




2020

## What to Expect When You're Expected: Uncovering the Role of Cultural Capital in College Success

Margaret H. Tippet  
*Ithaca College*, [mtippet@ithaca.edu](mailto:mtippet@ithaca.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://www.mackseyjournal.org/publications>

 Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#), [Educational Sociology Commons](#), and the [Quantitative, Qualitative, Comparative, and Historical Methodologies Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Tippet, Margaret H. (2020) "What to Expect When You're Expected: Uncovering the Role of Cultural Capital in College Success," *The Macksey Journal*: Vol. 1 , Article 44.

Available at: <https://www.mackseyjournal.org/publications/vol1/iss1/44>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Johns Hopkins University Macksey Journal. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Macksey Journal by an authorized editor of The Johns Hopkins University Macksey Journal.

---

## What to Expect When You're Expected: Uncovering the Role of Cultural Capital in College Success

### Cover Page Footnote

I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Joslyn Brenton, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Ithaca College, New York, who provided the opportunity for me to work on this project. Dr. Brenton provided invaluable guidance, teaching me research methodology and directing my writing so that this work can be shared with others. Dr. Brenton's dedication to and enthusiasm for sociological research inspired me to pursue law school focusing on advocacy. I am deeply grateful. I also wish to thank the students who agreed to participate in this research and who shared personal details of their lives with me.

# What to Expect When You're Expected: Uncovering the Role of Cultural Capital in College Success

Margaret Helen Clark Tippett

*Ithaca College*

---

## **Abstract**

Five in-depth interviews were conducted with first-year college-age women from a liberal arts institution in the northeast United States. Study aims were to investigate the expectations that parents impose on a racially diverse group of first-year college women, and to learn how these women navigate the expectations of their parents regarding attendance and location of college and social/extra-curricular activities during and after their transition to college. Interview details were summarized in narrative descriptions. Narratives were analyzed for themes. Concept maps and memos were developed to organize themes. Results were that students generally accepted parental advice regardless of the presence or absence of parental cultural capital or the quality of the relationship with parents. Of the four rejections, one was associated with the presence of cultural capital and a positive parent-student relationship, two were associated with absence of cultural capital and a positive parent-student relationship, and one was associated with the presence of cultural capital and a “rocky” parent-student relationship. The findings from this study point to the need for counseling directed towards first-year students about behaviors that can foster achievement and confidence in college, and the need for accessibility to skill toolkits

that equip first-generation college students to thrive in environments with which their parents have had limited exposure.

*Keywords:* Cultural capital, Education, Inequality

---

## **Introduction**

Transitioning to college is one of the most stressful, yet exciting times for young adults during their junior and senior high school years (Hansell, 1982). The whirlwind of college applications, acceptance letters, and anticipation for move-in day can be overwhelming. In addition, parents and family members often expect specific behaviors from their students, which can make the transition process even more challenging. Often these expectations focus on grades. Before even arriving on campus, students can feel compelled to meet the expectations of their parents and to make them proud (Hirsch & Ellis, 1996).

There may be other ways, beyond grades however, that parental pressures are manifested. Often, parents who attended college expect their students to “follow in their footsteps” and participate in activities or engage in behaviors that they considered helpful during their own college experiences; parents who did not attend college may not hold the same expectations. In this research project, the study aims were to investigate the expectations that parents impose on a racially diverse group of first-year college women, and to learn how these women navigate the expectations of their parents regarding attendance and location of college and social/extra-curricular activities during and after their transition to college. Investigating how these pressures are managed provides insights into how parental expectations can directly affect student behavior and reveal ways to ensure that first-generation college students thrive in environments with which their parents have had limited exposure.

## **Literature Review**

### *Stress of Change*

The transition from high school to college is a challenging time during which many students have difficulty adapting (Towbes & Cohen, 1996). The stress of this transitional experience can extend from the beginning of the college semester through the end, with little to no relief (Wright, 1964). The high school-to-college transition can affect students emotionally, fostering feelings of vulnerability (Wright, 1967). First-year students are most at risk for experiencing stressful situations because they are entering a new period of change (D'Zurilla & Sheedy, 1991). While older students have found their niche, first-year students are struggling with classes, trying to develop friendships, and attempting to manage money (Sgan-Choen & Lowental, 1988).

