Hooking Up: Attitudes, Perceptions, and Practices Among First Generation College Students

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Introduction

On college campuses, “hooking up” has become a common practice among college students. Literature has shown that “hooking up” is a term that is loosely used on college campuses to describe the intimate interactions among students. “Hooking up” can include anything from kissing to sexual intercourse or anything falling in between the two extremes, demonstrating the vagueness and broadness of the term. College students use the term “hookup” to “generally refer to a man and woman pairing off at the end of a party or evening at a bar to engage in a physical/sexual encounter (Bogle 2007). Partners have a casual sexual encounter with no expectation of establishing a committed relationship (Heldman & Wade 2010:324). With hooking up, the level of commitment and interest found in the sexual intimacy with the partner is not equivalent to the level of commitment to the relationship (Bogle 2007:777). A hook up may involve intimate sexual encounters but there is “no ongoing romantic relationships” (Bogle 2007:777) formed between the partners. While students are not to expect a romantic relationship to develop from a hookup, for some couples, a relationship develops from exactly that. Hooking up has become a new pathway among college students to form committed relationships.

Kathleen Bogle’s book, Hooking Up: Sex, Dating, and Relationships on Campus, examines the way college students form relationships. Bogle explores the ambiguity of “hooking up” and its difference from dating. She further analyzes the gendered differences and power that exist between men and women who practice hooking up. As
her study reveals, men generally have more power that women in the hook up system. Moreover, Bogle examines the various factors contributing to the hook up system.

Bogle’s insightful study contributes to a deeper understanding of how students form relationships on college campuses and also demonstrates the gendered structure that exists within the hookup system. However, a majority of the students interviewed and whose experiences were analyzed in her study were white (95%), therefore, neglecting analysis on the experiences of students of different races and the way they practice hooking up. Additionally, Bogle’s study does not include analysis on the generation status of students. The analysis on race and the generation status of students are two major missing pieces in Bogle’s work. Thus, she leaves out the attitudes and experiences of racial minority students as well as first generation students towards the practice of hooking up.

Analyzing the generation status of students is critical because studies have shown that differences between first and non-first generation students exist in the way they act and how well they succeed in college. The article, *First-Second-Second Generation College Students: A Comparison of Their Engagement and Intellectual Development*, written by Gary R. Pike and George D. Kuh, defines first generation college students as a college or university student who comes from a family where no parent or guardian has earned a baccalaureate degree, whereas non-first generation students are those whose parents have gained a college education. Pike and Kuh found that there were major differences in engagement and involvement on campus between these two types of students. In comparison to non-first generation college students, first generation college students are less likely to live on campus, less likely to be involved in campus clubs and
organizations, are less likely to form strong relationships with other students, and are more likely to work more hours off campus.

In addition, a study by Peter J. Collier and David L. Morgan focuses on determining whether first generation college students experience different problems concerning academic integration in comparison to non-first generation students. To address their focus, they turned to “role theory, which connects the issue of academic integration to mastery of the college student role” (Collier & Morgan 2008:427). Collier and Morgan argue that non-first generation college students are able to master the college student role much easier and have more academic success than first generation students. Their study focuses on how first generation and non-first generation students master their roles in college and the way it influences their academic success.

While the literature I have reviewed on first generation students analyzes information on how this population of students is different, the literature does not look at the habitus, or background experiences, of first generation students. Understanding the habitus of first generation students gives an explanation of why they act the way they do in college, and how that may largely influence the way they interact with other students.

Analyzing race and the generation status of students are pieces missing from Bogle’s study, and the missing piece of examining the habitus of students within studies on first generation students, has influenced me to conduct a study focusing both on hooking up and first generation students. In my study, I include the pieces missing from Bogle’s work on hooking up as well as pieces missing from literature on first generation students. Understanding the experiences of first generation students allows us to better understand their experiences and practices within the college setting. Also, analyzing
race and the generation status of students allows us to see how these two specific aspects ultimately influence the way these students practice hooking up. Therefore, this study asks, how do first generation students experience the transition to college and how does it affect their encounter with the “hookup” culture within the college campus?

My paper analyzes two main topics. The first topic examines the experiences of first generation college students going through the college application process, and their adjustment to the college lifestyle. The first topic examines the lack of cultural capital many first generation college students have within the social field of the college campus. How then do the backgrounds of the participants in the study affect their perceptions of college and their fellow peers?

The other topic analyzes how the experiences, or habitus, of first generation students influence the way they practice hooking up, and who they hook up with. Using Bourdieu’s key theoretical concepts and the ideas of feminist standpoint theory as guides, my research findings reveal that first generation students not only participate in hooking up, but also create a whole new form of hooking up that fits for them.

Methodology

To gather information for my research, I used semi-structured interviewing, which would allow me as the interviewer to search for particular information, guide the discussion, ask focused questions, and encourage the interviewee to answer in-depth and at length. It gives more freedom for the interviewee to share what they would like to discuss, while at the same time, allows the interviewer to ask certain questions to help guide the interview towards a particular direction.
With semi-structured interviews, a major goal of the researcher is to attempt to understand their respondents. To do that, the researcher must attempt to look at the respondent's world from their perspective. Therefore, when I interviewed the respondents, I asked them to describe their familial and cultural backgrounds to help build a rapport. I would ask them to explain the challenges they faced, and I would ask how they adjusted or transitioned to the college life when they began attending the University of Redlands. After learning about their personal backgrounds and experiences leading up to college, I then explored their thoughts on "hooking up" and the way relationships are formed on campus. My goal was to search if there was any correlation between the personal experiences of first generation college students and how it may have influenced their perceptions and attitudes towards "hooking up."

During the interviews, I asked questions relating to the respondents' family backgrounds such as information about their parents or their siblings. In addition, I asked the respondents about their social and cultural experiences before attending college and the expectations they held towards the college academic and social life. Other questions related to the first generation students' experiences during the college application process, the challenges they encountered, and their thoughts and experiences now as college students. Moreover, I asked respondents about their dating history, current dating views, the attitudes their parents have towards dating, and the participants' views on "hooking up."

