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Parents or Peers? Comparing the Effects of Demographics and Social Ties on Attitudes Towards Diversity

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Demographics and Social Ties on Attitudes Towards
Diversity**

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**Parents or Peers? Comparing the Effects of Demographics and Social Ties on Attitudes
Towards Diversity**

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Spring 2008

ABSTRACT

This research compared the predictive effect of social capital on attitudes towards diversity in a college environment. 'Social capital' was compared in terms of background, *precollege* demographic characteristics, such as race and socioeconomic status, versus *college* social networks. Survey data was taken from a sample of randomly selected students (n=73) enrolled at a small Midwestern college. Statistical analysis found the most favorable views towards diversity among students with very diverse college social networks, regardless of demographic characteristics or precollege experiences. Further inquiry showed that campus organizations with cultural, athletic, or service components were the most likely to attract diverse memberships.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of 'diversity' and the justifications for multicultural programming in academic and professional settings are often taken as self-evident. A large body of scholarly research on multiculturalism has suggested that the most diverse schools or workplaces also produce the best-performing, most intellectually engaged individuals. Bringing together people of dissimilar racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, or political backgrounds (without exhausting other possibilities) it is said, encourages dialogue between peers and develops critical skills, broadening the horizons of all those involved (Gurin 1999). This empirical consensus has been of special interest to colleges and universities, many of which have made 'fostering diversity' an explicit curricular goal. Yet at most schools this program begins, with almost exclusive focus, at recruiting diverse student bodies, with the 'diversity' an individual contributes assumed to originate strictly from their demographic characteristics – features of their background such as race or socioeconomic status – while ignoring or underemphasizing the more active (and more salient) contribution of actual student *viewpoints*, or *attitudes*. In sum, much of diversity programming in higher education, and the research that supports it, has assumed that a student's demographic background (precollege factors) is automatically consonant with the values and opinions that they bring to the school (and subsequently develop while enrolled).

It is taken for granted, then, that precollege factors are the characteristics from which a student's attitudes and values can be most accurately derived. But it might be

questioned to what extent the emphasis on demographics is justified. The proliferation of multicultural clubs, diversity education, and college-sponsored ‘cross-cultural’ events creates an environment on the college campus where students can gain exposure to enormously varied worldviews and interact with others very different from themselves. In many cases this is likely to leave a student with opinions quite divergent from those that might be assumed from their background. Meanwhile, at odds with these developments, academic explanations give priority to *past* value orientations over the possible influence of *current* peers. In doing so, researchers present a static conception of diversity on the college campus: different students interact but their viewpoints do not change – at least not significantly so.

I this article I will suggest that a student’s interaction with peers on campus is more influential for attitude- and value- formation than is often acknowledged. It compares the effects of demographics and current peer influences by investigating student orientations toward diversity on campus, employing as a test case a sample of students at a small Midwestern college.¹ First, in order to investigate the extent to which demographic or (current) peer factors might predict student attitudes, I apply social capital theory – popularized by Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone* (2000) – as a way of measuring the value and weight of social ties (both during college and before). Social capital theory predicts that people who maintain numerous and diverse relationships with others are more likely not only to forge *new* relationships but also to actually feel inclined to do so (an indication of attitude). After a review of the relevant literature – including

¹ Here called “Libertine College.”

earlier research on 'social capital' as a function of background -- I will investigate the extent to which experiences *before* and *during* college condition attitudes towards diversity. In line with social capital theory, I focus special attention on the effects of *participation* in extracurricular organizations and *personal relations* on individual viewpoints. Second, drawing on the relevant literature, I develop measures of 'orientation towards diversity,' as well as 'social capital'. This theoretical framework therefore models orientation towards diversity as a function of two levels of social capital: capital that originates from precollege factors, and capital that is derived from college social ties. It will be contended that orientation towards diversity, as a type of attitude, is better predicted by an individual's *current social ties* than by precollege factors. The strength of social capital as a predictor for "orientation towards diversity" is tested in the third section with statistical analysis. The fourth section reports the results of this analysis. The article then concludes with discussion of the results and their implications, as well as the limitations of the study and possibilities for future research.

This study contributes to previous research in three important ways. Most past research of this kind -- especially on the college campus -- has assumed that the *source* of a group's diversity was in demographic background. Others have taken the attitudes of recent college graduates as a final measure of attitudes toward diversity; fewer have examined the opinions and behaviors of students while they are in school. In addition, much of the past research has focused on interactions between *attitudes* and *demographic characteristics* themselves, such as the relationship between race and opinions toward interracial dating (Smith & Moore 2000). This paper explores the more intricate

connections between attitudes and social characteristics not necessarily prefigured by background -- college and precollege social ties. Finally, the study examines the grounds of attitude formation in general (and attitudes towards diversity in particular). Social capital theory hypothesizes that participation in campus life (exposure to diversity) may predict high levels of social capital. In turn, the extent of this 'exposure' could be a better predictor of individual orientations towards diversity than precollege background considered alone. This would imply a type of diversity in a student body more dynamic and contingent than the too-common assumption that *the diversity someone brings to a group* originates in where one comes from and not what they do (or who they know). Although the context of the study -- a small liberal arts college -- limits the extent to which these findings might be generalized to the professional sphere or society at large, investigating this issue is nonetheless an important step in challenging how diversity is (and should be) actually valued.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Diversity is sought after in higher education because of what can be described as the positive value of its 'peer effects.' A large body of research (Pascarella, Edison, et al 1996; Velazquez 2006; Skadberg 2005; Ervin 2001) supports the claim that exposure to diversity of most kinds in a college setting increases the likelihood of future cross-cultural engagement for students. This theory is at the core of the 'diversity model,' which contends that "increased racial diversity in college enrollment both enriches the

educational experience for students of all racial & ethnic background & also improves relationships between students of different races” (Rothman, Lipset, & Nevitte 2003: 8).

Kao (2001) illustrated the power of this argument in a study that linked peer influences and student attitudes towards school life. When a student’s peers were more oriented towards social life, Kao found, there was a significant negative effect on academic achievement. By comparing students’ academic performance before and after their association with current friends, she was able to show that the majority of this peer influence was due to socialization (“having geeky friends improves one’s academic achievement”) rather than simple peer selection (“geeky kids are more likely to hang out with other geeky kids”) (2001: 451). She concluded that this relationship “[had] more to do with current socialization than with preexisting value orientations,” and that “peer effects on achievement are persistent and cannot be attributed simply to students’ prior valuation of academic achievement” (2001: 451).

The logic of Kao’s argument is not necessarily specific to ‘attitude towards school,’ and the influence of other peer characteristics such as race, religion, and socioeconomic status have also been studied. For example, Smith and Moore (2000) used pre-college ‘social capital’ to explain social closeness (or distance) between black students at a large predominantly white university. Student ‘social capital’ was measured by factors such as socioeconomic status, the racial diversity of their backgrounds (and previous schooling), and the frequency of their interactions with other blacks before college. Differences in social capital were then used to explain the relationships between

black students from different backgrounds. Smith and Moore eventually concluded that differences in background between black students were better predictors of attitudes towards other blacks than simple racial or ethnic identifications. This implied that building new social capital while in college would be determined to a large extent by one's origins. Although the researchers sought to problematize dominant conceptions of black students as homogenous and easily identified with one another, they nonetheless made explicit the central assumption for most research of this kind: that 'background,' (defined as pre-adult experience, and encompassing most demographic characteristics such as race) is the principal factor of one's outlook, and can be used to classify students into distinct groups.

Of course the "diversity model," even in Smith & Moore's refined formulation, has its critics. In their own study of college diversity, Rothman, Lipset and Nevitte (2003) did not find evidence to support the argument that enrollment diversity per se was correlated with greater educational benefit or interracial understanding. The flaw of studies of this kind, however, is that most of them were conducted with formal university services (campus-sponsored events, colloquia, classes and interactions between students and teachers, etc), and so overlooked the possible influence of student-led organizations, which for many schools make up the majority of extracurricular life on campus.

I will address this gap in evidence by investigating the claim that participation in student organizations, especially those more likely to create 'bridging' ties between dissimilar people, will be better correlated with favorable views towards diversity (as

well as interaction with diverse groups) than a 'diverse' pre-college background on its own. Following Kao (2001), I anticipate that *current* socialization and peer attitudes are more predictive of individual behavior than precollege background.

The article thus emphasizes a conception of social capital as *normatively* influential (affecting attitudes and practices) although this does not mean that it does not also have functional impact (affecting the prerogative of actors to secure material benefits). Coleman and Hoffer (1987) originally devised the term 'social capital' to describe the kinds of ties that developed between an individual and their family or the community to which they belong. Portes (1998) and Fukuyama (1999) later emphasized the normative *and* functional aspects of these relationships and how they influenced group-level outcomes. In particular, Portes defined social capital as "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of their membership in social networks or other social structures." (1998: 7). Although it is by no means undisputed, I use Portes's conception here, because it has become a standard, and because 'benefits' can be understood very loosely.

Robert Putnam complicated the debate on social capital in his book "Bowling Alone" (2000) by popularizing the distinction between 'bridging' and 'bonding' capital, first proposed by Gittel and Vidal (1998). These terms described different types of interpersonal relationships with different uses (Narayan 1999; Onyx and Bullen 2000; Woolcock 2001). Bridging capital were the types of social networks that brought together people who were different from one another (such as voluntary associations, religious

activities, and interest groups), whereas bonding capital were social networks that tended to reinforce sameness and group exclusivity (such as families and local communities) (Putnam 2000: 22-23). Putnam also made the point that participation in clubs and organizations can, and does, build both types of capital. This research takes that dimension of social capital theory – participation in organizations, and social engagement – and applies it to the study of diversity on college campuses.

In this study, because of the diversity of a college's student body, there will certainly be interaction between social engagement (peer influences), precollege background, and orientation towards diversity. For example, those that come from diverse backgrounds and participate in many bridging activities might identify more actively with 'multiculturalism' than those that also participate in bridging activities but come from less diverse backgrounds. Similarly, those that come from very close, 'bonded' backgrounds but also participate in bridging activities in college could have more favorable attitudes towards diversity than those from similar backgrounds who do not. Or the reverse: if a student participated in campus organizations that created only bonding ties, but came from a very diverse background, would his attitudes and reactions to campus diversity be more or less favorable than another student who participated in more 'bridging' groups in college but grew up in a much more 'bonded' environment?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Variables

The data used for analysis was collected through a survey of about 80 college students. The main independent and dependent variables in this research –precollege social capital, college social capital, and orientation towards diversity – are composite measures, each derived from responses to questions appearing on the survey. The construction of these variables is discussed in the section below. Descriptive statistics for all three are included in Section 1 of the appendix.

“Orientation towards Diversity”

‘Orientation towards diversity’ implies both attitudes about diversity, and general willingness and skill at forming new social networks. In the survey it had four dimensions: social initiative, management of social uncertainty, engagement, and empathy. These were adapted from the literature on measuring intercultural attitudes (Arasaratnam et al 2005, 2006; Chen 1989; Montei et al. 1996; Van der Zee et al. 2000). Each dimension was composed of a group of thematically similar questions also derived from the literature (ibid). They have thus already been established as fairly reliable measures for different aspects of the overall ‘Orientation’ variable, improving the latter’s accuracy (although it must be noted that the four components are moderate correlates of each other). A table showing correlations between the four components is included in the appendix, Section 1.

1. *Social Initiative*: Questions for this dimension of the dependent variable had to do with the ease and confidence with which respondents put themselves into social situations and built new relationships. It also included measures of

frequency, such as how often one asked for favors or advice, how often one worked in groups, and how often one participated in activities with friends and acquaintances.

2. *Management of Social Uncertainty*: These questions asked about the comfort level of respondents in known and unknown social situations, and their general attitudes about social situations where there were many people they didn't know.

3. *Diversity Engagement*: A measure of an individual's response to diversity *per se* – how likely they are to explicitly *prefer* being around people of different backgrounds, for example, and how actively they participate in intercultural events.

4. *Empathy*: A measure of how easy or difficult a respondent found it to see things from the perspective of others and to understand interpersonal differences.

The full list of survey questions which made up 'Social Initiative,' 'Uncertainty Management,' 'Diversity Engagement,' and 'Empathy' – as well as response frequencies – is in Section 2 of the appendix.

The questions that made up all four concepts typically used five-point or four-point Likert-type scales; however, some questions were dichotomous (yes/no). Accordingly, individuals were given a point 'score' for each of the four dimensions based

on standardized (z-score) totals of their responses to the questions that made them up. These four dimensions were then summed to create a single measure, the main dependent variable “Orientation towards Diversity.” Higher scores indicate more favorable views towards diversity.

