of like my idle time, and it was on the weekends and ...it would throw off my sleep schedule because I would sleep really late...I was like 'Oh, I can't come in this week because I have an RA thing to do so I'll come next week' and then next week would come around and I would have another RA thing...I wasn't even working that much, so I decided I didn't want them to rely on me...so I just cut myself off.

Red readily admits that he needs his jobs to help support his college expenses. In considering the primary reasons that he worked while enrolled he said "monetary mostly...why else do you work?" He stipulates that he primarily uses the RA job to cover the cost of his housing and food. He usually can devote some of his RA stipend toward books as well. Red claims that he uses the money that he was able to save from his summer job, and any that he was able to earn while employed at GNC, as spending money. He says: "The money that I save, that I just have in my checking account, goes towards college expenses. I just use it for going out to eat and probably more for like entertainment than I would if I didn't have a job."

In terms of expenses, Red does have a car on-campus now. He explains that "the car was actually a gift from my grandparents and was fully paid off." He says that "I have actually never made a car payment." He also says that "my mom actually pays for my insurance." Red does pay for gas but that he has a "little tiny Honda Accent which gets 33 miles per gallon." Red also has a cell phone but says his "biological father surprisingly pays for my cell phone."

Red is a strong student and takes academics seriously. The fact that he was named to the business school's scholars program indicates that he is

doing well. Nonetheless, he says that his employment, particularly the RA job, has challenged him to balance his employment with his work. Red acknowledges that he has a type-A personality and he has to guard against stress:

That's something the RA job definitely has taught me is take care of myself physically, like taking vitamins and fish oil. I do all that now. I don't drink anymore soda, just because you know I have to keep myself on top of everything.

Keeping "on top of everything" for Red means realizing the importance of managing multiple priorities. He also has learned the value of "utilizing every moment that I can to kind of get things done and not procrastinating." He says that the RA job has helped him be better prepared for the unexpected: "I thought that I had my schedule together but I didn't because a lot of things come about last minute, like roommate conflicts and things like that."

Red thinks that his position as RA has helped him "to grow as a person." Red says that being in a position of leadership helps him "make more appropriate choices" than some of his peers that he sees party all the time. He says that:

I don't think that I've sacrificed that much, like I don't feel like I'm missing out on college or anything. I still interact with people in a good way and that doesn't necessarily have to involve alcohol...Especially with my RA job I'm constantly dealing with people and I think that's good.

Red is pursuing an undergraduate degree in business and is doing a concentration in finance. He aspires to be an investment banker. He believes that working as an RA will help in his future career because it has taught him

how to balance multiple priorities. However, he does not think that any of his jobs influenced his selection of the major. He says that business “was just something that intrigued me and actually in high school I took some classes that were related to finance.” Red does think that his internship with the NJPA has enhanced his classroom experience:

A lot of what I learned is applied now directly to my courses with finance and dealing with the future value of money and things like that is all directly related...very fundamental ideas that didn't have a definition—like you know calculate what this is going to be worth in so many years. That is what I'm learning how to do now (in class) but I already know how to do it...I've already applied it but I haven't learned it in theory.

Even though he knows the cost of studying abroad is high right now Red is planning to study abroad in New Castle, England during the fall semester of his junior year. He plans to use his job at NJPA during the summer to save for his abroad experience: “I was actually considering looking for another job just because I wanted to diversify myself a little bit but they [NJPA] gave me a pretty big raise.” A few factors went into which abroad program Red selected. First, he selected an abroad program that is sponsored directly by St. Luke's. He explains that if he had selected other programs that were not sponsored by the institution “it was...a lot more complicated to have to apply for financial aid over there and here I just pay Loyola's tuition when I go to New Castle so I can keep my financial aid.” Red has studied German in school and will minor in the subject. For this reason he considered going abroad to Copeland, Germany. However, Red is very serious about his grades

and says, “I was going to go to Germany but then I found out that Copeland’s program is the only one...where the GPAs go down.”

While Red’s father went to graduate school and works in the business world, he considers himself to be from a working class background. For Red this means that he has a strong work ethic and appreciates the opportunities that are afforded him. When Red is tired and stressed out because of trying to balance his life as an RA with his school work, he says that he calls his stepfather: “I could call him up and say to him ‘you know I have so much stuff to do, I have so many papers and stuff’ and he tells me ‘well you know you can always come work with me in the warehouse.’” Red’s class background also seems to have influenced his chosen career in investment banking. He says:

I really saw how hard my mom and step-dad worked to give me everything and...you know, especially because they were working class they had to work hard to give me everything I needed. So I suppose I just wanted to work hard myself and you know strive towards a career that not only I would enjoy but also benefit me and my family so I could give back and you know, not have to really...struggle like they had to.

In addition to his mom and step-dad, Red does point to the Residence Life staff as mentors who have helped him while in college. In particular he mentions the Assistant Director (a live-in position) in his area as someone who helps him deal with all the stress he puts on himself. He says, “Gerry Gemini [a pseudonym] has been a pretty good influence on my life, he’s a good guy.”

In summary, Red is a middle-class student as defined in this study. However, he considers himself to be from a working class background. He chose to work two campus jobs, both with the Office of Residence Life. During his first year he was an office assistant and he became an RA his second year. He explains that the RA job has helped him develop important skills and grow as a person. He also was able to gain valuable work experience to supplement his course work through a paid summer internship. Some of Red's choices appear to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., he chose a campus job because he could not have a car on-campus his first year; he chose a St. Luke's abroad program because his financial aid will transfer; RA position helps him afford St. Luke's) while other choices are related to his class background (e.g., he seeks the security of job in finance because he sees how hard his parents work). Finally, Red's adult mentors include his mother and stepfather and Residence Life staff. His working class parents inspire him due to their work ethic and Residence Life staff encourages him to seek balance in his life.

Upper-Class Students and Their Jobs

This section of the chapter presents six case summaries of the upper-class students selected for the study. These students were selected based on the criterion described in Chapter Three and outlined in Table 3.3 (page, 80). The case summaries describe each student's work, academic and co-curricular choices. These case summaries establish the student's employment history and identify elements of their personal background that shape their choices about work and school. Table 4.16 is a summary of each student's job(s), hours worked per week, and academic and co-curricular choices. In addition to meeting the classification of "upper-class," subjects

were selected in order to represent as much variation in the type of employment they held as possible.

Table 4.16: Upper-Class Students' Work, Academic and Co-curricular Choices

Student	Job(s)		Hours	Major	Abroad
	On-Campus	Off-campus			
Anna		Cashier/Sales (Tanning Salon)	16-20	Business	Paris
Karen		Waitress	21-25	Communications	Leuven
Rebecca	RA		6-10	Education	Melbourne
Gareth	RA; First-Year Aide		11-15	Business	Melbourne
Nick	Campus Services		6-10	Business	No
Manny	RA; Intramural Staff		6-10	Biology	No

Anna

Anna is an upper-class student from a suburban area located approximately four and a half hours from St. Luke's. Anna is strong student who was awarded a merit scholarship in order to attend St. Luke's but she is somewhat quiet and rather reserved in expressing her opinions. Anna is the middle child of three sisters. She attended a private high school located near her home.

Anna's father commutes to New York City where he is the manager of a hotel in midtown Manhattan. He is college educated. Anna's mother was born in Central Europe but completed college in the United States. Anna's mom does not work outside the home. Anna estimates her father's annual income as between \$150,000 and \$200,000. Anna did well in high school and receives a scholarship from St. Luke's of \$12,500 per year. Anna takes out loans of \$10,000 per year and her parents pay all of the rest of her cost of attending St. Luke's.

Anna did not work a lot during high school, at least during the school year. She says "my main job in high school...I babysat for five families that I babysat for since I was 12." She explains that this "was mostly on weekends but was basically whenever I wanted to." Anna explains that she also worked as a camp counselor

during the summers the last two years before coming to college. She says her job as a camp counselor “was five days a week.”

Anna did not work when she first came to St. Luke’s. She explains that “I didn’t know if I was going to work during college at all.” At the beginning of her sophomore year Anna got a job at a tanning salon. The salon is located very close to St. Luke’s and she can walk to work. Anna says that she found out about the job because “one of my roommates had applied for a job there.” Anna says that “her availability worked with them (the tanning salon managers) so they offered it to me.” Because of its proximity to campus the job is attractive to many St. Luke’s students. Anna explains that “all the girls that work there go to St. Luke’s...and there’s one male.” Anna works about 20 hours per week at the salon and her duties include being the cashier in the store, keeping the tanning beds clean and sales.

Anna takes pride in the fact that she receives a scholarship at St. Luke’s and that this lessens her parents’ burden of paying for college. She explains that her college choice came down to two schools. The other school is a well known peer institution to St. Luke’s which is both more prestigious and more selective. Anna got into both schools. However, Anna chose to come to St. Luke’s because she received a scholarship and she didn’t receive any aid to attend the other school. Anna attributes her decision to attend a less prestigious school to the merit award she received:

I had the scholarship here so that’s what kind of drove me to go here and I’m fine with that decision. I’m happy I’m here. But that definitely played a factor. I mean even now I think my parents, like if I’m tight with something, I don’t feel as bad to ask them to help me out a little bit because I know I’m helping them out with the scholarship.

Even though she feels that she has contributed financially to her own education by getting a scholarship, Anna says she decided to get a job her sophomore year because “I wanted to have my own money coming in and not depend on my parents for my activities during the school year.” She primarily uses the money she earns at the tanning salon to buy clothes and to support her social life. Anna’s social life seems to primarily revolve around her roommates and she explains that she mostly uses the money to either go out to eat or to go out to the bars. Anna does not have a car at college and explains “I have to have cab money and going out to the bars, sometimes that costs money.” Besides using the money she earns to support her social life, Anna does use some of the money to buy books. Even though she knows her parents will help with books if she is short on cash she tries to be thrifty: “If I can I’ll put in some money for [books]. But what I do is I take my books and resell them online and then I usually put that towards my new books.”

One of the reasons that Anna chose an off-campus job was that she believes that off-campus jobs often pay more. She says that after working at the tanning salon for only one semester she got a .50 cent raise and now makes \$7.50 per hour. She explains that most campus jobs only pay \$ 6.50 per hour and do not usually offer any pay raises. Anna finds that one of the drawbacks with her job is that most of the hours she works are on the weekends. Her work schedule makes it harder to keep up with her friends. Anna finds that most of her friends who work on-campus have a different schedule:

I have to work a lot on weekends. I usually work like ten hours sometimes on the weekends and that sort of takes away from free time. Because my friends that work, work Monday through Friday here at

school. So when there's no school they don't have to work. So sometimes I miss out on an afternoon or Saturday. If they go to the mall or to the lacrosse games, sometimes I miss out. I mean if I ask for that day off in advance I can go...But like two weeks ago they decided to go to Six Flags on a Sunday but I couldn't go because I had to work.

Anna believes that other students do not always respect the work she does because of its association with a superficial luxury: "I guess sometimes people say 'Oh you work at a tanning salon' and kind of look down on it or something and don't see it as a real job...which is disappointing because it's still work, just the same as everyone else."

Anna is a business major with a concentration in international business. She does not think that her job affected her choice of the major but when she went to look for a job she was looking for something that would involve sales. Again, the most important reason she was looking for an off-campus job was to secure employment that paid a higher wage, but she also says that most of the campus jobs were administrative and did not involve sales. Another advantage that Anna sees to having a part-time job is that it helps her with self-discipline and provides structure to her week:

Sometimes I have to work in the morning. I prefer doing that because then I get up and I have the whole day...Otherwise, I might sleep in and I'm the type of person that if I have a lot to do it's easier for me to get everything done than if I have a day when I only have one or two things to do. Then it takes a really long time.

Despite the fact that Anna found a job that involves sales, the work experience has not assisted her in landing a summer internship. She expresses some frustration saying:

I've been looking for internships for the past two summers but I think the market isn't really good so I haven't been able to find anything yet.

But I'm still looking and definitely next summer I plan on getting an internship.

Anna plans to go abroad during the spring semester of her junior year. She is not completely certain where she will go but said enthusiastically, "I'm thinking Paris, which is a more expensive program, so I know I'll need to work again next semester." One of Anna's goals is to work as much as she can, at the highest paying job she can find, in order to save for her semester abroad. She says, "I mean next semester if I were to find a job that I would make more money I would probably take that. This way I would be able to save more money for Paris." Anna does not seem to think that if she wants to return to her job at the tanning salon after she goes abroad that it will be a problem: "I think at the tanning salon where I work a lot of the girls have gone abroad, so I think it will work out. So if I want to come back senior year and work there I probably can."

Anna's strong desire to go abroad does seem to have influenced her academic path in the business school. She says:

I was thinking about possibly doing a double concentration in marketing or finance, but I decided against it because it would have my course work very rigid. I wouldn't have had any electives and also I want to go abroad. So it would have made it (her abroad choices) much more restrictive as well.

Her decision about where to study abroad seems to have played a pivotal role in her academic choices.

Anna has not been involved in many extra-curricular activities at St. Luke's. She has played some intramural basketball but she knows, and perhaps regrets, that she has not done more: "I know I can't do something that has more involvement because I already have a lot going on...but I have a job first." Specifically, she

mentions she would like to look into clubs and organizations and says “I definitely want to do more service, but that is definitely something I am sacrificing right now because of my job.”

Anna’s parents are very supportive of her choices and support her having an off-campus job. She says “as long as I’m getting my things done (academics) they are fine with it.” Even though her desire to pursue international business “doesn’t really match up” with her father’s career, he definitely seems to be her inspiration for pursuing a career in business and he provides guidance and support: “The main thing he’s always taught me is networking and making connections.” It appears that Anna’s younger sister, who is a high school junior, will be going to college as well. Anna says “she’s really smart too; so she’ll probably get a scholarship too.” Even though going to college was never a question for her and her younger sister, Anna’s older sister did not go to college initially. She says that after working for a CVS pharmacy for quite a while, her older sister decided to go back to nursing school and is paying her own way. Of her older sister’s initial decision not to go to college Anna says “I think at first there was definitely some tension (with her parents) that she wasn’t going.”

In summary, Anna is an upper-class student whose college choice appears to have been influenced by the institution’s merit based scholarship award. However, her work choices do not seem strongly influenced by institutional policies or practices. These choices do seem related to the student culture of relative affluence (e.g., she works in order to afford to pay for cab fares or to go out to the bars; she works off-campus because the wage is higher). She is a student who initially thought

that she would not work while going to college. Her choice of an off-campus job is related her academic choice of being a business major (e.g., she wanted a job that had some responsibilities for sales). Anna is undaunted in her goal to study in Paris, despite the fact that she thinks it is one of the most expensive abroad experiences at St. Luke's. Anna has not participated widely in extra-curricular or co-curricular activities and she suggests that her lack of involvement has to do with the time she spends at her off-campus job.

Karen

Karen is an upper-class student from a major metropolitan area located about 4 hours from St. Luke's. Karen has worked as a waitress since she was 16. She has an extroverted personality and is extremely gregarious. Karen says, "I talk a lot." She also believes her frenetic energy makes her well suited for a job that requires almost constant motion. Karen is the youngest child and has two older sisters who both graduated from other Catholic universities.

Karen's parents both work. Her dad went to a Catholic university and earned a business degree. He is the treasurer of a credit union for a large public school district. Karen's mother also graduated from a private university and she is a registered nurse. Karen estimates her parents' annual income as between \$150,000 and \$200,000. Karen says that her parents cover her entire cost of attending St. Luke's, other than a federal loan which she says "I have to pay after graduation." Her loan is in the amount of \$4,500 per year.

Karen worked on the weekends and during breaks from high school at a family run restaurant in the city where she lives. She considers the owner of this

restaurant to be a personal friend. The owner's daughter went to the same private, Catholic high school that Karen attended. Karen continues to work at the restaurant during her college breaks.

Because Karen worked during high school, and her parents are paying for most of her college costs, she came to St. Luke's with considerable savings. She said that she had hoped not to work during the school year. She says, "I tried to save money as much as I could because I wanted to have an experience without having to work because I had been doing it since high school." However, Karen said that her savings did not last very long. She says, "I went through that very quickly." As a result Karen got a job her freshmen year at Phone-A-Thon. In this position Karen assisted the Advancement office in soliciting donations from alumni. Because of her gregarious nature Karen was pretty good at the job. In the few months that she worked at Phone-A-Thon Karen says, "I raised like \$5,000 for the capital campaign." Despite her success on the job, Karen did not return to Phone-A-Thon. She believes that while Phone-A-Thon is one of the highest paying jobs on-campus, it also "has the highest turnover." She says she did not like "getting yelled at" by alumni who said "stop calling."

When Karen returned to St. Luke's for her second year she was determined to find a job as a waitress. Because she had significant experience she "put resumes out" at several local restaurant/bars that were all within about a two mile radius of campus. Karen does not have a car on-campus and she was looking for a restaurant close enough that she could either "walk...or it's a small cab ride." Karen was able to get a job at one of these establishments fairly quickly. The restaurant is located in

a commercial district that is frequented by St. Luke's students. The area supports several bars that are popular with students because they are lax in policing underage drinking. The restaurant/bar where Karen works is an exception. She observed, "they are really strict with checking ID...on Saturday nights if you go up and down Colorado Boulevard [a pseudonym], Maria's [a pseudonym] clearly has an of age, older crowd."

Karen really enjoys working at Maria's. She is quite proud to have a job and considers the fact that she works off-campus to be pretty unique among St. Luke's students. She said, "Honestly you don't hear too much about students working off-campus, unless it's like a girl babysitting for a private person...the boys who are on the rugby club work at McCafferty's Pub [a pseudonym], but that's just because they hang out there." Karen primarily uses the money she earns as a waitress to support a fairly active social life in college. She says that:

My spending money usually goes to going out on the weekend. I don't really go shopping that much. I'm not a girly girl. But probably my weekend spending and then I also put money on my One card.

The One card is the campus ID which can also be used as a debit card for goods and services on-campus. Karen buys her books with the card and uses it for other services like laundry.

Karen understands that the weekend social scene at St. Luke's is expensive. Because she leaves work with considerable cash from tips, she often has a lot of cash on hand when she goes out to the bars. She explained her feeling about going out with her friends stating that:

I do have a mentality of being an Irish Catholic from [the Northeast]. Like the bar scene, I was exposed to it at a younger age...I don't want

to make it sound like I had all this crazy underage drinking but my uncle bartended; my dad bartended his whole life before he became an accountant. That's where you hang out...So when I go out on a Friday or Saturday night I don't have a problem buying a round of drinks because in my mind it's not 'I'm paying for you'...its more like 'doesn't everyone do that.'

Karen believes that one of the distinct advantages to having an off-campus job is the fact the job pays so much more than on-campus jobs. She says that:

One of the reasons that I like waitressing or even just the service industry is that it is quick money and you do make a lot of money on it. If I have 12 tables in a day and the tips range from like \$8 to \$20 then I can walk out of there with \$120 in my pocket, which is nice. I keep my money in my drawer for every two weeks and then I deposit it. And I can deposit like \$500 or \$600 every two weeks, which is a lot more than anyone makes with on-campus jobs.

In addition to the pay, Karen believes there are some other advantages to her job. One of these is the fact that she believes that her job has allowed her to meet other students who are not like herself. She explains that because of its proximity her restaurant draws employees from a state university that is nearby. One difference that she comments on between herself and her co-workers has to do with race:

I am working with a lot of people who are unlike myself, so that was helpful. At Maria's...I had never worked with a black waitress before...I had never worked with a Native American...there's a Native American waitress. They're my peers, but they are all different races and religions and politics. And since we are all younger, they are vocal about it. And so it's helped me to work with a diverse group of females.

Ironically, Karen admits that one of the reasons that she chose St. Luke's was because of its homogeneity. She admits that one of the schools she considered attending was a private, urban institution located in another large eastern city. The institution was not Catholic. She describes her college choice saying:

When I was 17 or 18 looking at college...that was one of the reasons I liked St. Luke's. I went to Urban University [a pseudonym] right before I came here and I was like 'Oh my God, you have to be a liberal Democrat with pink hair, smoke cigarettes and protest in order to go there' and I didn't like that. And then I came here and...people were throwing Frisbees on the quad and everyone was wearing St. Luke's sweaters and I like that about it. And I still like that about it, but it would be nice to have a little more diversity.

Finally, Karen believes that her job assists in the development of a work ethic and teaches real life responsibility. She sees this ethic as something that is lacking among her peers. She believes it is not really developed even in the students who have on-campus jobs:

This may sound arrogant but I don't really see those as jobs. I know that they are and they do work there but they are doing their homework there. When you are talking about St. Luke's, I don't really find that work. And I know that sounds so pompous, but when I think about work, I think about having a strong ethic. I think about actually having to do things and I just can't see sitting at a desk swiping cards as work.

Karen came to St. Luke's thinking she would follow in her father's footsteps and major in business. She soon discovered that this was a major that did not suit her. She says, "I came here and I thought I was going to be a business administration major...and then I took economics and almost failed and I was like 'this is not for me.'" Karen has decided to pursue a communication degree with a specialization in writing and journalism. Specifically, Karen hopes to be a field journalist. She says that she learned things about herself on the job that had an influence on her academic and career choice:

I think because I am running around I want an active job. I don't really want to be calling people, sitting behind a desk just talking to people. My major is communications for journalism with a writing minor and I really would like to be a field journalist and go out during the day to get a story...You have to be interactive and talk to people.

Karen hints at the fact that the years she has spent waiting tables may have helped her develop skills that she will need as a field journalist:

I like to be social. I like to talk to people, obviously. And I like to get to know people...I can tell when I go up to a table if they are going to be chatty or if they don't even want to talk to the waitress.

Despite the fact that she uses a fair amount of the money she earns to afford her social life, Karen is trying to save for a year abroad in Belgium. Karen emphasizes that it is important for her to save for her abroad experience because "the euro is just killing the dollar." Karen explains that she is saving for more than just the costs associated with going to school in a foreign country:

If I am going to be abroad for a year I'm going to do *everything*. I am going to go everywhere I possibly can and if that means I'm going to come back and go into credit card debt, fine I will pay it off. I will figure out a plan. I will make a budget...When I'm over there it will be the first time. I never have traveled for a year. It will be the first time that I am on my own, away from my family. So I am going to live it up. (italics added for emphasis)

Karen does not participate in many extracurricular or co-curricular activities at St. Luke's. However, she does attend some sporting events. She also mentions taking off work to go to an outdoor concert and festival that happens on-campus at the end of each year, but she has not participated with any frequency or quality with any student organizations or service opportunities. She admits that part of this may be attributable to the time she spends on the job:

I don't take part in extra-curriculars. I wanted to become an [Orientation Leader] but it's very time consuming. So I decided against it. But I do know a lot of people who participate in student government or my friend is on the step team. My other friend was in the BSA fashion show. They do take part in it, a lot of St. Luke's students do. But just the people that I interact with don't do too many extracurricular activities.

Karen is very close to her parents. She is grateful for their willingness to pay for college. She also acknowledges that it is their working class roots which instill in her a sense that she should work:

I love my parents a lot and they really have instilled in me that I need to work. Like my mom's dad died when she was very young and she had to get a job to help out her mom...My father has had a job since he was 15 years old and to them it is not a spending money kind of thing, it is a livelihood kind of thing. They both paid for their own college...But they are both hard edge Catholics who always wanted to have a better life for their children than they had and for them education is extremely important.

Karen states that one of the concerns that her parents have about her major is that they will not have contacts in their social network to help her find her first job. She explains that her parents were able to help both of her older sisters find their first job:

My parents are just worried that getting out of college I won't have a job right away because my older sister Catherine [a pseudonym] when she graduated from [another elite Catholic university] she had a job at KPMG because she had an internship right before her senior year. My other sister Susan [a pseudonym], she majored in education and history...and my, dad seeing how he works for the Metropolitan Public School System, was able to get her all these interviews...So he kind of fast tracked her and got her a job right out of college.

Despite the fact that her parents are worried that they do not have "contacts" in her chosen profession of journalism, Karen is confident that she will be able to find a job on her own.

Karen does not mention any adult mentors at St. Luke's. She does mention the owner of the restaurant that she works at home. She explains that he really took a personal interest in her and even took an interest in her college search. Karen says that he talked to her out of applying to a university in the state system where she grew

up. She says her boss reinforced that her choice of a Catholic university was appropriate:

I remember once I was thinking of applying, it was the only [in state school] that I was thinking of applying to. And he was like, 'Why the hell would you apply there? No, no, no...these are the schools you are going to look at.'

In summary, Karen is an upper-class student who chooses to work an off-campus job. Karen's desire to work appears to be influenced by institutional characteristics more than policies and practices (e.g., she works to afford an expensive social life; she tries to save to be able to spend while she is abroad for a year). Karen expresses that her job as a waitress has provided her with some tangible benefits besides pay (e.g., connects her to the work ethic that was part of her parents' upbringing; exposes her to diversity). Despite these benefits, Karen's work may prevent her from participation in extra-curricular and co-curricular activities. In addition she does not mention any interaction with faculty or staff at St. Luke's.

Rebecca

Rebecca is an upper-class student from a suburban area that is approximately two and a half hours from St. Luke's campus. She is gregarious and outgoing. She is an extrovert who proclaims "I just love working with people." Rebecca's college choice did not seem to be limited by financial considerations. In fact, she chose to come to St. Luke's even though it was the only institution which she applied to that did not offer her a scholarship.

Rebecca's parents both work and are graduates of a Catholic university that St. Luke's considers a peer institution. Rebecca's father is a retired state investigator in her home state. She says that her father's job was to investigate "computer and

white collar crimes.” He received his MBA. Rebecca’s mother is a business executive. She is a business executive who has a Ph.D. in Economics. Rebecca estimates her parents’ annual income as greater than \$ 250,000. Rebecca is employed as a Resident Assistant (RA) and receives \$10,000 in compensation for room and board for serving in this capacity. Her family covers all the rest of her college expenses.

Rebecca had very little work experience prior to coming to college. She says that during high school she would babysit about once a month. She said that during the summer before she came to St. Luke’s she applied for several jobs but she never was hired “because my family went on a long vacation.” When Rebecca came to St. Luke’s she got a job as a desk assistant in one of the residence halls. She says that she only worked until February because she “got fired.” Apparently Rebecca had a difficult time following the schedule for desk assistants. Given her track record with the residence hall staff, it is perhaps surprising that Rebecca was hired to be an RA for her second year at St. Luke’s. Rebecca explains that she cannot estimate the number of hours per week she works because being “an RA does not have set hours during the week.”

Rebecca played lacrosse in high school and was considering playing in college. She was recruited by several schools to play lacrosse but ultimately decided not to play. Her choice of St. Luke’s was based on her sense that “it was where I would be happiest.” Rebecca says that she had a difficult transition to college during her first year and her RA really helped:

I had a great experience my freshman year with my RAs and I thought they were great people, and really helped me get through the transition

to college...I had trouble with time management and they really helped me organize my life and things like that. And I wanted to help people do that.

Even though Rebecca mentioned several times that her parents can afford St. Luke's without the break that she gets on housings and expenses through her RA position, she is very proud of being able to contribute to her own education:

I didn't get money from St. Luke's and every other school I applied to gave me a decent chunk of money. So by being an RA I get the room and board, which is about \$8,000, and I get a \$1,000 stipend each semester. So I don't know...it pays for housing and Residence Life pays for my food and they paid for my school books both semesters which is great cause that's like \$500, \$600...so that was a huge factor in deciding whether or not to apply because I feel like...I am helping my family out a little bit. So we don't necessarily need the help but it makes me feel better since I didn't get any money here.