### *Parents as Supporters*

It is common for students to feel homesick when they first arrive at college. Many students turn to their parents for support and assistance during this time. Maintaining relationships with parents and family members while away from home can be difficult, especially for students who have traveled far away for college. However, maintaining these relationships is vital. Chang et al. (2017) discovered that students with higher family support were less likely to experience loneliness while in school. These key relationships, which are established prior to college, act as a safety net for students as they transition to college.

### *Parents as Stressors*

While parents can be an important source of support, they can also be a source of stress for college students. Researcher John J. Wright (1967) conducted a qualitative analysis that

focused on the possible stressors that college students experience. Among the top five stressors for female students were “mothers” and “fathers.” Ross, Niebling, and Heckert (1999) reported that parents were listed under the interpersonal stressor category as “trouble with parents” in their study of stress in college students. Twenty-one of 100 individuals who participated in the study identified parents as one of their main stressors.

Some researchers have investigated the specific ways that parents engender stress in their children as they approach college. Many students decide to attend college through encouragement from their college-graduate parents or family members (Anderson & Scott, 2014). Parents push their children to apply and attend college, especially if they are college graduates themselves (Salas, 2016). Students, who see their parents succeed in the workplace presumably because of their college educations, are inclined to attend college and earn degrees, as Anderson and Scott (2014) found in their study. Parents also urge their children to perform well academically and create positive relationships with professors. Pressure to achieve high academic scores reigns as one of main contributors of stress among college students (Ross, Niebling, & Heckert, 1999). This particular expectation is likely derived from parents’ own experiences as college students and reflects the cultural capital, or implicit understanding of the college environment, that these parents gained. This form of cultural capital is in an “embodied state,” that is knowledge acquired over time through education and experience (Bourdieu, 1986).

### *The Role of Cultural Capital*

Chen (2015) defines cultural capital as “a toolkit for navigating the social world.” Parents who attended college are equipped with cultural capital or embodied knowledge that can be used to influence and guide their children. Children of college-educated parents can leverage their parents’ knowledge, or toolkit, to accelerate their own academic and social experiences. On the

other hand, first-generation college students, that is those whose parents did not attend college, do not have access to this knowledge accumulated through experience (Salas, 2016). Lack of access to this resource has important implications. Nash (1990) discussed Pierre Bourdieu's theory and wrote that "families adopt a constellation of values, cultural values, as a result of their class location.... a culture of scholastic expectations." Thus, children of college-educated and non-college-educated parents develop different expectations and life plans. Children who are primarily exposed to cultures that emphasize careers requiring college educations are likely to pursue academic paths that lead to professional occupations whereas children who are primarily exposed to cultures that emphasize employment are likely to seek jobs that do not require years of education beyond high school. Obviously, children can experience other models beyond those of their primary caregivers and parents, and children may also pursue a life course different than those of their primary caregivers. Nevertheless, parents tend to be early and influential models for their children.

### *The Expectation and Pressure Conundrum*

Research confirms that even young students are motivated to meet the expectations their parents place on them. Children embrace these parental expectations as their own goals because they see them as a valued form of success (Berndt & Miller, 1990). This adoption of parental expectations, and desire to meet them, is fostered by the prospect of positive outcomes, such as content parents, popularity, and academic recognition. Expectancy-value theory asserts that students choose to perform specific actions based on the expected outcome and value of that outcome (Feather, 1988). However, conflict can arise between adult students and parents who share a close bond; students strive to please their parents, but may simultaneously feel pressure and resentment.

Although research has confirmed that the transition from high school to college is challenging and has identified parents as both supporters and stressors in the lives of college students, the latter particularly with respect to grades, other ways that parents induce stress have not been reported. This paper attempts to define the ways that parents create stress through expectations and pressures that they impose on their college-age children through in-depth interviews with a racially diverse group of first-year college women. The ways that these women navigated the expectations of their parents during and after their transition to college and the effect of parental-induced stressors are described, including decisions regarding choice of college and social/extra-curricular activities.

## **Methods**

### *Participants*

Participants were recruited for the study through a research participant flyer approved by the Ithaca College Sociology Department and posted on a Facebook page dedicated to first-year college students. Participants volunteered to be interviewed through the page. Thirteen students responded to the posting and interview times were confirmed with five students. Students signed a consent form before the interview and were aware that they were being recorded during interviews, but that pseudonyms would be used to protect their identities.