Social Capital, and Bridging and Bonding Ties

Following Putnam (2001), the main hypothesis of this research tests the relationship between social capital and orientation towards diversity. It also examines whether different *types* of capital (college and precollege or bridging and bonding) affect the strength of this relationship.

Hypothesis 1a: High social capital will be associated with favorable views towards diversity.

Hypothesis 1b: Social capital acquired in college, in general, is a better predictor of current views towards diversity than precollege social capital.

Questions about precollege social capital measured not just the strength and diversity of social ties in high school (including extracurricular participation) but also ties with family, taking into account parents’ education and the setting where an individual grew up. Questions about college social capital focused on current ties and activities, as well as self-perceptions of growth and the diversity of a student’s peer group. To create both college and precollege social capital scores for each respondent, social tie *diversity* and tie *strength* were first computed separately. These two components of social capital

were addressed by different questions in the survey. The distinction between diversity and strength is meant to reflect the ‘bridging’ and/or ‘bonding’ character of one’s social ties. These are continuous measures, as bridging and bonding are not exclusive categories (a social relationship can be both bridging and bonding).

Responses to the questions for tie strength were standardized and then summed to create a measure that represents the ‘bonding’ aspect of a person’s social network. Responses to the questions addressed to tie diversity were also standardized and summed; this measure represents the ‘bridging’ aspect. Once these two indexes were composed, they were added together to create a total ‘social capital’ score. Both college and precollege capital were calculated in this way. Univariate statistics for precollege and college social capital can be found in the Appendix in Section 3.

After the total social capital scores were created, all of the cases in the data set were sorted into four categories for both time periods. Previous literature suggests that a ‘total’ social capital score will sometimes erase meaningful details in how bridging and bonding capital interact. Thus the bridging/bonding distinction was retained for additional crosstabulation with ‘orientation towards diversity.’ These distinctions will reveal how certain types of social capital, with their variations in peer groups (such as campus organizations), have different effects on a student’s diversity orientation in a college setting. The second hypothesis also draws on Putnam (2001) and Kao (2001):

Hypothesis 2a: 'Bridging capital' will be more strongly correlated (negative or positive) with attitude towards diversity than 'bonding capital.'

Campus Participation. The college from which the data sample was taken has an active campus life, with more than 90 student organizations, several of these being cultural or cross-cultural in nature. This provided an opportunity to test Putnam's hypothesis that there are differences between *types* of engagement (what types of clubs one joined) and their influence on student attitudes. The questions in the survey which ask respondents to identify *specifically* what campus activities they take part in were strictly nominal. So while regular engagement with on-campus activities is likely related to one's social capital, organization affiliations could be considered a separate predictor variable for both bridging/bonding capital *and* orientation towards diversity, because they were not included in calculations of the social capital variables.

Hypothesis 2b: Participation in some clubs will tend to create more bridging capital, while others will create or reinforce more bonded ties.

Hypothesis 2b rests on the assumption that because of their differing interests and goals, or perhaps differences in the types of people they attract, the type of clubs one participates in will have an affect on the types of social capital one has (and thus might affect a student's attitudes). Of special interest are five categories of student participation: 1) sports organizations, whether formal teams or intramural programs; 2) voluntary service organizations such as Habitat for Humanity; 3) cultural organization

such as a Black Students Association or an Asian Club; 4) GLBT organizations such as Queer Union, and 5) specific ‘interest’ groups, such as an Economics Club or Literary Review. The research on student clubs in college is thin, so these five categories were chosen mostly for exploratory purposes, to find out what types of social capital were produced *where*.

Hypothesis 3a is also drawn from Putnam (2001). Frequency of participation in associations (in this case, campus clubs) should be related to one’s social capital. Hypothesis 3b tests for a connection between frequency of participation, social capital, and favorable view towards diversity. The strength of this correlation would indicate to what extent attitudes might be determined simply by routine social interactions (going to meetings), as opposed to any special effects of bridging or bonding capital.

Hypothesis 3a: An increase in campus participation will see an attending rise in social capital.

Hypothesis 3b: High levels of campus engagement will be associated with favorable views towards diversity.

Data Collection and Sampling

To determine the extent to which college and precollege social capital can predict current attitude towards diversity, 200 surveys were circulated electronically on a college campus in the middle of the Fall semester. The response rate was roughly 40% (80 returned, 73 complete). The school which is the subject of the study — referred to here as

Libertine College — is small (about 1,800 students), and has a relatively diverse student body, with roughly 21% being domestic students of color and 12% coming from abroad. A significant minority presence increases the likelihood of interracial and intercultural contact at Libertine. In this sample roughly 22% were nonwhite (identifying as either Asian, Black Non-Hispanic, Hispanic/Latino, or Multiracial/Other) and 13 students (17%) identified themselves as having grown up outside the US. By comparison, about 18% of the student population at large is students of color, and 12% were born abroad. For the most part, the survey sample is fairly representative of the larger population, although the former captured a higher percentage of white students (about 78%) than are represented in the latter (roughly 69%). For a more detailed racial breakdown of the respondents for the survey, see the first page of the appendix. The ages of the respondents were also not representative -- 16 were first-year students (20%), 25 were sophomores (32%), only 13 were juniors (17%) and 24 were seniors (31%). This is a result partly of juniors studying abroad and the limitation of the small sample size.

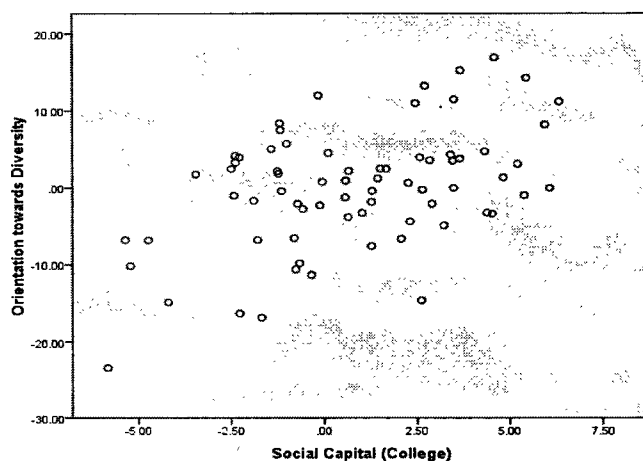
FINDINGS

College and Precollege Capital with Orientation towards Diversity

Histogram distributions for the variables ‘Orientation towards Diversity,’ ‘Precollege Social Capital,’ and ‘College Social Capital’² indicate roughly normal distributions for all three, albeit with significant variation in the social capital variables.

² Found in Section 1 of the appendix.

Shapiro-Wilk tests were also used to *confirm normal distributions*; these results are in Sect. 1 also. To test Hypothesis 1a, ‘Orientation towards diversity’ was then plotted as a function of college and precollege social capital. These scatterplots appear to show a low-to-moderate correlation between college social capital and orientation towards diversity. Here, the relationship between these two variables is *positive*, indicating that as college capital rises, so does one’s ‘orientation’ score. This is in contrast to the plot for precollege capital, which shows no such association (see the following page).



A linear model was regressed to evaluate the strength of this relationship. With ‘Orientation towards Diversity’ plotted as a function of ‘College Social Capital,’ the resulting model yielded a correlation coefficient of

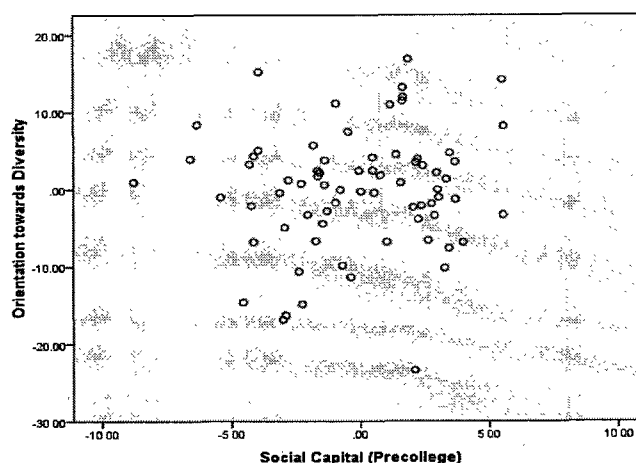
$r = .476^3$ and an adjusted $r^2 = .216$. R^2 indicates that the extant model accurately predicts about 21% of the variation in ‘orientation’ scores for the entire sample. This figure is low but unsurprising given the high variance of both independent variables (for example, the ‘college capital’ scores for the entire sample had a range of only 12 but a standard deviation of about 3). It also suggests that there are other factors that affect one’s social capital formation in college and precollege environments.⁴

³ The significance level for the College Capital / Orientation correlation was $p < .001$. See Table A.2 in the appendix.

⁴ See the conclusion of the article.

Nonetheless, there is sufficient evidence to confirm *Hypothesis 1a: High social capital will be associated with favorable views towards diversity*. The relationship between diversity orientation and social capital in college is positive and significant. The statistical correlations (Pearson's r , provided by the linear model) of both college and precollege capital with diversity orientation also provide evidence to confirm *Hypothesis 1b*, that orientation would be more strongly associated with college than precollege capital. Only college capital had a moderate (and significant) association with orientation. See Table A.1 in the appendix for the linear regression model.

Statistical correlation between *precollege* social capital and orientation towards diversity was found to be only $r=.094$.⁵ A glance at the plot of this relationship confirms that precollege social capital does not have a strong relationship with diversity orientation.



Given that precollege capital is not a significant predictor of orientation towards diversity, this analysis will henceforth focus only on the *college* social capital variable.

Bridging and Bonding Capital with Orientation towards Diversity

⁵ At significance $p=.494$ (not significant). Table A.2.

Hypothesis 2(a) argues that bridging capital will be more strongly correlated with orientation towards diversity than bonding capital. *2(b)* asks which types of student organizations in college are most likely to create bridging or bonding ties.

Bivariate correlation shows that bridging capital *is* in fact more strongly associated with diversity orientation than bonding capital. See the appendix, Table B.1. Correlating college bridging capital with diversity orientation yields a Pearson's $r=.470$ at a statistically significant level.⁶ In contrast, college bonding capital and diversity orientation have a correlation coefficient of only $r=.230$ at $p=.052$, just below statistical significance.

To test this relationship with crosstabulations, "Favorability to Diversity," a derivative measure of the 'orientation' variable, was developed. 'Favorability' is an ordinal variable that breaks up the score range of 'orientation towards diversity' into four smaller ranges: all scores farther than one standard deviation to the left of (smaller than) the mean, all scores higher than one standard deviation to the left but less than the mean, all scores higher than the mean but less than one standard deviation to the right, and finally all scores higher than one standard deviation to the right.⁷

⁶ $p<.000$.

⁷ As reported in the descriptives of A.1, the mean of 'Orientation towards Diversity' is -0.0642 and the standard deviation is 7.73635 . So the ranges that decide 'favorability' are as follows:

1. $(-\infty, -7.80055]$, the low 'leftmost' bound, representing the category, "Very unfavorable to diversity."
2. $(-7.80055, -0.0642]$, the middle-left range, representing the category "Somewhat unfavorable to diversity."
3. $(-0.0642, 7.67215]$, the middle-right range, representing the category "Somewhat favorable to diversity."
4. $(7.67215, \infty)$, the 'rightmost,' upper bound, representing the category "Very favorable to diversity."

The scores for bridging and bonding capital were also re-classified in this way.⁸ Using the new variables, it was found that a higher percentage of students with high bridging capital scores reported favorable views towards diversity than did those with high bonding capital. Of the 34 students (out of 72) who were scored with high bridging capital in college, 21 (about 70%) had somewhat favorable or very favorable views towards diversity. In addition, 90% of those students who reported a “very favorable” attitude towards diversity were from the ‘high bridging’ cohort. Among those students who scored very high bonding capital, by comparison, only 50% (22 out of 43) reported favorable views. A comparison of the chi-square values for bridging and bonding supports an identical conclusion: the correlation between favorable views towards diversity and bridging ties is high (13.19) and significant ($p < .005$), indicating that the variables are significantly associated with one another. Chi-square correlations for favorability to diversity and bonding ties, on the other hand, were nonsignificant. See Table B.2 in the appendix for these crosstabulations.