In addition to her RA job Rebecca landed a job as a nanny during the summer between her freshman and sophomore year. She worked fulltime in this capacity with a family who was close to her parents. She explains that she was able to save quite a bit of money through this job:

I started I think four days after I came back from school last year...And so I worked everyday five days a week, 11.5 hours a day...I mean it was long. Friday night people would be like 'would you like to go to the movies?' I'd be like 'I'm going to bed at 10.'

Rebecca has been able to use the money that she saved from her position as a nanny to support her social life at St. Luke's. Rebecca does not have a car at St. Luke's and her parents pay for her cell phone bill. She is going to bring "her" car back to campus after she goes abroad next year. However, her parent's own the car and she plans to pay for parking with part of her stipend from being an RA. As far as

going out to eat or to the movies she says “I pay for that on my own, from the money I made this summer.”

Even though the immediate benefit of Rebecca’s becoming an RA was that her parents’ bill was reduced, it appears that they are returning this money to her for her future education or for her to be able to travel when she goes abroad during her junior year. She says, “My parents and I worked out a thing with the money that I’ve saved them on room and board. They’ve put it aside for me on CDs.”

Even though Rebecca is proud of the fact that holding down the RA position reduces her parents’ expenses, she definitely sees the job as good for her for other reasons:

The RA job is—for me—much more than the room and the board and the stipend. It’s like, I LOVE people. I mean I want to be a teacher and eventually a guidance counselor, so working with people now—especially people that are my age—is great...I’m pretty sure I would have been an RA even if I didn’t get paid. Actually, I’m 100 percent sure that I would have been an RA even if I didn’t get paid. To me, the money was just the icing on the cake.

Specifically, Rebecca has benefited from the RA position through the mentoring she has received from Residence Life staff and the resources at the St. Luke’s that her RA training has exposed her to. She speaks admiringly of the fulltime Assistant Director in Residence Life who has assisted her. Having his guidance and support was especially important to her because she was assigned as an RA in a freshmen residence hall:

He’s been great. Like I had a resident who has been really torn between a situation and I haven’t been able to help them. But I’ve been able to send them to someone...The benefits (of the job) are the connections that I’ve made.

Rebecca says that extensive training that she received as an RA, that she once thought was excessive and irrelevant at the time, has often had a benefit. She recalls a specific example that illustrates this point:

Like we watched a video on recycling—like how St. Luke’s recycles—and it really actually did come in handy. One of my residents was very environmentally conscious. So she came to me in the beginning of the year asking questions like: ‘Do we have recycling bins? What gets recycled and what doesn’t?’ I was able to whip out my little sheet and show her.

Examples like this suggest that Rebecca’s training as an RA not only made her a better RA, but also helped her feel that she was an actively contributing member of the St. Luke’s community.

Even though holding down the RA position has really helped Rebecca grow as a person, she sees some drawbacks to the job. She believes that because she already had difficulties with time management, the demands of the position add to this problem. She remembers a specific incident from her first semester as an RA that illustrates this point:

I had one weekend in the very beginning of the year where I didn’t get any work done. There was a huge incident on the floor, there was a fight and somebody had to be escorted off-campus and it was this whole big drawn out ordeal, and I just had a seven page paper to write...I just didn’t get it done. My teacher was nice enough to give me an extension.

Not all of the sacrifices that Rebecca makes because of her position as an RA are academic. She also mentions sacrifices to her personal and social life. She described a dilemma that she faced recently:

I wanted to go home for a day, to go home and grab my car and come back. But I can’t cause I have to stay here. Sometimes things like that kinda suck. Or like I’ll want to go out to dinner

with my friends at night and I can't cause I'm on duty (as an RA), and I'm not supposed to leave the building.

In some ways these “real life” sacrifices really helped Rebecca prepare for the world beyond St. Luke's. She said that incidents like this, where she could not go out with her friends on a whim, taught her “that it's not that big of a deal.”

In terms of Rebecca's “real life” plans beyond St. Luke's, she is studying to become a teacher and then perhaps a guidance counselor. She sees her experience as RA as especially relevant to what she is studying in class:

I've been able to use, like especially in the education department, all my experiences on the floor. I was able to use them in a couple of classes. I have been able to write a couple of reflections about what I was able to learn in my service learning on my floor and bring that together in class.

Rebecca explains that her work as an RA did not really change her mind about her career but it “reinforced my decision to be a secondary ed. minor.” A more recent interest for Rebecca is becoming a high school guidance counselor. It seems that her experience as RA is really influencing this decision. She says, “I've learned a lot about people in general and I do want to be a counselor. So a lot of my experience on the floor really will be like useful later in life.”

Rebecca's experience as an RA seems to have been so powerful that she is even considering a career in student affairs. Some of her supervisors in Residence Life have discussed with her what this career might require: “I've been thinking about maybe going for a career in higher education—working in Residence Life—like as an Assistant Director. So that would require graduate school and stuff like that.”

While the experience as an RA has been transformative, Rebecca's immediate concern is going abroad. After being rejected to go to St. Luke's program in New Castle (England) Rebecca has chosen to go to Australia. Of her abroad choice she says "I'm going to Australia in the fall. I leave June 28th." Rebecca plans to make the most of the experience and plans to travel while she is abroad. She explains that she does not start classes in Australia until July 10th and so she plans to travel until then. She also plans to travel before she returns to the states because classes end November 15th in Australia and she does not have to be back to St. Luke's until January.

Besides going abroad, Rebecca has many other co-curricular interests at St. Luke's. For starters she plays club lacrosse. This involves at least one practice per week and games on many weekends. She also has been in chapel choir and helps out with campus ministry. As an education major she participates in the "Education Society every once in a while when she can make meetings." One thing that being an RA has taught Rebecca is that she needs to limit these co-curricular activities. She says, "At first I didn't quit any activities before I became an RA so that was difficult. So I had to weed one or two things out and not attend meetings as regularly."

While Rebecca's parents have made a lot of money in their careers, they seem very supportive of whatever career choices she makes. In addition to supporting the fact that she chose St. Luke's, despite the fact that she received more financial at other schools, she claims they are supportive of her pursuing a career in which she will make *less* than they do. Comparing herself to her mother Rebecca says "I'll probably never make as much money as my mother does...ever! I mean my parents

just want me to be happy and if I have to live, you know, in a cardboard box for the rest of my life that's fine.”

In summary, Rebecca is an upper-class student who chooses to work on-campus as an RA. Rebecca's work choice seems only partially influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., she chooses to work the RA job because the stipend makes up for the fact that she receives no financial aid but acknowledges that her parents do not necessarily need the help). Rebecca's work as an RA compliments and reinforces her choice of her major and career (e.g., working with her residents will make her a better teacher and guidance counselor). Rebecca has been involved in many co-curricular and extra-curricular activities (i.e., campus ministry; club lacrosse; education society). The demands of her campus job have helped Rebecca prioritize her involvement in these activities and have challenged her to focus on her academics. Rebecca's choice of studying abroad does not seem largely influenced by her academics and reveals certain aspects of her class background (e.g., will travel extensively in Australia while studying there yet does not mention where the money will come from). Rebecca's social and academic connection to the campus is enhanced by relationships with Residence Life staff, which have an influence her vocational aspirations.

Gareth

Gareth is an upper-class student who comes from a near-by county to St. Luke's. He went to an all male private, Catholic high school. This is one of two all boys schools that are considered the best Catholic schools in the area and each year these schools would likely have several students who matriculate at St. Luke's.

Gareth described himself as a shy kid in high school. He was a serious student who always preferred math classes and numbers to English classes and writing.

Gareth's father is a CPA who seems to have really influenced his son's attitude about personal finance. Gareth seems unusually disciplined about his spending and serious about the need to save money. Gareth's dad received his MBA from St. Luke's.

Gareth's mom has her master's degree and she is a human resource professional with a private company. While Gareth is classified as an upper-class student for the purposes of this study because of his parents' level of educational attainment and their professions, he only estimates their annual income as between \$100,000 and \$149,000. Gareth receives a merit scholarship from St. Luke's of \$10,000 per year. He estimates that he contributes \$12,000 per year to his own education from his job as an RA and position as First-Year Aid (a teaching assistant to a faculty member teaching a freshmen seminar). Gareth estimates that his parents contribute approximately \$20,000 per year to his education.

Gareth worked a great deal during his last two years of high school at a supermarket. He found a job as a cashier at a supermarket the summer before his junior year in high school. He says that "it was supposed to be a summer job to earn some extra money, then I just stayed with it and it transitioned my junior year and summer before my senior year." Gareth worked at the supermarket between 35 and 40 hours a week during the summer and about 15-20 hours per week during the school year. Because of his high school job Gareth had a lot of savings for his

freshman year in college. This was a good thing because even though he was a local student, Gareth lived in the residence hall his first year and he did not work.

Gareth's family is conscious of the costs associated with his attendance at St. Luke's and they expected Gareth to commute after his freshman year. However, Gareth applied for and received a RA position. Because the RA position offers free housing and a stipend, Gareth was able to continue to live on-campus. In addition to his position as an RA, Gareth has a position working directly with a member of the faculty as a First-Year aide. The Alpha Program is an activity-enriched seminar style course available for incoming students as a part of offerings available to freshmen. Gareth took this course himself as a freshman and the computer science faculty member who taught the course recruited him to serve as an aide during his sophomore year.

Gareth believes his two jobs serve different purposes. The financial incentive was really central to Gareth wanting to become an RA. He says that "I researched [the] Resident Assistant position and found out that if you are a Resident Assistant you get free room and board, so I applied for the job spring of my freshman year and received the position." Gareth explains that his decision to become an First-Year aide was a result of developing a close relationship with a professor and not because of any financial incentive. He explains that this relationship was actually fostered by the RA application process:

Well, involved with my RA application I had to get a teacher's recommendation, so I went to one of my professors...We developed a good relationship and he asked me to be a role model for freshmen students this year, so I said yes. It didn't have to be a paid position, but that was just one of the perks. I would have done it regardless of

whether it was paid or not...for personal satisfaction and my ability to help others.

Gareth says that the primary reason that he works is to help his parents with the costs associated with attending St. Luke's "because of the costs of the school." Gareth says that besides providing free housing his RA position allows him to put the \$2,000 stipend toward tuition. Gareth says that he "splits the costs of books with his parents" and they pay for his campus meal plan. However, Gareth is also very proud of the scholarship that he earned at St. Luke's and looks at it as a way that his hard work in high school is helping his parents afford college. He says: "I do get \$10,000 a year in scholarship money...I don't pay directly to them (for his tuition) but I have worked very hard."

In addition to easing his parents' burden of financing his education, Gareth definitely thinks that both of his jobs have helped him improve himself as a student and as a person. In fact, Gareth did not tell his parents that he was pursuing the RA position until he got it. He says that they were very surprised because he was very shy as high school student and they just did not see him as having the personality for the job: "They were a little surprised because they didn't think it was my style, so they were a little shocked but completely supportive." Gareth thinks there is a lot of responsibility associated with the RA job and that it has helped him improve his interpersonal and conflict resolution skills:

You go through a range of personalities. Some people will be in a good mood and other people will want to tear your face off right there. Especially when we are on duty, we have to deal

with a lot of conflicts that may arise, and that is really on the spot mediation...More on the administration end...I have had to report to my superiors a few times every week about how things are going in the resident halls...and if I'm having any personal issues with other students or staff members...So, I've had to transition from speaking with students to administrators several times a day.

Gareth does not really see any downside to his job as an Alpha aide.

However, he definitely sees a negative social stigma associated with being an RA.

This is because the position is viewed by the student culture as an extension of the administration and one that is responsible for enforcing policy related to underage drinking. Gareth speaks of the stigma associated with being an RA when he says:

I'd say one of the drawbacks of the RA position is socializing. Many students here at St. Luke's are going out to different places during the weekends. If I wanted to hang out with someone and they are in a compromising situation with say something like underage drinking, I can't put myself in that situation...Even if I do want to hang out with them, and they are my friends, I need to stay away from them.

Gareth's natural ability with math and numbers led him to major in business with a concentration in finance. While he has veered slightly from his initial intent of concentrating in economics, he does not think that his jobs have had any influence on the selection of his major. He does credit his dad as orienting him towards a career in business, but notes that the "long hours he works and the amount of stress he is under" as a CPA caused Gareth to pursue a slightly different track. While Gareth has the opportunity to return to work at the supermarket each summer, he hopes to find a paid internship for the summer between his sophomore and junior year. He credits his mom for helping him with career advice, including helping him look for an internship. He says, "My mom being in professional human resources I have had her

input on a lot of job related questions, concerning internship interviews and what I should do to prepare for jobs.”

Despite the fact that he views it as a pretty expensive proposition, Gareth does plan to study abroad in Melbourne, Australia during the spring semester of his junior year. He says, “I was a little reluctant to go abroad at first because it will cost about \$5,000 more during the semester I am abroad and to me \$5,000 is a pretty substantial amount.” One factor that seemed to ease Gareth’s concern was that Residence Life promises that he can have his RA job back when he returns: “I was a little reluctant to leave my RA position for a semester but I’m not too worried about it because if you are abroad they will save you a spot for returning.”

While being an RA has cut into the time that Gareth likes to spend playing intramural soccer and volleyball, he says he tries to “put aside 3 hours a day to do my own personal work and maybe another hour or 2 for some relaxation time.” Gareth has continued to do well in school and this is a requirement of his scholarship. In addition, Gareth is a member of the Honor Council. The Honor Council is a student organization that is responsible for adjudicating cases of academic misconduct. Gareth seems invested in this role and says his work “reflects on St. Luke’s itself, it helps to increase the integrity of the school.” Gareth has been able to take what he has learned on the Honor Council and use it in his role with freshmen as a First-Year aid. He says, “Freshmen may not be aware of what is cheating...so I try to teach them as much as I can about plagiarism and the most common offenses.”

In summary, Gareth is an upper-class student who has chosen two on-campus jobs. He views both jobs as carrying with them important leadership opportunities.

However, he views the remuneration that he receives as an RA as the primary motivation for pursuing the job. Gareth's choices appear to be influenced by institutional policies and practices (e.g., availability of campus jobs; merit based scholarship awards; desire to live on-campus causes him to pursue RA job). A number of his employment/leadership opportunities appear to relate to his forging a close relationship with one faculty member during his first year. His career/vocational goals do not seem strongly influenced by his campus jobs but rather are shaped by his talents and abilities and the influence of his family.

Nick

Nick is an upper-class student from a wealthy suburban area located four and a half hours from St. Luke's. Nick has a twin brother who also attends St. Luke's. Nick also has an older brother who studied film in college and now works in Hollywood. Nick's interview revealed that he may have had some difficulties adjusting to college life, including some problems with St. Luke's code of conduct and underage drinking. He was forthcoming about the importance of keeping up with his friends. In particular, he was involved in the "bar culture" that surrounds a campus environment that is restrictive of alcohol consumption in the residence halls.

After completing college, Nick's father worked on Wall Street as a stockbroker for twenty-two years. He is currently selling "custom" business suits and men's clothing. Nick's mother also worked on Wall Street after she completed graduate school. She gave that job up when Nick and his twin brother were born. A few years ago she went back to work as a salesperson with a company called Fearington's [a pseudonym], which Nick explained is a business that sells high end

flatware. Nick estimates his parents' annual income at greater than \$250,000. Nick says that his parents cover "almost all" of his cost of attending St. Luke's other than about \$1,000 that he says he contributes from his work.

Nick had pretty extensive work experience during high school. He got his first job when he was a 10th grader at "the local ski and snowboard shop" where he helped customers and "stocked boots in the back." He completed lease agreements with customers for equipment and sold "boots and skis, as well as snowboards." Nick expresses that he was able to get this job because he has been snowboarding since a young age. He explained that his family owns a house in New England and he says "we used to go up every weekend." Nick worked at the ski shop two days a week and every weekend during the winter. He never worked in the spring because he played lacrosse in high school. Nick's second job during high school was as a caddy at a country club where his family had a membership. In fact, Nick has worked at the country club every summer since 10th grade and was planning on returning to work there the summer after his sophomore year. After being a caddy, Nick became a "bag boy" where he would drive "all the golf carts around" and takes care of equipment for the members.

Nick did not work during his first semester at college. He said: "I wasn't overly concerned with having to have a job." When he came back to school for the second semester Nick realized he had spent all his savings. As a result he found a job at a restaurant and package goods store that is within walking distance of St. Luke's. Nick explains that he had gone to this restaurant "a few times for lunch." Nick explained that he saw a flyer that advertised that the restaurant was hiring, and after

he inquired about working there he got a job working at the cash register. Nick liked working at the store at first. He said, “The job at Barney’s [a pseudonym] was a good job and I liked it. I was a cashier there and I would sell alcohol and food.”

Eventually Nick grew tired of the hours, he said, “I found that they were over working me a lot.” By over working him, Nick means that his supervisor was only scheduling him for shifts on the weekends. This conflicted with Nick’s ability to keep up with his friends and to go out socializing:

They only put me on Friday night, Saturday night, and then all day Sunday. So I pretty much told them listen I am a college student. I need to enjoy my time. I told you the days I could work. I told you I can only do so many weekend days. However, for the next three weeks the lady continued to put me on all weekend, every weekend. So I told her I am going to have to step down.

Even though Nick originally wanted to work off-campus because he “believed the wages were better,” when he returned for his sophomore year he got a job on-campus with Campus Events. Ironically, Nick says that he found out about working with Events because he got into trouble during his freshman year at St. Luke’s and part of his sanctions included working with the department: “I actually had to work some civility hours, volunteer hours, at Campus Events during my first semester because I had gotten in trouble in an incident down on Colorado Boulevard [a pseudonym].”

Nick says that one of the advantages of working for Campus Events is that several of his friends are on the staff. “We have four friends there now,” he says. Even though he may make a little less working for Campus Events than he did working off-campus he still thinks he makes a little more than other students do at other campus jobs. He also says, “with keeping the job, every semester, they give

you a fifty cent raise...So that's incentive to keep that job and to earn even more money."

Nick's primary reason to work is to support his active social life. Nick says he spends money on:

Alcohol. Food. What else, we go to the movies sometimes. Alcohol. Going out, going to the bars. It's expensive, especially with all the cabs...a cab to and from, drinks aren't really cheap. A lot of my friends go out, so I try not to sit in the room by myself if possible. So I go out...So it gets pretty pricey. Besides that, I like to buy things for myself—so clothes. I shop online a bunch, off eBay. So I like to have the money there so I can purchase those things that I like.

When Nick is at school he shares a car with his twin brother. He explains that he and his brother helped his parents buy the car when he was in high school. Nick says "together when we got the car when we were juniors in high school we paid \$8,000 worth of it out of a \$22,000 car, but since then we haven't had any car payments besides just accidents." By accidents Nick explains that he means "repairs, new clutch, broken axle...any damage comes out of our pocket." He says that his parents pay for insurance as well as gas. During the summer when he is working more hours he says "I will be buying all the gas."

While Nick admits that he primarily "lives from paycheck to paycheck" and calculates how much he should work by what social activities he has coming up, he does see some non-materialistic reasons for working his job with Campus Events. For starters, he has bonded with other students who work there. He says "it's good that you do form relationships with the people who work there." He says that he sees that these relationships with other students can provide important peer networking:

You meet people [on the Events staff] who tell you 'he's a good teacher but he doesn't demand a lot.' Or 'this guy's a joke you will

just watch movies the whole class.’ You do that, networking between student and student. I’ve seen people and they’re doing work together in the [Events] shop. One person will help another person out with...a math problem.

In addition, Nick feels like because of his job he has become a more visible member of the St. Luke’s community. This has benefited him in some unexpected ways. He says:

Just from wearing the Events shirt and walking around, especially on the [Admissions] Days, future freshmen’s parents will come up and ask you questions—‘How do you like the school?’ So there is more interaction with people who are not yet members of the community, as well as with [the food service provider] and cleaning services. You are all in it together in terms of breaking everything down and being ready for the next day.

In terms of academics Nick believes that his grades were starting to slip when he was working off-campus. Now that he works on-campus he does not have a difficult time managing working with his course work. He says that a big difference between his off-campus and on-campus job is that his job with Events allows him to determine his own schedule. Nick speaks about the difference and says:

If I know I have a test the next day then I know I am not going to work. Where at Barney’s that wasn’t the case. I used to have to beg my boss, ‘Can I leave just a half hour early? I really have to hit the books.’ But they’re not as flexible.

Nick says the fact that academics come first is emphasized by his supervisor at Campus Events. He says, “Our boss Joe, he does encourage that everyone gets their school work done. He does emphasize that.”

Nick is a business major and will be completing a concentration in marketing. He primarily attributes his interest in business to his parents. However, he also thinks that having so many jobs in the service sector may have had some influence on this

choice. His intention to pursue a career in business definitely played a role in his college choice. He says “that played a big part in my decision to come to St. Luke’s because they do have a pretty good business school here.” Even though he had a difficult time balancing his work at the restaurant/package goods store Nick suggests that it had an effect on his growing interest in marketing and that it may influence his career choice:

When I was working at Barney’s I became extremely interested in beer because we would sell many, many different types of beer from all over the world. So I use to read the labels about them. I became extremely interested in working for a beer company and trying to sell that, and also I took a marketing course at the same time...I did a presentation the other day for my organizational behavior class. It talked about your plan and if you have a vision for the future. Part of that vision for me was being part of the marketing department for a major alcohol distributor and trying to influence consumers.

In addition to majoring in business, Nick is considering doing a minor in Italian. He explains that he is still not sure if he will minor in Italian because “the school is still in the works of creating one.” In addition to pursuing a minor in Italian, Nick was considering studying abroad in Florence. However, primarily because of academic reasons he does not think he will. He has taken more Italian classes than are required and completed his electives early. If he went to Florence he might not be able to take enough courses to graduate on time. Of his decision not to study abroad he says, “I was planning on going to Florence but I probably won’t be going abroad anymore, just because my curriculum isn’t really set-up for it right now.” Nick admits that going abroad might have been possible if he had been better at planning ahead: “One of the things I found out was I should have gone to a meeting and they

can tell you about all the programs. And I never did that and that kind of back fired on me.”

In terms of extra-curricular programs Nick has only really been involved in one. During his freshman year he played on the club lacrosse team. However, once he started his off-campus job he gave up lacrosse because he says:

I got hired up at Barney’s so that cut into the time that I could practice with the team and another [reason] was the team wasn’t really well run. The seniors were running it and it was kind a joke. It wasn’t worth my time. And I was going to pick it up this semester but I am working again.

In summary, Nick is an upper-class student who chose to work an off-campus job but found that the hours were not conducive to his life as a student, particularly his social life. As a result, Nick quit this job and began working on-campus for Campus Events. Nick’s work choices seem to be influenced by characteristics of the peer culture such as the socioeconomic status of the majority of the student body (e.g. he works to afford to go out to the bars; he chooses a job where several of his friends are employed). Nick’s choice of on-campus work over off-campus work also seems to provide social integration (e.g., he is a more visible member of the community; he works together with other staff to work events). In addition to his parents, Nick’s choices appear to be influenced by his supervisors at Campus Events (e.g., they emphasize the importance of academics). While Nick chose not to go abroad this decision was not made due to issues of affordability or employment, rather it appears mostly to relate to poor academic planning on his part and his need to complete curricular requirements.

Manny

Manny is an upper-class student from a suburban area that is located about two and a half hours from St. Luke's campus. He is the son of a first-generation immigrant from Southeast Asia. He and his younger sister both go to St. Luke's. They both went to Catholic schools their whole life and during high school this meant that they drove 20 minutes each way to attend a Christian Brothers school.

Manny mentioned several times that he and his sister are "spoiled." His father is a psychiatrist who received his medical education in Southeast Asia. His father immigrated to the United States in order to do his fellowship in psychiatry. Manny's mother is American and she is a registered nurse who worked for his father at one point. She got her nursing degree at a community college. Now she is "retired" so that she can complete her bachelor's degree. Manny estimated his father's annual income as greater than \$ 250,000. Manny receives a merit scholarship from St. Luke's of \$12,500 per year. The Multicultural scholarships are awarded to academically talented students of color in order to increase diversity on the campus. In addition, Manny receives room and board as compensation for being an RA. The rest of his cost of attendance is covered by his family.

The jobs that Manny held during high school were limited to the summer. One summer he worked as a cashier at Dunkin Donuts. Then the summer before he came to St. Luke's he worked in retail at Burlington Coat Factory. During his freshman year at St. Luke's Manny got a job on the intramural sports' staff. He explains that "they actually have staff members for intramurals" which includes "refs, officials, and scorekeepers." Manny is a flag football official and a scorekeeper for

basketball. He also works various special events at the Rec. Center. For example, he handles admissions to the conference swim championships or works at a promotions table during open house events for prospective students.

During his second semester at St. Luke's Manny applied for and became a resident assistant (RA). He was encouraged by the Director of Residence Life to become an RA during the summer orientation before his freshman year. "I have a relationship with Dawn McFadden [a pseudonym], the head of residence life and you know from this summer incident she actually told me that she thought that I would make a good RA." Largely because of this encouragement from the Director, Manny paid attention to the advertisements for the positions and applied. He says that he was also motivated to seek the RA position because of the remuneration:

I learned about all the benefits of being an RA and they are definitely lucrative, especially the housing...I have a younger sister that goes here. She's a freshman, and so two college tuitions at the same time...so I thought I'd take that and the \$2,000 stipend would help pay for books or even go more towards my tuition...which I ultimately ended up doing.

Manny claims that even though he has had to limit his hours working with intramurals since he became an RA, he really loves it. He feels especially supported by his supervisor there and that is a big reason why he stays with the job. He says of his work environment there:

I love working for them. I mean it's really not that much pay but again I made friends through the staff. John Jacobs [a pseudonym] is a great guy. You know when I had some problems with Residence Life he totally understood. He was very considerate. He really cared about me as a person. And I'm like I just like working under you...you know?

Even though Manny likes his job on the intramural sports staff more than being an RA, he feels that becoming an RA has challenged him in important ways. He explains that this position really helped him develop interpersonal skills and leadership capabilities:

The RA job allowed me to find a way I can be a leader because, for the most part, I didn't really have that kind of experience. I did volunteer work you know. I participated in, you know, my track team in high school. But never that position, you know, where I was...counted on to do something solely by myself...And so I really liked that opportunity to be able to be like 'Hey I can get paid to do this' but I can also develop myself. You know develop skills that I was particularly lacking in.

Even though Manny's father is very insistent that he and his sister make school their top priority, Manny knows that his father appreciates that he took it on himself to get his RA position. Manny says that while he is aware of the fact that he comes from a background of privilege, "I really appreciate the opportunity that is given me." He also says that he is aware that his "father works really hard and I know it and even though he won't tell me I know." As the oldest son in his family, Manny took it on himself to help with the cost of college for him and his sister. He explains that despite the fact that becoming an RA involved some sacrifice his decision was "heavily influenced [by] the fact that they pay for housing, and you know, I know that was a big chunk." Again he expressed his father's appreciation when he says "along with the scholarship I think my dad said it was like one-third...what he has to pay."

