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Counterfeit Cultural Capital and College Student Development: A Bordieuan Critique of White Privilege Repackaged as Cultural Capital in Elite Institutions of Higher Education.

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COUNTERFEIT CULTURAL CAPITAL AND COLLEGE STUDENT
DEVELOPMENT: A BORDIEUAN CRITIQUE OF WHITE PRIVILEGE
REPACKAGED AS CULTURAL CAPITAL IN ELITE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
EDUCATION

by

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Abstract

Elite higher education and racial minority students have recently been a major topic of discussion and research. Using current research into the retention and completion of racial minority students, the research used in this thesis has indicated that there are invisible barriers still in place for racial minority college students. These barriers are enigmatic by nature and have been called upon to be researched. To better understand and aid in the holistic development of racial minority students, this thesis uses a Bordieuan philosophical lens to critique currently accepted ideas and concepts within the space of elite and predominantly white institutions. Three such concepts are: white privilege, college student identity development, and the constructs that make up embodied cultural capital.

The literature of this study sets up a deeper look into how racial minority student identity is and is not developed, how white privilege impacts them, and how the path to cultural capital for racial minority students is neglected. With the lack of identity development in the space of elite higher education, this thesis shows how a traditionally marginalized student group is, wittingly or unwittingly forced to create a second white identity in the pursuit of cultural capital. With this dynamic in place, this thesis endeavors to uncover how a second white identity is created, how the concepts of cultural capital can be devalued for racial minority students and turned into a type of counterfeit cultural capital, and in turn, overlooked as an invisible barrier for racial minority students in elite higher education.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As human beings, we all form an identity. We have different journeys, experiences, and backgrounds that fuel the formation of our identities. Family, friends, and education are guaranteed to shape our identity in both negative and positive ways. However, we will inevitably forge this identity. As an example, Pike (1985) articulates an accurate metaphor for what it is like to build one's identity as a handball player throwing a ball against a wall. The ball is thrown, and the players watch each other to read their reactions to the movement of the ball. College students, much like the handball players in action, learn to adapt and work with the experiences of elite higher education institutions. Eite higher education institutions in the context of this thesis is defined as the same 486 selective institutions as measured by Carnevale & Strohl (2013). In some circumstances, the wall in which the handball players throw against could be warped. If the wall is warped, and the ball bounces in ways not expected, and the players have to react quickly or risk losing the game.

The example of the warped wall connects the experiences and the space a college student works with, and how it can both be enriching or damaging to their identity. A way in which the wall of elite higher education institutions is warped and damaging for college student identity development is from invisible white privilege and its repackaging through Bordieuan cultural capital. The handball player as college student uses the experience and information to form their identity, but if the handball wall of elite higher education institutions is unknowingly warped via repackaged white privilege as cultural capital, then the varied paths of the ball, as student identity and the data it embodies would keep the student chasing after an elusive under-developed identity. Thus, ultimately stunting their development.

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The author's pursuit in this thesis is to uncover the invisible barriers to college completion for racial minority students. Carnevale & Strohl (2013) and the data they provide shows one such barrier is standardized test scores as a gateway for entry. However, Carnevale & Strohl (2013) also state that there are more barriers to be found because even when accounting for the same economic background for college students, the retention rate is still lower for racial minority students. The author uses Bordieuan cultural capital (1984) as guaranteed to be obtained through elite higher education as a lens to Chickering and Reisser's (1993) seven vectors of student identity development. This is because the author believes that white privilege is repackaged as cultural capital, and because elite higher education aids in the production of both cultural capital and the student's identity.

Chickering and Reisser's (1993) identity development was used in this study because the breakdown of identity development within the first five vectors. These vectors demonstrate how a college student would traverse each stage of development and show factors that would cause stagnation within the process. In addition, this thesis will show how miscued identity development plays a role in what Bourdieu (1986) calls the blurring of pathways to valued cultural capital and defensive maneuvers of institutions in relation to the institution's rankings (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013, Bourdieu, 1986). One such factor is quoted directly by Chickering and Reisser (1993) as the lack of research available for racial minority student identity development, which in turn, allows for the hierarchizing of what a holistically developed identity college student is.

The question then asked is how do racial minority students navigate white privilege when it's repackaged as cultural capital and does this cause Dubois' "Warring ideals" (1903) and Fanon's (1967) "The Other"? Ultimately creating one of the hard to pin down barriers?

How are identities developed when the space of elite higher education institutions is bisected with the privileged and underprivileged groups in college? This thesis will articulate that, through a philosophical Bordieuan critique of elite higher education institution's use of Chickering student identity development, the examples of items in the invisible knapsack put forth by McIntosh (1988) are connected to Chickering's identity development; the invisible white privileges being repackaged as counterfeit cultural capital through Chickering's identity development. In addition, Chickering's identity development in elite higher education institutions has been erecting unforeseen barriers that perpetuate inequalities through the production of a dual identity for the racial minority.