Does a person’s organizational affiliations influence the type of capital they have access to? This was the question raised by *Hypothesis 2(b)*, which claimed that participation in some clubs will tend to create more bridging capital, while others will create or reinforce more bonded ties. To explore this hypothesis, all of the possible college student org types listed in the survey – athletics, volunteering, cultural, GLBT, and ‘interest’ – were crosstabulated with the ‘college bonding ties’ and ‘college bridging

⁸ Bridging and bonding capital scores were used to divide all cases into four new categories: low bridging/high bridging and low bonding/high bonding. ‘Low’ means that an individual scored below the mean (for both measures, this number was close to 0) and ‘high’ indicates that one’s score was above the mean. Therefore every case scores either high or low for both college bridging and bonding ties.

ties' measures. The crosstabs themselves, along with chi-square tests, are in Section B.3 of the appendix. Chi-square statistics were interpreted as measures of correlation between bridging/bonding capital and the type of club, and Cramer's V statistics are used to indicate the strength of these associations.

Athletic teams or clubs were the only type of organization significantly correlated with *bonding* capital. The chi-square value is highly significant ($p < .000$), indicating that participation in an athletic team was highly correlated with a respondent's 'bonding capital' score (whether it was high or low). The Cramer's V statistic measures the strength of this association at .411. Cramer's V also has a very small p-value ($p < .000$), again indicating that the strength of the relationship is significant. This is illustrated by the crosstabulations themselves. Among those who participated in athletic organizations, about 84% had high 'bonding capital' and only 16% had low bonding capital. For those who did *not* participate the spread was more even: about 57% with low bonding capital and 42% with high bonding capital.

Several other 'participation' types at Libertine College were significantly correlated with *bridging* capital. See B.3b for full crosstabs. In order of the strength of their associations, the types were:

1. Cultural clubs (Chi-square = 9.252, $p < .005$, with a statistically significant strength of association, Cramer's $s = .344$)

2. *No participation* (Chi-square = 7.8, $p < .005$, with a statistically significant strength of association, Cramer's = .317)
3. Volunteering organizations (Chi-square = 6.555, $p < .05$, with a statistically significant strength of association, Cramer's = .290)

In sum, *athletic clubs* at Libertine College appear most likely to build bonding ties between its members, while cultural and volunteering clubs are most likely to build bridging ties. It seems especially that the cultural clubs at Libertine College, far from being closed networks of people with homogenous interests, are more effective at encouraging cross-cultural bridges than any other type of student organization. Participation in *none of the organizations listed* was also significantly correlated with bridging capital. This does not tell us whether the correlation is negative or positive; we might presume that it is negative – that a lack of participation is correlated with low bridging capital. It is also notable that the correlations for ‘interest groups’ and ‘GLBT groups’ were not statistically significant in this data set. Nonetheless, their crosstabulations and chi-square statistics for bridging capital are also reported in the appendix (B.3c). All this would appear to *confirm Hypothesis 2b*. There are significant differences in the types of capital found (or created) at different organizations.

Campus Participation and Social Capital Formation

Hypothesis 3(a) argues that an increase in campus group participation should be accompanied by a rise in social capital. To test this hypothesis, measures of correlation

were first calculated. A linear model was then regressed for the relationship between participation and college social capital. The results are summarized in the Appendix, sections C.1 (the model), and C.2 (the correlations).

Two survey questions were used to glean a respondent's 'participation' level were: "How many extracurricular activities or organizations on campus do you currently participate in?"⁹ and, "How many times per week do you attend an extracurricular activity or club meeting?"¹⁰ For the linear model that fits this data, there is a significant correlation between participation and social capital in the college setting. The first question had a Pearson's correlation of $r=.682$ with the college capital variable, at a significance level of $p<.000$ (very significant). The latter question had a correlation of $r=.540$, also at high significance ($p<.000$).

As might be expected with such strong correlations, the linear model itself -- plotting college capital as a function of "Number of org. memberships" and "Frequency of org. participation"-- indicates a moderately strong, *positive*, linear relationship between the dependent and interacting independent variables. Adjusted R^2 for the model is .482, which means that it can accurately predict almost half of all the variation in 'college social capital' scores. So the relationship between campus participation and social capital is positive, linear, and moderately strong. This is sufficient to confirm *Hypothesis 3(a)*. As participation rises, so will social capital.

⁹ (1=None, 4=Five or more)

¹⁰ (1=Never, 4=Five or more times)

The claim of Hypothesis 3(b) was that high levels of campus engagement would be associated with more favorable views towards diversity. The correlation between engagement and attitudes in college was statistically significant. These are reported in Table C.3. Orientation towards diversity was actually best correlated with the *number* of organizations one participates in (Pearson's $r=.477$ at $p<.000$ significance), although frequency of participation was also moderately correlated ($r=.284$ at $p=.016$ significance). When these two measures of participation are used as interacting predictors in a linear regression, the resulting model, C.4 in the appendix, is found to predict roughly 22% of the variation in the 'orientation' variable. Recall that this is about the same r^2 that was reported when modeling orientation against college social capital.

To compare likelihoods of a "favorable" or "unfavorable" outcome in 'orientation' for changes in the 'participation' variables, logistic regression was also performed. The first log model, which included both frequency of participation (per week) in campus organizations as well as the *number* of clubs an individual claimed membership to, found a nonsignificant test statistic for "frequency." See Table C.5. Accordingly, this variable was dropped, and a new model was regressed using *only* the number of clubs in which a person was a member as a measure of 'participation.' (C.6). This new model predicted that for every 2 additional clubs one participated in (the scale of the original ordinal variable), a person's odds of scoring "favorable" to diversity increased by about 47%.¹¹

¹¹ B -values for "number of orgs" and the model's constant were summed, and this value (-0.098) was exponentiated ($e^{0.098} = .9066$). The resulting number was then divided by 1.9.

The correlations and logistic regression described above provide sufficient evidence to *confirm* Hypothesis 3(b), although it is notable that it was the number of clubs a student joined (and not how often they participated in campus activities per se) that was the better predictor of favorable views towards diversity.

CONCLUSION

Using a small Midwestern college as a case study, this paper has shown that precollege background is not a reliable predictor of a student's later attitudes in a university setting. 'Orientation towards diversity' was used in this research as a type of 'attitude,' to measure this predictive effect. It seems that the strongest predictor of favorable attitudes towards diversity is frequent participation in campus life (which also incidentally leads to a rise in social capital), followed by the breadth of social capital (network ties) acquired by an individual *during* college. The relationship between precollege social capital (determined largely by background) and current attitudes, compared with college engagement, was very weak at best.

Apparently in support of Putnam (2001), bridging ties appeared to be more important than bonding ties in determining these attitudes, presumably because they increase the amount of contact one has with those of very different backgrounds, and because higher bridging capital seems to indicate greater comfort meeting new people and managing uncertainty in a diverse setting. Therefore, investigating the formation of these bridging ties in college, and a more detailed examination of the individual qualities

that make this easier, warrant the attention of subsequent research. The qualities that make certain organizations more attractive to individuals of diverse backgrounds (here found to be athletic, cultural, and volunteering organizations) are also worth further study.

The findings of this study reaffirm Kao's (2001) arguments on peer effects. It is *current* socialization – a factor not necessarily determined by prior demographic characteristics – that most strongly affects value orientations. In sum, it may now be plausibly argued that simply changing an individual's social networks may overturn pre-existing values and opinions. The transition from high school to college is one exceptional situation where this social transplant is not only possible but almost guaranteed. Social capital theory along the lines of Putnam (2000) and Fukuyama (1999) provide valuable insight into how these peer effects work. The current research extends Putnam's theories about group participation and social capital into the social sphere of undergraduates. It has contributed to the discussion the important point that student-led organizations on the college campus might be one of the most important ways that diversity on campus is confronted and individual attitudes are changed.

To return to the questions posed in the Introduction, the model of capital-building implicated by the results of this study suggest that the student more active in 'bridging' groups would have a more favorable opinion to diversity than the student who has primarily bonding ties. Social ties from one's background, while still important for their transition to college, are not as important as the relationships eventually forged *at* school.

And evidence from this research has indicated that those who participate in such organizations *less frequently* are also *less likely* to have diverse social networks and *more likely* to have unfavorable or tepid views towards diversity. This affirms the relevance of student-directed social mobilization (clubs being one form of this), which until recently has been underemphasized in the literature of ‘diversity engagement’ or multiculturalism.

The traditional valuation of diversity as interaction between people of different backgrounds, while not inappropriate, is incomplete. It fails to account for the diversity that might exist between, say, two people of very *similar* backgrounds, given that they may end up building very different social networks and so gaining exposure to very different peer influences. According to these findings, a reconceptualization of cultural engagement (or orientation towards diversity, which is a more specific version of the former) would be productive, as it was found to be shaped not only by endogenous characteristics of individuals such as demographic background but by *exogenous* ones such as social climate (the likelihood of interaction between different groups) and the influence of peers. These claims may be tested in the future in any social context where diversity is a goal.

The limitations of this research are implied by its design. The measurement of ‘engagement with diversity,’ which was considered an attitude, and ‘social capital,’ which was considered a type of individual resource, is difficult and controversial. Social capital in particular has several different definitions, none of which are universally agreed upon. In addition, the distinction between bridging and bonding capital complicates this

measurement further by introducing the danger of multicollinearity, when variables are so closely correlated that it is impossible to tell if they explain each other or comprise different elements of the same underlying construct. Fortunately, in regression analysis for this study, there was actually the opposite effect – splitting ‘social capital’ up into bridging and bonding ties weakened some relations while strengthening others, which indicates at least some justification in the division. Of course, the question of causation is also an issue. It is possible that cultural engagement or attitudes determine social capital and not the other way around. In some ways this remains the most persistent challenge to social capital theorists. Unfortunately, this study does not suggest a clear alternative. But the field, it has been shown, is ripe for innovation.

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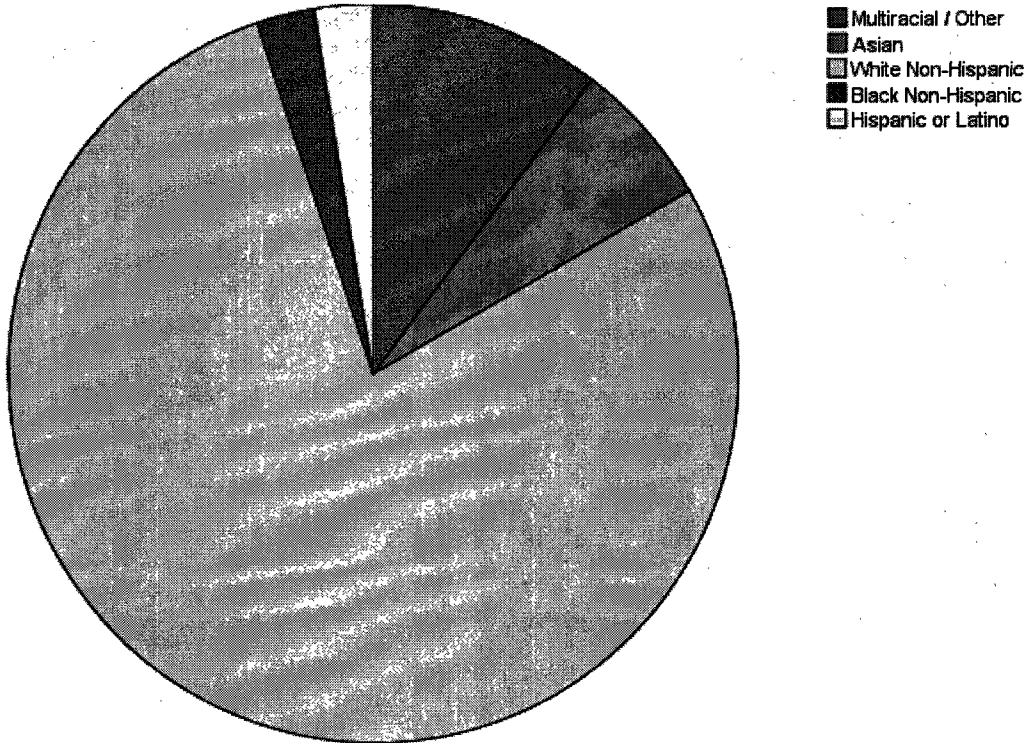
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APPENDIX (Tables, Copy of Original Survey)
 Running sequential log: Sections 1a-3b, Sections A1-C6

Distribution of Sample: Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity



Race/Ethnicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Multiracial / Other	8	10.3	10.3	10.3
	Asian	5	6.4	6.4	16.7
	White Non-Hispanic	61	78.2	78.2	94.9
	Black Non-Hispanic	2	2.6	2.6	97.4
	Hispanic or Latino	2	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