Manny is not asked by his parents to cover any other incidental expenses while he is at college. He says his parents pay for his food because he chooses to use his RA stipend for books. He has a car at school that his father gave him and his

father pays for gas by putting money into his bank account or he says “I have a check card.” He says that sometimes when his parents “come down, they just give me cash.” He says that his parents also pay for his cell phone. For these reasons he says he can primarily use the money that he makes with intramural sports for “entertainment.” He says the costs add up for things like “driving [downtown] to go to the movies and then food, you know like restaurants outside of the money allotted for meals while I’m on-campus.” Manny hinted that he does not frequent the bars with his classmates by saying he is “pretty straight forward kid.” He also says that during winter and spring break he goes home because he has a “very close family.”

Academically, Manny is very focused on becoming a doctor. He is pre-med and majoring in biology. Manny explains that because of his father’s influence he has been pretty focused on the medical profession:

I’m pretty much pre-med all the way. I don’t want to say for certain, but as I get closer and closer to graduating, I’m coming to the realization that I think that’s what I want to do. You know I am preparing for that direction anyway and I’m thinking about it in terms of like how I’m gonna pay for it...where I’m gonna go. You know I need to start preparing now. So it’s definitely becoming more of a realization.

Doing well enough in school to become a doctor is something that Manny credits to his father’s ambition for him as his eldest son. Of his father’s drive he says:

You know he did come from a third world country. I mean it’s different and I’m very apprehensive of it and his kind of take on things. I mean when I was growing up he always told me my job was to listen to my parents and to do well in school.

Even though Manny describes his father’s approach to education as very “regimented” he is very appreciative of how much his father has sacrificed for him and his sister:

I've been going to Catholic school since elementary school. So it just goes up for both of us...\$1,000 for both of us...\$10,000 dollars each for high school. So now it's \$40,000...so \$80,000. So he (Manny's father) works pretty much seven days a week you know...I guess like 9 to 9 or something like that.

Because of his father Manny feels a lot of pressure to succeed academically.

While he does not feel that all the hours he has devoted to being an RA has caused his grades to suffer he is sensitive to this possibility: "This semester I'm a little unsure on what I'm going to get. 'Cause like usually I'm very focused on academics and you know I figure out what I can expect...This semester my grades *may* drop." Even though he says he had "pretty much the same GPA" the first semester that he was an RA, Manny is concerned because his course work is getting more difficult. He says, "It's also that the classes are getting more difficult because they're becoming higher levels. So I can't totally say it's the time, but with those classes, as they are getting harder, you need to spend more time with them."

In addition to his concern that being an RA may affect his grades, Manny feels that his social life was inhibited because of the job. Manny was assigned as an RA in a freshmen hall in a part of campus where there are few students in the sophomore class. Consequently, Manny feels that it has been harder to keep up with his friends this year. Manny says that "I believe that I'm focused on my work, but if I can't enjoy myself that affects me wanting to do my work." Finally, at times this year Manny did not feel that he had adequate support from the Residence Life staff for the difficult job that he was being asked to do. He says: "There isn't that support. It's like here's what you need to do. We'll check in to be sure you are doing what you're doing, and that's it. We're counting on you to do it." For these reasons, despite the

fact that Manny thinks the RA job has helped him grow as a person, he has decided not to come back on staff his junior year. He explains his decision saying:

I chose not to come back to the RA job. I mean it was an experience but it's at the expense of academics, where I am still happy. But I'm cautious. I mean it might have been lucky. It might not work out the same way next year, especially as a junior...especially being more major heavy subjects now.

Similarly, because of his focus on academics and his desire to go to medical school Manny has decided not to go abroad during his junior year. He explains this decision saying "for science majors it's pretty difficult...just in terms of like what transfers over...They really have one program. It's in New Castle." His concern for "what transfers over" reflects the fact that in going abroad Manny would still need to complete all of the course work to be pre-med. He explains that the abroad program that he really wanted to attend was in Spain because he is pretty "conversational" in Spanish. However, Manny says that program would not offer the courses he needs.

Manny recognizes that his parents are slightly disappointed that he will no longer be an RA, and this will mean they will have more college expenses to cover. However, because he made the decision primarily for academic reasons he thinks they will understand. Even though he recognizes that his parents often have to pick up the slack and provide a safety net for his financial decisions, Manny still thinks there is a difference between him and some of his other privileged classmates: "I mean we're spoiled but I guess like my opinion is there's a difference between being spoiled and spoiled rotten. I recognize that I've had tremendous opportunity and I'm very appreciative of it."

In summary, Manny is an upper-class student who chose to work on-campus with the intramural sports staff and as an RA. His academic choices take priority and seem dominant to most everything else, including work (e.g., he is pre-med because his father is a doctor; he chose not to come back as an RA in order to focus on academics; he chose not to go abroad because of the demands of his major). Manny's two campus jobs serve different purposes. His job in intramurals provides a social connection and he identifies with his supervisor as a mentor. While he does not feel as supported as an RA, he acknowledges that it has helped him develop important leadership skills. Manny's work choices appear to be influenced by institutional policies, practices, and characteristics (e.g., his merit based award allows him to give up his RA position; his assignment as an RA inhibits his social interaction). Finally, Manny's background as upper-class **and** the son of a first-generation immigrant allow him to recognize and acknowledge his own privilege and that of his peers and classmates.

College Administrators and Student Employers

This section of the chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with six college administrators and student employers. The section presents these findings based on common themes that emerged from these interviews. The themes are organized based on the participants' perspective of how certain aspects of the institution's policies and practices influence students' work choices. The areas that I focus on include tuition policies, academic policies, social class of the majority of students, and the availability of jobs. These are the primary aspects of the "field" (See Figure 2.1, Page 60) which administrators had knowledge that contribute

to students' work choices. I also asked the administrators and employers if in their experience social class affected students' work choices. Finally, toward the end of the interview I shared with each participant some of the data I collected from students in order to get their reactions.

The administrators who were interviewed included four individuals who I identified as informed experts and policy makers at St. Luke's. These individuals included Martin Carpenter, Vice President for Enrollment Management, Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid, Elise Montgomery, Dean of Academic Services and Arnauld Clemente, Dean of International Programs. In addition to these administrators I interviewed two individuals who work with a large numbers of student employees due to their role at St. Luke's. These included John Baker, Director of Campus Events and Paul Plumber, Assistant Director of Residence Life. These two individuals were also selected because they both were helpful in assisting with the selection of the student subjects for the study. During that process they seemed to have some unique insight concerning the student culture at St. Luke's and how it may be influencing students' work and co-curricular choices.

Academic Policies

Most often the administrators and student employers expressed an indirect influence of the academic environment at St. Luke's on students' work choices. For example, Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid said that "the academic quality of our program demands a high level of effort." Because of this he suggested that "with entering freshman...parents and students are reluctant to accept work-study...because they think it's going to take too much time from their academic

schedule.” Despite this Livingston suggested that his office counsels students about the benefits of accepting the work-study position:

I couldn't point you to an actual study, but there have been studies done where the level of time in a student's weekly schedule (devoted to work) should not have an impact on a student's academic work load and their ability to handle that...once it gets above 15 hours per week, that's kind of a danger zone, but anything below 15 hours per week forces the student to structure their schedule more...Whenever any of our counselors talk to parents or students, sometimes during orientation, [and] they will say 'my son or daughter accepted the work-study position but we are concerned about the time commitment.' We have a conversation with them. The other thing we find is that the work-study students get connected to the College more quickly because the supervisors in the departments really look out for them.

John Barker, Director of Campus Events made a similar comment concerning how academic demands at St. Luke's force students to restrict the amount of hours they devote to work:

I think the academic rigor can cause a student to not have as much opportunity to earn additional income...especially as they leave core and move into their major, where you know they are meeting with groups on a regular basis. And at least for our scheduling, those group times are in the evenings or on weekends when our work load is the largest. And so I've had students take a semester off; [they] work with us to get through a difficult time in their academic process.

Barker's comment, while similar to Livingston's, further implies that the academic demands and priorities shift over time and may restrict some students on-campus work employment once they become upperclassmen. In addition, the willingness he expressed as a campus employer to allow students to have a semester off, in order to compensate for a particularly difficult academic load, indicates that the campus supervisors do “look out” for students as Livingston suggests.

Some of the administrators indicated that St. Luke's takes measures that may restrict the amount of time students spend on the job if they encounter academic

difficulty. Martin Carpenter, Vice President for Enrollment Management explained that this is true for financial aid recipients. He said, “I think that...in order for a student to receive work-study, if it’s part of their financial aid package, they need to be making...academic progress, so there are grade point average requirements and if they drop below that then the work-study can potentially be taken away.” Dean Montgomery explained that in extreme cases students are urged to restrict their work hours in order to avoid being academically dismissed:

Let me give you an example. We had a student that had significant academic distress in the first semester and she was working over 30 hours a week and through her work with this office I encouraged her to cut back her work hours and made a serious recommendation to her and her parents that she cut back her work hours. She did not and she ended up on the dismissal list. We have other situations where...the probation committee...will make recommendations on how many hours not to exceed given the students co-curricular load, academic load, and so forth.

Both Dean Montgomery and Dean Clemente mentioned the requirement in the business school that students complete two out of three possible experiential components as a policy that affect students’ employment and their co-curricular choices. These include an internship, study abroad and service. Dean Montgomery stated that often the “top choice” for business students is to complete an internship. In addition, she suggested that the business school recently approved that these internships could be for pay. Dean Montgomery explained that has caused some students to feel pressure to find paid internships and has created some confusion concerning the purpose of these experiences:

It’s only been recent that the business school has authorized or allowed internships for pay. The college of arts and sciences isn’t quite there yet, but my guess is that it may follow suit. There’s some discussion about that...there’s the question: What’s an internship for? Is there a

conflict of interest if you get paid...if someone is paying you and giving you a grade?

Dean Montgomery expressed that she felt that an unintended consequence of this more liberal policy of allowing students to pursue paid internship was that “sometimes a student might pass up a really good experience in terms of their formation for something that pays and I’ve seen that happen.” She felt that working class students in particular felt pressure to find a paid internship because the internship is often completed during the summer when they would ordinarily be working.

Dean Clement also commented on the policy in the business school and how it has added some pressure for his office to help students find internship experiences overseas:

The students are often eager to get internships. So you know we have a requirement in the business school that students have to fulfill now two out of three requirements: internship, service, and international experience...We’ve been trying to offer, through our office, internships abroad...We’re actually, for the first time, sending three students to London over the summer to do internships...We helped to organize that opportunity, but we will want more of that for the future.

Tuition Policies

A number of the administrators discussed the high cost of attendance at St. Luke’s as a significant contributor to students’ work choices. Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid said:

I mean we are about as high as you can get. I mean next year our cost of attendance for an entering freshman resident student is \$48,590...We’re up there with probably 20% of colleges in the United States that are high. So, as long as the cost is at that level a student, unless they are coming from a very wealthy family, is going to have to provide some help to their parents.

Dean Montgomery concurred with this comment saying, “I think more and more students are finding it increasingly difficult to be at St. Luke’s, especially to pay for peripherals such as books and the day to day living expenses of being an engaged student.”

In addition to having a high cost of attendance several administrators mentioned that St. Luke’s conservative approach to estimating costs may cause some students to have a somewhat unrealistic idea of their incidental expenses. Marvin Livingston explained this saying, “The other thing you should be aware of...our allowances for that total cost of attendance are very conservative.” Dean Montgomery stated that she felt the estimates St. Luke’s provided students and their families were inaccurate. She said, “I think that our estimates are way off actually.” Paul Plumber, Assistant Director for Residence Life recognized the tendency for freshmen and sophomores to underestimate their incidental expenses, including their social life, and then need to find jobs in the middle of the term. Many of the students in their interviews not only discussed the cost of socializing with friends but that there often were fees for things on-campus like intramurals or tickets for events like concerts. Plumber said:

I see a lot of students in October and November having that kind of freak out: ‘I need to get a job. Money is going a lot faster than I thought it was going to go.’ And I think they underestimate the cost of life. I think they think everything is paid already, you know, and ‘there is not that much I am going to need to pay for.’ And they are used to having mom and dad to pay for everything.

The other tuition and financial aid policies that many of the administrators and employers mentioned as influencing the students on-campus work choices had to do with the federal work-study program. Since over half of the students who work on St.

Luke's campus are work-study students these administrators pointed out that the policies of the work-study program regulate the number of hours the students could work. Vice President Carpenter mentioned a limit in terms of the number of hours work-study students could work each week. He said, "I haven't verified this in recent years but there used to be a maximum of 20 hours a week that students could work in work-study." Mark Livingston confirmed that work-study students are limited in how much they can work but that it was based on the amount of their financial aid award. He said that for the 2008-09 academic year that amount was set at \$2,350. Livingston said, "Some students make a lot less than that, some make a little more. It depends on the number of hours they work each week." Moreover, Dean Montgomery explained that students who are on need based grants have an added deterrent to working more. She explained, "Once you go beyond the work-study hours and you get extra income, they will cut back on the grants and so if you are on a financial aid package that's kind of a guaranteed regulator of how many hours you will work."

In fact both of the administrators who work with large numbers of student employees specifically mentioned dealing with emotional issues with student employees who were on institutional grants. John Barker discussed a recent incident with a student employee that typified for him how employment choices often are closely connected to changes in student's financial aid package from year to year:

Just last week a student came to me and said I lost \$12,000 in aid, obviously very upset, an emotional situation...And a portion of it was because her brother graduated from college...And the other, according to financial aid, she was able to accrue some money, \$11,000. That changed her package and how much she has to work now because she does have to take out a loan. It puts a larger emphasis on her having to work, whereas before it was really to pay for her going abroad, spending money while she was abroad.

Similarly, Paul Plumber discussed how from his experience, financial aid policies actually caused some students to decline the Resident Advisor (RA) position who were otherwise inclined to accept it:

I know one policy that kind of...causes a struggle for us is how the RA position is considered aid and then gets figured into the financial aid package. So we have some RAs who...are still getting the same amount of aid, so they are not making a whole lot more than they were before. Because they were getting grant money before and now it's (their RA pay) coming in their financial aid package as income. That I think has caused some of our students to decline the position after taking it.

Plumber believes that because St. Luke's considers the remuneration (room plus stipend) that RAs receive as income, rather than as a scholarship, RAs that are on need based grants are in effect penalized.

Finally, both Vice President Carpenter and Marvin Livingston addressed St. Luke's conservative tuition discount approach and the fact that the class of 2010 was the last cohort where the institution did not meet full need for the neediest applicants. Carpenter downplayed the amount of unmet need that these students had and the possible impact that might have on their employment choices. He said that before the change in policy "we were meeting close to 95-96% on average (of the student's need), so we weren't that far off." Livingston emphasized that even when the institution "capped" these students' grants St. Luke's had a high yield (the percentage of accepted student who accept the offer of admission) for these groups:

So you know years ago we had two levels of capped grants, 65% of tuition and 75% of tuition. When we were capping grants at 65% tuition, it was amazing because the yield was still high. Some of the highest need kids; the yield was in the 40% range. Overall, the yield of accepted students to admitted students is like 19%.

While it is difficult to say for certain why students from the lowest income groups have the highest yield rates, one possible explanation that is suggested by the data collected from students in this study is that these students apply to fewer schools than their middle- and upper-class peers. In addition, many of these students and their families were especially drawn to the institution's Catholic mission and identity.

Livingston emphasized that the Financial Aid office recognized that the highest need students would struggle to afford St. Luke's. Moreover, he indicated that these students may have resorted to working more in order to compensate:

We had a conversation with those families because they would call and say 'it appears that you haven't met my need.' And we would say well 'yeah you're exactly right and you need to know that we've made you the best financial aid offer that we can given our financial constraints.' We were kind of trying to discourage them from coming because when they did come they struggled every year they were here. And they probably were going out and getting two or three additional jobs in addition to work-study. And we were advising those students to think very, very hard before they made a decision to come here because we told them if you decide to come your grant is going to continue to be capped each year you are here.

Availability of Jobs

Many of the administrators and student employers commented about how the residential nature of St. Luke's caused most students to prefer working on-campus over off-campus. Elise Montgomery said, "I think we are a campus that is very...students like to stay on-campus, and so given the choice I think most students would like employment on-campus because they find going into the city difficult...and right around St. Luke's there is not a lot of employment." Both student employers said that they believe that jobs on-campus were plentiful. John Barker, Director of Campus Events said, "I think it's very convenient, especially with the

policy where freshmen can't have cars...I certainly think the closeness of our campus where everything is right here, as opposed to a large university where it's several miles across campus has an influence on where students work." Paul Plumber, Assistant Director of Residence Life said, "I guess I've never really had any students come to me to say I can't find a job. So I don't think that availability is a big factor."

Many of the administrators commented about the institutional policy that departments should hire work-study students first, even if they have the funds to hire other students. Most felt that this didn't hinder students who were not on work-study from finding a job on-campus, but felt that these students may not get their first choice of employment. John Barker said, "You know there is a general institutional push to hire work-study first and direct hire second here. I mean that's what you are told to do." He explained that at one time that meant that he couldn't even rehire employees who worked for him in the previous year if they did not receive work-study, but that has changed: "That I know has changed where if you spend the time training the student and they want to work then you can rehire them."

Even though there seems to be plenty of jobs on-campus several of the administrators commented that there may be social norms applied by students about what jobs are acceptable for certain students. In fact, Dean Montgomery remarked that very few male students take office assistant positions with administrative or academic units and that she had tried to recruit males to these roles with little success. John Barker emphasized that because the jobs with Campus Events are demanding students' peers have a strong influence on who will take the job. He said, "The students that do come to us generally don't come to us cold. They've done a little

research; even if that means having a conversation with students that currently work for us or students who have graduated who have worked for us.” In at least once instance an employer mentioned looking to hire certain students because of their influence over their peers. Dean Clemente said that “for the first time next fall we are going to hire two or three students who went to Belgium and we are going to hire them to recruit other students to go to Belgium...because we know that students listen to other students and it’s better to have students to recruit for a program instead of just us.”

While most of the administrators agreed that the availability of off-campus jobs in the immediate proximity to St. Luke’s restricted the number of students who worked in these settings, some believed that there was a social norm at work concerning which students pursued these jobs as well. Most of these jobs tend to be in the service industry. These employment opportunities often are at restaurants and bars frequented by St. Luke’s students. John Barker commented about who tends to take these jobs:

If you count sort of the 10th Street corridor and the Colorado Avenue corridor...there are a lot of restaurants. A lot of students have waitressing or back bar...that kind of experience...sort of from the shore—a lot of it is.

Barker’s comment that students with previous experience in the service industry seek these types of jobs and the fact that they got this experience “at the shore” indicates a social class distinction in who pursues off-campus work. Indeed, several students in this study from middle- and upper-class backgrounds pursued off-campus jobs in service industry settings. Many of them emphasized that the ability to work on the weekends and to earn more money through higher wages and tips were motivating

factors for pursuing this work. In the next section I discuss further how the administrators and student employers saw the social class make up of the campus affecting students' work choices.

Social Class of the Majority of the Students

The administrators and student employers discussed several ways that the relative affluence of the student body at St. Luke's affected students' work choices. The first common theme in this category was that these informants emphasized that working was not as common place as it would be on other campuses and therefore was undervalued by the majority of the students. Paul Plumber, Assistant Director of Residence Life shared that he was a first-generation college student. He explained the difference between his undergraduate experience and his experience of St. Luke's campus:

I went to a school that was primarily first-generation and so everybody had a job and worked on-campus. You know it was part of everyone's day. And I know it's not the norm here, I wouldn't say as much...I think the students are kind of in the mindset that working is not the cool thing to do and the ones that have to work to make ends meet have the added stigma.

Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid was less certain if working on-campus carried a negative social stigma. He noted that because his office primarily works with the students who have financial need it was hard for him to be sure. He discussed the fact that even some of the students who did not qualify for financial aid asked his office about work:

I guess I could envision a student who has work-study and absolutely needs the money to exist from week to week...might feel some sort of stigma because they have to be working, where...a wealthier student...doesn't have to work. But I will say this, we

have students streaming into the office at the beginning of every year who haven't applied for financial aid and want to work.

Another theme that emerged related to the culture of relative affluence present on St. Luke's campus was that several administrators commented that there was a difference in students' attitude about work based on their social class. Several of these informants felt this shaped the type of jobs students would pursue. John Barker, Director of Campus Events explained the difference:

I think there is a big difference in students that are in two categories. The students that are full payers are looking for something that's convenient, that isn't going to impact their life in making it more difficult or any additional responsibilities. They just want to sit in the Campus Ministry office and answer the phone for a couple of hours and it sort of provides them with a little discretionary income, but they can go or they don't have to go. The students who do need to work are generally the work-study students who are receiving aid. But those 5% are usually the students that are working for us.

Dean Montgomery also remarked that she felt that there was a social class difference in the type of jobs students would consider:

Anecdotally, I think lower class students and also commuters and kids whose parents come from working class backgrounds would be more likely to get jobs and work off-campus or take...rough jobs...so like Campus Events...just in terms of the hours and the physical stamina that it requires.

While jobs like those offered by Campus Events may be more demanding they also are appealing to working class students because of the amount of hours they can work. In addition, most of the students knew before they ever interviewed for Campus Events that the job paid a slightly higher wage than other campus jobs. Finally, because several of the working class and middle-class students wanted to stay at St. Luke's over the summer the fact that the Event Service job became fulltime during the summer and provided free housing was important.

Because of the difference in students' attitudes about the type of jobs they would consider several administrators felt that certain work environments, like the Events Services staff and the Resident Advisor staff, become subcultures which provide support to working class students. Dean Montgomery commented on the importance of this for these students in terms of gaining a sense of belonging on a campus that is otherwise a mismatch with their social class status:

Well you know, Campus Events you talk about community. Students talk about that (working for Events) as a community. There's a lot of support, a lot of camaraderie. While it's very, very difficult they like belonging to that...They find a niche there.

Paul Plumber commented on the same sense of belonging that some RAs from working backgrounds find from being on his staff. He discussed how often working class students are initially attracted to the RA job because they receive free housing but that the support network that they establish with other RAs and Residence Life staff almost becomes more important:

I wonder if it is salvation just financially or if it's salvation in kind of finding that place where [they] fit. It helps them find that place where they can make meaning of their experience...I think there is a unique culture on the RA staff in general and I think that comes from so many of them being first-generation or having a different experience and not always fitting the culture at St. Luke's.

Another theme that emerged related to the relative affluence of the student body at St. Luke's was that a number of administrators felt students might feel compelled to work in order to keep up with the expensive social life of the majority of St. Luke's students. Vice President Carpenter commented how students might get caught up in this culture saying:

I mean the other thing is our students...they've got wants. A lot of their wants are related to having the money to afford...being able to go out with friends on the weekend or order that shirt from Abercrombie.

In fact, Marvin Livingston mentioned witnessing the pressure of this affluent peer culture first hand because his daughter attended a peer institution of St. Luke's that has nearly the same social class composition:

So we have heard, in fact my daughter experienced it at Maryvale (a pseudonym), I mean we weren't providing her with spending money but her roommates, their parents, one was a doctor, one owned a restaurant and the money they were giving their kids to spend while they were at Maryvale, she just couldn't believe it.

Arnauld Clemente, Dean of International Programs discussed how the relative affluence of the student body at St. Luke's influenced students' work choices in preparation for study abroad. In fact, Dean Clemente confirmed that one of the big concerns of students and their families concerning study abroad was the expense:

They are all concerned, and their parents are concerned, about how much money they are paying to study abroad because when they go abroad they want to travel. So many of them get jobs before they go abroad because they know it's going to be expensive. When they go abroad they travel so much they get in debt and when they come back they get jobs to pay for their debt.

Dean Clemente emphasized that his office tries to counteract this culture of affluence and the sentiment that students have to spend so much while they are abroad:

There is kind of some peer pressure sometimes when they go abroad that 'oh you know if you go to Spain you must see 11 countries' and another will say 'I saw 13 countries.' And you know we try to fight against this as much as possible because the extreme case is that a student might go to Spain and come back and not really know a lot about Spain because they spent all their time going to other countries...We try to fight that saying, 'no you're going to Spain so you'd better come back and know who's in charge in Spain, what the current problems are in Spain, what's in the news, what are people talking about, what is it like to work in Spain...Don't come back from Spain and tell me about England and all these other places.'

Finally, several administrators remarked that because the culture of affluence was so pervasive at St. Luke's it was very difficult for working class and even some middle-class students to find a niche. Despite the fact that these students may outwardly attempt to "fit in," they often still experience a clash of cultures. Paul Plumber said of working class students at St. Luke's, "I see some of them trying pretty hard to fit in." In fact, he commented about one of his RAs that participated in this the study (David) who commuted to St. Luke's before he got the job:

So he was moving on to campus and he was taking the RA role, which is taking on a lot of responsibility...I wonder if there wasn't a big need for him to kind of fit in, to look like everyone else. But he does in a large way. It is kind of interesting that [he] acculturated or assimilated in some way to what is kind of expected here and what [he] should look like or act like or be wearing. To me he (David) sort of epitomizes the first-generation kind of working class family and I think there was a lot of pressure to be at home on the weekends or at least stop by a couple of times. And I think that for him that was a problem because he got a lot more comfortable here and was connecting here.

Dean Montgomery commented that other St. Luke's students from working class backgrounds never feel comfortable with the predominant culture of privilege. For her this often came down to the pressure that these students felt to keep up with the expensive social scene:

I hear from students coming in that they feel that they need to work or that they aren't able to keep up and that causes other issues that they come in to talk about. I also hear a lot from students in their exit interviews that they can't and/or don't want to keep up with that because that's not how they want to spend their money. But those that do want to keep up and just don't have the finances, they will go to a state school or a larger school where they perceive at least those things will be...cheaper.

This sentiment was echoed throughout my interviews with working class students—students like Sarah who couldn't believe how oblivious her classmates were when spending money on their campus ID card or Alicia who recalled how casually her roommates casually discussed that they were used to their maids cleaning their house when they were home.

Reactions of Administrators and Student Employers to Student Data

Toward the end of the semi-structured interviews I conducted with administrators and student employers I shared with them some of the data I had collected from student participants in the study. Specifically, I shared with them the data contained in Tables 4.14, 4.15, and 4.16, which present information about the types of jobs the student held, the number of hours they worked, their choice of a major and their decision about study abroad.

Several of the informants were surprised, concerned even, about the number of jobs the working class students held and the amount of hours they spent at these jobs.

Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid specifically commented on how much these students were working: "That's amazing. I don't understand how they are doing it." After reflecting on these data he returned to the theme of costs:

Again, it goes back to our costs...You know we see so many students, and I am sure this isn't unique to St. Luke's, but they fall in love with the College and they will do anything to get here and afford it, and then once they get here, stay here. I can't imagine that working more than...I see 16-20 (hours per week) repeats itself a lot...Their academic performance has got to suffer.

Elise Montgomery, Dean of Academic Services echoed the concern about how the amount of work might negatively impact these students' performance:

Well, in terms of the number of hours, the working class students here and the numbers that are above 30 (hours per week). You know 26-30 (hours per week), those are scary. The juggling of the jobs is a little scary too, having more than one. I mean if these people are carrying 15 credit hours, I wonder if they sleep.

Not all of the administrators' reactions to this data were as strong, and in particular Martin Carpenter, Vice President for Enrollment Management was skeptical about the data given the relative small size of the sample. He said, "My assumption would be if it were to be campus wide then that might be a little more surprising, but you know on the other hand to see a certain population, or a certain number of students, working longer hours doesn't shock me."