Purpose of the Study

Pierre Bourdieu and his theory around cultural capital has become a vital topic in elite higher education institutions. Bourdieu's theory was originally centered around elite higher education institutions and how it propagates social class inequality (Bourdieu, 1982). In addition, white privilege in elite higher education institutions has been an equally important topic since McIntosh (1988) presented her ideas of the invisible knapsack. With these two paradigms at play in elite higher education institutions, the primary goal of this thesis is to use a Bordieuan philosophical lens and to critique elite higher education institutions to demonstrate that cultural capital is repackaged white privilege. One of the direct effects of this happening is found in the research of Carnevale & Strohl (2013) demonstrating the "hard to pin down" barriers for racial minority students in elite higher education institutions. Carnevale & Strohl (2013) show that white students, even with a poor, first-generational backgrounds, complete their degrees at higher rate than racial minority students. This happens in 486 of the nation's top schools, however, the open access and less selective institutions have a higher dropout rate for racial

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minority students than white students. (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013) This thesis will, using Bordieuan philosophical critique show how this happens through Chickering's identity development.

Chickering and Reisser (1993) and their seven-vector theory has been a major tool for elite higher education institutions in guiding faculty and staff in their endeavors to holistically develop college students. However, the seven-vector theory is more than a tool that is used for identity development. This thesis will use Chickering and Resisser (1993) work to demonstrate the under researched dual identity development of racial minority students, and how that has caused their identities to be submerged in a space of white privilege. Thus, causing racial minority students to develop, a habitus and identity that produces what society could see as counterfeit cultural capital. The research of Chickering and Ressier (1993), demonstrated in Chapter Two, shows how this is happening in elite higher education institutions. The goal of using the seven-vector theory is to widen the research of racial minority students as pointed out by Chickering and Reisser (1993), "While every student's self-definition is shaped by genetic predispositions, cultural traditions, and experiences as a member of a majority or racial minority ethnic group, little research has been done on racial minority student development. (p.188)"

White privilege as repackaged cultural capital remains invisible, integrated, and allowed to be produced in the space of elite higher education institutions. Also, the effects of this oversight on Chickering's identity development of white and racial minority college students can be seen from the research of Carnevale & Strohl (2013). This research is heavily used because the statistical data from 486 highly selective and non-selective institutions gives this thesis the ability to demonstrate the findings that there are unforeseen and hard to pin down barriers for racial minority students. This thesis seeks to expose these barriers, not just as racially motivated

roadblocks like standardized test scores Carnevale & Strohl (2013), but also by including the low retention rate of racial minority students even when accounting for economic backgrounds that are shared with white majority students. This thesis will also attempt to use the data of Carnevale & Strohl (2013) to show that invisible barriers can become visible when exposed to the idea that highly valued cultural capital is repackaged white privilege. One idea like this comes from Freire (1990) and his research that introduces the concept of "cultural prescriptions", or particular truth which encourage minorities to mimic, dress like, speak like, think like, act like, and aspire to be like the dominant group, and in doing so become convinced of their own inferiority. This sense of inferiority influences retention and alters the development of the racial minority identity pointing back to the hard to pin down barriers of Carnevale & Strohl (2013).

What is to happen to the racial minority students who make it past these invisible barriers, attend an institution, adopt a faulty identity, and possibly graduate? What is happening inside these institutions that conditions theses students to accept white privilege as repackaged cultural capital? White students do not have to be aware of this and greatly benefit from their ignorance (McIntosh, 1988). Regardless of their obliviousness, white students are dwelling in the social space of education with racial minority students and all of them should be aware of white privilege as repackaged cultural capital. These two paradigms of white privilege and cultural capital are at play in the space of elite higher education institutions (McIntosh, 1988, Bourdieu, 1984). However, they could be integrated into elite higher education institutions to a point that they are a fixed ideology that allows white privilege as repackaged cultural capital, to be "Defined as the advantage received by virtue of one's identification with or similarity to an ideology that has successfully promoted and established a particular pattern of resource allocation" (Vodde, 2001, p.144).

Elite higher education institutions need to recognize how the paradigms of white privilege and cultural capital are producing, maintaining, and enforcing faulty identities that propagate inequalities. Attempting to solve nuanced issues in elite higher education institutions and student development requires additional approaches beyond just the understanding of power, privilege, and student identity. To successfully approach and solve these problems, a decloaking of the hidden barriers should happen first. Making the invisible visible starts with how Chickering's identity development produces the habitus, counterfeit identities, and counterfeit cultural capital. Accomplishing this type of approach will aid in exposing the invisible barriers and redirect the decentered and fragmented individual student into a holistically developed student.

White Privilege

McIntosh (1988, p.1) articulated that, "White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks. Whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege." McIntosh (1988) also stated that she can count on cashing in these privileges each day, about which she was "meant" to remain oblivious. What exactly is "meant" supposed to mean? The work of (Mcintosh,1988, Roediger, 1998, Philips & Lowery, 2018) articulates that white privilege is invisible to white people, and that they are oblivious to their privileged positions in society. In addition, research from Reiter & Mitchell (2010, p.22) shows that what "meant to be oblivious" could also be: "Those who do benefit from white privilege avoid self-classification and are aware that it exists because of their "strategy" to evade being classified as "elite" so as to avoid being blamed for existing social and political problems."