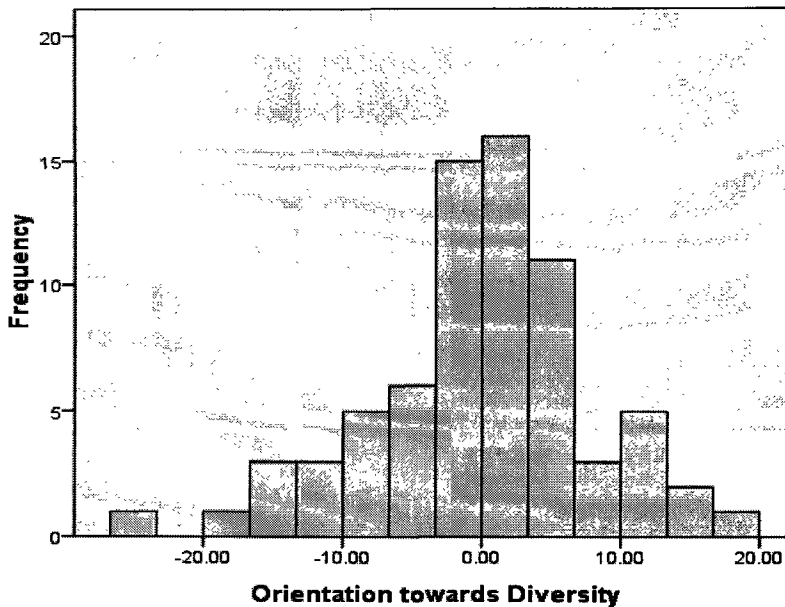
SECTION 1: Descriptives/Frequencies of Main Variables

Orientation towards Diversity:

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
Orientation towards Diversity	Mean		-.0642	.91174
	95% Lower Bound	Lower Bound	-1.8821	
	Confidence Interval for Mean	Upper Bound	1.7538	
	5% Trimmed Mean		.0998	
	Median		.7343	
	Variance		59.851	
	Std. Deviation		7.73635	
	Minimum		-23.36	
	Maximum		16.90	
	Range		40.26	
	Interquartile Range		7.64	
	Skewness		-.385	.283
	Kurtosis		.701	.559

Histogram



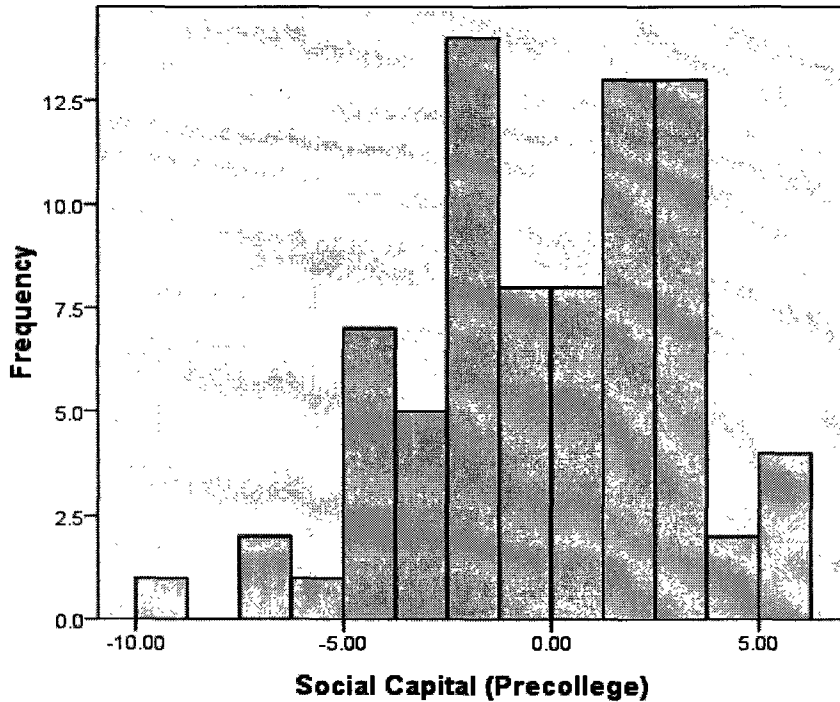
Mean = -0.06
Std. Dev. = 7.736
N = 72

Precollege Social Capital:

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
Social Capital (Precollege)	Mean		.0000	.35461
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	-.7061	
		Upper Bound	.7061	
	5% Trimmed Mean		.0635	
	Median		.2329	
	Variance		9.808	
	Std. Deviation		3.13179	
	Minimum		-8.79	
	Maximum		6.07	
	Range		14.86	
	Interquartile Range		4.71	
	Skewness		-.319	.272
	Kurtosis		-.299	.538

Histogram



Mean = -7.91E-16
 Std. Dev. = 3.132
 N = 78

Test for Normal Distribution: College / Precollege Social Capital

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Social Capital (Precollege)	.091	73	.200*	.977	73	.201
Social Capital (College)	.064	73	.200*	.979	73	.280

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

SECTION 2: Descriptives/Frequencies of 'Orientation' Dimensions

DIMENSION 1: "SOCIAL INITIATIVE"

		Leading / founding an org	Attendance of campis events	Self-perception of engagement in campus life	Freq: Ask for help with an assignment
N	Valid	73	73	77	72
	Missing	5	5	1	6
Mean		.12	1.68	2.62	1.31

Median		.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		.331	.780	.795	.799
Skewness		2.340	.260	-.176	-.101
Std. Error of Skewness		.281	.281	.274	.283
Minimum				1	
Maximum		1	3	4	3
Percentiles	25	.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
	50	.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
	75	.00	2.00	3.00	2.00

Freq: Study with other students	Freq: Work in groups	Freq: Asking for advice	Make new friends easily?
72	72	72	72
6	6	6	6
1.49	1.49	2.17	3.54
1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
.949	.934	.805	1.186
.092	-.065	-.315	-.649
.283	.283	.283	.283
		1	1
3	3	3	5
1.00	1.00	1.25	3.00
1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00

#41. Have you founded or do you lead any student organizations at your college?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	64	82.1	87.7	87.7
	Yes	9	11.5	12.3	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#40. How often do you attend large, campus-sponsored events?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	2	2.6	2.7	2.7
	Infrequently	31	39.7	42.5	45.2
	Sometimes	28	35.9	38.4	83.6
	Often	12	15.4	16.4	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#36. Self-perception of engagement in campus life

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Disengaged	6	7.7	7.8	7.8
	Somewhat Disengaged	26	33.3	33.8	41.6
	Somewhat Engaged	36	46.2	46.8	88.3
	Very Engaged	9	11.5	11.7	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

#48A..In a typical week, how often do you ask other students for help with an assignment?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	12	15.4	16.7	16.7
	Rarely	29	37.2	40.3	56.9
	Sometimes	28	35.9	38.9	95.8
	Often	3	3.8	4.2	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

#48B. How often do you study with other students or complete assignments together?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	11	14.1	15.3	15.3
	Rarely	27	34.6	37.5	52.8
	Sometimes	22	28.2	30.6	83.3
	Often	12	15.4	16.7	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

#48C. How often do you take advantage of opportunities to work in groups?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	12	15.4	16.7	16.7
	Rarely	23	29.5	31.9	48.6
	Sometimes	27	34.6	37.5	86.1
	Often	10	12.8	13.9	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

#48G. How often do you ask friends or others for advice?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rarely	18	23.1	25.0	25.0
	Sometimes	24	30.8	33.3	58.3
	Often	30	38.5	41.7	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

#49A. Agree/disagree: I make new friends easily.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	5	6.4	6.9	6.9
	Somewhat Disagree	11	14.1	15.3	22.2
	Neutral	11	14.1	15.3	37.5
	Somewhat Agree	30	38.5	41.7	79.2
	Strongly Agree	15	19.2	20.8	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
	Missing	System	6	7.7	
Total		78	100.0		

DIMENSION 2: "MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL UNCERTAINTY"

		Experience traveling abroad?	Comfort interacting with diversity	Freq: Participate in activities fellow students recommend	Freq: Attend events where there are people you don't know
N	Valid	77	73	72	72
	Missing	1	5	6	6
Mean		.81	4.01	2.00	1.76
Median		1.00	4.00	2.00	2.00
Std. Deviation		.399	1.136	.751	.796
Skewness		-1.572	-1.195	-.206	-.408
Std. Error of Skewness		.274	.281	.283	.283
Minimum			1		
Maximum		1	5	3	3
Percentiles	25	1.00	3.50	1.25	1.00
	50	1.00	4.00	2.00	2.00
	75	1.00	5.00	3.00	2.00

Excited at the prospect of meeting new people?	Find it easy to hang out with people of different backgrounds?
72	72
6	6
4.06	4.15
4.00	4.00
1.099	.816
-1.029	-.771
.283	.283
1	2
5	5
3.00	4.00
4.00	4.00
5.00	5.00

36. Have you ever traveled abroad?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	15	19.2	19.5	19.5
	Yes	62	79.5	80.5	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

46. How would you say you feel about interacting with people from very different backgrounds than you?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Uncomfortable	4	5.1	5.5	5.5
	Somewhat Uncomfortable	4	5.1	5.5	11.0
	Neutral	10	12.8	13.7	24.7
	Somewhat Comfortable	24	30.8	32.9	57.5
	Very Comfortable	31	39.7	42.5	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

48d. In a typical week, how often do you participate in activities or go to events that fellow students recommend?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	1	1.3	1.4	1.4
	Rarely	17	21.8	23.6	25.0
	Sometimes	35	44.9	48.6	73.6

	Often	19	24.4	26.4	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

48e. In a typical week, how often do you attend events where there are people you don't know?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	5	6.4	6.9	6.9
	Rarely	18	23.1	25.0	31.9
	Sometimes	38	48.7	52.8	84.7
	Often	11	14.1	15.3	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49b. Agree or disagree: I am excited at the prospect of meeting new people.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	2.6	2.8	2.8
	Somewhat Disagree	6	7.7	8.3	11.1
	Neutral	11	14.1	15.3	26.4
	Somewhat Agree	20	25.6	27.8	54.2
	Strongly Agree	33	42.3	45.8	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49c. Agree or disagree: I find it easy to hang out with people of different backgrounds.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Disagree	3	3.8	4.2	4.2
	Neutral	10	12.8	13.9	18.1
	Somewhat Agree	32	41.0	44.4	62.5
	Strongly Agree	27	34.6	37.5	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

DIMENSION 3: "DIVERSITY ENGAGEMENT"

		Freq: Attend campus cultural events	Prefer to hang out with people of different backgrounds?
N	Valid	73	72
	Missing	5	6
Mean		1.68	3.39
Median		2.00	3.00
Std. Deviation		.780	.881
Skewness		.260	.285
Std. Error of Skewness		.281	.283
Minimum			2
Maximum		3	5
Percentiles	25	1.00	3.00
	50	2.00	3.00
	75	2.00	4.00

43. How often do you attend student or college organized cultural events?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	2	2.6	2.7	2.7
	Infrequently	31	39.7	42.5	45.2
	Sometimes	28	35.9	38.4	83.6
	Never	12	15.4	16.4	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

49d. Agree/disagree: I prefer to hang out with people of different backgrounds.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Agree	10	12.8	13.9	13.9
	Neutral	33	42.3	45.8	59.7
	Somewhat Agree	20	25.6	27.8	87.5
	Strongly Agree	9	11.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

DIMENSION 4: "EMPATHY"

		Has your college experienced ever led you to change your opinions?	How often do your opinions change?	Freq: Ask favors or do favors for others?	Try to see things through the perspective of others?
N	Valid	73	57	72	72
	Missing	5	21	6	6
Mean		.78	2.68	2.04	4.33
Median		1.00	3.00	2.00	4.00
Std. Deviation		.417	.783	.592	.751
Skewness		-1.386	-.297	-.008	-1.051
Std. Error of Skewness		.281	.316	.283	.283
Minimum			1	1	2
Maximum		1	4	3	5
Percentiles	25	1.00	2.00	2.00	4.00
	50	1.00	3.00	2.00	4.00
	75	1.00	3.00	2.00	5.00

When you offend someone, do you want to know why?	Have a hard time imagining what other people think?	Willing to change your behavior to accommodate differences?
72	72	72
6	6	6
4.53	3.88	4.13
5.00	4.00	4.00
.712	.838	.768
-1.669	-.348	-.795
.283	.283	.283
2	2	2
5	5	5
4.00	3.00	4.00
5.00	4.00	4.00
5.00	4.00	5.00