Paul Plumber, Assistant Director of Residence Life suggested that there was a pattern in the type of jobs that the students selected and that these varied by social class. He commented on the jobs that many of the middle- and upper-class students selected: "But it is interesting how these four jobs are pretty much just money. You know waitress, waitress, sales associate, and cashier." By contrast he pointed out what he perceived was a difference in the jobs the working class students chose: "It's interesting that these jobs are very noble in a sense, anti-tobacco campaign, 911 support, babysitting, Teach for America. They are very 'helping' in a sense."

The other data that I presented to the administrators that generated a lot of comments were students' study abroad choices. Most of the informants were very surprised to see that so few working class students were taking advantage of study abroad. For example, Dean Montgomery said:

I thought naively that because of the way St. Luke's charges for its' abroad...that your tickets are paid for and you get to come home at

Christmas, even though it would be expensive to be in Europe, I thought that we made it attractive enough that more students in this category (working class) would go.

Despite the fact that he was aware how conscious students and their parents were of the costs, Dean Clemente was also surprised by how few working class students from the study went abroad. He immediately focused on doing more to present lower cost abroad options in order to attract these students. In fact, he discussed a recent success that he had in working out an abroad experience for a student who wanted to go to Africa:

That's very interesting... We are starting a program in Africa and I have a student who has very big financial challenges. [She] is a single mom and has no money and is completing on a scholarship and she loves Africa. Basically, I'm opening up a program in Africa with her and two other students. And the good thing about going to Africa is once you get there everything is extremely cheap... So the working class student I would suspect would want programs in very cheap countries and they might go to those countries knowing that once they get there they might not be able to get a job but at least everything will be very cheap.

A few of the administrators commented about how disappointing it was to find such an apparent social class difference in terms of which students' access study abroad. Paul Plumber said, "I feel like these students (referring to the upper-class students) being abroad in their future might not be that unlikely but these students (referring to the working class students)...studying abroad might be the only time they go abroad." Dean Montgomery made a similar comment about it being a missed opportunity that so few working class students would go abroad: "That's too bad because these are kids who you know would just benefit so much from the experience."

At the conclusion of the interview I shared with each informant my conceptual framework for the study (See Figure 2.1, Page 60). Arnauld Clement, who happens to be French, commented on the accuracy of role of *habitus* in the working class student's decision about study abroad:

I tend to think that some parents, especially working class parents, or parents in a tougher financial situation, see study abroad as a kind of luxury. That study abroad is great and wonderful if you can do it. If you cannot do it then it's not really a necessity or you can do without it and still be fine. And you know I am from a working class background myself. I tend to agree with that.

In addition, Martin Carpenter who remarked that the model didn't address the fact that the broader economic climate would like influence students financial decisions, including their choices about working while going to college. He said:

The only other thing that comes to mind is I suppose the state of the economy...I mean if you're in that time where it's huge economic prosperity there may be less of a need (to work). But on the other hand if there is a huge economic down turn or what have you there may be more motivation. That's the one that comes to mind.

Summary

This chapter presents the findings of the case study research. The chapter begins by providing background information about St. Luke's College in order to accurately describe the context surrounding the phenomenon of student employment on the campus. This section presents information gathered from archival data available through St. Luke's Office of Institutional Research. The second section of the chapter presents case summaries of twenty-four students at St. Luke's. These case summaries include the stories of 12 working class, 6 middle-class, and 6 upper-class students. The case summaries provide information about each student's

employment, academic and co-curricular choices. The final section of the chapter presents information gathered from administrators and student employers at St. Luke's. This section focuses on themes that emerged from these interviews regarding how the policies and practices of the institution might influence students' work choices.

CHAPTER FIVE

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

This chapter offers a cross-case analysis of the 24 undergraduate participants in the research study. I conduct this analysis by examining the six sub-questions that guided the research. I then return to the overarching research question which asks if the conceptual model that utilizes the constructs of Pierre Bourdieu reflects how students make choices about working while going to college. The chapter includes four main sections, which follow the intuitive groupings of the research questions.

Research Question 1 and 2—Students' Work Choices

Research questions one and two ask if students' work choices (e.g., whether or not to work, how many hours, and on-campus vs. off-campus employment) vary based on their social class. The data presented in the previous chapter suggest that the choices that working class students at St. Luke's make about employment contrast from their middle- and upper-class peers in at least three ways. First, the working class students who participated in the study tend to work more hours per week than their middle- and upper-class peers. Second, the working class students are more likely to work multiple jobs and/or combine on-campus with off-campus employment. Third, these data suggest that, despite the tendency for working class students to work more hours and to balance multiple jobs, they often derive a sense of "belonging" or "fit" through some of the jobs they choose. The sense of academic and social integration that working class students gain from their employment is important in that it is often missing in their experience with the dominant culture of the campus. Finally, the data suggest that regardless of social class, students who

work at St. Luke's are equally as likely to delay starting jobs for at least the first semester and in some instances for the entire first year of college.

Working Class Students Work More Hours

By comparing data in Tables 4.14 (Page 112), 4.15 (Page 198), and Table 4.16 (Page 240) it is evident that working class students at St. Luke's are more likely than their middle- and upper-class peers to work more hours. Three working class students (Suikeina, Alicia, and Paul) worked more than 26 hours per week. Four other working class students (Maura, Sarah, Luis, and David) estimated that they work between 16 and 20 hours per week. While a few students from middle- and upper-class backgrounds (Claire, Red, Anna, and Karen) worked more hours, most tend to work 15 hours per week or less.

The fact that working class students work so many hours affected their experience at St. Luke's in at least two ways. First, some of the working class students in the study indicated that they felt that the amount of time they spent on the job affected their academic performance. For example, Sarah, who reported that for the most part it was "easy" to balance employment with school, explained that she did have "crisis moments" because she was a math major. While Sarah did not appear to be at risk academically she indicated that the necessity of working a lot of hours caused her to lower her standards. Because she has to work so much she says, "If a grade falls here or there I will be okay." As a first-generation student Sarah does not have role models that demonstrate excelling in both work and school. In fact, she discussed that her relationship with her mom is more like a relationship with a peer. Paul, one of the working class students who indicated working an extreme number of

hours each week (26-30), said: “My grades have suffered and I haven’t done as well as I think I could.” Even the working class students who are excelling academically indicated working placed an increased stress on their studies. For example, Maura, who received St. Luke’s highest merit scholarship award, explained that her work with primates at the zoo is physically exhausting. Because of this she says that on weekends, “I’m pretty tired so getting motivated to do school work is a little hard.” These comments are consistent with the concern that was expressed by Dean Montgomery that working this many hours could place students in academic jeopardy. Nonetheless, while the amount of hours they worked did seem to affect how well they did in class none of the working class students in the study seemed to be at risk of being placed on academic probation or even failing individual courses.

The other way that working so many hours affected working class students’ experience at St. Luke’s is that often these students participated less in the social aspects of campus life. This included events like athletics, concerts and lectures, as well as with the “bar scene” that is a big part of St. Luke’s social life. In fact, one subtext related to the fact that many of the working class students are not as able, or as willing, to participate in the aspect of the student culture that revolves around drinking is an undercurrent of disapproval of this aspect of St. Luke’s student life. For example, Sarah stressed that she can’t go out to the bars because she works all the time on the weekends, but even if she could she says, “There is no reason to do that.” Similarly, one of the reasons that Lou found the RA job so demanding was because he had little tolerance for the freshmen on his floor who wanted to drink all the time. Finally, while Alicia indicated that she has an active social life it is through her

involvement with Alternatives, a student organization that provided alternative activities to the drinking scene. Before being involved with Alternatives, Alicia found it hard to establish a social life. She said, “I really frown upon the underage drinking and the bar scene because a lot of these kids are just handed money...My parents could never just hand me money.” This comment typified many working class students reaction to a peer culture that seemed to them to be a waste of time and money. In addition, the sentiment was a marker of their social class status in that unlike students from upper-class backgrounds they knew that their parents would not understand or approve of this aspect of college life.

Working Class Students Hold Multiple Jobs

One striking contrast between the employment choices of working class students in this research study and their middle- and upper-class peers is that the working class students often work multiple jobs during the academic year. In fact, nine of the twelve working class students indicated that they held more than one job during the school year (See Table 4.14, Page 106). Several of these students held as many as three jobs during the same semester. In addition, six of these students combined on-campus and off-campus employment.

There may be several reasons why working class students hold multiple jobs. The most obvious is that they have to in order to help their families pay for tuition and the costs associated with living on-campus. Chapter Three illustrated that some of these students had the total amount of their financial aid award they were eligible for “capped.” Therefore, these students have unmet need. Because these students can only earn a finite amount from their work-study job they attempt to make up for

unmet need by also working off-campus. Finally, while all of the working class students in this study indicated that they were claimed by at least one parent as a dependent, they often were in effect financially self-reliant. Therefore, because one or both parents did not contribute to their college finances these students were employed in multiple jobs in order to compensate.

In order to manage working more than one job the working class students in the study were extremely resourceful in finding employment that fit their academic schedules. They also were adept at finding jobs that matched their previous work experience, complimented their academic program, or both. The example that Sarah provided was perhaps the most symbolic of this resourcefulness. Sarah's job with the Career Center allowed her to pick and choose between other part-time, off-campus jobs that fit her schedule because she received regular notices as part of her work responsibilities. Two other local working class students, Maura and Luis, continued to work jobs they had in high school. Maura's job working with primates at the zoo and Luis's employment with CAD support for the 911 operator provided financial resources for college and also represented meaningful work experiences that both were anxious to continue. In addition to continuing the jobs that they held in high school, both students found on-campus employment. Maura's work as a desk assistant allowed her to study while she was at work and Luis's work-study job in the biology department provided him with the opportunity to get to know his faculty on an informal basis.

Another strategy that is repeated by many of the working class students in the study is combining the Resident Assistant (RA) position with other hourly

employment. Indeed, Alicia, Brooke, Lou and David all hold campus jobs in addition to being an RA. Both David and Alicia considered transferring after their first-year at St. Luke's and say that becoming an RA was important factor in deciding to stay.

The working class students in the study were particularly sensitive to the high cost of living on-campus but also found living on-campus to be essential in order to feel connected. While the RA position pays for their room and offers a modest stipend, the working class students found it necessary to have another job in order to have spending money. In addition, while a number of these students discussed how demanding the training was in order to become a RA, they felt managing the time demands associated with being a RA was relatively easy because the hours were flexible. As a result, many of them felt they should have another job that felt more like "work."

While a number of the informed experts interviewed for the study noted that work-study policy regulated the maximum number of hours students could work, most working class students were able to work more hours by holding more than one job. Many of these students fulfilled their work-study jobs during the week and worked off-campus on the weekends. The working class students also combined the hourly work-study jobs with other on-campus positions that were less structured but allowed them to earn supplemental income (e.g., RA, Teach for America Coordinator, Yearbook Editor).

Only a few middle- and upper-class students held more than one job. Moreover, only one of these students (Red) said he worked both on-campus and off-campus. However, Red gave up his off-campus job at GNC because he was so

involved as an RA that he did not have time to work there. Often if upper-class students held more than one job, the motivation for one of these jobs was not financial. For example, Gareth explained that being an RA definitely helped him feel like he was helping his family pay for college but that he became an Alpha Aid for non-monetary reasons. He said, "I would have done it regardless of the pay." Gareth's commitment as an Alpha Aid was only for a semester and he developed a close relationship with a faculty member through serving in the role. Similarly, Manny, who is an upper-class student who was working as an RA and an intramural official, explains that his officiating job is "more for going out to the movies... for personal expense." Despite the fact that Manny specifically mentioned that his father praised him for taking the RA job because it reduced his bills by a third, he indicated that he was giving up the position as a junior in order to focus on his studies. In summary, while there were a few examples of upper-class students who held more than one job, it was rare that they continued in both positions for a long period of time. In addition, middle- and upper-class students did not combine on-campus and off-campus employment.

Working Class Students find Self-Efficacy and Belonging through Work

Despite working long hours and holding multiple jobs the working class students in this study often gained a sense of self-efficacy from their employment. Because the working class students had significant employment history before coming to St. Luke's, they often had developed a work ethic that allowed them to excel on the job. For example, because Sarah had worked since she was very young she sees herself as the most responsible worker at the Career Center. She took pride

in training the other work-study students and notes the importance of earning the Director's praise. Similarly, Sukeina saw herself as more focused than her fellow Student Service Coordinator and took pride in taking the lead. Lou emphasized how he and the other building supervisors are a team, but noted with pride how he filled-in for his co-worker when she was unable to make her shift at 6 AM. For some of the working class students like Sarah, Lou and Paul who struggled somewhat in the classroom or had to change majors the success on the job seemed even more important. Work became an essential part of their identity because it was something they knew they were good at.

The working class students in the study also often found a sense of belonging in the employment settings that they chose. Finding a sense of belonging on the job was important to a number of the working class students because they often expressed that they struggled to find other students like themselves.

One employment setting where working class and some middle-class students said they often found this sense of belonging was with Campus Events. For some working class students, finding a job that was the right "fit" involved a process of trial and error. For example, Sydney—the Indian-American student who is an adopted child of rural working class parents—found a job with Campus Events after quitting her first job with Phone-A-Thon. Sydney found her job at Phone-A-Thon to be very difficult. She said that because she did not have much money herself she felt "guilty" soliciting funds from young alumni, who she imagined were in a similar position as her. However, she found a home on the Events staff primarily because of the peer group she established there. She said, "It's a good click...they are really a good

group of friends that are working together...It was a different group of kids than you're used to seeing around St. Luke's, that's for sure."

Another employment setting where working class students often expressed this sense of belonging was on the Resident Assistant staff. For example, David, who commuted to St. Luke's his first year and felt isolated and alone, noted the sense of camaraderie that he found with his fellow RAs. He said in being selected as a RA that he was "considered a leader" and "that looks good and feels good to me." Likewise, Brooke had a difficult adjustment during her freshman year because her roommates partied all the time. When she became an RA she said, "I met so many amazing people through the job...My roommates are both leaders." Paul Plumber, the Assistant Director for Residence Life, also noted that he felt the Residence Assistant staff represented a supportive niche for working class students. He said, "I think there is kind of a unique culture on the RA staff in general and I think that comes from so many of them being first-generation or having a different experience and not always fitting the culture at St. Luke's." While many of the working class students expressed that they did not feel like they fit in before they became a RA, they often commented how important it was to them to have the opportunity to create a sense of community on their floor of the residence hall.

While a number of working class students benefitted from campus jobs because they met students who were more like them, others expressed that they could only find this "fit" through off-campus employment. For example, Sukeina discussed how she felt more comfortable socializing with the students that she got to know from a nearby state university through her off-campus job. She said that through her work

as a food expeditor at Red Robin, “I meet people who have car payments and pay rent. But they are the same age as me and we have similar interests. I feel more distant from St. Luke’s.” Claire, who waits tables at a local bar/restaurant, said that as she became more assimilated to the culture at work she experienced greater tension with her more privileged roommates. Claire said that eventually she felt ostracized because her roommates did not understand why she spent so much time at the restaurant. Over time Claire began to withdraw from her social group at St. Luke’s, opting even to study at the restaurant before or after her shift. Both Sukeina and Claire developed relationships with boyfriends who are not St. Luke’s students through their off-campus jobs. In both instances these relationships were significant. Sukeina spends most of her breaks from school with her boyfriend’s parents and Claire decided to move off-campus to live with her boyfriend. These relationships indicated that the socialization patterns for working class students at St. Luke’s may be different than for their middle- and upper-class peers and that work may play a part in the establishment of the student’s peer group. By contrast upper-class students, even when they worked off-campus, still maintained their primary friendship group at St. Luke’s. Also, the off-campus jobs they held (e.g., Anna’s job at the tanning salon) were more often alongside other St. Luke’s students.

Delaying Employment during the First-Year

One recurring theme related to St. Luke’s students’ work choices that was similar across social class groups was the tendency by students to delay starting jobs while in college. While on one level it seems logical that students would want to

delay employment until they felt confident that they could handle college-level work, the result was that often students appeared to be in a deficit financially.

Sydney is a working class student who opted not to work her freshman year, primarily because she missed financial aid deadlines and therefore did not receive work-study as part of her package. She worked many hours during high school and the summer before she came to St. Luke's. In addition, she received very little guidance or even encouragement from her working class parents even to attend college. As a result, Sydney did not work at all her freshmen year and saw her savings disappear. Fortunately, Sydney met financial aid deadlines her sophomore year and received work-study.

Claire is a middle-class student who, despite expressing great financial hardship, actually turned down work-study her freshman year. Like Sydney, Claire chose not to work at the beginning of her college experience because she had savings from working during high school. She said, "My mom and I discussed it and I decided that I had enough savings from the summer." In addition, because Claire worked so much during high school, the limited hours and the low wage associated with work-study did not appeal to her. Because she did not work her freshmen year Claire said she had "more of a college experience...which was nice." The fact that she did not pursue a job at all her first year also may have to do with Claire's peer group. She said, "None of my friends really work for anything." However, by sophomore year Claire had bought a car and her family was having a difficult time paying her tuition. As a result she got an off-campus job waiting tables. She explained that she likes the fact that her job as waitress is "paid based on

performance” and she clearly was motivated by the fact that she could earn more at this job than as a work-study employee on-campus. Moreover, the fact Claire states that she preferred to find work that was “paid based on performance” indicated her development of a work ethic that is adverse to the idea that the work-study job simply represented a hand out.

Several of the upper-class students also discussed the fact that they had not intended to work while attending St. Luke’s and therefore did not have jobs during their first year of college. For example, Anna did not start working at the tanning salon until her sophomore year. She received a merit scholarship and her parents paid all of her remaining expenses to attend St. Luke’s. She said, “I didn’t know if I was going to work during college at all.” However, Anna decided to get a job her second year because she wanted to be able to pay for her own social life and didn’t want to have to ask her parents for spending money. She realized how much her parents were already spending on her tuition and decided to get a job so that she could continue to “buy clothes and go out on the weekends.” As a result Anna started working 16-20 hours per week at her off-campus job her second year.

Nick is another upper-class student who did not think he was going to work at all during college. Despite the fact that he had worked at a ski shop and a country club in high school Nick said, “I wasn’t overly concerned about having a job.” Nick was very active in the social scene at St. Luke’s and he talked about how expensive this became. He explained the bar scene saying, “It’s expensive, especially with the cabs and...drinks aren’t really cheap.” Nick spent so much money keeping up his social life during his first semester that he started working a job at a nearby restaurant

and package goods store. While the position provided him with spending money, because the hours were on the weekends he found that it conflicted with his social life. As a result he quit and got a job with Campus Events at the beginning of his sophomore year.

The fact that many students, from all social class groups, delay getting a job their freshmen year is an important finding of the study. The benefit of working a reasonable number of hours (e.g., less than 15) has been attributed with the positive effect of helping students organize their time and providing structure and discipline, especially in the first year. (Curtis & Nimmer, 1991). While different students may have different reasons for delaying employment it does appear that many do underestimate the costs associated with college. Moreover, the relative affluence of the campus appears to place some peer pressure on students to live beyond their means. As Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid said, some students may feel pressure “just to keep up.” In addition, the fact that many students do not get a job during their first year indicates that students, and their parents, do not anticipate the finances needed to pay for all four years. This is a point that Martin Carpentar, Vice President of Enrollment Management made:

I'd argue that for the majority of families, they focus on that first year of costs. Now some families are in a better position to afford to take on the second, third, and fourth year of tuition increases, but I also think it's on colleges and universities to do a better job to change that conversation.

These data suggest that students should be encouraged to work a more manageable schedule for all four years rather than delaying employment and working more hours later in college when the demands of their upper-division coursework may

create additional time constraints. In addition, this finding underscores King's (2002) suggestion that institutions should do a better job of communicating with students and their parents the implications of different approaches to financing their education, including those associated with on- and off-campus employment.

Research Questions 3, 4 and 5—Students' Academic and Co-Curricular Choices

Research questions three, four and five focus on students' academic and co-curricular choices. Specifically, I asked if students' employment choices affected their academic and co-curricular involvement in any discernable way. Moreover, these questions asked if these choices varied based on the student's social class.

The data presented in the previous chapter suggest that the academic and co-curricular choices of the working class students in the study differed from their middle- and upper-class peers in three ways. First, the working class students in the study were less likely to study abroad than their middle- and upper-class peers. Employment played both a direct and an indirect role in the working class students' decision about whether or not to study abroad. Second, while the working class students in the study chose a variety of academic majors, they were less likely than their middle- and upper-class peers to select business. Given the size of the undergraduate business program at St. Luke's this is somewhat striking. While it is hard to attribute the reluctance of working class students to declare business as a major to their employment choices, the selection does suggest that their middle- and upper-class peers who declare business are accumulating different types of *social* and *cultural capital*. Third, as was previously noted in this chapter, the working

class students in the study often held multiple jobs while going to school. For these students the various jobs they pursued served different purposes and played different roles in their development. One or more of the jobs held by the working class students served the utilitarian purpose of providing financial support for their education. However, often the working class students held at least one job that substituted for, or complimented, their involvement in co-curricular activities. These jobs often facilitated an opportunity for leadership, community service, or academic and social integration on the campus.

The data presented in the previous chapter also suggest that work influences students' academic and co-curricular choices in at least two ways, regardless of their social class background. First, the students from this research study who worked exclusively off-campus were less likely to be involved in co-curricular activities. Second, the results of this research study reinforce the findings of Cheng and Alcantara (2007) that suggest that students are "constantly searching for meaningful work as well as meaning in their work." (p. 308). The phenomenon of students seeking meaning from their work was evident across social class groups as well as across differences in types of jobs and employment settings. Even some jobs that students pursued for purely materialistic reasons (e.g., Paul's job at the GAP helped him buy a car) often informed students' academic or vocational goals (e.g., Paul pursues an internship in retail).

Working Class Students and Study Abroad

Most of the working class students in the study (10 out of 12) decided against studying abroad. This finding is important for an institution like St. Luke's that

places such a significant emphasis on international experiences for students. While students may have a variety of reasons for not pursuing an abroad opportunity, the vast majority of working class students in the study cited three reasons. First, they believed that studying abroad would be too expensive and that they could not afford it. Second, they felt that the strain associated with giving up their job while abroad would be too difficult for them and their families. Third, while some of the working class students in the study were aware that their campus employer would hold their job for them not all campus employers and off-campus employers were willing to do so. These three factors proved a significant deterrent to participation in the study abroad program for working class St. Luke's students. Even though working class students discussed how studying abroad was not realistic for them, some had given careful consideration to the prospect and many expressed that they would have liked to pursue the experience.

Alicia's decision about studying abroad is typical of many of the working class students in the study. Her decision making process reveals that she had given the prospect considerable thought and had even narrowed the process down by determining the program that was right for her. For Alicia it came down to affordability and maintaining a job. She said, "I want to go to Italy but I can't afford to go to Italy. With loans and stuff I could definitely get over there, but living there for three or four months...I couldn't because I couldn't have a job." Sydney, another working class student, did not give going abroad as much consideration. She talked about the insecurity she felt when considering the prospect: "I don't really know if I'd be able to adjust well on my own financially in another country. It was something

that was kind of scary to me and I know I've settled into a routine here...I have a job that's guaranteed steady and I don't want to leave my job back home." Sydney's answer indicated the complexity of deciding to study abroad for working class students. She rationalized the choice by indicating the need to continue working during the school year, over the summer, and during breaks. However, the fact she considered the prospect "scary" suggested the boundaries of her social class made the choice unlikely as well.

Another factor that working class students discussed as entering into their decision about studying abroad was their reluctance to leave their families for an extended period of time. David, the local, working class student who had made a successful transition to living on-campus when he became an RA, did not think he could be away from home for that long. Even though he had convinced his parents to let him live on-campus, they still expected him to come home as much as he could. Similarly, Sarah discussed how her mother's opinion factored into her early foreclosure of any consideration of study abroad: "That's a decision I made probably before I even came here. And it wasn't really me that made it. It was my mom that made it." Sarah's reference to her mother making the decision about study abroad for her reflects that while her family had adjusted to the fact that she had gone to college they still desired her to conform to certain working class expectations.

The two working class students who decided to study abroad (Lou and Brooke) are from families whose income is greater than most of the other working class students in the study. In fact, Brooke's parents make over \$100,000 per year. Moreover, Lou chose an abroad program (Bangkok, Thailand) that Dean Clemente

said is among the most affordable because most of the costs associated with the experience are included with tuition and fees. In addition, Lou's decision to go abroad was strongly influenced by the peers he met at work. He recounted how he got interested in studying in Bangkok because a student he worked with at the Rec. Center had a tattoo she got while in Thailand. As a child of immigrant parents and a student of color, Lou seemed more interested in experiencing cultural diversity through his abroad experience and this proved a compelling factor in his decision to go.

Only three out of twelve students from middle- and upper-class backgrounds were not planning to participate in study abroad. While Claire (middle-class) decided against study abroad because of affordability and employment, the two upper-class students who decided against going did so for different reasons. Nick missed most of the informational meetings associated with studying abroad and had failed to sequence his courses appropriately in order to study in Italy. Manny, on the other hand, was a pre-med student who had decided against studying abroad because of the intensity of his academic load.

The middle- and upper-class students who chose to study abroad often worked more in order to afford the experience. For example, Karen, an upper-class student saved the tips she earned as a waitress in order to go abroad for an entire year. Karen also stated that she was willing to go into debt while abroad because she planned to "to do everything" and "go everywhere." She indicated a sense of excitement that being abroad for a year would provide her the opportunity to be on her own in a foreign country. Despite the fact that Karen's parents were working class Irish

Catholics, her unbridled enthusiasm for studying abroad indicated that her social class did not constrain her consideration as it did for working class students like Alicia and Sydney.

Social Class and the Choice of Major

Paul is the only working class student in the study who declared business as his major. This compares to the finding that three students from middle-class backgrounds and three students from upper-class backgrounds in this research study majored in business. While this finding could be viewed as coincidental and anecdotal, the size and popularity of the business school would make a more even distribution of the selection of the business major more likely. Moreover, Paul indicated that he is having difficulty completing the experiential components that are requirements for business majors. He discussed the fact that studying abroad was not affordable and finding a paid internship was difficult. These comments raise the question of whether some of the demands of the business school deter working class students from choosing the major.

Many of the middle- and upper-class students who were majoring in business demonstrated that they accumulated different forms of *social* and *cultural capital* than students from working class backgrounds. This was mostly reflected in the emphasis in the business curriculum on obtaining internships that were external to the university. For example, Red is a middle-class student who counts his paid internship with the New York Power Authority as one of his most valuable learning experiences. Middle- and upper-class students' choice of majoring in business also influenced their part-time employment. For example, Anna indicated that she decided to work at a

tanning salon because none of the on-campus jobs involved sales. As a business major Anna wanted to pursue a job that related to her major. These data do not suggest that upper-class students who pursue business majors necessarily accumulate more valuable forms of capital than working class students majoring in liberal arts majors. Indeed, many of the working class students seemed to accumulate greater capital through close relationships with faculty. However, the data did seem to indicate that different types of capital may be valued by different groups.

In terms of students' choice of a major a pattern found in this data was that working class males frequently chose biology and intended to be pre-med. Interestingly, Lou, Carlos, and Luis (working class) all were children of first-generation immigrants who entered St. Luke's intending to be doctors. In addition, Manny (upper-class) was also a child of a first-generation immigrant who was majoring in biology and intending to pursue medicine. These data suggest that the medical profession may hold symbolic status attainment of particular significance to the working class *habitus*. Recall also that Maura's working class parents were somewhat disappointed when she decided to become a naturalist and researcher rather than a veterinarian because she said "they had that whole doctor image for me." Despite these aspirations, it was also telling that only two students who had intended to enter the medical profession when they came to college were still pursuing that goal by the end of their sophomore year.