### *Procedures*

Each student was interviewed in a private location of their choice on their college's campus. On average, the interviews lasted about 58 minutes. During the interview, the participants were asked a series of questions about their relationships and social life on campus. Examples of questions were: Do you keep in contact with your parents? If so, how often? How

did you make your college decision? Respondents were encouraged share as little or as much information as they desired. They were also offered the option to decline to answer questions. The interviewer attempted to maintain a neutral demeanor and did not offer overt statements agreeing or disagreeing with respondents' answers.

Audio recordings were reviewed. Responses to questions were transcribed and organized by recurring themes. These themes were not predetermined and emerged during the review process. Additional notes were made regarding context.

### *Analysis*

Interview details were summarized in narrative descriptions. Narratives were analyzed for themes. Concept maps and memos were developed to organize themes.

## **Results**

Interviews with five racially diverse first-year college women were conducted (Table 1). Six themes were revealed regarding the nature of parental expectations and the ways students managed these expectations. These themes focused on college attendance, location of college, and social/extra-curricular activities during as well as after the transition to college. Results are summarized in Table 2.

### *Theme 1: Do as I Do*

Research shows that parents who attended college encourage their children to attend college (Anderson & Scott, 2014; Nicholas & Islas, 2015), and that college-educated parents have valuable knowledge of the college experience which can enable their children's success in college (Salas, 2016). Furthermore, many parents encourage their children to pursue paths

similar to theirs, and even pressure children to the extent that attending college is presented as the only reasonable option, specifically because parents had successful careers after graduating from college (Nicholas & Islas, 2016). For some children of college-educated parents, there is no alternative to attending college. Katie, a white college first-year student, was pressured by her parents to attend college from an early age:

*I've always been expected to attend college. Not going (to college), or going to work some job, was never an option in my family. Both of my parents went to school, so I was going too.*

### *Theme 2: Location, Location, Location*

The options regarding where to attend college span the gamut from local to international locations. The idea of attending college spurs feelings of independence, which encourages some students to look at colleges in locations distant from their hometowns. Despite the array of choices and the draw of independence, it is common for students to attend colleges in their home states. In fact, Hatch and O'Leary (2016) reported an increase in students enrolling in colleges in their home states in 2014. Staying close to home offers benefits of commuting to class and avoiding the costs of on-campus housing. For many students, going to college far away from home is not a choice that parents support because of the increased financial burden associated with attending college out of state. Consequently, parents encourage their students to attend college in state or at least close to home to save money.

Of the five interviewees, Katie's parents most unambiguously established the geographical range for her future college location and suitable college options:

*My Mom and I printed out a map and she drew a circle around the area that I was able to apply to. I was only able to apply to colleges within that circle, nowhere else. At first I thought it was strange, but she knows what she's doing more than I do. My parents went to college close to home and they both liked it.*

Both of Katie's parents attended college and knew how distance played into their own college experiences. Katie's parents had cultural capital, or prior knowledge, about how they preferred to be close to home. They encouraged Katie to remain close to home as well, specifically because this was a choice that was successful for them.

For many, the distance aspect between college and home is a difficult concept for parents, and even students themselves to embrace (Hartstein, 2017). Financial considerations can be an important determinant in college choice, with selection of a school in closer proximity to home being a more viable option than a school far from home. The financial burden may be greater for families in which parents did not attend college because parents without college educations typically earn less than those with college educations. However, economic resources alone may not guide financial decisions about college. Haley, a white first-year college student, originally wanted to attend college in California. After sitting down to discuss college opportunities with her parents, they encouraged her to look at colleges within a specific radius of their hometown in New York:

*My Mom was okay with me looking at colleges in California at first. My parents actually sat me down one night and told me that they did not want me to attend school too far away. They encouraged me to look at schools in our home state, which is how I found this school. They said it would be cheaper to stay closer to home.*

Parents who attended college, such as Haley's are cognizant of the financial burdens of college, because they either struggled with money in college, or saw others who did. The cultural capital that her parents possess allowed them to steer her in the direction of minimizing student loans and debt.