The Participants

For this study, I interviewed eight students attending the University of Redlands, which included two freshmen, two sophomores, one junior, and three seniors. Although
it was unintended, the respondents that chose to participate in the study are, in a sense, a homogenous group. All participants were first generation college students, female, and heterosexual. Each of the eight participants had two parents who came to the U.S. from another country, except for one parent who was born American. Of the eight participants, seven of them were the very first in their family to go directly to college from high school, regardless of their ordered place amongst their siblings (oldest, middle, or youngest child). Seven of the participants were Latinas, and the other was Filipina, who moved to the U.S. when she was 10 years old. Each of the participants, except for one, had gone through the Summer Bridge program, which is a program for first generation students that come from low-income families, and are financial aid dependent students.

I recruited participants through a college campus program called Students Together Empowering Peers (STEP). The aim of the STEP program is to provide resources and support for first-semester, first-generation college students in order to ease their transition into higher education (www.redlands.edu). Students that were formally first semester, first generation students, may go through training to become effective mentors for the new incoming first semester, first generation students. Each new incoming freshman participating in the STEP program is matched with a mentor based on their interests and character. Each week, the program has a one and half hour session in which the mentors give information on how to get involved on campus, academic advising, cultural discussions, scholarship opportunities and much more. Students not only meet during the weekly sessions, but they also plan activities that occur outside of the classroom such as informal outings and weekend trips.
I specifically chose to work with first generation students participating in STEP because it is a focused population, which is different from what most studies on "hooking up" focus on. In "hooking up" research, these types of students are not specified or are given a specific amount of attention as first generation students.

As a population that is not often the central focus in research, studying first generation students is essential, but studying this type of population is also challenging. In attempting to carry out my research, I found that recruiting first generation students to participate in the research is one of the many challenges, and perhaps one of the most difficult, in collecting data for the study. There were several different methods (attending STEP sessions, sending emails, sending text messages) I tried before finally finding first generation students that were interested in participating in my research. I had difficulty gaining access to interview the first generation students, even though I am a college student myself who can relate to them in some ways, which, therefore, highlights the significance of my research to study this population of students.

**Bourdieu’s Theoretical Framework**

For my research, I was interested in finding gendered differences in the way college students practice hooking up and the way they view it, but more importantly, I was interested in finding how the experiences of first generation college students influenced their practices and perceptions on "hooking up." To help me analyze my research, I found that the work of social theorist Pierre Bourdieu was most appropriate in deepening my understanding on the research findings. Pierre Bourdieu's work analyzed different forms of capital such as social, cultural, and symbolic capital. In addition, he
focused on the significance, implications, and the interrelation of three key concepts: habitus, capital, and field. Bourdieu summarized his theory using the following equation:

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

The equation demonstrates that one's practice results from their habitus, capital, and field. Before further discussing the meaning of the equation, each part must be broken down to understand it as a whole.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is defined as “a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups, or institutions) that comprises a ‘structured and structuring structure’” (Maton 2008:51). Habitus is “structured” by “one’s past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences” (Maton 2008:51). It is “structuring” in the sense that one’s habitus influences an individual’s present and future practices. Moreover, habitus is “structured” because rather than being random, it is systematically ordered. The “structure” consists of “a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations, and practices” (Maton 2008:52). In other words, habitus focuses on the way individuals act, feel, think and be (Maton 2008:52). It examines how an individual carries with them their history, brings it with them to their present circumstances, and how individuals make choices in ways that are different from others.

Habitus, however, does not act alone, which is why Bourdieu discusses another key term in his work, which he calls field, or social space. The field is the setting in which individuals and their social positions are located. The concept of a social field can be better understood by using the analogy of a football field. A football field is a site for a game, and on the field, the game has specific rules and boundaries. Each player must
learn the basic skills to play the game, and may even learn new skills or strengthen those skills as they play. Where a player is located on the field determines what they can do, and where they can go during the game. Additionally, the physical condition of the football field (whether it is muddy, wet, dry, contains full of potholes) affects what a player is capable of doing, and how the game is played (Thompson 2008:68).

Just like the football field, the social field “consists of positions occupied by social agents (people or institutions) and what happens on/in the field is consequently boundaried” (Thompson 2008:69). Thus, there are limits as to what can be done on the field, which is shaped by the conditions of the field. According to Bourdieu, the game that occurs within a social field is competitive in which social agents use different strategies to maintain or improve their positions. In the social field, it is the accumulation of capitals that determines what position an individual holds. Bourdieu identifies four different forms of capital: economic (money and assets); cultural (e.g. forms of knowledge; taste; aesthetic and cultural preferences; language, narrative, and voice); social (e.g. affiliations and networks; family, religious, and cultural heritage) and symbolic (things which stand for all of the other forms of capital, e.g. credentials) (Thompson 2008:69).

Unlike a well-tended and manicured football field, the social field does not provide a level playing ground for social agents. Those with a greater accumulation of capital that are regarded as valuable within a particular field are more likely to become successful. Those who began the game in the social field with certain forms of capital are at an advantage because that particular social field depends on, as well as produces, those forms of capital to keep the game going (Thompson 2008:69), whereas those who
begin the game *without* particular forms of capital that are critical to have, are
disadvantaged. These particular players with capital are able to use “their capital
advantage to accumulate more and advance further (be more successful) than others”
(Thompson 2008:69). Each field has their own sets of rules, histories, and preferred set
of players.

Bourdieu theorized that the interrelation of these three concepts—habitus, capital,
field— Influences the way a social agent practices their behavior or acts. As stated
earlier, Bourdieu’s equation demonstrates the relation of all three concepts. It shows that
“practice results from relations between one’s dispositions (habitus) and one’s position in
a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)” (Maton
2008:51).

Therefore, how do the experiences of first generation college students, and their
cultural capital on the college campus, influence the way they practice or perceive
hooking up? Bourdieu’s major concepts are the foundation for my research on first
generation college students and how their experiences influence their perceptions and
practices of “hooking up.” I will be using Bourdieu’s concepts as my theoretical
framework to help understand my findings. I will be looking at the backgrounds and
personal experiences of first generation female college students (habitus). In addition, I
will analyze the resources that were or were not available during their college application
process, and for their adjustment to college (cultural capital). Moreover, I will look at
their experiences within the education system, more specifically, the college campus
(field). These three interrelating concepts will help me to analyze my findings on how
these factors influence the first generation students’ practice or perceptions of “hooking up.”