Working Class Students' Jobs Serve Different Purposes

The working class students in this study often held different jobs for different purposes. In addition, the data revealed that the working class students in the study

were very intentional about choosing these jobs. Often, one or more of the jobs they pursued paid a higher wage and served the utilitarian purpose of helping these students afford the cost of attending St. Luke's. However, working class students often pursued at least one job that provided an academic or co-curricular benefit through establishing an opportunity for leadership, community service, or academic and social integration with the campus.

As an example, Lou is a working class student who pursued two jobs (Resident Assistant and Rec. Center Building Supervisor) because he believed these positions provided him with leadership opportunities. He was encouraged to pursue both of these roles by his ALANA mentor who Lou says, "Helped me develop myself on this campus." Even though Lou had some academic difficulties as biology major, he never discussed scaling back his employment. While Lou needed both jobs in order to afford St. Luke's, these jobs also represented a significant part of his identity as a leader on St. Luke's campus.

In addition to being a RA, Alicia chose two campus jobs which allowed her to utilize skills that complimented her choice of being a communications major and her career interest in publishing. For example, even though her work with The Provost's Office started out as light filing and answering the phones, eventually Alicia was asked to help plan and develop promotional materials for an academic conference. Similarly, her work with the yearbook was relevant to her interest in working as a publisher.

Luis was also intentional about the work-study job he chose. Despite finding a job as a desk assistant in his residence hall his freshmen year, he chose to work for

the biology department when he returned to campus as a sophomore. He said that this job helped his studies by allowing him to see what went on “behind the scenes” with labs. Luis also discussed how beneficial it was as a pre-med major for him to develop relationships with his faculty. He even recounted playing Frisbee on the quad with the same professors he has in class. When he discussed what this job meant to him Luis said, “At the bio department it’s not so much the money that I care about because honest to God the faculty are just amazing.” Luis’s campus job with the department helped him assimilate into an academic culture and to develop important contacts for graduate school.

Sukeina’s job as a paid Service Coordinator represents another example of how working class students often selected jobs that served as co-curricular involvement as well as employment. When Sukienna applied for and received her job as a Service Coordinator she did not quit her job at Red Robin. Instead, Sukeina’s job as a Service Coordinator became her primary connection to the campus outside of her classes. She described this work as “inspiring stuff” and that it was “the only thing that keeps me in the loop in the St. Luke’s community.”

While there are examples of middle- and upper-class students whose jobs provided leadership and co-curricular involvement, they more readily gave these jobs up for competing priorities. Upper-class students like Manny expressed how becoming a RA was important because it provided an opportunity for him to become a leader. However, Manny decided not to return to the RA staff his junior year in order to focus on his studies. In addition, middle- and upper-class students who were able to focus on just one campus job were more likely to also be involved in co-

curricular activities outside of work. For example, while Katy (a middle-class student) indicated that she worked as many as 20-25 hours per week with Campus Events, she also was still involved in regular community service, Christian fellowship, and chapel choir. Katy emphasized that while other St. Luke's students questioned the amount of time she spent on the job, she felt she was able to balance her work with co-curricular activities. In other words, middle-class and upper-class students were less likely to seek out and maintain employment that served as or replaced their co-curricular interests.

Off-Campus Jobs Deter Co-curricular Involvement

As I presented in Chapter Three off-campus employment is fairly uncommon at St. Luke's. However, the data suggest that by the senior year approximately 20% of St. Luke's students are spending more than 10 hours per week working off-campus. For this reason it is important to note that this research indicates that when students work is exclusively off-campus they are less likely to be involved in co-curricular activities. This is a phenomenon that holds true across different social class groups.

Claire is a middle-class student who chose to work off-campus at a restaurant beginning her sophomore year. She discussed the fact that she was quite involved in co-curricular activities in high school and to a certain extent as a freshman at St. Luke's. However, once she started working off-campus her involvement on-campus stopped. During her first year Claire was involved with the freshmen retreat and as a tour guide for admissions. However, beginning with her sophomore year Claire worked at least three shifts per week at the restaurant for between 21 and 25 hours per

week. She said that when she was not working she often was tired and rarely wanted to “do other things.”

Similarly, Anna is an upper-class student who worked as a cashier and in sales at a tanning salon. Even though Anna discussed that she still kept up her social life she was not involved in many co-curricular activities. Anna explained that besides playing intramural basketball on occasion, her job prevented her from being more involved. Anna mentioned wanting to do more service but said that she had to think of her job first. She explained that she would like to be more involved in clubs when she comes back from abroad. However, she admitted that she had not “really looked into it” thus far.

Karen is also an upper-class student who is very connected socially to St. Luke’s, despite the fact that she works 21-25 hours per week waiting tables at local restaurant. In fact Karen indicated that she had arranged to stop working before the end of her sophomore year in order to attend an off-campus event hosted at a local bar and also the year-ending festival and outdoor concert at St. Luke’s. She said, “Those are two days of the year I don’t want to miss.” Despite the fact that Karen made attending St. Luke’s events such as these a priority, she was not involved in co-curricular activities like leadership or service. She mentioned that she wanted to become an Orientation Leader but “decided against it” because it was “very time consuming.” These examples underscore that students who exclusively work off-campus are less likely to be involved in on-going co-curricular experiences such as clubs, student government, or leadership opportunities. However, perhaps there are fewer consequences for this “pull” from the campus for middle- and upper-class

students because they have a sense of belonging because of their socioeconomic background.

Searching for Meaning in Their Work

Cheng and Alcantara's (2007) research utilized a grounded theory methodology and focus group interviews in order to develop what they call theoretical propositions about the role of employment in students' undergraduate experience. The thrust of these propositions is that students are "constantly searching for meaningful work and for meaning in their work" (p. 301). Cheng and Alcantara's proposition is supported by the data collected for this research study. Moreover, Cheng and Alcantara's proposition that students are engaged in the process of meaning making through their work is supported across the different social class groups and the variety of employment settings represented in the study. While not all of the students would articulate that they consciously sought part-time jobs in order to add meaning to their lives, they often discussed aspects of these jobs that brought about self-discovery and helped them realize what kind of work would bring a sense of purpose and satisfaction.

Cheng and Alcantara (2007) suggest that some students "are lucky enough to find jobs that match their academic interests or future career plans" and that for these students "work becomes a part of their on-the-job learning or preparation for advanced graduate training" (p. 309). Maura is a working class student from this research study who has had the good fortune of finding employment that has shaped almost all of her choices as an undergraduate. Indeed, her work with primates at the zoo has influenced her educational choices since she began volunteer work there as a

freshman in high school. She has taken on progressive levels of responsibility and remained devoted to the job despite the inconvenience associated with “commuting” to the zoo during her first year of residence on St. Luke’s campus.

While Maura’s early career focus is quite unusual, her process of making meaning out of this experience while in college was still nuanced. She decided to major in bio-psychology rather than just biology because of her growing interest in the behavioral aspects of caring for primates. Because of her vocational interest Maura drew upon applications from many of the courses that she chooses as part of her interdisciplinary course of study. For example, she explained that she was enrolled in a “year long research methods class which is very applicable to research in any field.” She also discussed that while she is taking a course in evolutionary psychology that primarily focuses on human evolution she has found that a lot of the content “applies back to primates.”

During her first two years at St. Luke’s Maura changed her mind about a career as a veterinarian. She was inspired by the adults she has come to know at the zoo and now is planning a career conducting research on primates and working as a naturalist. Maura explained that at first her working class parents were disappointed in this change because when she “wanted to be a vet they got the whole doctor image for me.” Nonetheless, it is evident that Maura’s self-confidence has grown and she displayed the ability to make independent decisions. Speaking of her parents she said, “Because I pretty much have my scholarship and pay for most of my expenses...it was kind of my decision to make...They just wanted more information.”

Finally, like most of the working class students in the study Maura decided against studying abroad in the traditional sense. Nonetheless, her academic and vocational focus, which grew out of her part-time employment, caused her to investigate taking a course where she would study primates in Costa Rica. Because the course in Costa Rica is shorter in duration than traditional abroad programs, Maura was able to continue her work at the zoo with less interruption. Maura's process of obtaining a scholarship for this experience suggested a process of meaningful discernment and integration of her academic and vocational interests. Referring to the process of obtaining the scholarship Maura said, "I went through all of that last year and won the scholarship and then within my personal statement I wrote that I wanted to use the money towards this (Costa Rica) program."

Chris is a middle-class student whose campus jobs as a Resident Assistant and an Office Assistant with Campus Ministry served as a catalyst for his process of making meaning out of his experience during the two years he is at St. Luke's. While Chris is less single-minded than Maura, his employment contributed to the significant choices he made, including a decision to leave St. Luke's. Chris explained that as a freshman he came to St. Luke's intending to major in psychology and to become a family counselor. His decision to pursue the RA position at the end of his freshman year was partially due to his desire to have a job where he could explore the counseling dimensions associated with assisting his residents.

Chris's position as an RA, his plan to study psychology, and his desire to be a family counselor represented an integration of his academic and co-curricular interests. However, his discernment of the priesthood called all of this into question.

Chris comes from a large Catholic family where the nourishment of faith has provided a significant part of his development. Even though his part-time job with Campus Ministry was primarily motivated by financial exigency, the priests and support staff provided useful guidance during the time in which he considered going to seminary. In fact, Chris specifically mentioned both the RA staff and Campus Ministry as the most influential parts of a “close knit” community at St. Luke’s that supported him through his process of difficult decision-making.

Ultimately Chris decided not to become a priest and in the process determined that he really wanted to be a middle school history teacher. He mentioned that through prayer and reflection he came to a decision that this profession is something that he is truly “passionate about.” Because his role as an RA did not come naturally to him, Chris was able to discern that he was better suited to enter a profession where he could utilize the interpersonal skills he had developed but that involved less individual counseling. His decision to become a secondary school teacher ultimately caused Chris to decide to leave St. Luke’s. Here too his part-time employment was a contributing factor. As the last of six children to go to college Chris has worked some demanding blue collar jobs (e.g., post office and factory work) during the summer in order to provide his father assistance with tuition. These jobs have allowed Chris to gain a true appreciation for the high cost of his private education. As a result Chris determined that he would be better off completing his degree at a lower cost state university in his home state. In this way Chris will also prepare for his teaching career in the state where he hopes to receive his teaching certificate.

Cheng and Alcantara (2007) state that whether or not students find meaningful jobs, they often derive purpose from their work because it becomes a means to insert structure into their daily schedules. Karen is an upper-class student whose job as waitress demonstrated this point. While Karen's job as a waitress was perhaps not as altruistic as the jobs that Chris and Maura pursued during college, she found meaning and purpose through her work. Even though she says her parents are wealthy enough to support the entire cost of her college education, Karen described them as "hard edge" Irish Catholics who worked their way through college. As a result, Karen said she preferred a job that was "active." She even discussed the fact she did not consider some of the campus jobs to be "real work" because they do not teach the same ethic. She said, "I just can't see sitting at a desk swiping cards as work."

Beyond instilling a work ethic and providing discipline and structure to her routine, Karen articulated ways that her job helped her make meaning of her college experience through exposure to the world beyond the campus and a process of self-discovery concerning the type of work that would bring her personal satisfaction. The first way that she said her job has contributed meaning to her experience is that it has exposed her to diversity through the close relationships she established with co-workers from different racial and ethnic backgrounds and different political points of view. She explained that working alongside "a diverse set of females" has allowed her to develop a greater appreciation for their perspectives. Her exposure to greater diversity in her work environment allowed her to view with critical introspection her choice of attending St. Luke's. She seems to have reached a level of self-realization that her decision to come to St. Luke's was in part because of the homogeneity of the

student body. The second way that Karen's work as a waitress contributed to her sense of meaning and purpose is that it affirmed her interest in becoming a field journalist. Her job as a waitress has convinced Karen that she is not suited for a job behind a desk. In addition, she believed that working with customers allowed her to develop the intuition and interpersonal skills needed to succeed as a journalist.

To summarize, the examples provided by Maura, Chris and Karen suggest that students' jobs, whether as working class, middle-class or upper-class students, often provided significant opportunities for them to make meaning out of their college experience. This process of meaning making included observable gains in self-discovery and an increased awareness about the type of work that would bring them satisfaction and purpose. In some cases, like the example provided by Maura, the employment opportunity can become a unifying factor that assists the student in developing a coherent academic and co-curricular plan. For other students, like Chris, the challenge and support derived from the job assist with significant vocational and even spiritual questions. Finally, Karen's experience as a waitress suggested that even jobs that are less academic or career related still assist students to integrate disparate parts of their lives.

Research Question 6—Policies and Practices of the Institution

Research question six asks how the work choices of working class, middle-class and upper-class students appear to be influenced by the institutional characteristics, policies and practices of St. Luke's College. The data presented in Chapter Four suggest that St. Luke's tuition discount policy, as well as the institution's conservative estimate for the total cost of attendance, may cause working

class and some middle-class students to work more hours and to work multiple jobs during the same academic year. In addition, St. Luke's policy which considers the remuneration package for Resident Assistants when calculating financial aid has the effect of diminishing the actual value of the compensation for working class students who are on need based grants. The data also suggest that some academic policies, such as the requirements in St. Luke's business school that majors complete two experiential components, may be more difficult for working class students to fulfill. In addition, the findings indicated that while lower cost study abroad options existed and many departments held students' jobs for them while they are abroad, these policies are not widely known by students. Finally, the data from this research study suggest that the relatively high percentage of upper-class students at St. Luke's creates an expensive social environment. However, many working class students actively resist this culture and their out-of-class experiences reflect this resistance. Nonetheless, the affluence of the student body does seem to influence a few of their choices, particularly study abroad.

Tuition Policies and Financial Aid

St. Luke's tuition discount strategy was presented in Chapter Four. The institution has a high tuition, high aid approach to financial aid policies. The institution offers both need based grants and merit scholarships. In addition, as a predominantly white institution, St. Luke's has attempted to increase diversity on-campus by offering scholarships at a higher level for academically qualified students of color. As a tuition-dependent institution St. Luke's has attempted to control its tuition discount rate by capping need based grants for the students with the greatest

need at 65% to 75% of the student's unmet need. Marvin Livingston, Director of Financial Aid explained that prior to a recent change in this policy his office was forced to explain to the neediest students that their financial award was the best offer the institution could make. He said, "We were kind of trying to discourage them from coming because when they did come they struggled every year they were here."

Despite St. Luke's attempt to discourage students from the neediest backgrounds from attending, the yield rate for the students with the greatest need was remarkably high (e.g., greater than 40% compared to an overall yield rate of 19%). The data in this study suggest, at least anecdotally, that part of the reason for the high yield rate among the students from the lowest income groups may be because the total amount of their award appears large given their parents' annual income. For example, Alicia is a working class student who was admitted to the honor's programs at two other universities. She said that she chose St. Luke's because she said she "got a decent financial aid package." Alicia's case also suggests that for some working class students St. Luke's may be the most selective institution to which they apply. For this reason, the perceived prestige of the institution may influence their choice. Evidence from this study also suggests that working class students apply to fewer institutions than their middle- and upper-class peers. For example, Luis only applied to St. Luke's and as a high achieving student of color he received the highest level merit scholarship. Still, he said he knew he would have to work a lot and take out loans when he chose to come to St. Luke's. He said, "Seeing how tuition is very close to the annual income in my household, I need to contribute as much as possible."

One consequence of the policy of capping need based grants for students from working class backgrounds is that many of these students work many hours and multiple jobs in order to compensate for their unmet need. Table 4.14 (page 106) demonstrates that working class students spend far more time working when compared to their middle- and upper-class peers. Marvin Livingston said that prior to the change in policy in which St. Luke's began to meet full financial need these students "probably were going out and getting two or three additional jobs in addition to work-study."

The working class students were also more sensitive to St. Luke's conservative estimates for the total cost of attendance. Because, unlike many of their peers, working class students paid for their own meal plans, housing, and books they had to make up any difference between the actual costs for these items and what St. Luke's provided as an estimate. Marvin Livingston said that "the other thing you should be aware of...the allowances for the total cost of attendance are very conservative." Dean Montgomery took this a step further saying, "I think their (Financial Aid's) estimates are way off actually." For example, Table 3.1 (page 73) illustrates that St. Luke's only estimates a total of \$1,010 for books and supplies for the year. Many of the working class students in the study discussed the high costs of books. For example, Luis who is biology major said that buying his books "breaks my heart at the beginning of every semester." In addition, many working class students who held off-campus jobs viewed having a car on-campus as a necessity. Because these students pay for all of the costs associated with owning their cars (gas, maintenance, insurance) the \$360 that St. Luke's allots for transportation seems

unrealistic for these students. Finally, many of the working class students were particularly sensitive to the high cost associated with living on-campus. Both David and Alicia discussed considering transferring to other institutions where living on-campus would be less expensive. For both Alicia and David the fact that they were able to become RAs influenced their decision to stay at St. Luke's. Other working class students discussed the high cost of paying for meals on-campus. Sarah mentioned how the institution's declining balance meal plan just encouraged wealthier parents to put money on their kid's cards. Consequently she said that their attitude became, "Oh I don't care...it's just my dad's money, swipe." Similarly, Paul said, "Our dining services...everything is ala carte. And that's detrimental because we spend so much money on things and we begin to think these prices are normal."

While many working class students are drawn to the RA job because the position covers the cost of room and board, some of these students discover that the compensation for the position has less financial benefit than they may have anticipated. As Paul Plumber described in the previous chapter, this is because St. Luke's Office of Financial Aid considers the remuneration for room and board to be part of the financial aid package. As an example, Table 5.1 demonstrates how the financial aid package for the same student with high need might be calculated based on whether or not the student accepts the RA position. Because St. Luke's considers the compensation for the RA position to be part of the student's financial aid package many working class students see a reduction in their institutional loan and lose work-study. More significant is the fact that generally they will receive less institutional grant support because of the RA compensation. Therefore, while working

Table 5.1: Example of Financial Aid Calculation for Resident Assistant

Aid Program	With RA	Without RA
RA Room	\$8,120	\$0
RA Board	\$2,000	\$0
RA Fees	\$300	\$0
Pell Grant	\$2,260	\$2,260
ACG SMART Grant	\$1,300	\$1,300
Federal SEOG	\$2,500	\$2,500
Stafford Loan	\$5,500	\$5,500
St. Luke's Loan	\$0	\$1,500
Federal Work-study	\$0	\$2,250
St. Luke's Grant	\$16,780	\$23,450
Total	\$38,760	\$38,760

Source: St. Luke's Office of Financial Aid

class students receive part of the value of the RA compensation through decreasing their work and loan burden they do not receive the full amount because their need based grant is reduced by the institution. As was noted by Paul Plumber (Assistant Director of Residence Life) this policy does not seem equitable in that students from wealthier families, whose parents are paying for the entire cost of housing, see a greater financial benefit when they become an RA than do working class students. This inequity was noted by several of the working class students in the study who were RAs. For example, Lou said: "Unfortunately what they did was they kind of lowered my St. Luke's grant and they implemented the RA funds. So it appears that they do pay for my housing, but quite honestly I am paying the same amount as I paid last year." As was noted previously, this inequity has caused some working class students to turn down the RA job.

Availability of Jobs and Residential Life Policies

The data presented in the previous chapter suggest that the availability and convenience of on-campus jobs encourages on-campus employment. In addition,

several of the campus administrators mentioned that the lack of service industry jobs in the immediate proximity of the campus provided limited opportunity for students to work off-campus. More than one of the student participants in the study referred to the St. Luke's campus as a "bubble" and that the residential nature of the campus deterred off-campus employment. For example, Karen who found a job waiting tables at a restaurant/bar located near St. Luke's campus said, "Honestly you don't hear much about students working off-campus." Despite this, some students are motivated to work off-campus because these jobs pay a higher wage. Moreover, some of the working class students expressed that jobs such as waiting tables were based on performance and that many of the campus jobs offered little incentive.

While the data presented in Chapter Four suggest that off-campus employment is not a common part of the student culture at St. Luke's, the institution also deters off-campus employment through some of its policies for residential students. For example, two of the local, working class students who established residency at St. Luke's as freshmen had a difficult time continuing their jobs because of the policy that prevented first-year students from having cars on-campus. Maura had a hard time keeping her job at the zoo because she could not get an exemption to the policy and Sukeina delayed getting a job at a restaurant chain until she determined she would be able to circumvent the parking policy. Luis takes public transportation to his job with the 911 operator and this adds as much as two hours to his shift. These data suggest that the parking policies are more likely to affect local, working class students because they often want to continue jobs they had while in high school or seek off-campus employment because these jobs pay a higher wage. However,

because the empirical research on student employment suggests that off-campus employment can have a negative effect on retention and reduces the opportunity students have to interact with their faculty (Ehrenberg & Sherman, 1997; King, 2002; Lundberg, 2004; Stern & Nakata, 1991), it is not clear that St. Luke's should make exceptions to the parking policies unless the employment is clearly related to the student's academic or career goals.

Academic Policies

Two of the administrators mentioned that the requirement that business majors complete two out of three experiential experiences (e.g., study abroad, internship, community service) created added pressure for many students to fulfill these components. Dean Montgomery mentioned that because students' course work does not allow them to complete an internship during the academic year, there was some pressure for working class students to find paid internships during the summer. The requirement of these experiential components are an example of policies designed to enhance the educational experience of all students that have the effect of making it more difficult for students from working class backgrounds to complete the course of study. As noted earlier in the chapter this may result in fewer working class students pursuing business as a major.

Paul is the only working class student in the study that is majoring in business. Paul expresses frustration with the requirement that he complete two experiential components in order to graduate. He said:

If you can't find a paid internship, or your GPA isn't really competitive right now, you may not have a chance to do a paid internship. So then...you have to do an internship for free...I think in theory it's a good idea to have these requirements. But it's not taking into consideration the fact that not

everyone's parents...can support them being in another country...The other alternative is a study tour and that's like \$4,000 or \$5,000. Not everyone's parents have that kind of money to send them abroad like that. And they (the business school) are not used to people asking...Because when you call and you say 'I can't really afford that,' it's kind of like they don't really know what to say.

Paul's comment that the administration in the business school is not used to students asking about the consequences of the policy suggests that these requirements were adopted with little consideration of socioeconomic diversity. Moreover, Dean Montgomery's comment in the previous chapter that the College of Arts and Sciences was likely to follow suit and allow students to pursue paid internships to count for credit suggest that the institution is putting the onus on students to adapt to the new requirement without consideration for the differences within the student population that might make these requirements problematic. The example that Paul provided illustrates just how invisible the working class student is to some of the leadership at St. Luke's and at times these students feel as if they are without a voice. While this is a difficult problem to address because the policy is based on sound pedagogy (i.e., joining the curriculum with applied learning), in the next chapter I suggest a policy intervention that maintains the requirement but assists working class students to complete the requirements of the major.

Social Class of the Majority of the Student Body

Stephen Hess's (2007) research on working class students at Boston College found that these students "chose not to conform to the lifestyles and values of their middle- and upper-middle-class peers, a finding that contradicts current working class literature" (p. 158). For the most part, this study confirms Hess's findings. In fact, many of the working class participants, some tacitly and others more vocally, actively

resisted what they perceived to be the dominant culture of affluence and privilege on St. Luke's campus. Like Hess, I found that most of these students were confident and secure in their working class identities and for the most part they did not try to assimilate into the mainstream culture that they associated with their more affluent peers.

Symbolic of the working class students' resistance of the predominant culture were the leadership and involvement roles that many of these students chose. In fact some of these roles can be viewed to be what Hess (2007) terms a "counter-cultural" response to the aspect of student life at St. Luke's that revolves around underage drinking and the "bar scene" that was discussed most prominently by upper-class students like Karen and Nick. For example, four of the working class students were RAs. Clearly, one of the more challenging aspects of this leadership opportunity is enforcing St. Luke's rules regarding underage drinking. While many of the working class students discussed that it was difficult to "write up" their peers for alcohol violations, most understood and accepted their separate roles as employee vs. student. For example, David said:

The fact that you may have to get other students in trouble isn't something I always enjoy, but it comes with the job. I mean, I signed on for it.

Other working class students viewed the affluent peer culture associated with the "bar scene" with contempt. Both Sarah and Alicia expressed that they disapproved of this aspect of St. Luke's culture. Both of these students had family members whose lives were affected by alcoholism. Sarah mentioned attending an Adult Child of Alcoholics (ACOA) group on-campus and Alicia said that one of the

reasons that she chose not to drink was because “I know that I have been affected by friends and family members of mine who do and it’s just a choice of mine not to.”

While many of the working class students’ co-curricular involvement was limited because of how much they worked, the organizations they did get involved in often were symbolic of their opposition to the mainstream culture at St. Luke’s.

Alicia is an officer with the student group Alternatives, which she explained “offers alternatives to students rather than just the traditional college social life.” Similarly,

Luis is a CADET, which stands for the Choice Alcohol and Drug Education Team.

The Cadets make classroom and residence halls presentations on a variety of wellness issues related to alcohol and drug use. They also are involved in campus-wide educational efforts to inform students about the negative effect of the use and abuse of alcohol.

Another area that revealed working class students’ tendency not to assimilate into the mainstream student culture was their intimate relationships. Indeed, three of the working class students in the study (Sarah, Sukeina, and Maura) discussed significant relationships with boyfriends who were not St. Luke’s students. While all of their boyfriends were attending college, the institutions they attended included a community college, a state university, and a less selective Catholic university. In addition, Alicia discussed the fact that her boyfriend attended St. Luke’s but that her relationship with him began in high school. Because Alicia discussed her boyfriend’s appeal of his financial aid award, she made it apparent that he was from a working class background as well. Without exception the relationships that the women from

working class backgrounds discussed were long lasting and serious. They also were with significant others with whom they shared similarities in terms of social class.

Finally, while the decision of most of the working class students not to study abroad could be viewed on one level as a purely economic choice, an element of this decision relates to their resistance of the predominant student culture of affluence and privilege. Indeed, Arnauld Clemente, the Dean of International Programs said that his office has to “fight” against the prevalent attitude that studying abroad has to be very expensive because of the tendency of St. Luke’s students to spend a great deal of money while they are overseas. He said that he was aware of “extreme cases” where parents of St. Luke’s students who were studying abroad would “fly over their friends to meet with them for their birthday party.” The fact that at times this level of privilege is associated with study abroad may partially account for why so many working class students decided the experience was not for them. For example, Sarah said that part of why she determined that studying abroad wasn’t feasible was because “most students say they spend between \$5,000 and \$8,000 just traveling and everything like that.”

On the other hand, it is important to acknowledge that study abroad was more socially and culturally accessible to the upper-class students who were in the study. They were more likely to have traveled to other countries with their families. Many upper-class students also had experienced going away to camp during the summer. The upper-class students in the study were more likely to have parents who assumed this would be part of their college experience. The idea that study abroad would be culturally enriching and an integral part of their collegiate experience led upper-class

students to seize the opportunity. The working class students in the study were much less likely to have assumed or expected these same experiences would be part of college because they were not familiar to their family. Moreover, because St. Luke's study abroad Alternatives often overlapped with the summer or break periods, working class students' absence at home was harder felt by their families. The working class students in the study indicated that when they were home for the summer they helped their families with rent or assisted with younger siblings while their parents worked.