44. Has your college experience ever led you to change your opinion about a person or group of people?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	16	20.5	21.9	21.9
	Yes	57	73.1	78.1	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

45. If you answered YES to the preceding question, how often would you say this happens?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Valid	Almost never	4	5.1	7.0	7.0
	Infrequently	17	21.8	29.8	36.8
	Sometimes	29	37.2	50.9	87.7
	Often	7	9.0	12.3	100.0
	Total	57	73.1	100.0	
Missing	System	21	26.9		
Total		78	100.0		

48f. In a typical week, how often do you ask favors or do favors for others?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rarely	11	14.1	15.3	15.3
	Sometimes	47	60.3	65.3	80.6
	Often	14	17.9	19.4	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49e. Agree/disagree: I try to see things through the perspective of others.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Disagree	2	2.6	2.8	2.8
	Neutral	6	7.7	8.3	11.1
	Somewhat Agree	30	38.5	41.7	52.8
	Strongly Agree	34	43.6	47.2	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49g. Agree/disagree: When I offend someone, I want to know why.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Disagree	2	2.6	2.8	2.8
	Neutral	3	3.8	4.2	6.9
	Somewhat Agree	22	28.2	30.6	37.5
	Strongly Agree	45	57.7	62.5	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49h. Agree/disagree: I have a hard time imagining what other people think.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Agree	4	5.1	5.6	5.6

	Neutral	18	23.1	25.0	30.6
	Somewhat Disagree	33	42.3	45.8	76.4
	Strongly Disagree	17	21.8	23.6	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

49i. Agree/disagree: I am willing to change my behavior to accommodate differences.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Disagree	3	3.8	4.2	4.2
	Neutral	8	10.3	11.1	15.3
	Somewhat Agree	38	48.7	52.8	68.1
	Strongly Agree	23	29.5	31.9	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

Tests of Normality: All dimensions of 'Orientation'

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Empathy (Component 4)	.978	72	.225
Diversity Seeking (Component 3)	.958	72	.017
Uncertainty Management (Component 2)	.980	72	.317
Social Initiative (Component 1)	.994	72	.989

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

SECTION 3: Frequencies for College/Precollege Capital (components)

a. Precollege Social Capital

Precollege Social Capital: Component Measures (Descriptive Statistics)

	Had you ever moved at any time before college?	Had you moved more than once before college?	Number of siblings close to while growing up	Primary Caretaker's Education.
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N	Valid	78	55	78	78
	Missing		23		
Mean		.62	.42	1.09	5.14
Median		1.00	.00	1.00	6.00
Std. Deviation		.490	.498	1.186	1.276
Skewness		-.484	.341	-.369	-1.386
Std. Error of Skewness		.272	.322	.272	.272
Minimum				-1	2
Maximum		1	1	3	6
Percentiles	25	.00	.00	.75	5.00
	50	1.00	.00	1.00	6.00
	75	1.00	1.00	2.00	6.00
Second Caretaker's Education	Size of High School	Closeness of pre-college ties	Pre-college diversity	Diversity of High School	Participation in HS orgs
71	78	78	78	78	78
7					
5.11	2.53	3.44	2.37	2.44	2.05
5.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
1.178	1.136	.676	.995	1.088	.701
-1.736	-.228	-.797	.081	-.018	-.071
.285	.272	.272	.272	.272	.272
1	1	2	1	1	1
6	4	4	4	4	3
5.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
5.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
6.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00

Component 1: *Strength of Precollege Social Ties*

Note that questions are numbered as they are in the survey, and not by their order here.

#8. Had you ever moved at any time before college?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	30	38.5	38.5	38.5
	Yes	48	61.5	61.5	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

#9. If you answered YES to the previous question, have you moved more than once?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	32	41.0	58.2	58.2
	Yes	23	29.5	41.8	100.0
	Total	55	70.5	100.0	

Missing	System	23	29.5		
Total		78	100.0		

#10. How many siblings were you close to growing up?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	N/A	12	15.4	15.4	15.4
	None of them	7	9.0	9.0	24.4
	1	29	37.2	37.2	61.5
	2	22	28.2	28.2	89.7
	3+	8	10.3	10.3	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

#12. What was your primary caretaker's highest level of education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completed high school	5	6.4	6.4	6.4
	Some college	9	11.5	11.5	17.9
	Vocational school or equivalent	1	1.3	1.3	19.2
	Bachelors'	18	23.1	23.1	42.3
	Masters'	45	57.7	57.7	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

#13. If you lived with both parents or with more than one caretaker, what was your secondary caretaker's highest level of education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some high school or less	1	1.3	1.4	1.4
	Completed high school	4	5.1	5.6	7.0
	Some college	2	2.6	2.8	9.9
	Vocational school or equivalent	5	6.4	7.0	16.9
	Bachelors'	26	33.3	36.6	53.5
	Masters'	33	42.3	46.5	100.0
	Total	71	91.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	9.0		
Total		78	100.0		

#15. What was the size of the school you attended before college?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	500 or fewer	23	29.5	29.5	29.5
	Between 500 and	8	10.3	10.3	39.7

1000					
Between 1000 and 2000	30	38.5	38.5	78.2	
More than 2000	17	21.8	21.8	100.0	
Total	78	100.0	100.0		

#20. When you think of the people that you grew up with (including school friends), which best describes the closeness of your relationships with them?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Somewhat Distant	8	10.3	10.3	10.3
	Somewhat Close	28	35.9	35.9	46.2
	Very Close	42	53.8	53.8	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

Component 2: Diversity of Precollege Social Ties

#7. When you think of the people you grew up with, how diverse would you say they were in background (for example, in terms of race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, religion, sexual orientation, or political beliefs)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Homogenous	18	23.1	23.1	23.1
	Somewhat Homogenous	24	30.8	30.8	53.8
	Somewhat Diverse	25	32.1	32.1	85.9
	Very Diverse	11	14.1	14.1	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

#16. When you think of your high school's student body, how diverse would you say it was (in terms of race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, etc.)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very homogenous	21	26.9	26.9	26.9
	Somewhat homogenous	17	21.8	21.8	48.7
	Somewhat diverse	25	32.1	32.1	80.8
	Very diverse	15	19.2	19.2	100.0
	Total	78	100.0	100.0	

#18. How many extracurricular activities or student organizations did you regularly participate in while you were in high school, not counting jobs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	37987	17	21.8	21.8	21.8
	38049	40	51.3	51.3	73.1

5 or more	21	26.9	26.9	100.0
Total	78	100.0	100.0	

b. College Social Capital

College Social Capital: Frequencies of Component Measures

Note that questions are numbered as they are in the survey, and not by their order here.

#21. Did you participate in an orientation event upon entering college?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	5	6.4	6.5	6.5
	Yes	72	92.3	93.5	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

#22. If you answered YES to the preceding question, are you currently friends with anyone you met there?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	23	29.5	31.9	31.9
	Yes	49	62.8	68.1	100.0
	Total	72	92.3	100.0	
Missing	System	6	7.7		
Total		78	100.0		

#25. Do you have a roommate or roommates?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	13	16.7	16.9	16.9
	Yes	64	82.1	83.1	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

#26. If you answered YES to the preceding question, did you know this roommate / these roommates before living together?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	21	26.9	32.8	32.8

	Yes	43	55.1	67.2	100.0
	Total	64	82.1	100.0	
Missing	System	14	17.9		
Total		78	100.0		

#30. How many extracurricular activities or organizations on campus do you currently participate in?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	8	10.3	10.4	10.4
	37987	45	57.7	58.4	68.8
	38049	19	24.4	24.7	93.5
	5 or more	5	6.4	6.5	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

#31. How many times per week do you attend an extracurricular activity or club meeting?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	10	12.8	13.0	13.0
	37987	36	46.2	46.8	59.7
	38049	16	20.5	20.8	80.5
	5 or more	15	19.2	19.5	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		
Total		78	100.0		

#35. In terms of of extracurricular activities but not including jobs, do you think your friends in college..

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	N/A or Don't know	1	1.3	1.3	1.3
	Are more involved than you	22	28.2	28.6	29.9
	Are just as involved as you	42	53.8	54.5	84.4
	Are less involved than you	12	15.4	15.6	100.0
	Total	77	98.7	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.3		

Total	78	100.0	
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#38A. How many of your friends are of a different *race/ethnicity*?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	A few of my friends	60	76.9	81.1	81.1
	Most of my friends	12	15.4	16.2	97.3
	All of my friends	2	2.6	2.7	100.0
	Total	74	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	4	5.1		
Total		78	100.0		

#38B. How many of your friends are from a different *socioeconomic background*?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None of my friends	3	3.8	4.1	4.1
	A few of my friends	37	47.4	50.0	54.1
	Most of my friends	32	41.0	43.2	97.3
	All of my friends	2	2.6	2.7	100.0
	Total	74	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	4	5.1		
Total		78	100.0		

#38C. How many of your friends are of a different *sexual orientation*?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None of my friends	13	16.7	17.6	17.6
	A few of my friends	45	57.7	60.8	78.4
	Most of my friends	14	17.9	18.9	97.3
	All of my friends	2	2.6	2.7	100.0
	Total	74	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	4	5.1		
Total		78	100.0		

#38D. How many of your friends are of different *political views*?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Valid	None of my friends	21	26.9	28.4	28.4
	A few of my friends	42	53.8	56.8	85.1
	Most of my friends	9	11.5	12.2	97.3
	All of my friends	2	2.6	2.7	100.0
	Total	74	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	4	5.1		
Total		78	100.0		

#38E. How many of your friends are of different *religious* views?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None of my friends	3	3.8	4.1	4.1
	A few of my friends	29	37.2	39.2	43.2
	Most of my friends	37	47.4	50.0	93.2
	All of my friends	5	6.4	6.8	100.0
	Total	74	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	4	5.1		
Total		78	100.0		

#42. Are you a friend or acquaintance of someone you might not have been able to meet at home?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	5	6.4	6.8	6.8
	Yes	68	87.2	93.2	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#47A. Now, think of your five closest friends. How many are of a different *race/ethnicity*?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	18	23.1	24.7	24.7
	1	31	39.7	42.5	67.1
	2	11	14.1	15.1	82.2
	3	2	2.6	2.7	84.9
	4	2	2.6	2.7	87.7
	5	9	11.5	12.3	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		

Total	78	100.0	
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#47B. Of your five closest friends, how many are from a different socioeconomic background?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	6	7.7	8.2	8.2
	1	11	14.1	15.1	23.3
	2	21	26.9	28.8	52.1
	3	18	23.1	24.7	76.7
	4	8	10.3	11.0	87.7
	5	9	11.5	12.3	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#47C. Of your five closest friends, how many are of a different sexual orientation?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	33	42.3	45.2	45.2
	1	18	23.1	24.7	69.9
	2	12	15.4	16.4	86.3
	3	8	10.3	11.0	97.3
	5	2	2.6	2.7	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#47D. Of your five closest friends, how many are of different political views?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	32	41.0	43.8	43.8
	1	20	25.6	27.4	71.2
	2	11	14.1	15.1	86.3
	3	6	7.7	8.2	94.5
	4	1	1.3	1.4	95.9
	5	3	3.8	4.1	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

#47E. Of your five closest friends, how many are of different religious views?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	0	5	6.4	6.8	6.8
	1	5	6.4	6.8	13.7
	2	18	23.1	24.7	38.4
	3	14	17.9	19.2	57.5
	4	12	15.4	16.4	74.0
	5	19	24.4	26.0	100.0
	Total	73	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	5	6.4		
Total		78	100.0		

SECTION A: Hypothesis 1

A.1

Linear Regression Model: College Social Capital, Precollege Social Capital, and Orientation towards Diversity

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.476 ^a	.227	.216	6.85181
2	.477 ^b	.228	.205	6.89639

a. Predictors: (Constant), Social Capital (College)

b. Predictors: (Constant), Social Capital (College), Social Capital (Precollege)

A.2

Correlations: Orientation towards Diversity with Social Capital (College/Precollege)^a

		Social Capital (Precollege)	Social Capital (College)	Orientation towards Diversity
Social Capital (Precollege)	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.128	.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.285	.434
Social Capital (College)	Pearson Correlation	.128	1.000	.476**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.285		.000
Orientation towards Diversity	Pearson Correlation	.094	.476**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.434	.000	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=72

SECTION B: Hypothesis 2

B.1

Correlations: Orientation towards Diversity and College Bridging/Bonding Capital^a

		Orientation towards Diversity	College Bridging	College Bonding
Orientation towards Diversity	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.470**	.230
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.052
College Bridging	Pearson Correlation	.470**	1.000	.238*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.044
College Bonding	Pearson Correlation	.230	.238*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.052	.044	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=72

B.2

a.