**Feminist Standpoint Theory**

Bourdieu’s concepts are fitting to help analyze the experiences of first generation students prior to their arrival on the college campus. Bourdieu is concerned with understanding individuals’ actions within a social context. He recognizes the importance of knowing the background experiences of students to help deepen our understanding of why they act or practice what they do in college today. While Bourdieu’s theory focuses on the importance of understanding individuals’ background experiences, he does not explicitly focus on race or the generation status of individuals within certain social fields. An individual’s race and generation status make up part of their background experiences, and are two key factors that influence the types of experiences they may encounter throughout their life. Therefore, since Bourdieu does not explicitly concentrate on race or a person’s generation status, my study will be extending Bourdieu’s theory, and apply the importance of how analyzing race and a student’s generation status helps us to better understand an individual’s background, and how it influences their practices within the social field of the college campus. Bourdieu’s theory is critical in emphasizing the importance of linking individuals within their social contexts and how their experiences may influence further practices within a particular field. For that reason, I found that another type of theory complimented well with Bourdieu’s theory and also provided further guidance for my research.

Through this study, I also incorporate the concept of standpoint theory, which stems from feminist theory. Feminist standpoint theory is premised off of the idea that
individuals view the world with a certain perspective based on their positions and experiences within the social structure. Feminist standpoint epistemology recognizes that individuals come from a "diverse range of class, cultural, and racial backgrounds, inhabit many different social realities, and endure oppression and exploitation in many different shapes and forms" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2007:78). The goals of feminist research "foster empowerment and emancipations for women and other marginalized groups" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2007:4), and feminist researchers often attempt to apply their findings to raise social awareness and social activism.

Through standpoint theory, I would give a voice to first generation college students, which is a population not often considered or highlighted because studies may tend to over-generalize students. With the understanding that people come from different classes, cultural and racial backgrounds, I would be focusing on the perspectives and experiences from the individuals interviewed in my study to help me collect and analyze more in depth data on what "hooking up" means to them, and its impact on different relations within the college culture from the perspectives of the interviewees. Using standpoint theory and holding semi-structured interviews would allow me to attain information of students' own personal experiences and knowledge that would be difficult to achieve through any other means. Attaining in-depth answers from individual interviews will give me more detailed and enriching information.

**Adjusting to the College Lifestyle**

Combining Bourdieu's theory and feminist standpoint theory within the study, allowed me to see gain an idea about key experiences of first generation students: their habitus of applying to college, and adjusting to the college campus. Examining the
background experiences of the participants is a critical step to understand the hookup practices of first generation students within the college campus. Learning about the habitus of the participants provides the tools to better understand the greater picture of the hookup practices among first generation college students.

When I interviewed participants, I wanted to hear the experiences they encountered before they went to college as well as what they experience now as college students. Based on what I collected from the interviews, respondents shared similar challenges during the college application process. They also shared similar attitudes and perspectives on their expectations of college before they attended the university. It was interesting that seven of the eight students I interviewed were the oldest siblings in their families, or were the first among their siblings to go to college regardless of the order they belonged in their line of siblings. Only one of the participants was the youngest and had older siblings that had already attended college. Additionally, seven out of the eight female first generation students had both parents come from another country. Only one interviewee had one parent born in the U.S., and the other from another country.

In learning about each of the participants’ habitus, three major themes emerged from the interviews, which captures the similar experiences these participants share. One theme explores the challenges the first generation students encountered while applying for college. Another theme includes the mix of emotions they feel now as college students. These include the sense of achievement as being first generation college students as well as the pressure, stress, and sense of responsibility that go along with them. The third theme was the sense of culture shock that participants experienced when they first adjusted to the college campus. The participants, who include seven Latinas
and one Filipina, shared their thoughts on what it was like coming to a predominantly white university, which was a different social field that they were used to. Within these themes is a common thread revealing the mismatch between the participants' accumulation of cultural capital within the social field of the college campus. The themes reveal that the first generation students in this study do not lack cultural capital, but that they own different forms of cultural capital that is more favorable in a social field outside of their college campus. These critical themes must be analyzed to demonstrate how these themes make up the building blocks that provide insight into the hooking up practice among first generation college students.

**Unfamiliarity and the Language Barrier**

Whether they were from another country or born in the United States, most of the parents of the participants in my research did not attend college. Some parents were not able to move past elementary school, or were given an opportunity to receive an education at all. Therefore, the parents of the participants were unfamiliar with the college application process, and are unable to share personal experiences with their child of what needs to be done to prepare for college. The habitus of these parents are different from parents that have received a college education. With different habituses, the parents of the first generation college students lack the cultural capital, or the knowledge, that would allow them to provide more guidance for their children to apply for college.

The parents of the participants in this study do not have the same amount of cultural capital as other parents who have attended college, and are unaware of the dominant culture in terms of knowing what to expect in the college life, or the process and steps a student must undergo in order for them to go to college. As a result of being
unable to turn to their parents that could provide them with the cultural capital, or preexisting knowledge of what to experience in college or how to apply for college, it was common for the participants to turn to other resources to help them apply for college.

For instance, when asked if she had received any help from her parents while she applied for college, Dana and Amy shared:

Dana: That was solo. My parents don’t speak English or read English. So a lot of those applications, with the exception of the FAFSA, everything is English. They were just like, “You do what you need to do, we cannot help you.” And the FAFSA, my parents just didn’t know the lingo, just like I didn’t know what the heck it was saying. But I had to seek help from other people to help me. So I had to go out of my family to ask for help. My parents were around, and they were checking up like, “Okay, well we hope everything is okay.” But they didn’t really get involved, or even ask me like what schools did you apply to? My mom had no idea until I got accepted to them. She didn’t know what I applied to.

Amy: My parents were always very supportive and always wished the best for me. They didn’t really understand it (laughs) but they were supportive.

In addition, Jessie, a sophomore attending the university, was born in the Philippines and arrived in the U.S. when she was ten years old. Her father, also from the Philippines, had been working in the U.S. for a couple of years in an Asian company importing and exporting goods. He worked in the U.S so that he could make money to send back to his family in the Philippines. He was finally able to petition for Jessie, her mother and three siblings to come to the U.S. when she was a young girl. Although Jessie, who is now 20 years old, is the second oldest of four kids in her family, she is the first to go to college. Being the first to go to college, Jessie had to look for help outside of her family to learn how to apply for college.