To be sure, not all of the working class students resisted all aspects of the St. Luke's culture of privilege. Paul, for example, discussed that his job at the Gap allowed him to buy "name brand clothing" at a discount and that this helped him "look the part" at St. Luke's. In addition, despite the fact that Paul struggled financially once he got his off-campus job his goal was to buy a car. Paul viewed owning a car as a "necessity" because he had to get back and forth to his job at the mall. However, he admitted that an added benefit of car ownership was that it helped him "fit in" at St. Luke's. Despite adapting in outward ways to the upper-class student culture at St. Luke's, Paul still resists other aspects. Like other working class students Paul said:

A lot of people go to bars and I definitely don't do that because that would be a big waste of my money. So, I don't do the whole bar and cab scene because I don't have the money for it.

Hess (2007) distinguishes between adapting and assimilating when he discusses the experience of working class students at Boston College. For the most part, I found that while students like Paul might adapt to certain outward characteristics of the peer

culture at St. Luke's, they may not assimilate to the mainstream culture of privilege because of their working class roots.

Overarching Research Question: Bourdieu Reconsidered

This section of the chapter returns to the constructs of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (See Figure 2.1, Page 65) in order to examine if these reflect how college students from different social class backgrounds make choices about working while going to college. I begin by discussing some of the noteworthy characteristics of the student participants who were from working class backgrounds. These characteristics, revealed to me through the interview process, often provided a dramatic contrast between these students and their middle- and upper-class peers in terms of their family background and experiences. I then discuss the role of *habitus* in differentiating between the choices of the working class students and their middle- and upper-class peers. Next I discuss differences between working class and middle- and upper-class students in terms of their accumulation of *economic, social and cultural capital*. Finally, I discuss some of characteristics of the *field* and how these influence students' choices about work and school.

Noteworthy Characteristics of Working Class Students

For Bourdieu the construct of *habitus* represents the unspoken and perhaps even unconscious constraints associated with an individual's social class strata. Bourdieu asserts that the primary unit that determines one's *habitus* is the family. For this reason, before I turn to a discussion of the evidence of *habitus* at work in the choices that the student participants in the study make while in college, I offer a brief

analysis of the differences in the background and experiences of the working class student participants when compared to their middle- and upper-class peers.

The working class student participants in the study were more likely than their middle- and upper-class peers to come from families with divorced parents and to come from households with absent fathers. Five of the twelve working class students' parents were divorced. In Sarah's case, her mother had remarried and her stepfather was present in her life. Alicia's parents' divorce was amicable and she discussed the fact that they attended college events together with her younger brother. However, Sarah, Sukeina, Taylor and Paul all had fathers who were either completely absent or only on the margins of their experience. The characteristic of divorced parents was a salient factor in the experience of the working class students lives because this often exacerbated the tension associated with financing college.

In contrast, only two students in the study from middle-class backgrounds (Red and Claire) had parents who were divorced and none of the upper-class students had divorced parents. While it is hard to know if the fact that all of the upper-class students came from intact families is representative of the population, Marvin Livingston, St. Luke's Director of Financial Aid suggested that the high cost of attendance made it more likely to be the case:

My suspicion is...our costs promote a lot of self-selection out even before a kid from a divorced family even considers a private college or university...I'm probably making a gross generalization but because of the cost...families are just saying even if I get financial aid I'm not going to be able to do it without two parents supporting that effort.

While there is no denying that Livingston's comment is based on anecdotal evidence, the data collected for this study do indicate that the experience of divorce is more likely to be a part of the working class students' *habitus* than their upper-class peers.

The working class students in the study were more likely than their middle- and upper-class peers to discuss living with, or receiving financial support from, extended family, most often grandparents. Paul, Taylor, and Carlos all mentioned the fact that they lived with extended family when they were not at school. In addition, Sukeina and Alicia mentioned receiving financial support for college from their grandparents. Indeed, Sukeina's fraternal grandparents' financial support was critical given her parents' struggle with addiction. Many of the working class students' extended family members played an active role in their college choice and with the decisions that they made while in school. For example, Paul discussed the fact that while his "Nana" did not attend college, she learned about the financial aid process through her state job. Paul specifically mentioned that she assisted him with completing the FASFA application. Similarly, it appeared that the only steady financial support that Taylor receives for college comes from his grandparents. In addition, Taylor mentioned that his uncle is his only family member to have attended college and that he served as a source of inspiration for him. Finally, Carlos discussed the fact that once his parents established citizenship in the United States they were able to bring his grandmother from Latin America. Carlos emphasized the fact that his grandmother also has a job and that his family depended on her assistance. The presence of influential extended family was a significant factor in the college

trajectory of the working class participants in the study, especially since many of their nuclear families were fractured due to divorce.

While it is difficult to know the level of financial support for college that extended family provided the middle- and upper-class students in the study, none of these students mentioned living with grandparents or their involvement in their college choice. In fact, the middle- and upper-class students in the study rarely mentioned anyone outside of their parents as being involved in their college choice or decisions around financing their education. As an example, Anna (upper-class) mentioned her father helped her decide to choose St. Luke's over a more selective institution because she received a merit scholarship. Similarly, Rebecca (upper-class) mentioned that her parents helped her decide to go to St. Luke's over another school where she was offered a scholarship to play lacrosse. In fact, the only upper-class student to mention any other adult as being involved in their college choice was Karen. Karen discussed that the manager of the restaurant where she worked offered her college advice because his daughters went to her same private high school. The involvement of grandparents or other extended family in the college process simply was not a part of the discussion with middle- and upper-class students.

In terms of racial differences, five of the six students of color in the study were from working class backgrounds. Sydney, Luis, Carlos, Lou and Paul are all working class students from ALANA backgrounds. Sydney was born in Asia and was adopted by working class parents in a rural farming community. Luis and Carlos are Latino students whose parents immigrated from Latin America. Lou is a Caribbean-American and Paul is African American. These data suggest that another

important characteristic in what constitutes *habitus*, particularly for working class students, may relate to their family's immigration process.

Manny was the only upper-class student of color in this research study. His father emigrated from Southeast Asia after completing medical school in order to pursue a fellowship in psychiatry. Manny discussed the fact that because his father "did come from a third world country" he truly appreciated the advantages that he and his sister were given. However, Manny appears to have never wavered from his goal of becoming a doctor and attributed this to his father's influence. This provided a stark contrast to the experience of the working class students who were children of first-generation immigrants. Indeed, Lou, Carlos and Luis all were interested in pursuing medicine and only Luis was still on that track by the end of his second year.

In terms of personal characteristics, the working class students in the study often displayed a high level of financial independence and self-reliance even if their parents claimed them as dependents. Most of these students began working at a very early age and were accustomed to the demands of balancing work and school. In addition, many of the working class students discussed completing college applications and financial aid forms on their own. In fact, students like Alicia and Maura professed having enough expertise to assist other students with the financial aid process. Alicia even discussed the fact that she prepared her parents' tax returns each year. Other working class students in the study managed to apply and be accepted to St. Luke's, but missed important financial aid deadlines. For example Sydney and Sarah went their entire first-year without financial aid despite being among St. Luke's neediest students. Indeed, Marvin Livingston, St. Luke's Director

of Financial Aid acknowledged the tendency for some of the neediest students to fail to apply for financial aid:

It doesn't surprise me but it puzzles me. I mean we are very flexible with financial aid application deadlines, but we do find that the highest need students are perennially late in filing. In some cases it does penalize them because for state purposes you know you either meet the deadline or not...They can't be as flexible as we are. And so they will lose out on a state grant that would have automatically been renewed had they just filed on time.

As is evident by Livingston's comment the level of financial independence and self-reliance characteristic of working class students is a double edge sword. While these students develop an enviable level of ownership and responsibility for their education, they sometimes are penalized simply because they lack the same level of guidance and support as their middle- and upper-class peers.

In contrast to the working class students in the study, for many middle- and upper-class students their college job was their first step toward financial independence. Most of these students either did not work in high school or worked only sporadically. In addition, none of them said they completed financial aid applications (if they filed) on their own. As an example, Alex was a middle-class student in the study who was in the honors program and had a merit scholarship. His job with Campus Events allowed him to feel less dependent on his parents for spending money and provided him with the opportunity to live on-campus over the summer. Even though Alex was a local student he was able to rationalize staying on-campus to his parents because he had a job. This level of independence was important to Alex not because of financial necessity but because he had some differences with his parents' religion.

Habitus

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984) Bourdieu differentiates between the working class *habitus*, which he says is associated with the taste of necessity and the upper-class *habitus*, which he says is associated with a taste of freedom. To reiterate, Bourdieu's construct of *habitus* represents one's internalized sense of the proper social order. Bourdieu's (1984) depiction that the working class *habitus* is derived from the "choice of the necessary" (p. 379) is a particularly useful construct when examining the employment-related choices of the working class students in the study.

Despite the fact that a few of the working class students delayed the start of their employment after coming to St. Luke's, the numerous jobs and the extensive hours that these students work indicated that employment was the way that they perceived they should pay the high costs associated with a private education. Even if these students could borrow more money rather than work so many hours, they probably would choose not to because of the constraints of their *habitus*. The fact that the working class students in the study often expressed that they valued the work experience itself and gained a sense of self-efficacy through their employment also is consistent with Bourdieu's notion of the taste of necessity. Recall for example why Alicia said she worked so much:

I think the way I was raised everyone in my family always worked. My mom and dad always worked 7 days a week. I always learned that you work and you succeed and you always push yourself.

Alicia's reference to having a job because this was how she "was raised" is evidence of a *habitus* bound by the taste of necessity. She chooses to work a lot not only because she needs to work but because her family's values suggest this expectation.

One surprising finding of the study was that nearly half of the work-study jobs offered to students each academic year at St. Luke go unfilled. There are several possible factors that could contribute to this phenomenon. The first explanation is that first-year students do not accept work-study out of a concern for their academic work load. Indeed, this is the explanation offered by Marvin Livingston, St. Luke's Director of Financial Aid. However, equally probable is that working class and some middle-class students need to make as much money as possible from their employment, and they view the relatively low wage associated with work-study as simply unacceptable. Indeed, this is the reason that Claire gave for turning down her work-study job—a job that she suggested "was not real work." The fact that Claire did not consider the work-study jobs on-campus to be "real work" reflects her perception about what constitutes work, most likely derived from her working class father.

Bourdieu's distinction between the taste of necessity and the taste of freedom is also reflected in the motivations that students from different social strata have for seeking employment during college. Bourdieu (1984) explains that the working class *habitus* of necessity is marked by "an inescapable deprivation of necessary goods." While many of the working class students in the study indicated that their financial aid packages were adequate to cover their cost of tuition, they still struggled to keep up with the costs associated with attending a high cost, residential institution. Indeed,

the working class students in the study discussed needing jobs in order to afford housing, meals, books, and transportation. The case summaries presented in Chapter Four revealed that working class students paid for most of these expenses themselves. In fact, one of the surprises was how many of the working class students viewed owning a car as a “necessity.” Eight out of twelve working class students either owned cars or had cars purchased for them by their families. This compares to six out of twelve middle- and upper-class students who had cars on-campus. However, unlike their upper-class peers the working class students discussed making car payments, paying for insurance, and struggling to keep up with the costs associated with automobile maintenance. Moreover, for many of the working class students car ownership took on a symbolic significance associated with their habitus. A number of the working class students like David discussed the fact that their parents helped them buy cars when they turned 16 (e.g., David was encouraged to cash in savings bonds from grandparents). Despite the burdens associated with paying for and maintaining an automobile for the working class students these vehicles represented the security of knowing they could return home if needed. The few working class students in the study who did not own their own cars often were from major metropolitan areas where the cultural aspects of their upbringing were not as likely to reinforce the importance of owning a car.

A great deal of the motivation for working displayed by upper-class students can be seen as a “taste for freedom.” Upper-class students like Anna, Karen, and Nick emphasized that they worked in order to afford the high cost associated with maintaining a social life at St. Luke’s. These students highlighted the costs

associated with going out to the bars with friends or taking trips to amusement parks. Moreover, two of these students (Karen and Nick) discussed altering their work schedule or even quitting their jobs when employment conflicted with their social lives. The “freedom” to quit one’s job or opt out of a regular shift represents a stark contrast to the working class students’ experience.

Bourdieu’s (1984) constructs of the taste of necessity versus taste of freedom provides a useful lens through which to view how students’ study abroad choice reflects their social strata. In *Distinction* Bourdieu (1984) explains that “although working-class practices may seem to be deduced directly from their economic conditions” they also are derived from an internalized sense that a lifestyle or experience is “not for us” (p. 378-379). Clearly, the findings that so few working class students choose to study abroad can be viewed as a result of their concern for affordability and the possible interruption of their employment. However, the perception that abroad experience must entail extensive travel and lavish spending also seems to create an expectation where working class students view studying abroad as a luxury rather than a necessity. On some level it seems likely that Bourdieu’s (1984) “principle of conformity” is functioning in working class students’ dismissal of the abroad experience as not for them. Bourdieu explains that the “principle of conformity” operates to ensure social class solidarity through an implicit “warning against the ambition to distinguish oneself by identifying with other groups” (p. 381). While some of the working class students in the study had given careful consideration to the feasibility of studying abroad, it was equally apparent that

others had simply ruled it out because on some level this might have signaled to their families that they were stepping beyond their working class roots.

Capital

As I discussed in Chapter Two Bourdieu's conceptual framework, which accounts for the "practices" of individuals from distinct social strata, acknowledges their differentiated accumulation of three distinct forms of capital. These include *economic*, *cultural* and *social* forms. The findings from the study are fairly clear that the *economic capital* that students either bring to the college experience in the form of financial support from their parents, or acquire as a result of receiving merit or need based support, affect their work choices. However, the findings from the study are less clear that the differences in students' work choices based on social class in turn affect their further accumulation of *social* and *cultural capital* while they are in college.

In terms of *economic capital* the students from working class backgrounds who participated in this research study, many of whom may have unmet need, work more hours than their middle- and upper-class peers. Recall that approximately 40% of St. Luke's students do not work at all during the academic year. The informed experts interviewed for this study pointed out that even before the institution began to meet full demonstrated need for the neediest students, the amount of unmet need was not great. However, these appear to be the students that are the most sensitive to St. Luke's high cost of attendance.

One difference in terms of the accumulation of *economic capital* that affected St. Luke's students' employment was the type of St. Luke's grant they received.

Those students who received merit awards, as opposed to need based grants, had greater predictability in terms of their employment. This was because changes in the students family situation (e.g., fewer or more siblings in college, parents' employment status) affects students need based grants while the merit scholarship remained the same regardless of fluctuations in the family's finances. Student employers interviewed for the study noted that when these changes decreased students' need based grants they often would attempt to compensate by working more. Changes in need based grants from year to year obviously were more likely to have an impact on the working class students in the study.

While differences in the accumulation of *economic capital* based on social class strata had an effect on employment, the evidence was less clear that the amount of time working class students spent on the job significantly deterred their accumulation of *social* or *cultural capital*. In fact, it was often through their on-campus employment that working class students developed significant and important relationships with faculty, student affairs staff, and other students who served as mentors. Luis, for example, developed relationships with faculty in his major through his work-study job. Other working class students like David mentioned important relationships with residence life staff that developed out of becoming a RA. Even students like Sarah and Sukiena, who worked a significant number of hours off-campus, developed important relationships with personnel in the Career Center and the Community Service Center through their on-campus job. Indeed, Paul Plumber, Assistant Director of Residence Life observed that often it seemed that working class students were more likely to accumulate *social capital* through the development of

meaningful relationships with college personnel. He said that for the upper-class students at St. Luke's:

There was kind of a sense that I don't need to deal with administrators to get through my experience...whereas...first-generation students value that interaction because the administrators in student affairs are going to help [them] make meaning out of this mess that is college.

The data from the study are also less conclusive that students from different social class backgrounds accumulate different amounts of *cultural capital* because of their employment. Evidence that supports of the fact that upper-class students access different types of *cultural capital* can be seen in differences in the study abroad decision. In as much as their employment status is a contributor to the working class students' decision not to pursue an abroad experience the study suggests that the necessity of working does influence the accumulation of *cultural capital* that is associated with this important educational activity. Evidence that working class students acquire less *cultural capital* than their middle- and upper-class peers because of their employment is less clear. In fact, because of their campus jobs a number of working class students accumulate *cultural capital* through their role as employees. For example, Luis learned more about science labs and Alicia gained exposure to an academic conference through their work-study jobs. Sydney attended lectures, conferences, and sporting events due to her job with Campus Events.

Finally, it was difficult to ascertain the relative value of the *social* and *cultural capital* students gained from off-campus employment. The benefits students received from these jobs tended to fall into two categories. The first category was the *social capital* that students gained from interacting with peers in their off-campus workplace who were "more like them" than the majority of St. Luke's students. For example

both Sukeina and Claire mentioned this as an important aspect of their jobs as waitresses. In the next chapter I discuss the potential negative “pull” on students associated with the off-campus job (Bean, 1991; Tinto, 1993). However, it is hard to measure the relative value that some of the working class students might gain from working side by side with students who are from a similar social class background. Indeed, in the case of Sukeina and Claire these work settings led to intimate relationships with individuals who seemed to provide personal stability and companionship. This stability in their lives may well have allowed them to persist at St. Luke’s.

The second way students gained *social* and *cultural* capital through off-campus employment was through the relationships they developed with adult mentors and the access that these mentors provided them to developmentally unique experiences. These adult mentors tended to provide students with academic, career, and personal advice. For example, Luis benefited from a close relationship with his supervisor at the 911 Operator. He also gained *cultural capital* through exposure to the operations of the county court system. Similarly, Maura gained *social capital* through her mentors at the zoo. Maura utilized this to gain *cultural capital* when she found out about a course in Costa Rica from her work supervisor and received a scholarship to participate.

Field

The data presented in Chapter Four indicate that the unique institutional characteristics of St. Luke’s College do influence students’ work choices. Among the characteristics of what Bourdieu describes as the *field*, perhaps the most influential is

the institution's conservative discount policy and tuition policies. For example, the policy discussed in this chapter where the remuneration for the Resident Assistant position tends to reduce the working class students need based grant is an example of a policy which tends to "reward" middle- and upper-class students more for the same work. This is an important finding because evidence suggests that working class students often derive important non-monetary benefits from pursuing the RA position. The availability of jobs also is a characteristic of the field which seems to influence student employment. The residential nature of the campus and the adequate number of work-study and direct hire jobs causes students to favor on-campus employment. Nonetheless, the relatively low wage for these positions may be one reason more working class students to seek off-campus employment in addition to their campus jobs. In addition, the academic policies of the institution often fail to take into account that students may need to work and therefore may have difficulty completing the requirements in certain majors. The requirement of business majors to complete two experiential components is one example of a policy that may deter working class students from pursuing the major. Finally, at first glance the Catholic mission of the institution appears to have little influence on students' work, academic and co-curricular choices. However, upon closer examination some subtle differences in the elementary and secondary schooling of the working class students may indicate that the stratification of educational experiences of students at St. Luke's begins before they ever arrive on campus. The working class participants were more likely to be in-state students (e.g., 5 out 12) and to have attended either public schools or lower cost archdiocese schools. Most of the upper-class students

were likely to have attended higher cost Catholic schools that were not particularly diverse socioeconomically. These differences in the pattern of schooling were noted by some of the working class and middle class students (e.g., Alicia and Claire) as contributing to the difficulty that they felt in adjusting to a campus.

Summary

In this chapter I conducted a cross-case analysis of the 24 undergraduate participants in the research study. As such the purpose of the chapter was to analyze the research questions for the study. Following the groupings of the research questions, I first examined the differences in students' choices about working while going to college based on social class differences. I then examined if the students' employment in turn affected their academic and co-curricular choices. In the third section of the chapter I analyzed the policies and practices of the institution to see if these affect students' employment choices. Finally, I explored if Bourdieu's constructs for social reproduction theory provide a useful framework for understanding the differences in students' employment, academic and co-curricular choices.

The analysis of the first three research questions for the study concluded that the working class students in the study are more likely to work more hours and to hold multiple jobs during the academic year than their middle- and upper-class peers. By comparison middle- and upper-class students were less likely to juggle on-campus jobs with off-campus jobs. However, working class students do gain a sense of belonging from many of these jobs that is otherwise lacking in their experience of the campus. Moreover, the self-efficacy that these students derived from work benefits

them in tangible ways. I also concluded that St. Luke's students, regardless of differences in social class, tend to delay starting employment during their first year of college.

The analysis of research questions four and five concluded that the working class students are far less likely than their middle- and upper-class peers to participate in study abroad. A central reason that working class students forgo the abroad experience is out of a concern for affordability and the need to continue to work. Nonetheless, I also concluded that certain cultural experiences of middle- and upper-class students' upbringing may prepare them to embrace the abroad experience. I also concluded that while the working class students often hold multiple jobs, they are quite intentional about the jobs they choose. Often these jobs provided working class students with important opportunities to develop leadership capabilities or facilitate academic and social integration. On the other hand, middle- and upper-class students who do not work as many jobs or hours are more likely to pursue co-curricular activities in addition to work. The analysis also suggested students, regardless of social class differences, often derived a sense of meaning from their work that assisted with their academic and personal development. Finally, I concluded that students who work exclusively off-campus, regardless of their social class background, are far less likely to be involved in meaningful co-curricular experiences.

The analysis of research question six suggested that the availability and convenience of on-campus jobs, as well as policies that prevented first-year students from keeping cars on-campus encouraged on-campus employment. Despite this,

some students pursued off-campus jobs because these jobs pay a higher wage. Academic policies, such as the requirements in the business school for experiential learning, also have unintended consequences for students who must work. I also concluded that St. Luke's conservative approach to tuition discounting and tuition policies influenced students' work choices. Finally, I found that the social class composition of the campus created an expensive social environment. Despite this, I found that often working class students actively resisted some aspects of this culture and that their work and areas of co-curricular involvement reflected this resistance.

Finally, the overarching research question for the study asked if the employment choices of students at St. Luke's reflect Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. I concluded that Bourdieu's notion that the working class *habitus* is shaped by tastes of necessity whereas the upper-class *habitus* is shaped by tastes of freedom is particularly useful in considering the work and co-curricular choices of undergraduates at St. Luke's. In addition, while the findings from the study indicated that both working class and upper-class students gain a sense of structure and responsibility from work, working class students may gain more *social* and *cultural capital* through the relationships they developed with faculty and administration while on the job. Upper-class students on the other hand were less likely to develop these forms of *capital* through employment and more likely to develop them through their co-curricular involvement. The upper-class students were also less likely to seek *social capital* in the form of these relationships because they had intact social networks through their families that satisfied these needs. Finally, the elements that I

have articulated as the policies and practices of the institution (i.e., *field*) do seem to shape students' employment choices.

I further discuss these findings in the next chapter. In addition, I discuss the implications for theory and specifically address if the differences in students' employment and co-curricular choices at St. Luke's College can be viewed as a way that social class differences are reproduced. Further, I discuss the policy implications of these findings for St. Luke's College.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to explore if social class differences affected students' work choices. The study also examined if the unique collegiate culture, as manifest through the policies and practices of one institution, influenced students' choices about work, academic, and co-curricular experiences. The findings support that there are differences between the work choices of undergraduates from working class backgrounds when compared to their middle- and upper-class peers. The study also suggests that these choices affect some of the students' academic and co-curricular experiences. Finally, the results indicate that institutional characteristics, policies and practices of St. Luke's College assume a predominantly upper-middle class student population and in effect reinforce social class differences.

Despite the fact that differences in students' social class background may affect some of their work, academic and co-curricular choices, this study also indicates that most students benefit from working while in college in some concrete ways. Cheng and Alcantara (2007) state that:

Students are motivated to work for a number of reasons. Most students felt that working was necessary to meet their daily financial obligations. However, once they started working, students began to see other benefits of work. Employment provided them with greater access to the world beyond the campus gate, on-the-job learning, and the opportunities to interact and network with people in the workplace. (p. 306).

The results of this study suggest that faculty and student affairs professionals should consider "employment as an educationally purposeful activity outside the

classroom... [and] create meaningful job opportunities that are experientially and financially beneficial to students” (Cheng & Alcantara, 2007, p. 309). Indeed, many colleges and universities, including St. Luke’s College, have developed important learning partnerships through well designed community service, internship, and study abroad experiences. (Baxter Magolda, 2004). The results of this research suggest that part-time employment holds the possibility for the same transformative value for students.

Overview of the Chapter

I begin this chapter with further discussion of the main findings from the study. I then turn to the implications of the study for institutional leaders at St. Luke’s College, as well as broader implications for practitioners in student affairs and financial aid who administer student employment programs and supervise student employees. Because the study’s conceptual framework explored the usefulness of Bourdieu’s constructs (1977; 1984) as a way to understand students’ choices about work and school, I discuss the implications of this approach for theory. I also include sections about the strengths and limitations of the study, and suggest areas for future research.

Discussion of Findings

In this section I discuss the primary findings of the research in three sections. The first section focuses on how students’ work choices varied based on social class. This section examines some of the differences in employment choices between the working class students in the study and their middle- and upper-class peers. The second section discusses how students’ work choices affect their academic and co-

curricular choices and how these varied based on social class. I then discuss some of the discernable ways that the institutional context at St. Luke's College influenced students' work choices. In the final section I discuss what the findings from the study suggest about the role of work in the experience of undergraduate students.

Students' Work Choices and Social Class

The finding that working class students work more hours and hold multiple jobs (See Table 4.14, Page 112) is important in order to understand how their experience differs from their middle- and upper-class peers at St. Luke's College. The fact that five of the twelve working class students in the study hold both on-campus and off-campus jobs is important as well. In this study some working class students worked more because they had more unmet need. In addition, the study also indicated that employment was often an essential expectation of the working class student's *habitus*. That is to say, a fundamental part of how working class students expect to pay for college is by working as much as possible during the academic year and break periods.

In general, the research on student employment reviewed in Chapter Three concludes that employment that is on-campus and less than 15 hours per week can have a positive impact on students' GPA and promote persistence. However, work that exceeds the "ideal" of 15 hours per week and is off-campus can have a negative effect on persistence (Ehrenberg & Sherman; Gleason, 1993; King, 2002, Stern and Nakata, 1991). Therefore, based on the literature on student employment we might expect the students who indicated that they worked more than 20 hours per week and

held off-campus jobs (a greater portion of who were working class) to be at greater risk for departure.

While none of the working class students in this study had decided to drop out, some did indicate that they considered leaving St. Luke's. For example, both Alicia and David discussed feeling extremely isolated and alone during their freshmen year and were considering transferring. For David this was mostly because he commuted from home. The fact that he completed the entire RA application process without discussing it with his parents indicated how difficult it was for him to transition from one social world to another. Alicia expressed that she felt "set apart" because of her socioeconomic background and had a hard time making friends. The fact that Alicia and David received Resident Assistant positions played a large role in their deciding to stay at St. Luke's. For these two students, on-campus employment in a leadership capacity had a positive effect on persistence. Securing the RA position "pulled" them into the life of the campus, both literally and figuratively. While upper-class students such as Manny and Rebecca emphasized that the RA position allowed them to develop as leaders, the position was not fundamental to their retention decision. These upper-class students never questioned whether St. Luke's was the right fit for them and in fact both opted to leave the RA staff during their junior year. Rebecca does so in order to study abroad and Manny decided he must focus on his studies because of the demands of his upper-division course work as a pre-med student.