Crosstabulations: College Bridging Ties and Favorability towards Diversity

		Favorability towards Diversity				Total
		Very Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Somewhat Favorable	Very Favorable	
Low Bridging	Count	8	15	14	1	38
	% within College Bridging	21.1%	39.5%	36.8%	2.6%	100.0%
	% within Favorability towards Diversity	88.9%	62.5%	48.3%	10.0%	52.8%
	% of Total	11.1%	20.8%	19.4%	1.4%	52.8%
High Bridging	Count	1	9	15	9	34
	% within College Bridging	2.9%	26.5%	44.1%	26.5%	100.0%
	% within Favorability towards Diversity	11.1%	37.5%	51.7%	90.0%	47.2%
	% of Total	1.4%	12.5%	20.8%	12.5%	47.2%
Total	Count	9	24	29	10	72

% within College Bonding	12.5%	33.3%	40.3%	13.9%	100.0%
% within Favorability towards Diversity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	12.5%	33.3%	40.3%	13.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.197 ^a	3	.004
Likelihood Ratio	14.887	3	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.194	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	72		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5.

b.

Crosstabulations: College Bonding Ties and Favorability towards Diversity

		Favorability towards Diversity				
		Very Unfavorable	Somewhat Unfavorable	Somewhat Favorable	Very Favorable	Total
Low Bonding	Count	4	8	14	3	29
	% within College Bonding	13.8%	27.6%	48.3%	10.3%	100.0%
	% within Favorability towards Diversity	44.4%	33.3%	48.3%	30.0%	40.3%
	% of Total	5.6%	11.1%	19.4%	4.2%	40.3%
High Bonding	Count	5	16	15	7	43
	% within College Bonding	11.6%	37.2%	34.9%	16.3%	100.0%
	% within Favorability towards Diversity	55.6%	66.7%	51.7%	70.0%	59.7%
	% of Total	6.9%	22.2%	20.8%	9.7%	59.7%
Total	Count	9	24	29	10	72
	% within College Bonding	12.5%	33.3%	40.3%	13.9%	100.0%

% within Favorability towards Diversity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	12.5%	33.3%	40.3%	13.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.756 ^a	3	.624
Likelihood Ratio	1.770	3	.621
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.976
N of Valid Cases	72		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5.

B.3

a. Significant Correlations

ATHLETICS

Crosstabulations: College Athletic Org. and Bonding Social Capital

			College Bonding		
			Low Bonding	High Bonding	Total
Participation in College Athletics	Don't participate	Count	27	20	47
		% within participate_college_athletic	57.4%	42.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bonding	84.4%	43.5%	60.3%
		% of Total	34.6%	25.6%	60.3%
	Participate	Count	5	26	31
		% within participate_college_athletic	16.1%	83.9%	100.0%
		% within College Bonding	15.6%	56.5%	39.7%
		% of Total	6.4%	33.3%	39.7%
	Total	Count	32	46	78
		% within participate_college_athletic	41.0%	59.0%	100.0%
		% within College Bonding	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	41.0%	59.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.180 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	11.528	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	14.103	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.011	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.72.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.411			.000
	Cramer's V	.411			.000

CULTURAL ORGS

Crosstabulation: College Cultural Org. and Bridging Capital

			College Bridging		
			Low Bridging	High Bridging	Total
participate_college_cultural	Don't Participate	Count	39	20	59
		% within participate_college_cultural	66.1%	33.9%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	88.6%	58.8%	75.6%
		% of Total	50.0%	25.6%	75.6%
	Participate	Count	5	14	19
		% within participate_college_cultural	26.3%	73.7%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	11.4%	41.2%	24.4%
		% of Total	6.4%	17.9%	24.4%
	Total	Count	44	34	78
		% within participate_college_cultural	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.252 ^a	1	.002		
Continuity Correction ^b	7.705	1	.006		
Likelihood Ratio	9.382	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.133	1	.003		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.28.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.344		.002
	Cramer's V	.344		.002

VOLUNTEERING ORGS

Crosstabulation: College Volunteering Org. and Bridging Capital

			College Bridging		
			Low Bridging	High Bridging	Total
participate_college_volunteering	Don't Participate	Count	32	15	47
		% within participate_college_volunteering	68.1%	31.9%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	72.7%	44.1%	60.3%
		% of Total	41.0%	19.2%	60.3%
	Participate	Count	12	19	31
		% within participate_college_volunteering	38.7%	61.3%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	27.3%	55.9%	39.7%
		% of Total	15.4%	24.4%	39.7%
	Total	Count	44	34	78
		% within participate_college_volunteering	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)

Pearson Chi-Square	6.555 ^a	1	.010		
Continuity Correction ^b	5.415	1	.020		
Likelihood Ratio	6.599	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.019	.010
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.471	1	.011		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.51.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.290			.010
	Cramer's V	.290			.010

NONPARTICIPATION

Crosstabulation: College Nonparticipation and Bridging Capital

			College Bridging		
			Low Bridging	High Bridging	Total
No participation	N/A	Count	35	34	69
		% within participate_college_noneextant	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	79.5%	100.0%	88.5%
		% of Total	44.9%	43.6%	88.5%
Don't participate in any		Count	9		9
		% within participate_college_noneextant	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	20.5%	.0%	11.5%
		% of Total	11.5%	.0%	11.5%
Total		Count	44	34	78
		% within participate_college_noneextant	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.862 ^a	1	.005		

Continuity Correction ^b	5.985	1	.014		
Likelihood Ratio	11.206	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.004	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.761	1	.005		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.92.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	-.317			.005
	Cramer's V	.317			.005

c. Nonsignificant correlations

INTEREST GROUPS

Crosstabulation: College Interest Orgs. and Bridging Capital

			College Bridging		
			Low Bridging	High Bridging	Total
participate_college_interest	Don't Participate	Count	24	12	36
		% within participate_college_interest	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	54.5%	35.3%	46.2%
		% of Total	30.8%	15.4%	46.2%
	Participate	Count	20	22	42
		% within participate_college_interest	47.6%	52.4%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	45.5%	64.7%	53.8%
		% of Total	25.6%	28.2%	53.8%
	Total	Count	44	34	78
		% within participate_college_interest	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
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			sided)		
Pearson Chi-Square	2.860 ^a	1	.091		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.138	1	.144		
Likelihood Ratio	2.887	1	.089		
Fisher's Exact Test				.112	.071
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.824	1	.093		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.69.

GLBT

Crosstabulation: College GLBT Orgs. and Bridging Capital

			College Bridging		
			Low Bridging	High Bridging	Total
participate_college_GLBT	Don't Participate	Count	42	30	72
		% within participate_college_GLBT	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	95.5%	88.2%	92.3%
		% of Total	53.8%	38.5%	92.3%
	Participate	Count	2	4	6
		% within participate_college_GLBT	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	4.5%	11.8%	7.7%
		% of Total	2.6%	5.1%	7.7%
	Total	Count	44	34	78
		% within participate_college_GLBT	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%
		% within College Bridging	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	56.4%	43.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.408 ^a	1	.235		

Continuity Correction ^b	.575	1	.448		
Likelihood Ratio	1.403	1	.236		
Fisher's Exact Test				.395	.224
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.390	1	.238		
N of Valid Cases	78				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.62.

SECTION C: Hypothesis 3

C.1

Linear Regression Model: College Social Capital and Campus Participation

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.705 ^a	.497	.482	2.16487

a. Predictors: (Constant), Number of org. memberships, Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)

C.2

Correlations: College Social Capital and Campus Participation

		Social Capital (College)	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	Number of org. memberships
Pearson Correlation	Social Capital (College)	1.000	.540	.682
	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	.540	1.000	.579
	Number of org. memberships	.682	.579	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Social Capital (College)		.000	.000
	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	.000		.000
	Number of org. memberships	.000	.000	
N	Social Capital (College)	73	73	73

Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	73	73	73
Number of org. memberships	73	73	73

C.3

Correlations: Participation and Orientation towards Diversity

		Orientation towards Diversity	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	Number of org. memberships
Pearson Correlation	Orientation towards Diversity	1.000	.284	.477
	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	.284	1.000	.563
	Number of org. memberships	.477	.563	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Orientation towards Diversity		.008	.000
	Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)	.008		.000
	Number of org. memberships	.000	.000	

C.4

Linear Regression Model: Orientation towards Diversity and Campus Participation

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.477 ^a	.228	.205	6.89630

a. Predictors: (Constant), Number of org. memberships, Frequency of Org. Participation (/week)

C.5

Logistic Regression Model: Orientation towards Diversity and Campus Participation

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	90.973 ^a	.109	.146

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	7.865	6	.248

*This indicates that the model is a fair predictor of the outcome variable, 'Orientation.'

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	participate_college_numberorgs	1.084	.463	5.476	1	.019	2.957
	participate_college_frequency	-.069	.324	.045	1	.831	.933
	Constant	-1.094	.570	3.675	1	.055	.335

C.6

Logistic Regression Model: Orientation towards Diversity and Number of Orgs only

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	91.019 ^a	.109	.145

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	.770	2	.681

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	participate_college_numberorgs	1.034	.397	6.784	1	.009	2.812
	Constant	-1.132	.543	4.337	1	.037	.322

Macalester Survey of Student Attitudes & Engagement

1. This survey is being distributed among several colleges. What school do you attend?

	Response Count
	78
<i>answered question</i>	78
<i>skipped question</i>	0

2. What year in school are you?

	Response Percent	Response Count
1	20.5%	16
2	32.1%	25
3	16.7%	13
4+	30.8%	24
<i>answered question</i>		78
<i>skipped question</i>		0

3. What is your gender?

	Response Count
	78
<i>answered question</i>	78
<i>skipped question</i>	0

4. Which of the following best describes your racial or ethnic background? (Choose only one)

	Response Percent	Response Count
Asian	6.4%	5
Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	0.0%	0
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.0%	0
White Non-Hispanic	78.2%	61
Black Non-Hispanic	2.6%	2
Hispanic or Latino	2.6%	2
Multiracial or other (please specify)	10.3%	8
answered question		78
skipped question		0

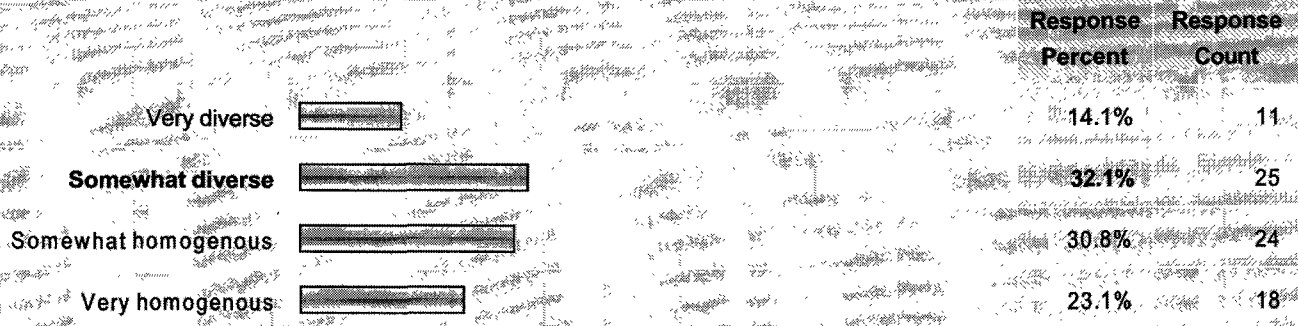
5. Did you grow up in the US?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	83.3%	65
No	16.7%	13
answered question		78
skipped question		0

6. Which term best describes the place where you grew up?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Rural	16.7%	13
Suburban	50.0%	39
Urban	32.1%	25
Other	1.3%	1
answered question		78
skipped question		0

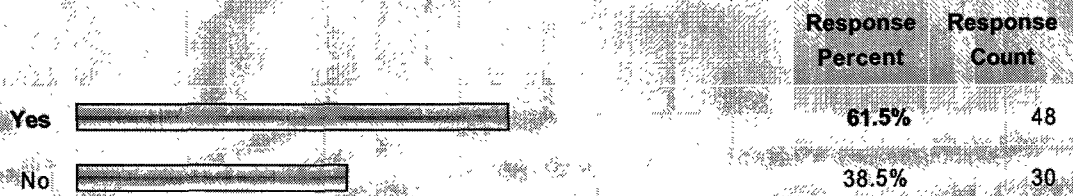
7. When you think of the people you grew up with, how diverse would you say they were in background (for example, in terms of race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, religion, sexual orientation, or political beliefs)?