As a result of being the first to apply for college in her family, Jessie had to look for help outside of her family and find other resources to help her understand the college
application process and which steps they needed to complete. Now, as the first in her family to go to college, she has taken on the responsibility to help her younger sister. Jessie is able to pass down her preexisting knowledge on the college application process to her younger sibling. Further in the interview, Jessie mentioned that her parents had difficulty with the English language, which may have played a role in why Jessie needed help from other resources while she went through the college application process.

Language can be seen as a form of cultural capital because it signifies a mode of communication and “self-presentation acquired from one’s surrounding culture” (Bourdieu, 1990:114). Language is a major tool used to help individuals navigate within the social structure, and understand how to communicate within the dominant culture. Parents’ inability to understand English, the dominant language in the U.S., demonstrates their lack of cultural capital in this county. Language is a major component that makes up culture, and lack of understanding of the dominant language puts many of the participants’ parents at a disadvantage. Many of the parents were faced with a language barrier. In addition to language, the parents’ lack of cultural capital in being familiar with the different procedures that went into applying for college also put them at a disadvantage.

While language is a tool that puts others at an advantage to be successful within the social structure, it is not the only instrument that blockaded respondents’ parents from being able to provide further help for their children through the application process. Most of the respondents come from low-income families, which affects the way these families accumulate cultural capital. Therefore, the respondents’ parents had limited access to learn about the process of how to navigate the systems because they could not
afford the necessary resources that can help them better understand the process. Class inequality affects the way families learn about the college application process. Coming from a low economic status affects the way the respondents’ parents are able to learn the college application process, and build their cultural capital on the process.

Although the parents of the respondents have had difficulty understanding the college application process, many of them still provided assistance for their children whether it was providing encouragement or financial support. Parents were able to provide assistance in other ways such as monetary support. As Amy had mentioned, her parents were always supportive of her decisions and would support her financially.

Kim, a senior, is 22 years old. Here, she describes her parents’ views on pursuing education:

*Kim*: My parents have always talked about more for me and college and getting a better life later on, and the only way to get that was through school. I never saw anyone do that in my family, but I was always told that. They definitely wanted me to go to college and I had the grades for it. I was very motivated and they said to go, but it was up to me. You have to go to college, but we can’t decide where because we have no idea how to help you. School was kind of the only option I didn’t want to just get a job at the grocery store or Del Taco like my parents or something. They are pretty supportive, it was just hard for them to understand the process and understand why it was so time consuming and stressful.

Although the parents of the participants are unfamiliar with the process and procedures of applications and the college system overall, based on the interviews with the respondents, many of the parents understand the advantages of attaining an education. Many of the parents wanted to give their children an education because it was something they were unable to attain themselves. Parents are aware of the difficulties an individual may experience as a result of not obtaining a college degree or even a high school diploma. For many of these parents, they were unable to complete their education as a
result of the lack of opportunities they had when they were younger. Many of the parents want their children to be successful in school so they can be successful in the future. Understanding the challenges these first generation students experience show that their habitus was largely affected by their class, and the past experiences of these students influence the way they act in the present. The experiences they have encountered reflect Bourdieu’s equation: [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice. The challenges these first generation students faced during the college application process shows how their habitus differs from many non-first generation students attending the university.

**Achievements, Breaking Stereotypes, Pressure, Stress, and Responsibility**

Another overarching theme found among the interviews was the sense of achievement participants had as being the first in their families to go to college. Since seven of the eight respondents did not have anyone before them go to college, being the first to do so in their family has been a key milestone. Without the guidance from their parents or siblings during the college application process, respondents have a sense of pride for succeeding in being the first in their families to further their education. As the first in their families to go to college immediately after high school, these students are paving the way for their younger siblings (unless they are the youngest among their siblings), exposing them to the process of applying to college, and the experiences one may experience there. These respondents are building knowledge for their siblings that have not yet gone to college, and they will be able to pass their knowledge or cultural capital they accumulate as they move their way through college. Although being the first of their families to go to college may bring a sense of achievement to these participants, it may also bring pressure, stress, and a greater sense of responsibility.
Alicia, a freshman, is the youngest of three in her family. Her older brother never pursued a college education and her sister, who is 12 years older than Alicia, is just now graduating from college. Alicia explains the sense of achievement she feels as being the first in her family to go straight into college after high school:

*Alicia:* It feels really awesome just because I feel like that in the family trend you’re always supposed to follow your older siblings you know? Because there’s always that comparison like “Look what your brother did, look what your brother did” or “Look at your sister, look at what she’s doing.” It’s kind of almost like, you know they have like brother-sister rivalry among siblings. It’s almost like I have a big trophy over my head to say, “Look, I’m in college really early, and I’ve got my head on straight and I’m doing well.”

By furthering their education, the first generation students in this study see this move as proof that they have their “head on straight;” that they are following the dominant cultural ideology that students should graduate from high school then go to college. For most of these first generation students, from their standpoint, or from the way they view the world, pursuing a higher education is equated to having a “big trophy” because no one else in their family has accomplished this feat. Their worldview may be different from non-first generation students, whose parents have received a college education, because these first generation college students are pioneers in creating a new path that has not yet been accomplished in their families. Based on their positions and experiences within the social structure as first generation students, receiving a college education is groundbreaking within their families, therefore establishing more significance in this feat in comparison to non-first generation who are born into a family whose parents already have a college education.

In addition to their sense of achievement, the first generation students shared they felt accomplished because they had broken stereotypes that had been held towards them.
as Hispanic women. Coming from low-income communities that are predominantly Hispanic, many of the Hispanic respondents shared that they have at one point or another experienced prejudice from others within their community. The participants had others from their community believing that they would not be able to successfully attend a university because of a common stereotype that was held towards them as Hispanic women.

While they may not have yet obtained their baccalaureate degree, respondents feel they have achieved in proving others wrong from their local communities who believe that Hispanic women are unable to be successful in schools. The Hispanic respondents proved they were not the “stereotypical girl that gets pregnant and just works,” as one respondent stated, in which they would be unable to pursue higher education. Thus, it was a common theme among the interviewees the sense of achievement they felt when they proved others wrong, and that they could be successful and further their education.

For many of the first generation college students, their main motivation to be successful in school is so they may be able to support for their families once they graduate. The habitus of the respondents significantly influence the attitudes they hold towards school. By doing well in school, respondents aim to find a job after they graduate so they may be able to provide financial support for their families. Many of the parents of the respondents came from another country in hopes of starting a better life for their family. The respondents are aware of the struggles their parents faced coming to the United States, and are also aware of the hard work parents continue to do to help family living in the U.S. and abroad. As a result, many of the respondents feel motivated to do
well in education to show the appreciation they hold for their parents’ effort as well as to provide support for their family after they have completed their college education.