White privilege still affects student development and identity formation in elite higher education institutions. This is shown by the current textbooks in student development's dense coverage on this topic. Authors such as, Patton, Renn, Guido, and Quaye (2016, p.79) state, "Since Mcintosh wrote about the invisible knapsack, white privilege has increased rapidly as a topic for discussion in myriad bodies of literature, including elite higher education institutions, psychology, and student affairs". This is important to recognize because the vast majority of college students in America, and the students who are researched are white. To underline how white racial and ethnic identity is viewed by college students Jackson and Heckman (2002, p.438) state, "College students are often unable to articulate what it means to be white, instead describing it as nothing or a vacuum." This vacuum of white identity in higher education creates space for beliefs such as what Akintunde (1999, p.4) articulates as "Whites generally view their beliefs and actions as normative and neutral." In turn, the vacuum that exists aids white privilege by creating an invisible and overlooked condition, "Because of the segregated structure of the material and discursive environments inhabited by most white people, racial privilege is lived but not seen." Lucal, (1996, p.247).

With white privilege so easily overlooked, it helps whites to guide appropriate ways of living for society (Sleeter, 1993). Once the hierarchies of society are defined by those oblivious to their privilege and are transferred into elite higher education institutions, invisible barriers are constructed for non-white students. Barriers such as what Vera et al., (1996, p.3) state as, "The symbolic labor needed to prop up white culture and the dominant white self-concept is evident in the social myths disseminated in A Study of American Intelligence and the Bell Curve." One such cogitative fiction Lucal (1996, p.249) explains as the "Myth of meritocracy, which is a myth of equality and democracy for all." This myth of meritocracy is a cornerstone of these

invisible barriers constructed through white privilege. Meritocracy is explained according to Lott (2012, p.654) as, "The ideas that intelligence and ambition will elevate our socioeconomic position" and that "class privilege is deserved". The reason meritocracy is a myth is because the pathways of class mobility, through intelligence and ambition, are blurred (Bourdieu, 1984). Navigating these miscued pathways require what McIntosh (1988) explained as the maps, passports, and tools of white privilege. These items that are used as resources are misrecognized in a Meritocracy, as the ambition and intelligence needed to gain the merits and thus "earn" the privileges of moving into a higher social class.

One of the first places to see the myth of meritocracy and the camouflaging of white privilege in elite higher education institutions is with one of the twenty-six conditions of white privilege set out by McIntosh (1988, p.3). Condition #22 states, "I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion." This condition affords, in the case of white students in elite higher education institutions, the ability to keep their white identity and all the power and privileges that come with it hidden or invisible. This statement harkens back to the phenomena of the "strategy" to avoid self-classification. The importance of revealing, understanding, and classifying white privilege in elite higher education institutions is further explained by Reiter & Mitchell (2010, p.24) in that:

> The capacity to escape classification is unequally distributed in any society. The poor, stigmatized, and historically marginalized, in most cases, don't have the choice to opt out of a system that makes them objects of inquiry and exposes them to the classifying and hierarchizing gaze of the included classifier.

In this case, the society that is being classified is elite higher education institutions. While a part of any institution, one will see that American higher education reflects the culture of the dominant society. In America, that dominate culture is white. (Tierney, 1992). Regardless of the achieved level of diversity, the mere fact that there are poor students, stigmatized students, and historically marginalized students shows that, even today, some are included and some are excluded. Even among a comparison between the nation's 2 year and 4 year colleges shows the dynamic of inclusion of white students and exclusion of African American and Hispanic students in the combines of 468 of America's elite schools. According to Carnevale & Strohl (2013, p.19), "Whites have held on to their dominance of enrollment in top 468 four-year-colleges" Clearly, Carnevale & Strohl's (2013) research demonstrates the dynamics of hierarchizing and who the classifier is.

Whether white individuals in elite higher education institutions are aware of these invisible white privileges, privileges that are repackaged and double as cultural capital through the hierarchizing by white classifiers, has little impact on the existence of this type of unjust repositioning of the very resources that fuels generational class mobility. In a factual but disillusioned demonstration of support of the research of Carnevale & Strohl (2013), Bourdieu (1984) claimed that:

> Clearly it would be naïve to see a merely mechanical process of inflation and devaluation at work. The massive increase in the school population has caused a whole set of transformations, both inside and outside the educational system, through morphological transformations but also through defensive maneuvers by its traditional users (white privilege), such as the multiplication of subtly ranked paths through it and skillfully disguised dumping grounds which help to blur perception of its hierarchies. (p.150)

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As a result, the research from Carnevale & Strohl (2013) and from Bourdieu (1984) is problematic for student development. White racial and ethnic identities are unknown to white people and the entirety of the students (Frakenberg, 1993., Jackson & Heckman, 2002; Mcintosh 1988). When these identities remain this way, the power of the dominant group to hierarchize and classify (Reiter & Mitchell 2010) will remain intact. Thus, the power of white privilege has rendered itself invisible not only from evading classification, but also from camouflaging the pathways to the production of cultural capital, hierarchizing institutions into elite and non-elite, blurring perceptions of the value in an individual obtained education, and escaping the classification of white privilege and the moral and ethical issues that accompany privilege.