Other working class students like Sukiena, Paul and Claire spent a significant amount of time working at off-campus jobs. These jobs appeared to distance them

from life on the campus. Sukiena said she found more students like her at her off-campus job and specifically mentioned that “if I had to do it all over again I would go to a state school.” Paul’s job at the mall allows him to buy a car and he decided to “commute” from his home in a nearby state in order to save money. Claire’s socialization at work and increased tensions with her roommates caused her to move off-campus. While none of these students indicated that they would transfer, their work choices represent what retention theorists call an environmental “pull” away from the institution (Bean, 1990; Tinto, 1993). Recall that King’s (2002) research suggested that students who were least likely to drop out worked less than 15 hours per week, borrowed money to finance their education *and lived on-campus*. Therefore, when employment “pulls” students from the campus to the extent that they “choose” to live off-campus this may put them at risk for departure—particularly at an institution like St. Luke’s which is so strongly residential in character.

Two of the upper-class students in the study, Karen and Anna, work exclusively off-campus. However, their jobs at a local restaurant and tanning salon do not seem to produce the same level of “pull” from the campus. While both Karen and Anna are not involved in co-curricular activities at St. Luke’s, they maintain an active social life attending parties and social gatherings. Neither pursued off-campus jobs out of a sense that they did not fit in socially at St. Luke’s. In addition, both planned on studying abroad. In Karen’s case she saved money from her off-campus job in order to afford going abroad for an entire year. While these upper-class students’ jobs might distance them from life on the campus, their *habitus* allowed them to still experience a sense of fit with the institution.

Interestingly, the one student in the study who decided to leave St. Luke's is Chris. Chris is from a middle-class family and he and his twin sister (who attends a high cost, private institution) are the last in a family of six to attend college. Once Chris decided he would not enter the priesthood, he elected to transfer to a state university in order to pursue a secondary education teaching credential in his home state. His decision to leave seemed deeply personal and well thought out. Chris decided to transfer primarily because of his interest in becoming a teacher, but his choice also involved financial concerns as well. Chris comes from a large, middle-class family and his father's salary has been the primary support for sending all his siblings to college. Chris has worked in demanding blue-collar jobs each summer to help his father with his tuition. Therefore, his decision to leave St. Luke's is not only about the utility of his degree but also about the burden of financing a high cost education.

Paulsen and St. John (2002) suggest that undergraduates make a series of complex and interrelated choices that include whether to go to college, how to finance their education, whether or not to live on-campus, and whether and how much to work. Further, they suggest that these factors form a "financial nexus" that students use when deciding where to go to college and whether or not to stay in school. The example that Chris provides is illustrative of Paulson and St. John's "nexus" framework and suggests that student's appreciation for the real cost of their education contributes to their retention decision.

Despite the finding that working class students work more hours and hold more jobs during the school year, their employment benefits them in some tangible

ways. In particular, working class students' on-campus employment provides what Stephen Hess (2007) calls an "ecological niche." Hess adopted the term from Bronfenbrenner's (1993) work on peer culture in order to describe the employment experiences of working class students at Boston College. Hess found that because working class students often had a significant employment history prior to college and possessed values congruent with on-the-job success they derived both satisfaction and self-efficacy from their employment. Moreover, Hess suggests that these jobs represent "part of the environment...where students find a sense of comfortableness or fit" that is otherwise lacking in their experience of the predominantly upper-middle class campus (p. 147).

This study supports Hess's (2007) findings. Students like Sara and Sukeina gained self-confidence in their work at the Career Center and Community Service Center. Because they excel at their jobs, full-time personnel praised them and relied on them to supervise other student workers. Luis's on-campus job represented an important "niche" for him in that he got to know the faculty in the Biology department better and they represented key mentors for him as a pre-med major. Carlos' job as the manager for the baseball team allowed him to maintain contact with this social group when he suffers an athletic injury. Another dimension to the idea that work can provide students with an "ecological niche" on St. Luke's campus is the fact that working class and middle-class students were attracted to jobs that offer full-time employment during the summer and access to free summer housing. Students like Lou and Alex pursued jobs with the Rec. Center and Campus Events so that they can afford to stay on-campus year round.

Finally, the findings from this study suggest that working class students are generally less involved than their middle- and upper-class peers in traditional clubs and activities. However, often their work itself represented a significant co-curricular experience or is an extension of those activities which interest them. While Walpole's (2003) multi-institutional assessment of NSSE data indicates that students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds work more and are involved in fewer clubs and activities does seem accurate, she does not acknowledge that for working class students their jobs may represent significant leadership or co-curricular experiences. For example, Sukiena's paid position as a service coordinator built upon her significant commitment to these programs. Similarly, Paul's work-study job with Admissions was an extension of his interest in diversity issues on St. Luke's campus. This study suggests that for working class students paid positions such as Resident Assistant or Building Supervisor may replace or reduce the time spent on co-curricular experiences such as clubs and activities. However, this does not necessarily mean they are involved less in the life of the campus.

Students' Academic Choices

Beyond differences in how much students work and how many jobs they hold, this study revealed some differences in the role that work played in students' academic choices. For example, the concern working class students had for the continuity of their employment deterred participation in study abroad. The Dean of International Programs emphasized that he understood, and identified with, the fact that working class families might view study abroad as a luxury. He emphasized that as a co-curricular experience study abroad was not a requirement. However, St.

Luke's places an institutional emphasis on the abroad experience as an opportunity for students to develop intercultural competence and stressed the importance of developing this core value in an increasingly global world. For this reason, the finding that access to these programs is stratified by social class is a particularly revealing one and indicates that the institution, however unintentionally, tends to perpetuate social class differences. More than one administrator interviewed for the study expressed concern about the finding that so few working class students pursued study abroad. Paul Plumber, Assistant Director for Residence Life remarked that for the working class students, "studying abroad might be the only time they could go abroad." Dean Montgomery said that it was "too bad because these are kids who you know would just benefit so much from the experience." The administrators and student employers interviewed for the study were surprised by the finding that so few working class students chose to study abroad. Clearly, very few working class students viewed study abroad as even a "choice" and yet the administrators did not perceive this limitation. This suggested that social class stratification on the campus may be somewhat invisible (Hess, 2007).

The few studies reviewed in Chapter Three that examine the effects of student employment on learning (Lundberg, 2004; Pascarella, Bohr, Nora, Desler, & Zusman, 1994; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1998) are somewhat inconclusive. They also do not address whether work deters participation in culturally enriching experiences like study abroad. Walpole's (2003) research does suggest that low-income students work more and are less involved in campus activities such as clubs and activities, but her study did not focus on study abroad. An interesting

question raised by this study is whether the fact that so few working class students chose to study abroad suggests that they accumulate less *cultural* and *social capital* than their middle- and upper-class peers who participate in these experiences.

Indeed, it is beyond the scope of this study to measure the gains associated with study abroad and these would probably be hard to quantify. Moreover, some of the experiences that students have while studying abroad may only benefit them years later. For example, Brooke, one of only two working class students who went abroad discussed the fact that she felt studying in Italy helped her get a paid internship with an advertising company. She reflected that the representative from the company who interviewed her had a similar abroad experience while in college. This comment highlights the idea that study abroad may represent more than just enriching experiences for students. Perhaps another benefit is the accumulation of certain forms of *social* and *cultural capital* that are important in an increasingly global economy. The accumulation of these forms of *social* and *cultural capital* may benefit students in their future careers or in graduate education. Further evidence that St. Luke's College recognizes that abroad experiences might provide students with additional forms of *social* and *cultural capital* that will be valuable in the workplace is the implementation of an experiential requirement in the business school.

Another observable difference between students from working class backgrounds and their peers from middle- and upper-class backgrounds was found in the choice of a major. While there was wide variation in the majors that the students in the study chose, it was striking that only one working class student chose business. The size and prominence of the business school at St. Luke's would suggest a more

even distribution. For example, three students from middle-class backgrounds and three students from upper-class backgrounds chose to major in business. Paul is the only working class student in the study to major in business and he explicitly mentioned how difficult it was for him to complete the experiential requirements of internship, service or study abroad.

While it was difficult to establish that these requirements deter students from choosing the major, this study supports Nespor's (1990) findings that different curricular structures interact with the student's social class to either foster or deter students' academic success in the major. Moreover, once students chose a major, this may influence the type of employment they pursue while in college. Clearly, business majors are more likely to seek internships and therefore accumulate additional *social capital* outside the university setting. On the other hand, many working class students benefited from campus jobs that facilitated the development of *social capital* through interaction with faculty or student life personnel.

The data from this study also suggest the inclination of working class students at the institution to aspire to go to medical school and as a result to initially pursue majoring in the life sciences. Three working class students from the study (Lou, Carlos, and Luis) and one upper-class student (Manny) indicated they had intended to major in biology and wanted to pursue medical school. Interestingly, all four students were children of first-generation immigrants. The data suggested that for these students the aspiration to become a doctor may be related to their *habitus*. For example, Carlos said that his parents dreamed he would become a doctor because "in Latin America...if you are a doctor...you are considered a very professional person,

they respect you very much.” The aspiration to become a physician appeared to be symbolic of status attainment and upward social mobility. However, despite these aspirations only two of the four students who indicated aspiring to medical school were still pursuing that goal by the end of their sophomore year (Luis and Manny). The data from this research indicates that the pipeline to medical school begins very early and that for working class students uneven academic preparation for college may contribute to their decision to pursue other academic goals. While there was not a clear connection between the students’ employment and retention within the major, it was telling that Manny (upper-class) decided not to continue in the RA role his junior year in anticipation of demanding upper-division course work.

Taken as a whole, the data from this study suggested that students’ social class affects their academic choices. The study indicates strong evidence that social class differences influence students’ decision concerning study abroad. In addition, the study revealed that patterns related to the choice of a major were influenced by the students’ social class.

Institutional Context and Students Work, Academic and Co-curricular Choices

In applying Bourdieu’s constructs to American higher education Berger (2000) stresses the significance that “each campus is composed of students who generally share a common *habitus* that is to some extent congruent with the organizational *habitus* of that institution” (p. 107, italics added for emphasis). Berger suggests that the level of congruence that students have with the attitudes and values of the dominant peer group affects students’ relative ease or difficulty in adjusting to life on the campus. Further, Milem (1998) found that the peer referent group was

more influential in shaping students' values and attitudes than the faculty of the institution. This study illustrated that St. Luke's College is primarily composed of students from middle- and upper-class backgrounds and the relative affluence of the student body influences students' work, academic and co-curricular choices in several ways.

One way the social class of the majority of students at St. Luke's influenced students' work choices related to the tendency of students from all socioeconomic backgrounds to delay employment for a semester or an entire year. This somewhat surprising finding from the study can be partially explained by the fact that the majority of St. Luke's freshmen do not work during the school year. Similarly, the finding that only about half of all St. Luke's students who were offered a work-study job actually accepted the position suggests that many students are influenced by the attitude that most St. Luke's students don't have a job during the academic term and that it is necessary to focus entirely on academics in order to succeed.

Marvin Livingston, St. Luke's Director of Financial Aid emphasized that his counselors stress with students and their families that the work-study job provides a valuable connection to a work supervisor and that these jobs actually help students to better structure and manage their time. Curtis and Nimmer's (1991) study lends credence to this advice suggesting that on-campus student employment fosters discipline and inserts structure into the daily routine of first-year students who must learn to manage the freedom associated with college. Despite the fact that campus officials promote the positive value of work, both academically and socially, students

often delay getting a job at St. Luke's. This suggests a peer effect that counteracts the advice that having a job can help the student adjust to college life.

Another possible reason that students may turn down work-study jobs is that these positions do not fit their concept of what constitutes work. In fact, several of the students and one of the employment supervisors commented that many of these jobs simply did not seem like "work" by their standards. Many of the working class students had worked long hours in demanding employment settings while in high school. They viewed jobs that simply required students to swipe ID cards or to show up whenever they wanted in order to answer phones as not congruent with their working class attitudes and beliefs about employment. Moreover, students commented that the restrictions on the number of hours they could work and the relatively low wage these jobs paid caused them to decline the work-study position.

The residential nature of St. Luke's is another characteristic that affected students' work choices. In fact, several of the student informants described the campus as a "bubble." The percentage of undergraduates living on-campus was close to 90%. In addition, only about 18% are in-state residents. These characteristics tend to create an environment in which most students who do work chose to work on-campus—a characteristic which reinforces the perception of the campus as a "bubble" from which students rarely venture out. This finding is in stark contrast with Perna, Cooper and Li (in press) who found that nationwide 84.2% of working students at private four year institutions were employed off-campus. In addition to having such a significant number of students from out-of-state, another reason that so few St.

Luke's student work off-campus is the general lack of a commercial district in the vicinity of the campus.

Finally, the findings from this study suggest that working class students actively resist certain aspects of a peer culture associated with affluence and privilege. However, working class students often had significant incentive to work because of the high costs associated with living on-campus and with keeping up an active social life. Working class students like Sarah were particularly concerned with what she perceived as expensive campus dining and she remarked how little attention her classmates paid to the expense because they used their campus ID cards to pay for food. Similarly, a number of working class students discussed how many on-campus events and programs required additional fees. For example, Brooke, a working class student said:

A lot of things will come up, especially at this school. Just random things like even signing up for an intramural team, it's like 15 bucks...And then we had a \$ 350 deposit for going abroad that I had to come up with.

Again, the fact that several students mentioned needing to come up with additional money to participate in campus programs suggested that campus officials are not always sensitive or even aware of socioeconomic diversity on-campus.

While working class students expressed that they spent some of the money that they earned on the job on-campus programs and activities, they actively resisted the peer culture that was typified by drinking and going out to the bars. This was reflected in the comments they made and in the employment and co-curricular choices they pursued. Working class students not only discussed the fact that they considered the "bar culture" to be something that was irrelevant to their experience,

they actively created alternative experiences to this culture for other students. The roles they served in as Resident Assistants and with organizations like Peer Cadets and Alternatives were symbolic of their resistance of the culture that they saw as indicative of privilege and affluence.

The Role of Work in the Undergraduate Experience

This study establishes that differences exist based on social class in terms of the amount of time students spend working, the number of jobs they juggle and their motivation for working. However, the findings presented in Chapter Four suggest that it is wrong to think of undergraduate student employment from a deficit perspective. This section of the chapter suggests some ways that students benefited from their employment regardless of their social class background. As Cheng and Alcantara (2007) indicated in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, some of these benefits may even surprise the students themselves, who initially take on these jobs simply as a way to help finance their college education.

Student Employment and Leadership Development

Many of the on-campus jobs described in this study represented significant leadership opportunities for students. Positions such as Resident Assistant, Building Supervisor, Service Coordinator, and Events staff required significant training and challenged students to see themselves as student leaders and not just as employees filling out a time card. Manny is an upper-class student who summed up the value that these jobs can have as leadership development. He described his experience as a Resident Assistant saying:

The RA job allowed me to find a way I can be a leader because, for the most part, I didn't really have that kind of experience. I did volunteer

work you know. I participated in, you know, my track team in high school. But never that position, you know, where I was...counted on to do something solely by myself.

Devaney (1997) challenges student affairs professionals in many functional areas to consider the development of student employees in the same vain as they consider the development of volunteer student leaders. She says:

We must learn how to assist and teach students to translate their work into a larger learning tableau. We must teach ourselves to see our service areas as learning environments rather than as work places. We must see ourselves as teachers rather than as managers or taskmasters focused on getting the work done right (p.1).

Later in the same volume Devaney states that “student employment success now looks far beyond dependability and workmanship to include quality customer service, initiative in problem solving, and the ability to work harmoniously with people from different backgrounds”(p. 9). The data collected for this study suggest that many student employees at St. Luke’s are learning the higher order skills that Devaney suggests. For example, Lou explained his job as Building Supervisor at the Rec. Center this way:

It tests you because you have to be customer service oriented. You have to pretty much lay down the law because you have to be in charge of employees your own age, maybe even older than you. You have to uphold the policies.

While his employment as Building Supervisor definitely teaches Lou about discipline and provides structure to his college routine, his comments suggested that the work adds to his personal development as well. In many respects, Lou is participating in a learning laboratory. He is developing customer service skills and conflict management techniques that are likely to be essential to his future career or graduate education. Lou comments that he is challenged by the level of responsibility and

authority as a Building Supervisor. This stands in stark contrast to some of the other jobs that working class students found to be mundane or meaningless, such as the desk attendant position.

Interactions with Campus Adults and Off-Campus Supervisors

Of course not all student employment opportunities provide leadership development and not all students will seek such positions. Nonetheless, many of the employment opportunities pursued by students in this study, whether they represented leadership opportunities or not, provided them with valuable interaction with administrative staff and faculty. Indeed, the case summaries presented in Chapter Three provided many examples in which student employees discussed significant relationships with faculty, coaches, student life personnel, and clergy through their campus jobs. These relationships often are the value added dimension associated with campus employment. Parker's (1997) qualitative study of student employees in the Ohio State campus union had a similar finding. She found that student employees believed that the relationships that they developed with campus adults through their employment were more significant than those they developed with faculty through their course work. She says that often the relationships students had with their work supervisors were of greater frequency and of a more personal nature than those they had with course instructors.

Earlier in the chapter I discussed that for many students in the study the off-campus job represented an "environmental pull" away from the institution. Indeed, Lundberg (2004) found that off-campus employment that was greater than 20 hours per week caused students to interact less and be less satisfied with their relationships

with faculty and peers. Despite this finding Lundberg found that working off-campus for more than 20 hours a week did not inhibit learning. As a result Lundberg concludes that: “Perhaps working students gain support for their learning through relationships with colleagues and supervisors in the workplace” (p. 209). The off-campus jobs that students like Maura and Luis pursue indicated that this may very well be true. Maura’s job at the zoo allowed her to establish relationships with professionals who served as her mentors and provided her academic as well as career advice. Similarly, Luis’ supervisor at the 911 Operator provided him with personal advice and served as a close mentor. These cases illustrated that off-campus employment is more likely to be meaningful if these jobs are related to students’ academic interests. Moreover, Luzzo, McWhirter, and Hutcheson (1997) found that students whose employment is congruent with their career interests are more likely to believe they have personal control over their career development.

Student Employment and Self-Authorship

Baxter Magolda (2009) has defined self-authorship as the shift from the “uncritical acceptance of external authority” to the “internal capacity to define one’s beliefs, identity, and social relationships” (p. 2). Baxter Magolda argues that self-authorship should be the goal of higher education and that “faculty and student affairs educators are ethically obligated to work together to promote self-authorship and learning” (p. 2). Baxter Magolda’s research (2004) indicates that most students enter college in a phase of development where they mostly follow external formulas. She suggests that often self-authorship is not achieved until after students graduate but that universities should create learning partnerships in order to encourage its

development. This study suggests that in some instances working while in college can promote self-authorship by providing the context in which students begin to define their own identity, values, and beliefs.

The three examples I provided in the previous chapter as evidence that students were engaged in the process of making meaning from their work are illustrative of how employment can serve as a catalyst for students to begin to develop self-authorship. Maura's work at the local zoo convinced her that she wants to become an animal researcher and naturalist rather than a veterinarian. As Baxter Magolda (2009) describes it, Maura is at a crossroads in terms of her own personal development because on some level her decision disappoints her working class parents. Similarly, Chris' decision to leave St. Luke's comes after a lengthy discernment concerning entering the priesthood and his reflection about his work as an RA and with Campus Ministry. His decision to leave St. Luke's and become a secondary school teacher surprised his middle-class parents who have sacrificed a lot to send him to the school. He said, "I mean for a couple of weeks they kept asking me how it came about...I mean for me it was something that over a long, long period of time I was able to kind of figure out...They're very supportive of the decision but in no way was it their idea." Finally, Karen's job waiting tables helped her develop inter-personal skills and to discern that she wanted a career as a field journalist. She too displays a sense of self-authorship in that she knows her upper-class parents were hoping she would pursue a career in business because they have contacts in that field that could help her land her first job. She said, "My parents are just worried that they really have no contacts to help me out once I get out of college. But...I really have

some contacts—like my friend’s mother is in publishing. I can figure it out for myself.” In summary, these three cases suggest that student jobs, in a variety of settings, can assist them to develop self-authorship. Employment not only provides students with a sense of financial independence, but perhaps more importantly it can help them begin to understand their own voice.

Implications for Practice

This section of the chapter suggests implications for practice and policy. As such, the focus of these recommendations is primarily for institutional leaders at St. Luke’s College. These recommendations are divided in two parts. While the focus of the study was on students’ employment experiences, the unique research design revealed differences in students’ experiences based on their social class background. For this reason, the first set of recommendations relate to ways in which St. Luke’s College could enhance its recruitment and retention of working class and first-generation students. The second set of recommendations suggests ways that St. Luke’s could enhance on-campus and off-campus student employment opportunities through its programs and services.

Enhancing Recruitment/Retention of Working Class and First-Generation Students

One of the justifications for this study was that the cohort of students under investigation (Class of 2010) was the “last” at St. Luke’s College where full need was not met for some students from low-income groups. In Chapter Three I discussed the conservative tuition strategy employed by St. Luke’s whereby institutional support to these students was capped. Clearly one finding from this study is that the working class students, who were knowingly admitted with unmet need, often attempted to

compensate by working an extreme number of hours and by holding multiple jobs. Beginning with the cohort of 2011, St. Luke's College implemented a policy to meet full need for the neediest students. While it is only possible to speculate, it seems likely that working class students in that cohort will have less unmet need and therefore may feel less pressure to work as many hours. This study suggests that St. Luke's policy shift toward meeting full need should remain an institutional priority if it is to effectively support the students it admits from low-income backgrounds. Current economic conditions suggest that this will be difficult for the institution to afford while simultaneously maintaining merit scholarships. However, this research suggests that meeting full need is essential if St. Luke's is to continue to recruit and retain students from working class and first-generation backgrounds. In addition, the study indicates that if the institution is able to meet these students' full need they are more likely to be able to take full advantage of the experiences offered at St. Luke's.

St. Luke's could also enhance its recruitment and retention of working class students by identifying who these students are early on during the recruitment process. This study found that the family backgrounds of working class and first-generation students differ from their middle- and upper-class peers. Admissions and financial aid officers could provide direct assistance and guidance to students and their parents when filing for both institutional forms of aid and state and federal support. This support could be offered during admissions events and open houses. This study suggests that this support is critical when assisting students who come from single-parent households and homes where intergenerational support is critical to their college attendance.

Beyond meeting full need for low-income students, the results of this study also support King's (2002) recommendation that financial aid counselors and student employment supervisors should increase their efforts to better inform students about the implications of financial strategies on their retention and academic success. Given the data collected in this study about the employment choices of working class students this educational effort seems critical to their success. College financing strategies should be included as a topic during orientation and as part of first-year experience courses (Tuttle, McKinney, & Rago, 2005)

The data collected in this study also confirms Hess's (1997) findings that working class students often feel a level of invisibility on-campus with predominantly upper-class students. While working class students sometimes discovered a sense of belonging through their employment, St. Luke's could take additional steps to assist working class students' academic and social connection to the campus. Working class students like Lou and Paul, who were also ALANA students, described how the orientation programs and mentoring offered by ALANA were important to their transition to a predominantly white campus. I recommend that similar programs be developed for first-generation students that would assist them in overcoming the sense of isolation they experience because of their social class. Again, these programs could also focus on involving the first-generation students' parents and extended family in the life of the campus.

Enhancing On-Campus and Off-Campus Employment Opportunities

This study suggests that students benefit from working while in college in some tangible ways. However, the findings suggest that these experiences could be

enhanced if student affairs professionals and other student employers were more intentional about creating employment opportunities which assist students in their development (Cheng & Alcantara, 2007). Moreover, some policies could be implemented to help students strike an appropriate balance between their employment, academics, and co-curricular experiences.

The policy of some departments at St. Luke's, like Campus Events and Residence Life, guarantee students their jobs back when they return from abroad. These policies encourage student employees to take full advantage of international programs. This study suggests that these policies should be made universal so that all departments equally encourage students to take advantage of study abroad. However, my research also indicates that even if working class students were guaranteed that they could return to their jobs, many would still be unlikely to go abroad. For working class students, the continuity of their employment was critical to them and their families. For this reason, St. Luke's should consider establishing scholarship opportunities for study abroad for students from low-income backgrounds. While this might be expensive, scholarships of even a few thousand dollars might compensate for the lost wages that working class students would incur while abroad.

In addition to scholarships, the Office of International Programs needs to do a better job of marketing the lower cost programs. They also might improve participation by students from working class backgrounds by facilitating information sessions conducted by students who went abroad on a restricted budget. Clearly many working class students in this study ruled out studying abroad because the social norm at St. Luke's suggested that these experiences had to be expensive. In

addition, these students habitus defined a different set of priorities for them than for their middle- and upper-class peers. While most of their families had accommodated the idea that they could attend a residential college few viewed studying in a foreign country as a possibility. As a result, any effort to collaborate with working class students' parents and extended family should articulate the benefits of study abroad.

This research revealed that the policy in the business school at St. Luke's that requires students to complete two experiential components made it difficult for working class students to complete the major. While this policy is based on the pedagogically appropriate goal of joining the curriculum with applied learning, it has the unintended consequence of disadvantaging students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Because one of the experiential components is study abroad, the suggested policy intervention of providing scholarships for needy students for study abroad should assist students in fulfilling these requirements. This research revealed that the business school already has allowed students to pursue paid internships, which should help working class students. The other possible remedy would be to assist students by providing the necessary time in their academic schedule to pursue these opportunities. For example, if the institution were to move to not offering classes on Fridays, working class students would not have to interrupt their academic or employment commitments in order to complete community service or internship requirements.

Beyond developing policies that assist students in establishing a balance between work, academics and co-curricular experiences, student affairs units and other student employers could enhance the benefits associated with working by

developing specific learning outcomes for student employees. Once these learning outcomes were established Career Planning and Placement, as well as units employing students should encourage students to keep co-curricular transcripts or electronic portfolios, which would allow them to track the skills and attributes acquired on the job. Clearly the findings of this research indicate that student employment experiences can represent a transformative part of students' learning experience. Campus employers should be more intentional about assisting students to ensuring meaningful employment for students and encouraging them to reflect upon these experiences.

Finally, I make two specific recommendations that would enhance the value of employment experiences at St. Luke's. First, St. Luke's needs to reevaluate the policy whereby compensation for the RA position is considered financial aid. The institution should either pay students a salary equal to the total value of their room and board or allow students on need based grants to reduce all of their debt, including the Federal Direct Stafford loan, in lieu of reducing their institutional grants. This shift in policy would allow students from working class backgrounds to receive the same compensation for the RA position as their peers from more affluent families. Second, an effort should be made to increase the hourly wage for all work-study and direct hire jobs on St. Luke's campus. This might increase the number of students who accept the work-study position and encourage on-campus employment, particularly in the first-year.