For instance, Lindsey’s parents are from Mexico, and are the only family she has in the U.S. The rest of her family resides in Mexico, where they struggle and depend on her family to provide financial support. As the first in her family to attend college, Lindsey not only feels pride, but also a sense of responsibility. Her habitus is a driving factor that motivates her to do well. Lindsey’s habitus is defined by her class, and racial and ethnic background. She wants to provide help and support for much of her family still living in Mexico, yet this responsibility has also created a sense of pressure from her family to do well in school because many of her family will be depending on her. Stress or pressure from the family is a common feeling that was shared among several of the interviewees.

In her article, *Family Interdependence and Academic Adjustment in College: Youth from Immigrant and U.S.-Born Families*, Vivian Tseng writes “as adolescents, Asian Pacific Americans and Latino youth, particularly those from immigrant families, express a stronger orientation toward family interdependence than do their European American and later generation peers” (Tseng 2004:966). As results indicate, Asian Pacific Americans and Latino youth are expected to provide emotional, financial, and instrumental support, and can be considered to be a lifelong obligation of support that extends to the youth’s adulthood (Tseng 2004). Tseng explains that college can be a conflicting time between the youth’s family and academic demands. When youth from immigrant families transition into adulthood, emphasis on family interdependence persists. However, the dominant ideologies of the U.S. “stress physical and emotional
independence from parents during this period” (Tseng 2004:968). Lindsey’s response reflects Tseng’s findings, and also shows how her habitus has shaped the way she views being at the university.

Lindsey: So I mean, my mom takes care of her family and puts her family before us sometimes, but she still cares about us and she still goes to work, and she’s still paying my tuition and everything. And I feel that for me, I’m going to have to do that also. I’m going to have to because I’m here trying to live a better life, and I’m here at Redlands trying to get a good degree so I can go into a field of work where I can make enough money to take care of myself, my parents, and hopefully family back in Mexico, especially my grandparents because I mean, I love them to death, and if I can help, I totally would, and that’s how I see what I’m doing. That’s my thought. And… there’s so much stress on me. Since I’m here and my parents are paying such a high price of tuition, I feel that some people are just waiting for me to fail. And then there’s the whole, well, there’s a lot of Hispanic girls that are here, get pregnant at 15, and uh, I made it! I’m so happy that I did.

Although Lindsey never specifies who those people are that are waiting for her to fail, she must feel pressure not just from her parents or her sister, but from her family living in Mexico. With many of her family living in Mexico and struggling, they may be lacking the knowledge of fully understanding the importance of education because they have other priorities they must fulfill, and therefore do not see the point in why Lindsey is pursuing an education, and are waiting for her to fail. In addition, the people in her community may be waiting for her to fail because they believe the stereotype that she will get pregnant and be unable to complete her education. With her parents “paying such a high price of tuition,” people may be waiting for her to fail because it is not common to see a Hispanic woman from their community obtain a college degree from an expensive university.

Based on the interviews, the habitus of the respondents are defined by their class as well as their racial and ethnic background. Learning about the habitus of the first
generation students helps to build our understanding of how their experiences affect their worldview when they are placed in certain social fields, which will be more deeply discussed in the next section.

**Culture Shock**

The last major theme, and perhaps the most imperative, that was common among the first generation students interviewed in the study was the culture shock they experienced when they first began attending the university. Before attending the university, the respondents, who are all racial minority students and come from low-income communities that are predominantly Hispanic, were unaware that the majority of the student population was white.

By attending the University of Redlands, many of the respondents were stepping into a new social field, and a mismatch existed with their accumulation of cultural capital within the new field. As stated earlier, the habitus of the respondents are defined by their class as well as their racial and ethnic backgrounds. Since their habitus is different from the non-first generation students, and the large population of white students, this contributed to the mismatch they experienced being placed in a college environment that was much different from the communities they had grown up in. The respondents lacked the cultural capital on the college campus, which includes knowing or understanding the dominant forms of knowledge, skills, or education that can be used to help individuals easily adjust to a situation or become more successful in their surroundings, whether it be academically or socially.

*Dana:* I mean it's just a big shock. Well for me, like I said, I grew up in a predominantly Latino community. I joke around, but it's really true. I never had met a white person before in my life. And I know people laugh at me and think I'm joking, but I really
didn’t until I started working when I was 16. My boss was white. I mean, I wasn’t like, “Whoa! Exotic!” but it was a different experience. Then I came here and everyone was white…and you know, there was like a select group of minorities and that was a big culture shock for me. Like I said, my town, everyone speaks Spanish, and if you don’t, you’re the exception kind of thing. People here speak Spanish, true, but it’ll be like a language they learned after. So it’s a different experience. People come from various backgrounds, which is true for all colleges, but I didn’t have my parents to say like, you’re going to experience a shock. No one told me that. I seriously came to college, like the first day, and I was like “WOOOOW.” Nobody told me that was going to happen to me. Now I got used to it and I’m happy, but the first few weeks I was just [thinking], “what did I get myself into?”

Growing up in a predominantly Latino community, Dana felt like she fit in the setting because others around shared a similar habitus. Within this community, others around her had similar class as well as racial and ethnic backgrounds. Yet from her standpoint, when she began attending the university, as Dana explained, “there was a select group of [racial] minorities and that was a big culture shock for me.” Dana had not been prepared to experience culture shock because she did not have the cultural capital of knowing that the university she would be stepping into is a completely different social field that she not experienced before. The class and racial aspects Dana has encountered in the Hispanic community she has grown up has shaped her habitus. Thus, the social field she had been exposed to before she went to college is certainly distinctive from the class and racial aspects she is now surrounded by within the college campus. This is true for the other respondents in the study as well.