Students who hold close relationships with their parents feel inclined to stay near their homes for comfort. When students leave for college, they can experience separation anxiety, which can create feelings of loneliness and impede a successful transition (Phillips, 2007). Heather, a Mexican-American first-year college student, felt anxious about leaving her parents at home and originally attended a college in her hometown for a few days before transferring to a school farther away:

*Leaving my parents was very difficult, and I was concerned that I wouldn't be there for things. I helped raise my siblings, and so that was a big part of life....being there for my parents. But, at the same time, it was kind of a relief to be away at a different school because I had a little more time for myself.*

The relationship that Heather and her parents held made her feel inclined to attend school close to home, potentially allowing her to help out at home. Heather is a first-generation college student, and both of her parents entered the workforce directly from their high school graduations in Mexico. Neither of them were aware of the demands of college life, and both still hoped that Heather could maintain her leadership roles at home while attending college. Heather's parents do not have the cultural capital that other interviewees' college-educated parents have. They were not aware that the demands of college may preclude continuation of childcare and other responsibilities at home, and thus encouraged their daughter to attend a college located in the neighborhood in which they lived. Although parents with cultural capital,

like Haley's, may encourage their children to attend college close to home, they do so for different reasons and recognize that responsibilities in the home setting cannot be fulfilled by their children because of the demands of college life.

Alternatively, a negative relationship between parents and students can encourage a student to attend a college farther away from home. Taylor, an Indian-American first-year college student, specifically chose a school that was not located in her hometown because of the over-bearing relationship she held with her parents:

*My parents were very protective in high school, and I often felt that I could not be myself. My Dad is not really invested in my life anymore, and my Mom is usually very busy with my brother. I wanted to go farther away so I would have time for myself. When my parents went to college, they lived closer to home to see my grandparents. I didn't want that.*

Also, clingy, over-protective or "helicopter parents" (Lum, 2006) can become a burden for many college students as they attempt to navigate college life independently. When asked about her relationship with her parents, Haley explained that, "they definitely miss me more than I miss them." To combat the lack of proximity, students and parents may turn to electronic communication to stay in contact.

### *Theme 3: Only a Phone Call Away*

With the advent and expansion of technology, staying in contact has become easier than ever. Reaching out to family members and friends from a distance is easy and convenient with the use of text messaging and video messaging applications. There is an expectation that students will stay in close contact with their parents if the parents themselves also stayed in close contact

with their parents during college. The separation anxiety between parents and students may spur the desire for regular communication (Smith, 2012). Many of the interviewees made parental contact a priority since coming to college. Haley's sister attends college 20 minutes away from their hometown, while she is four hours away, but both of them receive a similar amount of contact from their parents:

*My Mom and Dad contact me every day, same with my sister. Sometimes my sister will call me and ask me to tell our Mom to stop texting her. It's not that we don't love them and like hearing from them, it's just that we both just have a lot going on.*

During Haley's interview, she explained how both of her parents stay in close contact with her grandparents. Because her parents maintained close contact with their own parents in college, they expected their daughters to do the same. Haley's parents attended college and knew of the importance of contacting their parents when they needed assistance and they wanted to offer the same support to their daughters. Haley's parents' insistence on regular exchanges represents cultural capital, in that Haley's parents recognized the value of parental support during crucial experiences in college.

Other interviewees had similar experiences with parental contact and the expectation to make time for contact. Sometimes, this contact comes in the form of a family group-chat that allows siblings and family members to stay connected. Katie said that she and her family keep in contact through group text messages:

*We are always texting in the chat. If I'm in class, and I can't respond, my Mom will sometimes call me to see what's going on. It's ridiculous. I usually just text her and tell her I'm in class.*

The ability of every member in Katie's family to have a cellphone reflects their high level of socioeconomic status. This is objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the form of surplus wealth to afford smartphone plans that allow for unlimited contact. Another interviewee, Heather, said that she contacts her parents every day and has kept true to the promise she made to her mother during move-in day:

*I promised my Mom I would call her every day. If we aren't on the phone talking, then I am texting her. We are usually always in contact. She pretty much knows what I'm doing at all times.*

Heather's socioeconomic status also reflects objectified cultural capital, similar to Katie's family. Both families are able to afford smartphone plans that encourage consistent communication while their children are away at college.

*Theme 4: Where are You? How are You? What's Going On?*

The excitement of going to college along with the possibility to fail classes or withdrawal from college leads parents to worry about their children (PR Newswire, 2018). Living independently for the first time allows students to discern their personal passions and engage in activities without having to gain permission from their parents to do so. However, there is an expectation of some level of parent-student contact (Small, Morgan, Abar, & Maggs, 2011). If students are engaging in activities that their parents might not approve of, then students may lie about activities or omit information.