Despite elite higher education institution's pursuit to inform students of the power and influence of white privilege, the research has shown that higher education institutions are overlooking how white privilege continues to flourish and negatively affect students. Rubin, Denson, Kilpatrick, Mathews, Stehlik, and Zyngier (2014) review of social class in higher education call for discovery of the identity component of social class. A component that this thesis points to as white privilege being repackaged as cultural capital. and how the resources for successful completion in elite higher education can control.

If social class privileges are obtained through the merits of degree obtainment, how is it that that social class privileges are to blame for continued inequality? Bourdieu (1984) points to the production of cultural capital as the currency which provides class mobility and separates those who don't have it. Consequentially, one of the ways cultural capital is earned is through earning a college degree. This suggests the involvement of students in the meritocracy of elite higher education institutions: a space that indicates that white privilege provides the tools and

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resources to earn the merits for degree completion. In addition, Russell (1932) states that it has been the custom for education to favor one's own State, one's own religion, the male sex, and the rich". (p.49) In turn, showing how elite higher education institutions feed into the inequalities of social class privileges by allowing white privilege to be overlooked, invisible, and misrecognized as cultural capital.

<div align="center">**Cultural Capital**</div>

According to Bourdieu (1986) Cultural capital can be seen in three forms:

> These three forms are embodied state i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods, and in the institutionalized state, a form of objects which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications. (p.17)

When looking at cultural capital through a more recent study done by Lindell & Danielson (2017) who quote Bourdieu (1986, p.17) "It is a set of embodied, objectified or institutionalized symbolic resources that improve chances in life such as university degrees, occupational titles, and legitimate ways of maneuvering in the social world manifested in cultivated tastes and manners." Highlighting these terms in the definitions of cultural capital in elite higher education institutions such as legitimate, cultivated, and symbolic resources juxtapose the white privileges as being the classifier, and in control of hierarchizing what is or isn't legitimate or cultivated.

These terms demonstrate a catalyst that renders white privilege invisible and shows the formation of counterfeit cultural capital. These degrees and certificates are the manifestation of Bourdieu's (1986) institutionalized state of cultural capital. Degree obtainment should bequeath the ability to demonstrate possession of cultural capital through its inherent symbolic production of resources to cultivate traits, features, taste, and manners that are also shared, or apart of, the

privileged. Bourdieu (1986) mentions "a set of embodied resources" which are shown in Bristol (2007) as demonstrating Bordieuan produced traits and features as the requirements for being a successful non-white manager.

Bristol (2007, p.4) states these as, "A 'code' that non-white managers had to decipher; this code refers to the unstated, preferred conduct (traits, manners, taste, and features) and rules for working in their (white privileged) environments". The embodied state of cultural capital brings to light certain traits, codes of conduct, and manners that act in such a way so as to both generate and demonstrate cultural capital. In addition, Bourdieu (1977) develops a concept that expands the scope of embodied cultural capital by explaining how one's surroundings and environments influence these mannerisms and traits to produce what is called habitus.

Habitus

Bourdieu (1977) states habitus as:

The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus, systems of durable transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures of practices (p.72)

In addition, Joppke (1986, p.57) states, "Habitus refers to the dispositions that compose one's worldview and behaviors. It describes systems of thought, cognitive schemas that govern actions." When looking at the habitus in the space of elite higher education institutions; the structure (dispositions) of the college student that structures practices and representations (characterization) as a structuring structure would use as building material, the environment of the campus and experiences of the students to produce the characteristics the student identifies

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with. This structuring of the college student habitus structures individuation and individuation structures identity. This is important because if the habitus of a college student structures the student's identity, Chickering's identity development theory will have to figure for the development of habitus. Since Bourdieu (1977) stated that "habitus is constitutive of the material conditions of existence characteristics of a class condition" (p. 77), elite higher education institutions, as will be read in the next chapter, will have to figure for the influence of the dominant class upon the habitus of the oppressed and underprivileged.

Conceptual Framework

Pierre Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital is being used as a framework for this study to philosophically critique elite higher education institution's approach on Chickering's identity development. This is because of his emphasis on the role elite higher education institutions plays in the creation of class distinctions and socioeconomic inequalities. In addition, theoretical student development textbook authors Patton, Renn, Guido, and Quaye (2016, p.250) also state. "Bourdieu argued that education is primarily responsible for legitimizing and creating hierarchies that both reward those at the top and disenfranchise those at the bottom." From here, Bourdieu also indicates the role that hierarchizing plays into elite higher education institutions, which is a key factor that influences white privilege. In addition, the production of cultural capital is heavily influenced by who defines its value. With the dissection of privileged and oppressed in the space of elite higher education institutions, cultural capital is legitimized by those in power. With this in mind, the use of Bourdieu in Chickering's identity development is key to better understanding the experiences of racial minority students as the oppressed class. Also, elite higher education institutions are one of the conduits for cultural capital. So, the

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question of Chickering's identity development and its connection to Bourdieu's theory is better understood through the habitus because of its nature as a structuring structure. Thus, the habitus aids in the construction of the student identity.