As mentioned before, Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field are interrelated. Using Bourdieu’s concepts, the responses reflect that the structuring of the respondents’ habitus does not fit within this social field. The responses of the first generation students reflect that there is a mismatch between their dispositions and the social field they stepped into during their first year at the university.
Think about the equation \((\text{habitus})(\text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice}\). For these first generation students, their habitus is largely influenced by the social field they grew up in, which are low-income communities predominantly composed of racial minorities. Along with their habitus and the social field they were raised in, the first generation students accumulated the cultural capital that is dominant within those particular communities they lived in. The social field they were raised in has largely shaped their habitus and worldview. As a result, the interrelation of these three concepts significantly influences the way they practice social behavior. Therefore, initially, the first generation students find there is a mismatch in their cultural capital to the newly found field of the college campus, and have more difficulty adjusting within the social field in comparison to non-first generation white students who may have already accumulated the cultural capital that will allow them to transition to the college campus more easily.

For many of the respondents, the practices of social interactions and behaviors of many of the white students on the college campus were very different from what the first generation students had been used to, which contributed to their culture shock. On the college campus, the participants experienced discomfort when they were first adjusting to the college culture. They felt discomfort within the classrooms, and felt it among different social interactions with their white peers.

With class as well as their racial and ethnic backgrounds defining the habitus of the respondents, class and race are aspects that the first generation students have observed within the field of the college campus. From their standpoints, the first generation students observe the class and race relations within the campus and among other white students, yet while they make these observations, the respondents often conflate class and
race in their interviews. The conflation of these two aspects are reflected in the Kim’s response below:

Kim: So I came and it was a culture shock, because mostly it was a white school, which I don’t think I really talked about and noticed when I visited. It was something I didn’t notice until I was here. Like I’m the minority on campus and it would be hard to find other people or Hispanic students on campus. I felt like there were a lot of economic differences. My roommate was from Texas so she had to have the money to pay an out-of-state tuition and the tickets home. The two semesters I lived with her she had two laptops. Came with one and left with a new one. She had high tech phones and iPods and all these little gadgets. Her clothes looked kind of expensive. I have cute clothes, but I don’t think they’re like as expensive as hers.

In her response, Kim talks about her white roommate and the various materials her roommate owned while they lived together. Kim’s explanation does not separate class or race, but instead combines these two aspects, which captures the perception of how many of the respondents directly associate white students with class privileges. Kim demonstrates the differences between her and her roommate, which further reveals the contrasts in their dispositions within the social structure. Within a year, her roommate had been able to afford two laptops and own “high tech phones and iPods, and all these little gadgets.” Kim had compared herself to her roommate to prove how their differences contributed to the culture shock Kim had encountered when she began attending the university. She pointed out that her roommate’s “clothes looked kind of expensive,” whereas Kim had cute clothes but were not as expensive as her roommates.

The notion that Kim is conflating class and race indicates that this is part of the worldview she possesses as a result of her experiences and position within the social structure. Coming from a low-income community, where racial minorities were the majority, has influenced Kim’s standpoint and view of society in which class and race are tied together, and are not separate. By attending a university where a majority of students
are white and there are a “select group of minorities” (as Dana had mentioned earlier in the paper), and by also observing her roommate’s possessions, Kim associates that race and class of whites students ultimately contributed to her encounter of experiencing culture shock within the college campus, which is different from the community she grew up in. Her low-income, predominantly Hispanic, community is unlike the predominantly white college campus she attends where she knows white students like her roommate that was privileged enough to own expensive possessions. Conflating class and race was a common matter being talked about interviews while the first generation students discussed their experience of culture shock when they initially attended the university.

*Amy:* Yeah it was weird because like my first year seminar was Born in the USA, and what it means to be an American. We pretty much just covered social justice issues, like social justice 101. So [the professor] would basically just ask us questions and how they were relevant to us, and I didn’t speak a lot in that class because I was the only person of color and most of the class came from a place of privilege so they didn’t understand things like foreclosures and what it was like to give up certain luxuries for certain things. So I felt like if I were to open up in class it was more of a struggle for me than anyone else because they were the majority and they could relate to each other when I couldn’t.

In the response above, Amy shares the unease she experienced as being the only Hispanic student in a class full of white students. She describes the culture shock she felt within the classroom as being the only racial minority. Like Kim, Amy illustrates the fusion of class and race in her response. She describes that many of the white students came from a place of privilege, and she therefore had difficulty relating to her fellow peers. Amy’s habitus and cultural capital did not match with the rest of the students in her class, ultimately affecting Amy’s participation in the class. Her response reflects similar sentiments the participants shared in this study because it reveals that the cultural
capital the participants carried with them to the university was not enough to immediately grasp the customs and trends of the college culture, and allow them to connect with many of their white peers. Therefore, these first generation college students of color often felt like outcasts among their peers within the classroom or in social gatherings held at school.

Many of the respondents described they were able to adjust to the college lifestyle with help from others through Summer Bridge. Summer Bridge is “an exciting pre-college program designed to provide incoming first generation and/or financial aid-dependent students with important information before they begin classes at the University” (http://www.redlands.edu/student-life/1403.aspx). The program gives first generation students an opportunity to meet with other incoming students. Students are also exposed to the Redlands campus as well as the various resources. They are able to meet faculty and staff members, and are introduced and receive an overview of academic strategies that can help them succeed in college. Summer Bridge is a valuable resource for first generation students to understand the culture of the college so that they may adjust more easily to the new social field.

The Summer Bridge program, STEP, and many other programs from CDI are key mechanisms that help first generation students adjust to the campus, and are also avenues that lead students to meet others similar to them, which may influence the way first generation students practice hooking up. Although Summer Bridge, STEP, and other programs from CDI are mechanisms that provide assistance for first generation students and their transition into the new social field of the college lifestyle, it is these same mechanisms that mark these students as “different” compared to non-first generation
students. These programs introduce students to others that share similarities such as their generation status, race, as well as experiences, and students build friendships within these programs. Therefore, these first generation students develop a distinct set of social networks that limit their opportunities for interactions with other types of students from different sets of organizations. While the first generation students may develop social networks that ease their transition into college and help them develop friendships, their particular set of social networks keeps them confined in being surrounded by others that hold similar forms of cultural capital. Thus, these social networks limit the opportunities for interactions with students that have different habituses and hold different forms of cultural capital, which ultimately has a major influence in the way first generation students, like the participants in this study, select who they hook up with.

**Hooking Up with the "Right Match"**

Evidently, the dispositions of these first generation female students are different compared to the experiences of non-first generation students that have been studied in research. In addition, their dispositions are also distinct from many of their white peers on the college campus. Discerning the experiences of the first generation students, such as their encounters with culture shock on campus, provide the building blocks to help better understand the missing pieces of the puzzle as to why examining race and the generation status of the students influences the way they practice or perceive hooking up.