Four of the five interviewees listed "going out" as an activity they enjoy on the weekends, but clearly stated that they did not share this aspect of their weekends with their

parents because they would not approve. Lila specifically stated that her parents would not approve of her attending parties on the weekend:

*Sometimes my parents will call me at night and I'll tell them that I'm getting ready for bed, but I'm actually putting on my makeup to get ready to go out for the night.*

Parents who attended college had “general cultural awareness” regarding the kinds of activities that occur on campus (Dumais & Ward, 2009). Research shows that there is a protective element involved in parent-student communication about behaviors, specifically drinking alcohol (Salas, 2016, Small et al., 2011). In research conducted by Small et al. (2011), they discovered that students who contacted their parents more often were less likely to drink on the weekends due to the effect of disappointing and upsetting their parents. Katie reported that she does not drink on the weekends because she does not want to risk her academics, in turn upsetting her parents:

*My parents and I discussed partying way before I got to college. I did go to a few parties at the beginning, but I don't really go to any parties anymore. I just always feel gross the next morning, which makes me unmotivated to do my work. My parents would not be happy if they found out my grades were bad because I was drinking.*

For some other interviewees, this already posed a problem. After receiving lower than expected grades, Haley spoke to her parents about her weekend activities:

*My grades started to fall a lot, and my parents knew I went out a lot. They told me I needed to stop going out and start studying more. Which, at the time, I was like 'I am studying! My classes are just hard!' But, after I stopped going out as much, my grades started improving. They were right after all.*

Parents expect their children to perform well in classes and resist the temptation to drink and engage in less-than-ideal behaviors on the weekends (Small et al., 2011). Parents who have attended college are cognizant of the drinking that occurs on the weekends and are prepared to discuss this aspect of college life with their children, and guide them to other activities, such as meeting friends, finding internships, and participating in career-development (Nicholas & Islas, 2015). Parents who did not attend college may not be aware of the extent of drinking behavior on college campuses and may not be as sensitive to the need to turn their children away from partying.

*Theme 5: Just Say Hi!*

Meeting new people and making friends in an unfamiliar environment can be hard for many students. Parents, many of whom were likely enrolled in college activities themselves, encourage their students to join on-campus organizations to motivate them to form new relationships (Lum, 2006). Parents who attended college are aware of the importance of networking and creating friendships (Lee & Chen, 2016). While some parents may explicitly state their opinions, others may make indirect references to encourage participation in organized extra-curriculars, such as commenting on the array of options at their children's colleges, asking what groups others are joining, or reminiscing about their participation in fraternities or sororities (Rubin & Sloman 1984). Taylor's parents encouraged her to attend her college's student organization fair to make new friends:

*Because I had transferred and didn't really know anyone, my Mom told me I should try to join some groups on campus. She was in a volunteer group for a few years, I think. I went to the event and signed up for the first table I saw: Women's Rugby. I guess she was good motivation because I am still on the team.*

While Taylor's parents did not participate in college sports themselves, they knew from prior experience that joining organizations and being a member of a group expedited the process of developing friendships. The prior knowledge that Taylor's parents had regarding college networking is an example of cultural capital. Haley had a similar experience. Because of her mother's past involvement in sports, her mom encouraged her to look at the possibility of joining a club sports team:

*I have always wanted to join a sports team, and my Mom said I should try lacrosse, because she played in college. She went out and got everything I needed to try out; cleats, a stick, the headgear, everything. She really wanted me to try something new.*

Haley's mother had the socioeconomic resources that allowed her to purchase the equipment necessary for lacrosse try-outs, even though Haley was not even on the team at that point.

Parents, at every stage of their child's life, fear that their children will not find friends who share their passions. So, they encourage and motivate their students to try something new, especially if they have experience with college organizations themselves, with the hopes that they will meet new friends and make new connections just like they did (Lum, 2006).