answered question 78

skipped question 0

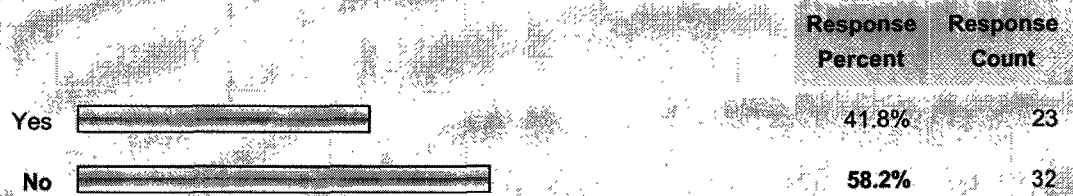
8. Had you ever moved at any time before going to college?



answered question 78

skipped question 0

9. If you answered YES to the previous question, have you moved more than once?



answered question 55

skipped question 23

10. How many siblings were you close to growing up?

	Response Percent	Response Count
None of them	9.0%	7
1	37.2%	29
2	28.2%	22
3+	10.3%	8
Not applicable (no siblings)	15.4%	12
answered question		78
skipped question		0

11. Who was your primary caretaker?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Both parents	80.8%	63
Mother	16.7%	13
Father	1.3%	1
Another family member	1.3%	1
A legal guardian	0.0%	0
Other	0.0%	0
answered question		78
skipped question		0

12. What was your primary caretaker's highest level of education?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Some high school or less	0.0%	0
Completed high school	6.4%	5
Some college	11.5%	9
Vocational school or equivalent	1.3%	1
Bachelor's Degree (completed college)	23.1%	18
Graduate Degree (Masters or Doctoral-level)	57.7%	45
<i>answered question</i>		78
<i>skipped question</i>		0

13. If you lived with both parents or with more than one caretaker, what was your second caretaker's highest level of education?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Some high school or less	1.4%	1
Completed high school	5.6%	4
Some college	2.8%	2
Vocational school or equivalent	7.0%	5
Bachelor's Degree (completed college)	36.6%	26
Graduate Degree (Masters or Doctoral-level)	46.5%	33
<i>answered question</i>		71
<i>skipped question</i>		7

14. Which of these terms best describes the school you attended before college?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Private		20.5%	16
Private denominational / parochial		2.6%	2
Charter		1.3%	1
Public		75.6%	59
answered question			78
skipped question			0

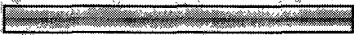

15. What was the size of the school you attended before college?

		Response Percent	Response Count
500 students or fewer		29.5%	23
More than 500 but fewer than 1000		10.3%	8
Between 1000 and 2000		38.5%	30
More than 2000		21.8%	17
answered question			78
skipped question			0

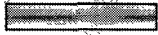


16. When you think of your high school's student body, how diverse would you say it was (in terms of race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, etc.)?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Very diverse		26.9%	21
Somewhat diverse		21.8%	17
Somewhat homogenous		32.1%	25
Very homogenous		19.2%	15
answered question			78
skipped question			0

17. Did you have a job while in high school?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	49.4%	38
No 	50.7%	39
<i>answered question</i>		77
<i>skipped question</i>		1

18. How many extracurricular activities or student organizations did you regularly participate in while you were in high school? (NOT counting jobs)

	Response Percent	Response Count
None	0.0%	0
1-2 	21.8%	17
3-4 	51.3%	40
5 or more 	26.9%	21
<i>answered question</i>		78
<i>skipped question</i>		0



19. What types of activities or organizations were you involved with in high school? (This includes student clubs that recruit on campus but meet elsewhere, such as some volunteering orgs; it does NOT include jobs or independent volunteering)

		Response Percent	Response Count
Athletic (including intramural)		64.1%	50
Volunteering (i.e. Habitat for Humanity, community service clubs)		68.0%	53
Cultural (Asian-American students, Hispanic Club, etc.)		16.7%	13
GLBT or related interests		20.5%	16
Other Interest (newspaper, government, drama, etc.)		79.5%	62
None of these		0.0%	0
Something not mentioned here (please specify)		26.9%	21
answered question			78
skipped question			0



20. When you think of the people that you grew up with (including school friends), which best describes the closeness of your relationships with them?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Very close		53.9%	42
Somewhat close		35.9%	28
Somewhat distant		10.3%	8
Very distant		0.0%	0
answered question			78
skipped question			0





21. Did you participate in an orientation event upon entering college?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	93.5%	72
No 	6.5%	5
answered question		77
skipped question		1

22. If you answered YES to the preceding question, are you currently friends with anyone you met there?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	68.1%	49
No 	31.9%	23
answered question		72
skipped question		6


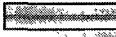
23. How would you describe your housing at college this semester?

	Response Percent	Response Count
On-campus dormitory 	53.3%	41
On-campus suite / upperclassmen housing 	9.1%	7
Off-campus college sponsored 	1.3%	1
Off-campus private 	36.4%	28
answered question		77
skipped question		1



24. Do you regularly commute to school?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	29.9%	23
No 	70.1%	54
answered question		77
skipped question		1




25. Do you have a roommate or roommates?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	83.1%	64
No 	16.9%	13
answered question		77
skipped question		1

26. If you answered YES to the preceding question, did you know this roommate / these roommates before living together?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	67.2%	43
No 	32.8%	21
answered question		64
skipped question		14

27. As an undergraduate, did you continue your involvement in any of the activities you participated in while in high school? (Do not include jobs or independent volunteering)

	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes 	68.8%	53
No 	29.9%	23
Not Applicable 	1.3%	1
answered question		77
skipped question		1

28. If you answered YES to the preceding question, please mark which type of extracurricular activity(s) or organization you continued with in college. (Do not include jobs or independent volunteering)

	Response Percent	Response Count
Athletic (including intramural)	46.6%	27
Volunteering (i.e. Habitat for Humanity, community service clubs)	29.3%	17
Cultural (Asian-American students, Hispanic Club, etc.)	6.9%	4
GLBT or related interests	6.9%	4
Other Interest (newspaper, government, drama, etc.)	56.9%	33
None of these	5.2%	3
Something not mentioned here (please specify)	13.8%	8
answered question		58
skipped question		20

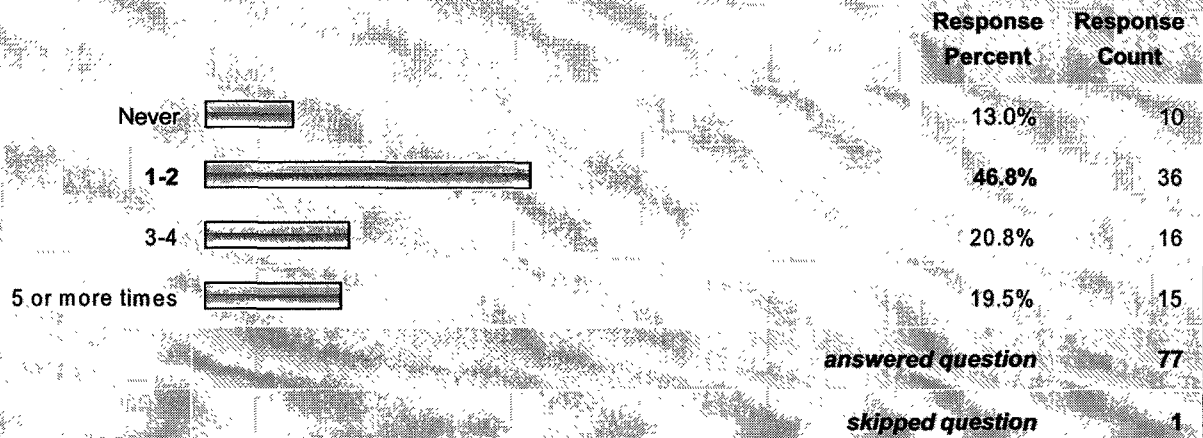
29. Which activities or organizations do you participate in now? (Please select all that apply)

	Response Percent	Response Count
Athletic (including intramural)	40.3%	31
Volunteering (i.e. Habitat for Humanity, community service clubs)	40.3%	31
Cultural (Asian-American students, Hispanic Club, etc.)	19.5%	15
GLBT or related interests	6.5%	5
Other Interest (newspaper, government, drama, etc.)	46.8%	36
None of these	11.7%	9
Something not mentioned here (please specify)	16.9%	13
answered question		77
skipped question		1

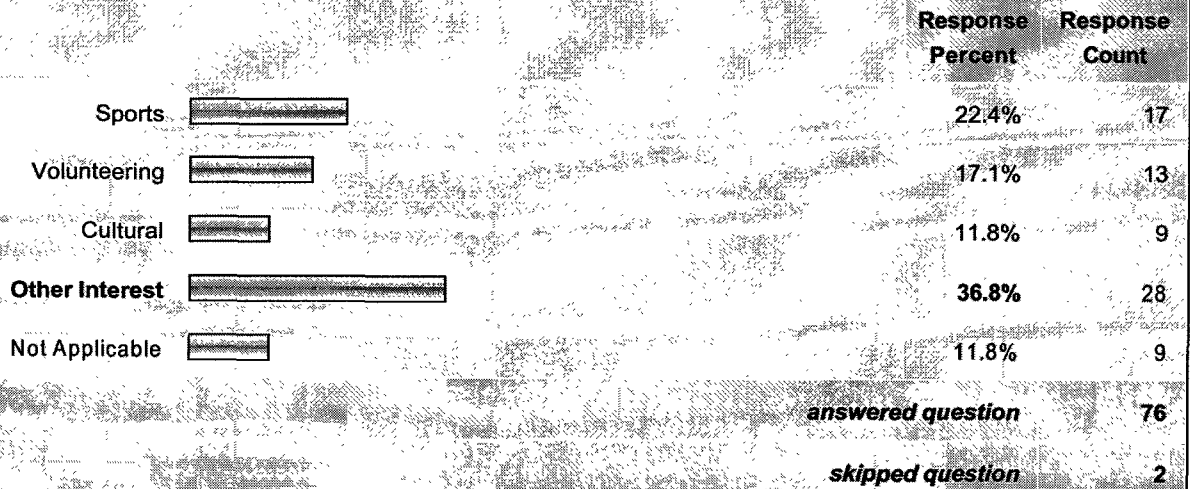
30. How many extracurricular activities or organizations on campus do you currently participate in?



31. How many times per week do you attend an extracurricular activity or club meeting?



32. Which of these types of activities has been most satisfying for you to participate in at college?







33. In an average week, what are the TOP THREE ways in which you socialize most frequently?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Participation in campus-wide events		14.3%	11
Living arrangements (people in your dormitory or house)		74.0%	57
Your classes or related academic projects		50.7%	39
Extracurricular activities you participate in (including sports)		52.0%	40
A job		20.8%	16
Unstructured socializing		81.8%	63
Other (please specify)		6.5%	5
answered question			77
skipped question			1





34. Where do the majority of your friends and/or acquaintances come from? (Pick only one)

		Response Percent	Response Count
Participation in campus-wide events		0.0%	0
Living arrangements (past or present)		41.6%	32
Your classes or related academic projects		6.5%	5
Extracurricular activities you participate in (including sports)		19.5%	15
A job		1.3%	1
Unstructured socializing		28.6%	22
Other (please specify)		2.6%	2
answered question			77
skipped question			1



35. In terms of extracurricular activities but not including jobs, do you think your friends in college...

		Response Percent	Response Count
Are more involved than you		28.6%	22
Are just as involved as you		54.6%	42
Are less involved than you		15.6%	12
Not Applicable / Don't know		1.3%	1
answered question			77
skipped question			1

36. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: "I am not very engaged in campus life."