In this section, I aim to look at how the cultural and social experiences of first generation female college students influence the way they practice hooking up in terms of who they hook up with, and the process they go through to hook up with that particular male partner.
As discussed earlier, Bourdieu theorized that the interrelation of habitus, capital, and field influences the way a social agent practices their behavior or acts.

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

The equation demonstrates that “practice results from relations between one’s dispositions (habitus) and one’s position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)” (Maton 2008:51).

For most of the first generation students I interviewed, they were unaware of the demographics of the school, and were not expecting to experience culture shock when they first attended the university. Many of them attended Summer Bridge before the school year began, where a majority of the students that attended were students of color. However, when the respondents began school with the rest of the student population, they did not expect the population to be predominantly white.

Initially, the participants were at a disadvantage because of the lack of cultural capital that hindered them from fitting well within the new social field of the college campus predominantly composed of white students. While the first generation female students may have accumulated their own form of cultural capital before they came to the university, a mismatch existed between their accumulation of cultural capital and the established cultural capital that was dominant within the college campus. First generation college students' lack of cultural capital and unfamiliarity with the campus environment leads to a sense of discomfort and isolation. This, in turn, affects the way they develop social relationships - romantic or otherwise - on a college campus. In the responses below, the first generation students explain their thoughts on who they tend to hook up with.
Tess: The first year wasn’t that great and it’s difficult. I find it kind of difficult if you’re first generation, but I find it more difficult when you’re a student of color with a predominately white school. For me it was just harder to get acquainted. I don’t know. I guess I was so used to being surrounded by my own ethnicity, it was just a shock and you don’t have the same response from a white guy from a Hispanic guy. I guess it’s just easier to connect with them or to actually speak to them. With all of them (hook ups) there was always one thing that connected us and it’s always been either we’re in a class together or we’re a part of something together, so that’s how we met, except for that one person and he was one random hookup; my only white guy in Redlands.

Lindsey: I don’t like go somewhere and be like, “Oh, that guy is definitely Mexican and what I want.” It just gravitates to you, and you kind of talk to each other. Maybe it’s because I’m also a Latina and when you’re with your same kind of race, you kind of feel comfortable, and you feel like there’s something that you share, so it’s just easier to talk to people. As opposed to going into a group of all these really white girls and guys you know... I obviously just stick out.

Based on the interviews, most of the respondents were drawn to hooking up with men they had more similarities with, who were not technically “random” partners or strangers, but were men they had been acquainted with before by meeting them in class, or social organizations that stemmed from the office of Cultural Diversity and Inclusion (CDI) on campus, which welcomes and promotes racial diversity. CDI attracts students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, encouraging them to be involved with the office’s programs or organizations. Thus, the respondents’ hookup options with male partners are limited as a result of their habitus and cultural capital that differs from the capital of many of the white students on campus. This is why their hookup partners are not random; the respondents’ do not have many hookup options because their choices are structured by their habitus. The participants, therefore, gravitate towards hooking up with men that may possess a similar habitus.

The interrelation of the first generation students’ habitus, social field, and accumulation of cultural capital has influenced the way they practice hooking up inside
(and outside) of the social field of the college structure. According to Bourdieu, the social structure "comprises a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices (Maton 2008:51). Therefore, the dispositions of first generation female students influence how they practice or perceive hooking up within the college campus. Within the social field of the college structure, the women in this study shared that they hooked up with men they could relate to or connect to. Most of the time, these men were also Hispanic and first generation students.

The responses establish that the social networks developed by these first generation college women may have influenced them to hook up with men that have similar dispositions as a result of their habitus and personal experiences. As discussed earlier, many of the respondents came to the university unaware of the expectations, standards, trends, and customs of the campus culture. They lacked the cultural capital that would help them fit well with the college culture. Most of them also experienced culture shock as a result of being unfamiliar with the college culture of a predominantly white school. For that reason, many of the respondents were drawn to hooking up with men of color that were similar to them and perhaps shared similar forms of knowledge. These are men that the first generation college women may have met through Summer Bridge, STEP, or other programs from CDI that are part of participants' 

Although the first generation students initially find a mismatch between their cultural capital and the social field of the college campus when they first arrive, the first generation students do not simply let the field dictate their hookup practice. Instead, the first generation students create a modified practice of hooking up that works for them. Rather than following the hookup practice that many non first generation white students
may participate in such as engaging in random hookups, the first generation students follow a different script. They mostly gravitate towards those that have a similar habitus, and who are also students of color or a first generation students. By doing this, they are extending the confinements of a pool of definitions and actions that are loosely termed as “hooking up.” Therefore, the first generation students are not just letting the social field control their practice, but they are actively adjusting the field to create a new form of practice that fits for them. In this process, the participants are social actors exercising a pioneering action within the college campus. It is critical to acknowledge and treat the participants as active social agents because with the standpoint theory perspective, the aim is to understand and perceive the world from the eyes of the individual.

Conclusion

Although Summer Bridge, STEP, and organizations that stem from CDI are not race specific, these networks are composed of many racial minority students, in which Hispanics make up a large portion of the students within these programs. Thus, Hispanic first generation students (like the ones in this study) have a potential to meet a same-race partner from those programs. Compared to the entire school population, there exists a large imbalance between the number of white students and minority students, which has generated a sense of culture shock, discomfort, and isolation for many of the respondents because they were not prepared to be in a social field that was different from what they were familiar with from their personal experiences. Therefore, with programs like Summer Bridge and STEP, and other organizations that come from CDI, the female respondents were able to meet other first generation students that were similar to them in race, culture, and personal experiences. The programs enable first generation students
and students of color, like the respondents in this study, to feel more comfortable within the larger social field of the college campus as a result of having a support system they can relate to, and turn to.

In Summer Bridge and STEP, the structuring of the habitus of the female respondents matched within this specific area of the social field of the college campus. As one respondent puts it, being a part of STEP makes her feel that she is not “in a sea of white,” and she can relate to her fellow peers in these programs. Programs like STEP create a space for first generation students where they can connect with others that are similar to them. While they were not the main focus of this study, male students of color also could have experienced culture shock when they began attending the university, and they may also be more comfortable in a setting where there are other students of color.