#### *Theme 6: They Are There to Help You*

In addition to parents having concerns about students establishing relationships with friends, some parents are overly concerned that their children will not have positive relationships with their professors (Lum, 2006). Parents who attended college encourage their students to attend office-hours, participate, and ask questions in class, all in an effort to create relationships and friendships with their professors. As Lee & Chen (2016) found, parents with significant culture capital influence their students to network because they themselves experienced the value

of networking while they were in college. Parents also have a desire to see their children succeed, especially if they themselves were rewarded from networking (Nicholas & Islas, 2015). Students who do not usually need extra help or did not express this need while in high school are nonetheless encouraged by their parents to seek out their professors outside of class. Katie performed very well in high school, but her parents still wanted her to attend office hours:

*My parents asked me if I had gone to office hours with my professors yet. When I told them “No,” they were kind of surprised and irritated. My Mom suggested I look at tutors for class....she was a TA. They really wanted me to go, meet them, and create a friendship early on. I’ve gone to a few so far now.*

Parents want their children to take advantage of all the available opportunities that they have access to in college—establishing new relationships with peers and professors, joining clubs and sports teams—which creates a network that can foster opportunities in college and after graduation (Nicholas & Islas, 2015). Parents who experienced the value of networking during college offer another aspect of cultural capital that can foster success in college and beyond. However, parents without cultural capital recognize the value of forming connections with professors. For example, Heather identified herself as a generally shy individual, but explained that her parents wanted her to open up to professors at her college, even though they didn't attend college themselves:

*I was not very close with my teachers at school, but both of my parents explained that creating relationships with my professors would be a good idea because they can help me with homework and write recommendation letters for the future.*

## Conclusion

In this study, the expectations that parents place on their students as they begin their transition to college, including advice to attend college, select a school close to home, maintain contact with parents, avoid alcohol intake, and establish relationships with peers and professors were examined. Many of these expectations are derived from the cultural capital that parents who attended college themselves have gained. However, advice was also given by parents who did not attend college and was motivated by the parents' desire to continue assistance in the home provided by a college-bound daughter. This study also focused on the ways that each student managed the expectations that their parents placed on them.

In summary, students generally accepted parental advice regardless of the presence or absence of parental cultural capital or the quality of the relationship with parents. Of the four rejections, one was associated with the presence of cultural capital and a positive parent-student relationship, two were associated with absence of cultural capital, and one was associated with a “rocky” parent-student relationship.

This research could be used to create informational material for the first-year college students and their parents. It may be helpful for parents to recognize that students may reject or discount parental advice, and that this is part of children learning, expressing their individuality, and becoming independent young adults. Additionally, this research can be used by college counselors to help determine the root of stressors in first-year college students and to fill a potential void by providing counseling to students who do not have college-educated parents who offer cultural capital. This counseling should address behaviors that can foster achievement and confidence in college. Accessibility to skill toolkits would equip first-generation college students to thrive in an environment with which their parents have had limited exposure.

A future goal of this research is to include first-year college men to learn how all first-year college students navigate the transition to college. Additionally, this research could become a longitudinal study, investigating students' changing relationships with their parents over their four-year college period.

A limitation of this study is the small, single sex participant sample. Because the timeline for this project was three to four months, there was not sufficient time to recruit and interview a larger sample. There were five female participants in this study, and thus may not be representative of all women. Furthermore, since all participants were female, the results cannot be generalized to men. Additionally, most of the participants had parents who had attended college previously, which limits generalization to students whose parents did not attend college. Finally, all of the participants were from a small, liberal arts college in the Northeast which is not representative of students from larger colleges and universities across the United States. Despite these limitations, this study provides insight into the parental expectations of college students and students' responses to these expectations during transition to college.

Works Cited

- Anderson, N., and Scott, S. (2014). Parental influence on American youth's decisions to attend post-secondary school. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/7511725/Parental\\_Influence\\_on\\_American\\_Youths-College\\_Decision](https://www.academia.edu/7511725/Parental_Influence_on_American_Youths-College_Decision).
- Berndt, T.J., and Miller, K.E. (1990). Expectancies, values, and achievement in junior high school. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 82, 319–326.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Westport, CT: Greenword Press. Translated by Richard Nice. [www.socialcapitalgateway.org/sites/socialcapitalgateway.org/files/data/paper/2016/10/18/rbasicsbourdieu1986-theformsofcapital.pdf](http://www.socialcapitalgateway.org/sites/socialcapitalgateway.org/files/data/paper/2016/10/18/rbasicsbourdieu1986-theformsofcapital.pdf).
- Chang, E.C., Chang O.D, Martos, T., Sally, V., Lee J, Stan, K.R., Batterbee, C.N.H, & Yu, T. (2017). Family support as a moderator of the relationship between loneliness and suicide risk in college students." *The Family Journal*, 25, 257-263.
- Chen, W. (2015). Mediatizing the network model of cultural capital: network diversity, media use, and cultural knowledge along and across ethnic boundaries. *Social Networks*, 40, 185-196.
- Dumais, S., and Ward, A. (2010). Cultural capital and first-generation college success. *Poetics*, 38, 245-265.
- D'Zurilla, T.J., and Sheedy, C.F. (1991). Relation between social problem-solving ability and subsequent level of psychological stress in college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61, 841-846.
- Feather, N.T. (1988). Values, valences, and course enrollment: testing the role of personal