The space of elite higher education institutions is influenced by the privileged/oppressed dynamic because of white privilege. Which is why the lens of Bourdieu is called for to question who has cultural capital, how is it produced, and how does its production and value influence the habitus as well as the identity of college students. In addition, Fanon (1967) articulates that when a racial minority is in contact with a space shared by a white majority, the second identity emerges. Fanon (1986) states, "The black man stops behaving as actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other (in guise of the Whiteman), for The Other alone can give him worth." (p119.) In essence, the racial minority student is forced to adopt a second habitus. A habitus that then constructs as Fanon (1967) calls "The Other", and it is this "Other" that gives that student a sense of self that is valued by society. Ultimately, this creates an additional identity that helps to produce what is thought to be valued cultural capital.

Bourdieu also contradicts himself in how cultural capital cannot be transmitted from one individual to another. For example, a person can inherit money, land, and material objects. However, cultural capital itself stays with the biological person. Bourdieu (1986, p.18) states "It cannot be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent, it declines and dies with its bearer." What we see here is that unlike a monarchy, and no matter the amount of cultural capital accumulated, a father or mother cannot pass on their throne of cultural capital. In addition, the habitus of a person is not an inheritable trait either. According to Bourdieu (1986, p.18) "This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously" However, the contradiction comes when

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Bourdieu (1986, p.18) asks the following questions "How can this capital, so closely linked to the person, be bought without buying the person and so losing the very effect of legitimation which presupposes the dissimulation of dependence? How can this capital be concentrated-as some undertakings demand-without concentrating the possessors of the capital?" Bourdieu (1986, p.18) answers his own question by stating, "Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and social class, in absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously." These conflicting ideas within Bourdieu's theory indicate that there is conflict at play in his theory that is overlooked. Applying his theory to Chickering's identity development in elite higher education institutions reveals that this tension is caused by white privilege.

Philosophical Critique and Analysis

While using a philosophical critique, this thesis aims to reveal the misapplication of cultural capital to racial minority college students, the relationship to white privilege, and the student identity development theories such as Chickering's seven vectors. According to Pierce (1902), "Philosophical criticism is applied to an idea which we have already adopted, but we have not deliberately adopted." Pierce goes on to say that the critical attitude is used in looking into a subject to see what corrections can be made. In addition, a philosophical criticism aims to highlight that because an idea has been not been deliberately adopted, such as being born with or without white privilege, this suggests that the ideas addressed have doubts that need to be corrected (Pierce, 1902). This approach allows for the critique of highly selective institutions through the lens of Bourdieu's cultural capital, and for examination of the relationship of white privilege to cultural capital influences students in these institutions. Elite higher education

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institutions guarantee cultural capital through degree obtainment (Bourdieu, 1984). However, with the presence of a privileged majority, dominant students, and the groups of oppressed students, obtaining cultural capital becomes complicated. This thesis uses a Bordieuan philosophical critique to reflect and clarify the assumptions and meanings of cultural capital, habitus, and white privilege in the space of highly selective elite higher education institutions and student identity development. In addition, Carnevale & Strohl (2013) adjust for income level and parenting, yet their research still supports that there are race and class barriers obstructing racial minority students from degree obtainment. In addition, this philosophical critique seeks to highlight how Fukuyama (1992) is able to articulate that "inequality creeps into the system (society) as a result of unequal access to education" (p.116)

The Bordieuan philosophical critique offers an explanation to these barriers through a dialectic analysis between Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and Chickering and Reisser's (1993) seven vector theory of student identity development. This Bordieuan and Chickering dialectic is done in the traditionally white user space of elite higher education institutions. By philosophically critiquing this space, the issue of misapplication of cultural capital and the stunted development of racial minority student identity is revealed. In addition, when an oppressed group of people are submerged into the space traditionally constructed by the oppressor, Freire (1977) articulates that the oppressed will adapt to the realities of the oppressor. This ultimately leads racial minority college students to adopt the reality of the dominant white students and develop a counterfeit identity. Lastly, the Bordieuan philosophical critique used in this thesis reveals the relationship between elite higher education institution's use of Chickering's identity development and the misrecognition of white privilege repackaged as cultural capital for racial minority students.