Programs and organizations from CDI give a chance for first generation students or students of color to not feel as though they are outcasts or isolated. Jessie’s response reflects how STEP has allowed her to feel more comfortable on campus:

_Jessie_: Yeah, it’s that one class that I have where it's like I'm not the minority. I pretty much like belong .... I don’t feel like that one tiny person. It’s just just like, oh we’re all the same, we’re all in the same class kind of thing compared to my other classes.

Through Summer Bridge and as a member of STEP, or by being involved with other organizations from CDI, the respondents are able to meet potential hookup partners that may be of the same race or are also students of color, share similar languages, cultural values, experiences, and struggles. Bourdieu had argued that people who were positioned in the same social space “were more likely to come together... and develop similar lifestyles, outlooks, dispositions, and a tacit sense of their place in the world”
(Crossley 2008:93). For that reason, on a campus where they have difficulty connecting to their white peers, the first generation college women in the study were most likely drawn to men they could have easier time connecting to, which were Hispanics or students of color that were also first generation students. Respondents shared that many of their hookups were with men on campus they had already known through classes, or organizations or programs from CDI. Most of the respondents discussed that they often hooked up with someone of the same race, or was a first generation student, or were both. The first generation students in this study have limited options of who they can hook up with as a result of their habitus and cultural capital. Though this may be the case, the respondents nonetheless create a new practice of hooking up that fits for them.

The programs give an opportunity for same race first generation students to feel comfortable and meet others similar to them. Though not their intentions, the programs from CDI create a space where these first generation college women may meet a potential hookup partner because it gives first generation students a chance to bridge connections with others like them. It is not only through Summer Bridge and STEP where participants may be exposed to others similar to them, but it is also through the non-Greek organizations that come from CDI, which often welcomes and promotes racial diversity. Through these organizations that draw in a more racially diverse crowd of students, the participants are able to meet others that are similar to them and connect to them.

Therefore, if the respondents meet a man that shares the similar experiences such their habitus, culture shock or discomfort within the social field of the college campus, the respondents were able to share similar forms of knowledge with this particular male
student. This may include the similar struggles they have faced as first generation students and students of color attending a predominantly white school that places value on dominant forms of cultural capital that differs from the cultural capital of the minority first generation Hispanic students. As one article called When Does Race Matter? Race, Sex, and Dating on at an Elite University analyzed, in-group friendship networks generally bring together potential same-race partners because they shared similar experiences as opposed to the experiences of the non first generation white students on the college campus. With other students of color on campus that were also first generation students, the respondents felt they could relate to them more because they could share the same struggles, language, or cultural values. This person could then become a potential hookup partner.

This is a critical study because it analyzes race and the generation status of college students, which are crucial pieces missing from Kathleen Bogle’s work. The study gives an idea of the type of race relations existing within the college culture, and how the habitus of the first generation students is defined by their class, and racial and ethnic background, which influences the way the practice hooking up and who they hook up with.

The study of understanding the experiences of first generation college students of color is significant because it reveals key implications about race within the campus culture of the University of Redlands. It sheds light on a subtle form of segregation existing within the college campus. This form of segregation is not overt, nor is it done intentionally or consciously, but it exists nonetheless. Through the interviews, the respondents shared that many of their close friends are also students of color and first
generation students they had met through programs such as Summer Bridge, STEP, and organizations from CDI.

For programs like Summer Bridge and STEP, their intentions are to ease the transition into college for first generation students. These programs aim to provide the support and resources to help first generation students adjust. While this may be the case, these programs generate a pattern in which first generation college students meet other students similar to them in habitus and cultural capital, and then are less likely to branch out from these particular social groups of friends, and are less likely to form close friendships with others that are outside of those types of groups. For instance, in the Greek organizations, a majority of the women involved in sororities are white students, whereas Summer Bridge, STEP, and organizations from CDI have both white and students of color. In the social realm of the college culture, there is a divide between white students and students of color in which both groups tend to stay within those groups, and mostly develop relationships with students in the same group.

However, it is not only in the social realm of the college culture that needs to be analyzed. The study reveals key implications of how first generation students of color feel in the academic realm of the classroom. The first generation students demonstrated that they experienced discomfort or a sense of isolation as being one of the few, or sometimes being the only, student of color in the classroom. As stated in an earlier section, the respondents experienced culture shock within the classroom, and did not want to participate as a result of being unable to connect with the white students’ experiences in the class.
Many faculty members and administrators are unaware of how these first generation students of color feel within their classrooms. Professors and administrators must raise their level of awareness on the sense of discomfort and isolation that many students of color feel so professors may help create a safe space and enriching learning environment within the classroom. Students bring in their prior knowledge and personal experiences into the classroom, and their experiences may contribute to illuminating discussions and offer unique perspectives on the content matter, enabling students to learn from one another. However, if students of color feel like an outcast within the classroom, they are discouraged from participating, therefore not sharing their knowledge from their experiences that other students can learn from.

In order to transform the campus culture to eliminate the divide within the campus between first generation students of color and white students, the faculty and the administrators as well as all students need to acknowledge and understand the different experiences of first generation students. By understanding the experiences of first generation students, faculty, administrators and students can work together to be more aware and open to the needs of first generation students of color within the social and academic realm of the campus culture.
Appendix

Interview Questions

During the interview, I asked questions like:

Did you receive help from your parents when you were applying for college?
What were your expectations of college before you attended the university?
How did you adjust to college?
How different would it have been for you if you did not do Summer Bridge or STEP?
What kind of community did you grow up in?
Was it different for you then to come to a school that was predominately white?
Have you experienced pressure from your family to do well in school?
What does “hooking up” mean to you? How do you define it?
What were your expectations of hooking up before you attended college?
What is the difference between “dating” and “hooking up”?
Can you tell me a little bit about your dating history?
Are there certain rules to “hooking up?”
What is your perception of relationships?
What age did you start dating?
What are your parents’/family’s attitude towards dating?
What are your current dating views?
Is your perception of hooking up the same as your female and male friends?
How often do you hook up?
Where do you generally meet hook up partners?
Have you met a hook up partner at a party?
How do you define your relationship with your hook up partner?
Are there stereotypes associated with gender when it comes to hooking up?

These questions helped steer the direction of the interviews, and helped me learn how the experiences of the participants influenced the way they view and practice hooking up on the college campus.
Bibliography