		Response Percent	Response Count
Strongly Disagree		11.7%	9
Disagree		46.8%	36
Agree		33.8%	26
Strongly Agree		7.8%	6
answered question			77
skipped question			1

37. Have you ever traveled abroad?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes		80.5%	62
No		19.5%	15
answered question			77
skipped question			1

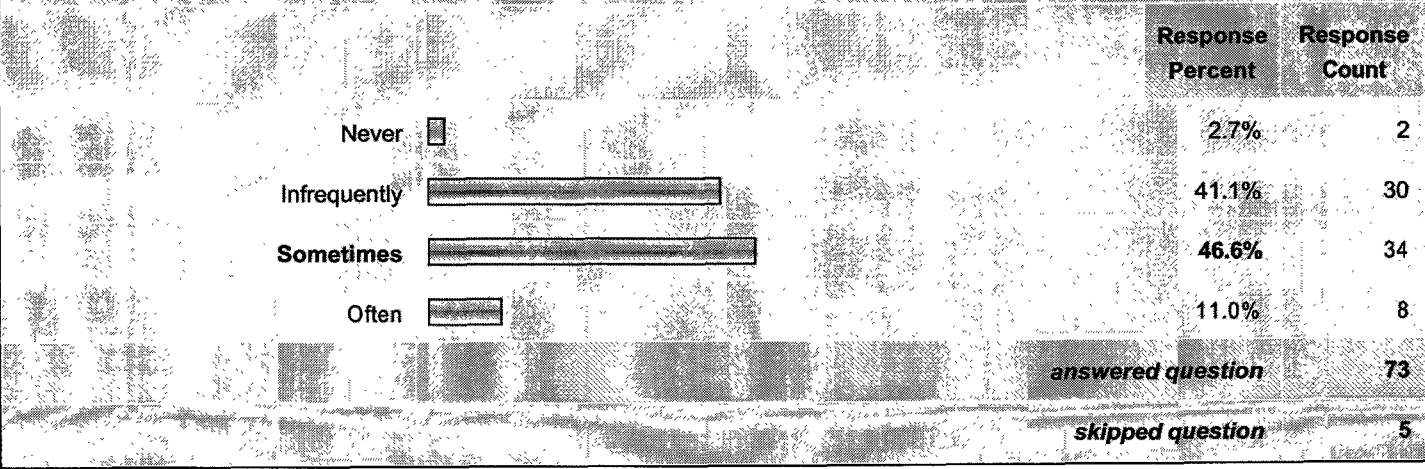
38. How many of your friends are...

	None of my friends	A few of my friends	Most of my friends	All of my friends	Response Count
Of a different race/ethnicity?	0.0% (0)	81.1% (60)	16.2% (12)	2.7% (2)	74
From a different socioeconomic background?	4.1% (3)	50.0% (37)	43.2% (32)	2.7% (2)	74
Of a different sexual orientation?	17.6% (13)	60.8% (45)	18.9% (14)	2.7% (2)	74
Of different political views?	28.4% (21)	56.8% (42)	12.2% (9)	2.7% (2)	74
Of different religious views?	4.1% (3)	39.2% (29)	50.0% (37)	6.8% (5)	74
				<i>answered question</i>	74
				<i>skipped question</i>	4

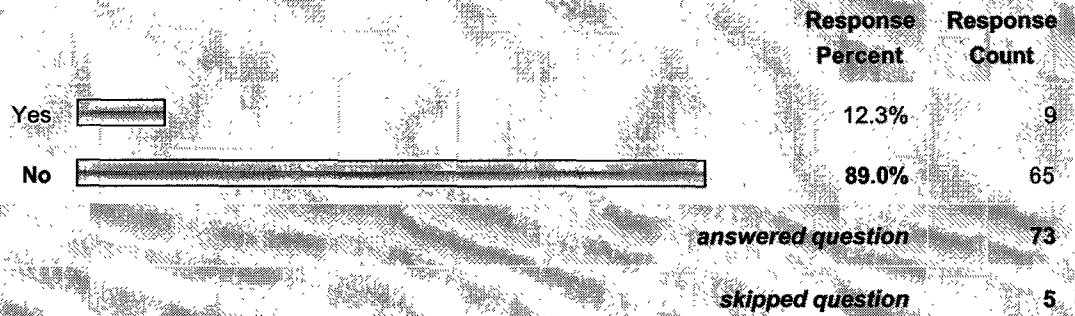
39. In an average week, how frequently would you say you...

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Response Count
Hang out with a friend of similar background?	5.4% (4)	5.4% (4)	27.0% (20)	62.2% (46)	74
Hang out with a friend of a different background?	0.0% (0)	4.1% (3)	37.8% (28)	58.1% (43)	74
Work or study with someone of similar background?	6.8% (5)	16.2% (12)	25.7% (19)	51.4% (38)	74
Work or study with someone of a different background?	2.7% (2)	10.8% (8)	29.7% (22)	56.8% (42)	74
				<i>answered question</i>	74
				<i>skipped question</i>	4

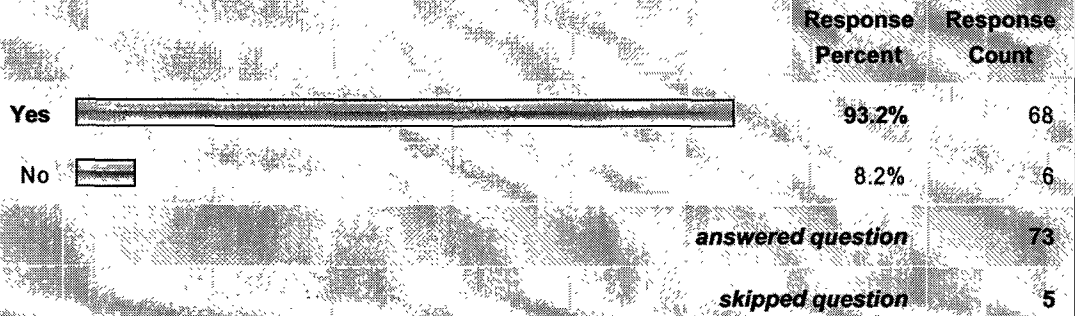
40. How often do you attend large, campus-sponsored events?



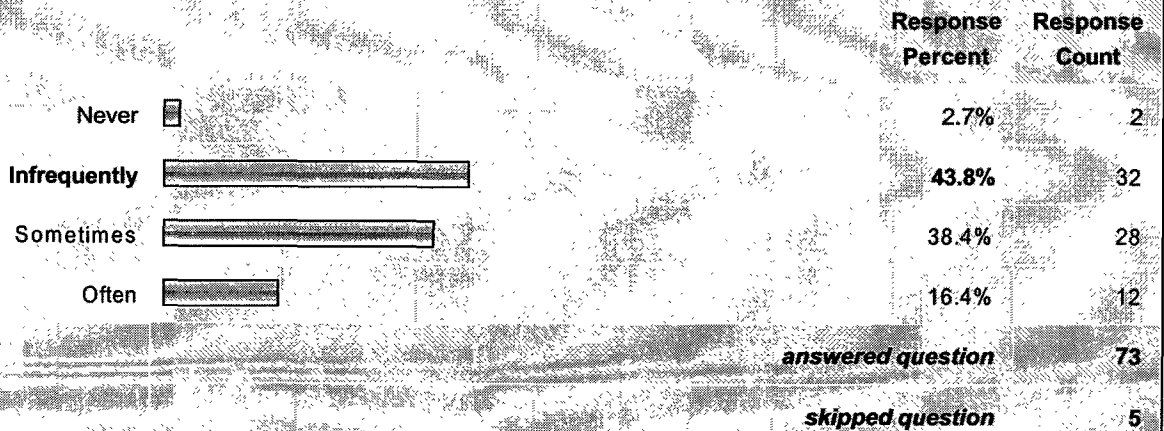
41. Have you founded or do you lead any student organizations at your college?



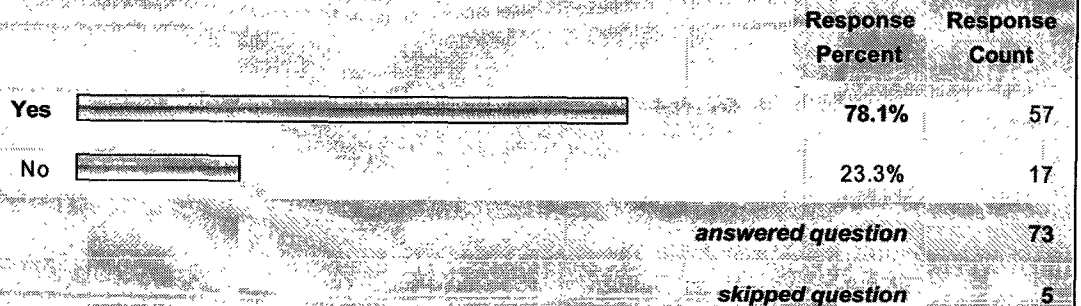
42. Are you a friend or acquaintance of someone you might not have been able to meet at home?



43. How often do you attend student or college organized cultural events?



44. Has your college experience ever led you to change your opinion about a person or group of people?



45. If you answered YES to the preceding question, how often would you say this happens?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Almost never	7.0%	4
Infrequently	29.8%	17
Sometimes	50.9%	29
Often	12.3%	7
answered question		57
skipped question		21

46. How would you say you feel about interacting with people from very different backgrounds than you?

	Response Percent	Response Count
Very uncomfortable	5.5%	4
Somewhat uncomfortable	5.5%	4
Neutral	13.7%	10
Somewhat comfortable	32.9%	24
Very comfortable	43.8%	32
answered question		73
skipped question		5

47. Now, think of your five closest friends. How many of them are...

	0	1	2	3	4	5	Response Count
Of a different race/ethnicity?	24.3% (18)	41.9% (31)	14.9% (11)	2.7% (2)	2.7% (2)	13.5% (10)	74
From a different socioeconomic background?	8.1% (6)	16.2% (12)	28.4% (21)	24.3% (18)	10.8% (8)	12.2% (9)	74
Of a different sexual orientation?	45.9% (34)	24.3% (18)	16.2% (12)	10.8% (8)	0.0% (0)	2.7% (2)	74
Of different political views?	44.6% (33)	27.0% (20)	14.9% (11)	8.1% (6)	1.4% (1)	4.1% (3)	74
Of different religious views?	8.1% (6)	6.8% (5)	24.3% (18)	18.9% (14)	16.2% (12)	25.7% (19)	74
answered question							73
skipped question							5

48. In a typical week, how often do you...

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Response Count
Ask other students for help with an assignment?	16.7% (12)	40.3% (29)	38.9% (28)	4.2% (3)	72
Study with other students or complete assignments together?	15.3% (11)	37.5% (27)	30.6% (22)	16.7% (12)	72
Take advantage of opportunities to work in groups?	16.7% (12)	31.9% (23)	37.5% (27)	13.9% (10)	72
Participate in activities or go to events that fellow students recommend?	1.4% (1)	23.6% (17)	48.6% (35)	26.4% (19)	72
Attend events where there are people you don't know?	6.9% (5)	25.0% (18)	52.8% (38)	15.3% (11)	72
Ask favors or do favors for others?	0.0% (0)	15.3% (11)	65.3% (47)	19.4% (14)	72
Ask friends or others for advice?	0.0% (0)	25.0% (18)	33.3% (24)	41.7% (30)	72
Hang out with friends?	0.0% (0)	4.2% (3)	16.7% (12)	79.2% (57)	72
				<i>answered question</i>	72
				<i>skipped question</i>	6

49. For the next set of items, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Response Count
I make new friends easily.	20.8% (15)	41.7% (30)	15.3% (11)	15.3% (11)	6.9% (5)	72
I am excited at the prospect of meeting new people.	45.8% (33)	27.8% (20)	15.3% (11)	8.3% (6)	2.8% (2)	72
I find it easy to hang out with people of different backgrounds.	37.5% (27)	44.4% (32)	13.9% (10)	4.2% (3)	0.0% (0)	72
I prefer to hang out with people of different backgrounds.	12.5% (9)	27.8% (20)	45.8% (33)	13.9% (10)	0.0% (0)	72
I try to see things through the perspective of others.	47.2% (34)	41.7% (30)	8.3% (6)	2.8% (2)	0.0% (0)	72
I understand little about other cultures.	1.4% (1)	9.7% (7)	15.3% (11)	56.9% (41)	16.7% (12)	72
When I offend someone, I want to know why.	62.5% (45)	30.6% (22)	4.2% (3)	2.8% (2)	0.0% (0)	72
I have a hard time imagining what other people think.	0.0% (0)	5.6% (4)	25.0% (18)	45.8% (33)	23.6% (17)	72
I am willing to change my behavior to accommodate differences.	31.9% (23)	52.8% (38)	11.1% (8)	4.2% (3)	0.0% (0)	72
<i>answered question</i>						72
<i>skipped question</i>						6

50. If you would like to enter the drawing, please submit an email address by which you can be contacted.

	Response Percent	Response Count
Email Address <input type="text"/>	100.0%	68
<i>answered question</i>		68
<i>skipped question</i>		10