Implications for Theory

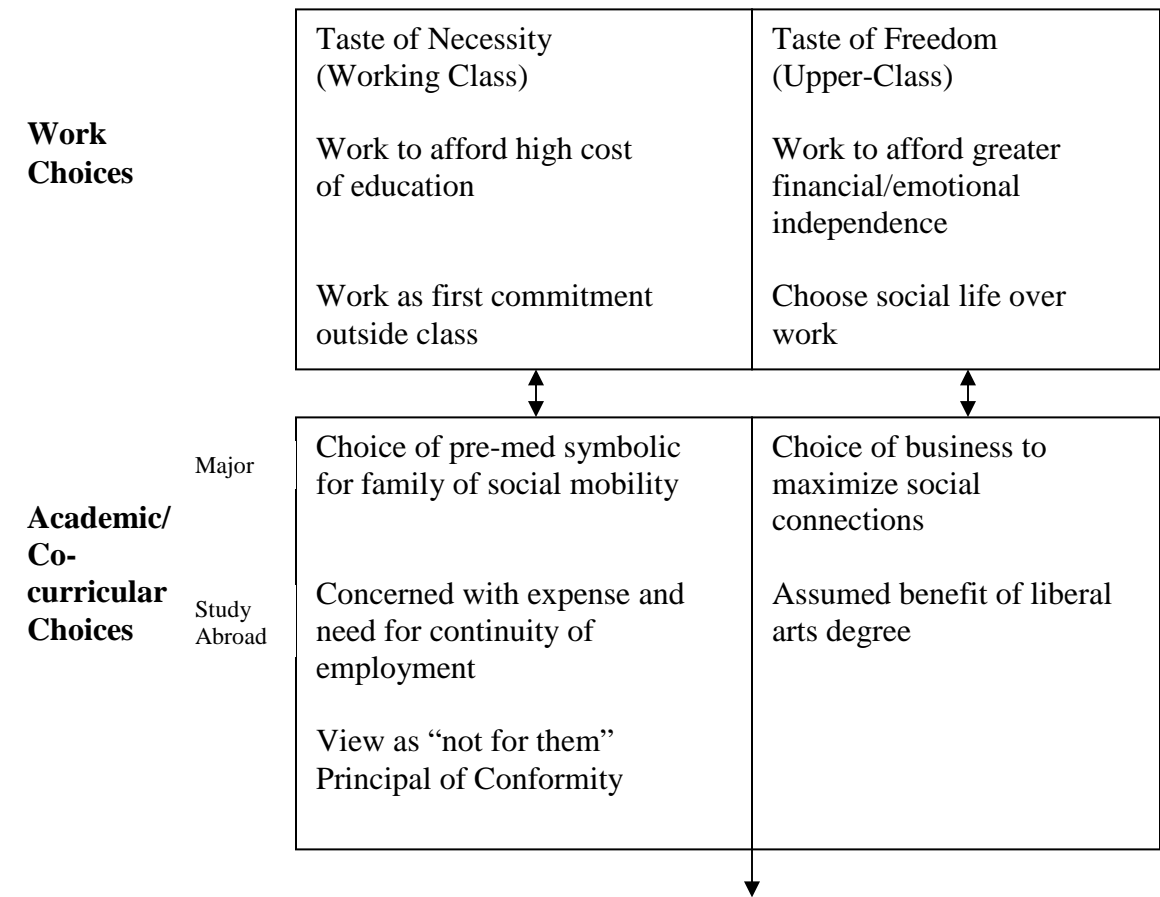
This research suggests that the theoretical constructs of Pierre Bourdieu hold promise for explaining how college students from different social class backgrounds make choices about working while in college.

In particular Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) construct of *habitus* is useful when examining the employment, academic and co-curricular choices of working class students as being determined by *tastes of necessity*. In contrast, Bourdieu would describe the upper-class students' choices as *tastes of freedom*. Figure 6.1 represents a set of theoretical propositions suggested by this research concerning the role of work based on social class difference. The findings suggested that often working class students' employment choices were derived from the need to afford the high costs of a private, residential education. These choices were derived from their *habitus*, which suggested working as much as possible was the expected way to make up for unmet need. By contrast, upper-class students worked as a way to establish greater financial and emotional independence from their parents and primarily to afford their social life.

The research also revealed differences in students' academic and co-curricular choices based on their *habiti*. For example, the working class students' often ruled out study abroad as too expensive and primarily for wealthier students. They were concerned with the continuity of their employment and the lost wages associated with being abroad. By contrast, upper-class students often worked more prior to going abroad in order to afford the experience. The upper-class students considered the abroad experience to be integral to their undergraduate education.

Figure 6.1 suggests some theoretical differences in the academic and co-curricular experiences of students at St. Luke’s based on their social class.

Figure 6.1: Internalized Sense of Social Order: Class Origins of the Role of Work



Implies accumulation of different forms of social/cultural capital

These differences in experience suggest students may accumulate different forms of *social* and *cultural capital*. However, the most difficult of Bourdieu’s constructs to interpret when differentiating between students’ work choices include his various forms of *capital*. Clearly, the students from working class backgrounds enter college with low levels of *economic capital* and their priorities for work, academic and co-

curricular experiences reflect this deficit. In addition, their relatively low levels of *capital*, combined with the boundaries of their *habitus*, may prevent them from acquiring additional forms of *cultural* and *social capital* through participation in co-curricular activities and study abroad. However, working class students in this study often seemed to gain valuable forms of *social* and *cultural* capital through their employment. Many of the working class students demonstrated closer relationships with faculty and student life staff than their middle- and upper-class peers. They also seemed to acquire valuable forms of applied learning by setting up labs or facilitating guest speakers or events. As I indicate in the next section of the chapter, perhaps the true test of whether the accumulation of different forms of *capital* does in effect socially reproduce class differences would be to conduct follow-up interviews with these students post-college.

Finally, the data collected for this study suggest that the elements of the “*field*,” including the social class composition of the student body, tuition policies, availability of jobs and academic policies all influence students’ work choices. While there may be other characteristics of the institutional context that affect students work choices, particularly the residential nature of the college or university, those explored in this study seemed to have an influence.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in several ways. First, by bounding my study at a single institution I focused specifically on the phenomenon of student employment within the unique culture and institutional ethos of one university. I used Bourdieu’s constructs as a way to explore if students’ work experiences are markers of social

class distinctions on this campus and if these work experiences reveal different choices based on social class. However, regardless of the study's success in applying Bourdieu's constructs to understand student employment choices, the findings should not be interpreted as a way to reveal broad patterns of social inequality within the system of higher education. Indeed, I believe that other research (e.g., Brint & Karabel, 1989; McDonough, Ventresca, & Outcalt, 1999) does this effectively.

The second limitation of the study is the recognition that any means used to select a sample based on social class would not be perfect. My attempt in this research study was to use purely social measures as proxies for class in order to identify and sort my sample. These measures included the student's parents' educational attainment and occupational status. This strategy proved to be a fairly accurate means to identify the student's habitus as working class, middle-class, or upper-class. I attempted to adhere to identifying students as working class whose parents had very limited or no involvement in higher education. One notable exception to this was Carlos (see Table 3.3, page 85) whose mother completed an associates' degree at a community college in order to become a teacher's aide. After completing my interview with Carlos I remained convinced that he occupied a working class habitus due to his parents' immigration to the United States and their pattern of employment prior to obtaining citizenship.

Classification of the student subjects based on their parents' occupations was more complicated and consequently I would concede that in the final analysis two students may have been classified incorrectly. For example, neither of Brooke's (see Table 3.3, page 85) parents attended college but they both owned their own business

and my interview with her clearly indicated that they were upwardly mobile. This, combined with the fact that Brooke's parents' annual income was between \$100,000 and \$150,000 indicate to me that she should have been classified as middle-class. Claire (See Table 3.3, page 85) on the other hand, was a student who was classified as middle-class because her mother completed the bachelor's degree. However, my interview with Claire revealed that she was a student who identified strongly with her father's working class roots as a carpenter. This combined with the fact that she estimated her mother's annual income as \$30,000 indicated to me that she should have been classified as working class.

The third limitation of this case study was that because I have bound the study in terms of time to take place during the student's sophomore year I forgo the opportunity of including a longitudinal dimension to the research. My choice of conducting data collection and analysis during the student's sophomore year reflects my intent to examine the student's decision making at a critical time during their undergraduate careers. However, a clear extension of the study for future research could be follow-up interviews with these students as alumni as they enter careers or graduate school.

Finally, in terms of investigating social class difference the study was limited in that I chose to interview only students who worked during the academic year. This choice reflected my interest in the phenomenon of student employment and the effects of the "field" on these experiences. However, my research revealed that many students at the institution do not work during the academic year. I can only speculate that these students are more likely to come from upper-class backgrounds. Therefore,

interviewing these students about their academic and co-curricular choices may have provided insight as to how students who do not choose to work experienced college. Moreover, it may have been interesting to have compared their academic choices and patterns of involvement to the students who worked.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study suggests several areas for future research that focus on the phenomenon of undergraduate student employment. In addition, the study explored Bourdieu's social reproduction theory as a lens through which to examine students' employment related choices. Several other frameworks are mentioned that may hold promise for guiding future research. Finally, the interview data collected for this study suggests that a great deal is still not known about first-generation college students—particularly those who matriculate to private colleges and universities. This finding suggests another line of inquiry.

The first area for future research is one that evolves from my discussions of the limitations of the study. Clearly, a longitudinal follow-up to this research, which would involve interviewing the same students as young alumni of the institution, would be valuable. Such a study could examine if student employment affected their entry level career or graduate school choices. In as much as this study examined students' work choices based on their social class, follow-up interviews with graduates might assist in establishing the extent to which their college choices led to social mobility. In general, a fruitful area of future research suggested by this study would be the examination of how college employment affects post-college outcomes. Such research should include, but is not limited to, studies that examine how student

employment might influence outcomes in the labor market such as salaries or graduate degree completion rates. In addition to the collection of longitudinal data through follow-up interviews with the subjects from this study, the results of this research could be used in order to develop survey instruments with better measures of social and cultural capital. Such instruments could then be validated and administered to a larger sample of students and alumni and thus enable a quantitative analysis of longitudinal data that might provide generalizable results.

A second extension of this research would be to replicate the study at other institutional settings. Clearly, we would expect that the social norms surrounding the role of student employment would be very different at four-year commuter institutions or community colleges. Examining the applicability of Bourdieu's constructs in reflecting the choices of students at these institutions would be an interesting extension of this research.

Another area for future research would be a closer examination of the effect of student employment on learning. Indeed, the research about student employment and cognitive development still seems rather inconclusive (Lundberg, 2004; Pascarella, Bohr, Nora, Desler & Zusman, 1994; Pascarella, Nora, Hagedorn, & Terenzini, 1998). The findings from this study suggest that student employment may add to students' meaning making and self-authorship could provide a fruitful area for future research. Related to this potential line of research, the various employment settings described in this study provided students with exposure to dramatically different organizational cultures and levels of supervision. These characteristics should be considered when examining what students learn from their jobs.

This research suggests that Bourdieu's social reproduction theory is a useful lens through which to view the interrelationship between students' employment, academic and vocational choices. Nonetheless, the findings from the study indicate that alternative analytic frameworks provided by other contemporary theorist may be appropriate to explore. For example, empirical research by Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) suggests the need to consider the expansion of the concept of social capital to include the relative importance of strong social ties to institutional agents when describing the experiences of working class, Mexican American high school students. Findings from this research that indicated the relatively greater importance of the relationships that the working class students in the study developed with faculty and student life personnel through their employment suggests that the construct of social ties is worth exploring in order to better understand and differentiate these students' experiences. Moreover, some of the rationale that the students from this study displayed surrounding their choices indicates the appropriateness of utilizing counterfactual frameworks such as emotional rationality and decision-affect theory.

Finally, the 12 working class students in this study are in many ways great exceptions to the rule. All of these students are first-generation college students and many are from low-income families. As such their matriculation to a private, four-year college is extremely rare. For example, recent data released by the Pell Institute of Opportunity in Higher Education suggests that only approximately 6% of students who are first-generation and from low-income families choose private, four year institutions (Lederman, 2008). Nonetheless, as the demographics of those attending

college continues to change it is likely that more first-generation college students will attend private institutions in the future. The likelihood of this is enhanced by the fact that many private institutions are now developing programs to attract first-generation students. This research suggests that studying these students' experience could assist not only with their successful recruitment to such institutions but also with their retention.

Concluding Remarks

The current economic climate, as well as the findings from this study, suggests that the burden of financing a college education is likely to compel more college students to seek employment in a variety of settings during the course of their undergraduate careers in the future. Many public and private universities are developing scholarship programs designed to encourage access to higher education for first-generation and low-income students that eliminate debt and provide campus jobs for a limited number of hours each week (e.g., see Carolina Covenant at: <http://www.unc.edu/carolinacovenant>). However, these programs are expensive and to date have involved relatively few students (Perna, Cooper, & Li, in press). Moreover, the results from this study indicate that, depending on the type and amount of financial aid students receive, students at a particular private university from middle-class families may feel as much pressure to work as their classmates from working class backgrounds. For these reasons, more needs to be known about how employment contributes to students' complex process of making meaning of their college experience (Cheng & Alcantara, 2007; Perna, in press). This research has sought to fill that void.

Empirical studies on student employment often fail to explicitly identify a theoretical model to guide the research (Rigger, et al., 2006). This study explored if a model based on the theoretical constructs of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1984) reflected how undergraduate students at a private, four-year institution make work-related choices (e.g., whether or not to work; on-campus vs. off-campus employment; how many hours to work). The research also explored if students' work choices in turn affected their academic and co-curricular experiences. While the model that was developed does seem to be helpful when examining the different choices students make based on their social class, other models should be explored. In particular, models associated with student learning and development might help unravel what is at times an inconclusive set of findings about the impact of work on students' cognitive development.

Appendix A

Archival Data Survey Questions of Interest

2006 CIRP Freshman Survey

1.. How much of your first year's educational expenses (room, board, tuition, and fees) do you expect to cover from each of the sources listed below? (Mark one answer for each possible source)

Family resources (parents, relatives, spouse, etc.)...

My own resources (savings from work, work-study, other income)...

Aid which need not be repaid (grants, scholarships, military funding, etc.)...

Aid which must be repaid (loans, etc.)...

Other than above...

Possible responses include:

(None, Less than \$1,000, \$1,000-2,999, \$3,000-5,999, \$6,000-9,999, \$10,000+)

Construct: Habitus

Research Question: 1, 2, 3

2. What is your best guess as to the chances that you will:

Get a job to help pay for college expenses?

Work full-time while attending college?

Possible responses include:

(No Chance, Very Little Chance, Some Chance, Very Good Chance)

Construct: Habitus

Research Question 1, 2, 3

2007 NSSE Survey

3. About how many hours do you spend in a typical 7-day week doing each of the following?

Working for pay **on-campus**?

Possible responses:

(0, 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26-30, More than 30)

Construct: Habitus/Field

Research Question 1, 2, 3

Working for pay **off-campus?**

Possible responses:

(0, 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26-30, More than 30)

4. Which of the following have you done or do you plan to do before you graduate from your institution?

Practicum, internship, field experience, co-op experience, or clinical assignment

Study abroad

Possible responses:

(Done, Plan to do, Do not plan to do, Have not decided)

Construct: Habitus, Capital

Research Questions: 1, 4, 5

5. During the current school year, about how often have you done each of the following?

Attended an art exhibit, play, dance, music, theater, or other performance

Possible responses:

(Very often, Often, Sometimes, Never)

Construct: Habitus, Capital

Research Questions: 1, 4,

Appendix B

Student Employment Study Participant Demographic Questionnaire

This form seeks demographic information from prospective participants in a research study on how college students make choices about employment (e.g., how much to work, on-campus vs. off-campus employment, how many hours to work). The study investigates the influence of students' social class as well as certain characteristics of the campus where they attend on these choices.

Please note: Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may withdraw at anytime. Please complete this questionnaire to the best of your ability. You may choose not to provide information to any of the items.

Participant's Name _____
Email _____
Campus Mail Box _____ Campus
Phone _____
Phone _____ Cell
Permanent Address _____

Demographic Information:

Sex ___ Male ___ Female

Financial Aid Information (Please provide information about all that apply)
How much of your educational expenses (room, board, tuition, and fees) do you expect to cover from each of the sources listed below?

___ Family Resources: Amount _____
___ My own resources (savings from work, work-study, other income):
Amount _____
___ Presidential Scholarship: Amount _____
___ Claver Scholarship: Amount _____
___ Federal Assistance (Pell Grant): Amount _____
___ Aid that must be repaid (loans, etc.) Amount _____
___ Other than above: Please describe _____
Amount _____

Mother's Education (Check One)

___ Graduate degree
___ Some graduate school
___ College degree
___ Some college
___ Postsecondary school other than college

- High school graduate
- Some high school
- Grammar school or less

Mother's Occupation _____

Father's Education (Check One)

- Graduate degree
- Some graduate school
- College degree
- Some college
- Postsecondary school other than college
- High school graduate
- Some high school
- Grammar school or less

Father's Occupation _____

What is your best estimate of your parents' total income last year? Consider income from all sources before taxes. (Check one)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000-39,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000-149,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000-14,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000-49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000-199,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000-19,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000-59,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$200,000-249,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000-24,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000-74,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$250,000 or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000-29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000-99,999 | |

Student Employment Information

Are you currently employed during the school year? yes no

Is the job you hold part of the work-study program? yes no

Please provide your job title(s) and a brief description of the work you do:

Title: _____

Description of work: _____

Please list your second job if you have more than one during the school year

Title: _____

Description of work: _____

Type of Employment (Check One) On-campus Off-campus

Both
Approximately how many hours per week do you work during the academic year?

- 0-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36+

Appendix C

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Student Participants

**Informant Code:
Time:**

Interview Date and

I am interested in knowing how students make choices about working while going to college. I also want to know about the academic and co-curricular choices students make and how students think working influences these choices. I believe that the results of this study can help this institution provide better support for students who work. I will be sending you a report summarizing the results of the study when it is complete. You have received a consent form to sign, which indicates your consent to this interview. I'd like to audio record what you have to say so that I don't miss any of it. I will be protecting your anonymity as a participant in the study, and for this reason all my transcripts and field notes from this conversation will not refer to your name. I will keep these recordings for my own confidential records, and if at any time during the interview you would like me to stop recording just let me know and I will be glad to do so.

Student Background Questions

Question	Construct	RQ
1. Did you work while you were in high school?	Habitus	1, 2
Probe: a. Did finding a job at college influence your choice about where to go to college?		
2. How did you find out about the job(s) you have had while in college?	Capital	1, 2
Probes: a. Did you find out from a college department (e.g., Human Resources, Career Center, Financial Aid)? b. Did you find out from friends or other students? c. A newspaper or other outside sources?		
3. Are there jobs that are highly sought after or popular with students?	Capital	1,2
Probes: a. What are these jobs?		

b. Who gets them?		
c. How do you get them?		
4. What are the primary reasons you are working?	Practice/ Capital	1, 2, 6
Probes:		
a. To afford college? (tuition, books, fees)		
b. For spending money? If yes, for what?		
c. In order to gain valuable experience/build your resume?		
5. How do you balance working with going to school?	Habitus	1, 2
Probes:		
a. How many hours per week do you work during the term?		
b. How do you decide how much to work?		
c. Can you alter your work schedule when you are busier with school? (i.e. mid-terms, exams)		
6. What are some of the benefits and drawbacks of your job?	Capital	1, 2
Probes:		
a. What do you like about your job(s), what do you dislike?		
7. Describe the type of work you do in your job(s).	Capital	1, 2
a. Do you have a lot of responsibility or a little?		
b. Do your supervisors trust you to make decisions?		
c. Does the work you do involve a lot of independence or are are you closely supervised?		
d. How much training did you receive for your job?		
8. Do you feel like you have learned anything from your job that assists you with college or might possibly help you after college?	Capital, Field	3, 4, 5
Probes:		
a. Specific skills?		
b. Problem solving?		
c. Responsibility/Time Management?		
9. How important is the pay that you earn on the job?	Capital	1, 2
a. In selecting the job?		
b. In being satisfied with the job?		
c. In determining how much you will work?		

Now I would like to talk with you about other choices you make as a college student. I am particularly interested in some of the choices you have to make as a sophomore. If you haven't made up your mind about some of these choices, I am interested to know what will factor into the choices you will make.

Question	Construct	RQ
10. Do you feel like working influenced your selection of a major?	Practice	3, 4, 5
Probes: a. Have you changed your mind about your major? since coming to college? b. If yes, why?		
11. Do you feel like working will influence your decision? to study abroad or your choice about where to go?	Practice	3, 4, 5
Probes: a. Will you go? b. If yes, where? c. What do you hope to get out of study abroad?		
12. Are you involved in extra-curricular and programs? If yes, what activities? If not, why not?	Practice	3, 4, 5
Probes: a. Do you think that work either led you to participate in these activities or prevents you from doing so? b. What are the primary benefits from these activities? c. Do you get to know other students through these activities? d. Do you get to know faculty and staff through these activities?		

Finally, I would like to know a little about what role your parents or others who are important to you have in your work choices.

Question	Construct	RQ
13. Could you talk a little about what your parents do for a living?		
Probes: What role if any do you think their jobs played in your goals?		
14. Do your parents know about your work?	Habitus	1, 2

- a. The type of job you have?
 - b. The amount of hours you spend on the job?
15. Do your parents encourage you to work while going to school? Habitus 1, 2
 16. Do your parents count on your job to help finance your college? Habitus 1, 2
 17. Are there other adult mentors who have helped you with important Habitus 1, 2
 decisions you have to make? Who are they? How do they help?
 18. Is there anything this institution could do to help you and other students like you
 manage work and school?

You have been very helpful. I would be very interested in any other feelings or thoughts you could share with me about the choices you make as a college student. If there is anything you would like to share with me now, please do so. If you think of anything else later, please contact me.

Appendix D

Semi Structured Interview Guide for Administrators/Student Employers

**Informant Code:
Time:**

Interview Date and

This study seeks to better understand how students make choices about working while going to college (i.e. how much to work; on-campus vs. off-campus employment; types of jobs). The study also explores if certain institutional policies, practices or characteristics influence student work choices. I have already interviewed 24 second semester sophomores at this institution about their work experiences and now I am conducting a few interviews administrators and student employers. You have received a consent form indicating your willingness to participate in this interview. I would like to audio record the interview so that I don't miss any of it. If at any time you would like me to stop recording just let me know and I will be glad to do so.

Do you think that there are any institutional policies that might influence students' employment choices? If so, what are they and how do they affect students' choices?

Prompts:

Tuition and financial aid policies?
Academic policies and requirements?

Do you think that any characteristics of this institution's culture might affect students' employment choices?

Prompts:

Residentiality?
High SES of the majority of the students served?
Availability of jobs (both on and off-campus)?

This study also investigates whether students' work choices affect their academic and co-curricular choices (i.e. choice of major; involvement in co-curricular activities, study abroad, career aspirations).

In your experience do students work choices affect their academic and co-curricular choices? If so, how do they affect these choices?

Prompt

Choice of a major?

Involvement in co-curricular choices?

Study abroad?

Career aspirations?

This study also explores if differences in student characteristics affect students' work, academic and co-curricular choices. Specifically, I investigate if differences in students' social class affect these choices. For this reason, the sample of students I interviewed included 12 working class, 6 middle-class, and 6 upper-class students.

In your experience does the student's social class background affect his/her work choices?

In your experience does a students' social class back ground affect their academic and co-curricular choices?

As I mentioned, I have already interviewed 24 students who work about their jobs. I would like to share with you some data about the types of jobs they hold, the number of hours per week that they work and their academic and co-curricular choices.

Does anything stand out about these choices?

Prior to collecting data I developed a model to help explain how students from different social class backgrounds make choices about working while in college. This is based on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu a French sociologist. I would like to describe the model and ask you to react to its accuracy.

Do you think this model helps explains students work choices?

Is the model complete? Are there other characteristics of the "field" that might influence students work choices?

You have been very helpful. I would be very interested in any other feelings or thoughts you could share with me about the choices you make as a college student. If there is anything you would like to share with me now, please do so. If you think of anything else later, please contact me.

Appendix E
CONSENT FORM

Project Title	A Case Study of Undergraduate Student Employment at a Private University: The Effect of Social Class and Institutional Context
Why is this research being done?	<p><i>This is a research project being conducted by Richard T. Satterlee at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a student or administrator at Loyola College and as a subject in this study you will be able to help us better understand student employment. The purpose of this research is to explore and analyze college students' work-related choices. The research also explores if college students' work-related choices vary for students from different social class backgrounds. The end-goal of this study is to explore if Pierre Bourdieu's social reproduction theory helps explain how students make these choices.</i></p>
What will I be asked to do?	<p><i>Each prospective informant will complete a demographic questionnaire. Selected subjects for the study will receive a copy of this consent form and an explanation of this study. Informant participation is voluntary and an informant may withdraw from the study at any time. Informant identification will be held confidential if he or she decides to participate. Semi-structured interviews will be the primary mode of data collection. These interviews will be conducted with willing informants who were identified and selected after completing a demographic questionnaire. Participants will be asked a series of questions like the following: 1. Please describe the types of jobs you have had while you have been in college. 2. How do you balance working with going to school? 3. Does your job help you meet others on-campus or do you feel like your job inhibits you from meeting others? 4. Do you feel like you have learned anything from your job that assists you with college or might possibly help you after college?</i></p> <p><i>Interviews are expected to last between 60 and 90minutes. Informants may decline to answer any questions that he or she does not feel comfortable answering. All interviews will be audio-recorded for the purposes of transcription unless the informant does not</i></p>

	<i>agree to this procedure. Investigator notes will supplement all informant interviews.</i>
--	--

Project Title	A Case Study of Undergraduate Student Employment at a Private University: The Effect of Social Class and Institutional Context
What about confidentiality?	<i>All informant identities will be kept confidential at all times. Potential informant risks include an invasion of privacy if he or she were identified. Research findings and conclusions will safeguard against informant identity with the use of a numerical coding system for interview participants. This code will be attached to audio recordings, written documents, draft and final study reports. The researcher holds an administrative position at the host institution which includes some responsibilities for student conduct. This research is separate from his administrative responsibilities and nothing that student subjects disclose will ever be used as part of a judicial proceeding.</i>
What are the risks of this research?	<i>The risks of this research are minimal. Potential informant risks include an invasion of privacy if the informants were identified. Safeguards described above will guard against the identification of informants and the release of any personal data.</i>

Project Title	A Case Study of Undergraduate Student Employment at a Private University: The Effect of Social Class and Institutional Context
What are the benefits of this research?	<i>The researcher will be offering a monetary stipend to participants. In addition the researcher will provide each participant with a 3-5 page summary of the findings of the study that will connect the findings to the literature on the topic</i>
Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?	<i>Participants reserve the right to withdraw from this study at any point in the research study. Participants also maintain the right to review interview transcripts, notes, and responses. Participants have the right to delete any portion of their interview responses.</i>
What if I have questions?	<p><i>This research is being conducted by Richard T. Satterlee at the University of Maryland, College Park. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Richard Satterlee at: 4501 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21210. (410).617.5120 or at rsatter@loyola.edu</i></p> <p><i>If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:</i> Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-0678 <i>This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</i></p>

Project Title	A Case Study of Undergraduate Student Employment at a Private University: The Effect of Social Class and Institutional Context	
Statement of Age of Subject and Consent [Please note: Parental consent always needed for minors.]	<i>Your signature indicates that: you are at least 18 years of age; the research has been explained to you; your questions have been fully answered; and you freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project.</i>	
Signature and Date [Please add name, signature, and date lines to the final page of your consent form]	NAME OF SUBJECT	
	SIGNATURE OF SUBJECT	
	DATE	

****Please note: When the consent form requires more than one page, please include a space for the subject to initial and date at the top right-hand corner of each page. The corner should appear as: Initials _____ Date _____
 Also, each page must display a page range such as: Page 1 of 2, then Page 2 of 2. This additional information would confirm that the subject agreed to the entire contents of the consent form. ****

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