Definition of Terms

- White Privilege: "whites in Western societies enjoy advantages that non-whites do not experience, as "an invisible package of unearned assets" (McIntosh, 1998) "It is the absence of suspicion and other negative reactions that people who are objects of racism experience." (Worthington & Spanierman, 2001)

- Cultural Capital: "The sense of group consciousness and collective identity that serves as an economic resource for the financial and material support of business enterprises aimed at the advancement of an entire group." (Franklin, 2001)

- Counterfeit Cultural Capital: As used in this study, is defined by the author as "The result when an individual wittingly or unwittily receives, cultivates, and or uses what resembles to be cultural capital, but is in fact fabricated out of the habitus of a secondary identity." This definition is based on combining ideas related to (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1990, Franklin, 2001, Freire, 1997, Fanon 1967, Ream 2003)

- Habitus: "suggested that the habitus consists of abstract mental habits, schemes of perception, classification, appreciation, feeling, and action." (Bourdieu, 1977)

- Embodied Cultural Capital: "comprises the knowledge that is consciously acquired and the passively inherited, by socialization to culture and tradition." (Bourdieu, 1990)

- Institutionalized Cultural Capital: "comprises an institution's formal recognition of a person's cultural capital, usually academic credentials or professional qualifications." (Bourdieu, 1986)

- Philosophical Critique: "Philosophical critique is applied to an idea which we have already adopted, but which we remark that we have not deliberately adopted. The fact that is has been adopted, without deliberation, suggests the idea that perhaps doubt might rise." (Pierce, 1902)

Justification

The purpose of this thesis is to use a Bordieuan philosophical critique of elite higher education institution's theoretical approach to understand Chickering's identity development and its effect on racial minority student identity development. This framework from Bourdieu is used because of his theory on cultural capital as the conduit of social class inequality and his research into the effects of elite higher education institutions and resulting formation of college student habitus from attending an institution of higher learning (Bourdieu, 1984). The student habitus and embodied cultural capital share the space of elite higher education institutions with the student's experiences, memory formation, peer congruency, and Chickering's identity development. In Chickering and Reisser (1993) the seven-vector theory breaks down the attributes of what and how a college student's identity is developed. However, using Chickering and Reisser's (1993) seven vectors as tools to illuminate the gaps of an identity that is formed by a racial minority student reveals barriers that racial minority students have to face and white students do not.

The largest gap in Chickering's identity development and how the student habitus uses misrecognized memories and experiences is through the lack of racial minority student identity development. Chickering and Reisser (1993) state that there is little racial minority student identity research in elite higher education institutions. However, there is current literature on racial minority student identity development, but that literature does not use the influence of

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certain vectors of Chickering's identity development coupled with Bordieuan cultural capital. Therefore, this thesis starts with how white privilege is at play in the space of elite higher education institutions. This is because Bourdieu (1984) articulates that the "traditional user" creates blurred pathways to the cultural capital that elite higher education institutions offers by creating "dumping grounds" that delve out devalued degrees. This then creates a false scarcity of cultural capital. In addition, Carnevale et al. (2013, 2017) support this phenomenon by showing that the top 486 universities in America create barriers for racial minority students through standardized test scores and ranking systems. Carnevale & Strohl (2013) articulate that after controlling for financial and family backgrounds, white students still graduate in higher numbers than racial minority students.

Carnevale & Strohl (2013) point out that the race and class barriers in their research are hard to identify. Therefore, this study points to the production of Bordieuan habitus, a structuring structure Bourdieu (1984), that aids in the process of individuation and the development of identity as the key component that produces the material for embodied cultural capital. When a racial minority student's identity is in the process of development in the space of elite higher education institutions, it is submerged in a space created by the traditional white privileged user. Once the oppressed student starts to develop their identity in this space. Their reality becomes the reality of the oppressive privileged (Freire, 1970) Consequently, creating a counterfeit identity as the barrier for racial minority students and manifests repackaged white privilege as counterfeit cultural capital.

Summary

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At this point, the Bordieuan philosophical critique offers a way in which to critically analyze how the production of cultural capital is influenced by elite higher education institution's traditional white privileged users. This analysis points to the unconscious accumulation and transmission of cultural capital from white privilege and through the structuring structure of habitus. This is supported by Bourdieu's (1986) statement, "It always remains marked by its earliest condition of acquisitions which, through the more or less visible marks they leave help to determine its distinctive value." These distinctive marks are the examples of what McIntosh (1988) unpacks from the invisible knapsack. The compass, maps, and codes that white individuals get upon birth for simply being white. This dynamic is the answer to Bourdieu's question. This is how a person gets cultural capital without deliberate inculcation. This is how a person can transmit cultural capital unconsciously; and perpetuate it through the structuring of a white privileged habitus.

This critical analysis through the Bordieuan philosophical critique, is key to revealing and understanding the repackaging of white privilege as cultural capital. This is because prior research (Mcintosh, 1988, Roediger, 1998, Philips & Lowery, 2018) all points to the invisibility of white privileged and how it grants the ability to define the value of cultural capital and repackage it for the racial minority student. Consequently, causing a counterfeit identity, a counterfeit habitus and the continued production of counterfeit cultural capital that keeps the racial minority student oppressed.