values within an expectancy-valence framework. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 80, 381-391.

Hatch, J., and O'Leary, B. (2016). Where does your freshman class come from?

Retrieved from [https://www.chronicle.com/interactives/where-does-your-freshman-class-come-from#id=inst\\_217156](https://www.chronicle.com/interactives/where-does-your-freshman-class-come-from#id=inst_217156).

Hansell, S. (1982). Student, parent, and school effects on the stress of college application.

*Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 23, 38-51.

Lee, K., and Chen, W. (2016). A long shadow: cultural capital, techno-capital and networking skills of college students. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 70, 67-73.

Lum, L. (2006). Handling 'helicopter' parents. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 23, 40-43.

Nash, R. (1990). Bourdieu on education and social and cultural reproduction. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 11, 431- 447.

Nicholas, L., Islas, A. (2015). Pushing and pulling emerging adults through college: college generational status and the influence of parents and others in the first year. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 31, 59-95.

Parents Growing Less Confident in Students' Ability to Finish College; Families Worry

About Financial Blow from Temporary Withdrawal. (2018). Retrieved from

<https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/parents-growing-less-confident-in-students-ability-to-finish-college-families-worry-about-financial-blow-from-temporary-withdrawal-300684394.html>.

Phillips, C. (2007). Attachment styles and transitioning into college. *The Review: A Journal of Undergraduate Student Research*, 9, 24-27.

- Ross, S.E., Niebling, B.C., & Heckert, T.M. (1999). Sources of stress among college students. *College Student Journal*, 33, 312-318.
- Rubin, Z., and Sloman, J. (1984). How parents influence their children's friendships. In M. Lewis (Ed.), *Beyond the dyad: genesis and behavior*. (pp. 223-250). Boston, MA: Springer.
- Salas, B. (2016). College knowledge as cultural capital: reshaping parental involvement to increase college attainment. *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*, 28, 93-104.
- Sgan-Choen, H.D., and Lowental, U. (1988). Sources of stress among Israeli dental students. *The Journal of American College Health Association*, 36, 317-321.
- Smith, M. (2012). Going to college and staying connected: communication between college freshmen and their parents. *Proceedings of the ACM 2012 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, 789-98.
- Small, M., Morgan, N., Abar, C., & Maggs, J.L. (2011). Protective effects of parent-college student communication during the first semester of college. *Journal of American College Health*. 59, 547-554.
- Towbes, L.C., and Cohen, L.H. (1996). Chronic stress in the lives of college students: scale development and prospective prediction of distress. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 25, 199-217.
- Wright, J. J. (1964). Environmental stress evaluation in a student community. *Journal of the American College Health Association*, 12, 325-336.
- Wright, J. J. (1967). Reported personal stress sources and adjustment of entering freshmen. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 14, 371-73.

**Table 1: Interviewee Information**

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Year in College</b>	<b>Age (Years)</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>
Haley	First-year	18	White
Taylor	First-year	18	Indian-American
Lila	First-year	17	Filipino
Heather	First-year	17	Mexican-American
Katie	First-year	18	White

**Table 2: Summary of Results**

Students	Quality of Parental Relationship	Degree of Cultural Capital	Themes					
			Attend College	Stay Close to Home	Maintain Contact	Avoid Alcohol	Join Extra-Curricular Activities	Network with Professors
Haley	Positive	High	Accept	Accept	Accept	Accept	Accept	
Taylor	Negative	High	Accept	Reject			Accept	
Lila	Positive	High	Accept			Reject		
Heather	Positive	Low	Accept	Reject	Accept			Reject
Katie	Positive	High	Accept	Accept	Accept	Accept		Accept