The issues and topics of race in higher education are complex and nuanced. The author has endeavored to specifically highlight cultural capital, white privilege, and Chickering's student identity development so as to better address the varied and involved characteristics of race within higher education. Cultural capital is used because of its in-depth and academic look

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at the development of social class structures in society. It is also used because of the theory behind Bourdieu's habitus and how it is a structuring structure that produces the identity. In turn, Chickering is used because of its theoretical endurance when learning about college student identity and the scaffolding it provides for the work behind college student identity development. Also, Chickering's seven vectors along with Bourdieu's habitus demonstrate how the construction of a college student identity can influence the choices of a college student in relation to their institution's surroundings, goals, and expectations. It is Chickering's lack of racial minority research that widens that gap for what Carnevale & Strohl (2013) point to as hard to pin down barriers for racial minority students. In addition, Chickering and Reisser (1993) mention that there is a need for racial minority identity research, along with the majority of their research comprising of data from white students. The effects of white privilege prevail with setting the standard for an identity according to Chickering and Reisser (1993) seven vectors, as that of a white, majority, traditional user. This ultimately overlooks how a racial minority identity would be influenced by hierarchizing of what a holistically developed identity should be.

Lastly, Freire (1990) and the submerged racial minority demonstrate how white privilege, in the setting of elite higher education, bisects that space, and creates a binary of privileged and oppressed.

Chapter 2: A Bordieuan Critique of Student Identity Development
as Illustrated by Chickering's Seven Vectors

In the previous chapter, white privilege as repackaged cultural capital was shown to produce counterfeit cultural capital in the space of elite higher education institutions. White

privilege that is allowed to flourish and become invisible in elite higher education institutions happens through the misrecognition of white privilege (traditional users) as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). However, constructing embodied cultural capital for racial minority students in the space of elite higher education institutions is overlooked. Invisible barriers in their development as college students causes their identities to be underdeveloped. Therefore, it is through Chickering and Reisser's (1993) theory on student identity development in elite higher education institutions that these barriers are revealed and a more holistic student can be developed. Chickering and Reisser's (1993) updated theory provides scaffolding for elite higher education institutions to aid in student development, but because of the paradigms of white privilege and cultural capital in the space of elite higher education institutions, the vectors lose their structural integrity by aiding invisible white privilege to be repackaged as cultural capital. In turn, this produces an identity that aids in the production of counterfeit cultural capital. One such example from the groundbreaking work and semiautobiographical book by Ellison (1952) highlights how despite early success in his college career, he comes to the realization that he is unware of his identity and his subsequent invisibility to the rest of society.

Repackaged White Privilege as Cultural Capital in Elite Higher Education Institutions

The barrier of white privilege has been shown to be invisible for white students but it isn't for racial minority students (Roediger, 1998). The pivotal aspect here is how does white privilege get repackaged as cultural capital so as to create and maintain the invisible barrier for all students, and in turn, create a barrier that is overlooked such as one that will negatively affect institutional pursuits of student development and retention? To elaborate on this repackaging, the first place to look is to Bourdieu (1986, p.18) who states, "Because it (Cultural Capital) is linked

in ways to the person in his biological singularity and is subject to a hereditary transmission (White Privilege) which is always heavily disguised, or invisible." Notice here that Bourdieu uses the words disguised and invisible.

Attributes that connect cultural capital to white privilege are both hidden by the same myth of meritocracy or cognitive fictions. (Lucal, 1996, Vera et al., 1996). For example, Bourdieu (1986, p.18) states, "It (Cultural Capital) thus manages to combine the prestige of innate property (White Privilege) with the merits of acquisition (Earned Cultural Capital/Myth of Meritocracy)". To further show Bourdieu's explanation of how repackaged white privilege is cultural capital, research from Carnevale & Strohl (2013) demonstrates that white students, despite being from the same low-income families as their African American and Hispanic counterparts, don't face the same barriers that African American and Hispanic students do. Carnevale & Strohl (2013, p.36) state, "Controlling for income, race matters: taken together, lower-income African-American and Hispanic students don't do as well as lower-income whites. We find that the reason for persistent racial inequality begins with the fact that African Americans and Hispanics seem to face barriers not faced by whites." What we see hear from Carnevale & Strohl's (2013) research is the demonstration of barriers to nonwhite students that are not solely coming from the lack of economic resources, but barriers that stem from race.

How is it that African American and Hispanic students can still be facing racial and ethnic barriers? There must be variables at play that are overlooked in elite higher education institutions for these types of inequalities to persist. Carnevale & Strohl (2013, p.36) state, "Unequal educational and career outcomes for economically disadvantaged whites can be explained with variables like family income, parental education, and peer expectations. These same variables do not fully explain African American and Hispanic educational and economic

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outcomes." What's interesting here is that despite money or parental education, racial minority students face a barrier that is not observable. This suggests the repackaging of white privilege as cultural capital could be an invisible barrier. Carnevale & Strohl (2013, p.36) explain that, "Income effects are fully explained by observable things like peer group and tutoring, while differences by race are not so easy to pin down." Bourdieu's production of embodied cultural capital and habitus can be pointed to as another of the variables that racial minority students face, but white students do not.

These barriers are understood through the knowledge of how Bordieuan habitus in the space of elite higher education institutions structures both dispositions of racial minority and white college students. Sumner (1959) states that, education as a whole tends to produce men and women all of the same pattern. Higher education, elite or not, shouldn't be producing students that all think and act the same way. All things considered, because elite higher education has been built and structured by the traditional white user, Sumner, (1959) goes on to clarify that any institution which runs for years in the same hands will produce a type, and that over time they will adopt codes, standards, preferred types, and fashions. Sumner (1959) highlights a number of descriptions in line with the Bordieuan habitus. However, in the space of elite higher education, the student habitus that is being formed is structured around the traditional user. In essence, the racial minority students, because they have not been the traditional users in the past, are submerged into the institution's mold that produces a habitus created for the traditional user. This creates an invisible barrier for the racial minority student by grafting a set of codes, standards, preferred types, and fashions onto them that also feed into the dual consciousness and warring ideals of Dubois (1906)

Bourdieu (1977) states: The orchestration of habitus is the production of a commonsense world endowed with objectivity secured consensus on the meaning of practices and the world, in other words the harmonization of agents' (students) experiences and the continuous reinforcement that each of them receives from similar or identical experiences. (p. 80)

Habitus on the college campus is constructed for all students based on the same campus environment that they all interact with, as well as the classroom experience whether online or on campus, the material they study, and campus events. In addition, college students would also have the consensus of what it means to pass or fail a class, what it takes to get an A in a subject, and the ever-present tribal sense of school spirit. These experiences are mutually shared by the racial minority and white students. As stated previously, the space of elite higher education institutions was created and maintained by the traditional white users. This then causes the racial minority students to unwittingly blend and construct their habitus as if they are also the traditional user. Bourdieu (1977, p.80) confirms this blending by stating:

> The objective homogenizing of group or class habitus which results from the homogeneity of the conditions of existence is what enables practices to be objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm and mutually adjusted in the absence of any direct interaction or explicit coordination.

Ultimately, this dynamic in elite higher education synthesizes the repackaging of white privilege into cultural capital and demonstrates the need for this thesis and its philosophical critique.

The blending of the college student's habitus allows for the practices, dispositions and characterizations, to be brought together and attempt harmonization without a specific person, group, or department intentionally making them do so. However, because this dynamic is in a space populated by the dominant white student instead of the student habitus blending, we see it

being adopted by the racial minority student as the oppressed taking on the realities of the oppressor (Freire, 1977). In contrast, Carnevale & Strohl's (2013) research show the separation of the racial minority habitus resulting in lower completion rates and a higher rate of completion for the white students who blend into the space constructed and maintained through white privilege.

The research of Carnevale, Van Der Werf, Quinn, Strohl, and Repnikov (2018) highlights the subtlety of white privilege as repackaged cultural capital in elite higher education institutions admissions. This is done by over-relying on scores from standardized admissions tests that favor white applicants. An important aspect that comes into play here is the white privilege of hierarchizing and who it is that gives the hierarchies of test scores legitimacy within elite higher education institutions.

What does it take for elite higher education institutions to classify, and to systemically overlook the barrier that white privilege as repackaged cultural capital creates for non-white students? One way to see that is to look at the hierarchizing of college rankings. Selective and elite colleges that aid in the production of this cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) are remaining predominantly white and as Bourdieu states, in the hands of traditional users.

Carnevale, Van Der Werf, Quinn, Strhol, and Repnikov (2018, p.43) state, "Selective colleges are both unwilling and unprepared to admit racial minority students with a high chance of graduation because doing so would threaten their college ranking." In addition, Carnevale, et al., (2018, p.43) demonstrate not only how elite higher education institutions is involved in the production of cultural capital according to Bourdieu (1984), but they also show how elite higher education institutions and white privilege work together to render these privileges invisible.

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The public postsecondary system is more and more complicit as a passive agent in the systematic reproduction of white racial privilege across generations. College degrees bring higher earnings. Higher earnings buy more expensive housing in areas with the best schools and peer support for educational attainment (Cultural Capital). High household incomes, high parental educational attainment levels, and access to high-quality schools are all intertwined in determining which children are likely to succeed in college and have high future earnings.

Chickering's Seven Vector Theory and Counterfeit Cultural Capital

Vector 1 Developing Competence

Instance 1

Chickering and Reisser (1993), presents elite higher education institutions with their updated seven vector theory to student identity development with these seven vectors: developing competence, managing emotions, moving through autonomy toward interdependence, developing mature interpersonal relationships, establishing identity, developing purpose, and developing identity. Contextualizing this theory with the production of cultural capital and counterfeit cultural capital, the focus will be on seven instances within three of the vectors. Those vectors are: Developing Competence, Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationship, and Establishing Identity. The following seven instances are sub-categories from those three vectors and demonstrate how cultural capital and its overlooked biproduct of counterfeit cultural capital are produced through the development of student identity in the spaces and pedagogy of elite higher education institutions.

In Chickering and Reisser (1993) vector one developing competence is presented as a three-tined pitchfork. Those tines are intellectual competence, manual skills, and interpersonal competence. At the point of intellectual competence Chickering and Reisser (1993) show the National Institute of Education's standards for awarding degrees and the Association of American Colleges' classifications of intellectual competence as understanding cultural and intellectual differences, historical consciousness, and the study of value formation. These standards and competencies are important to note because they demonstrate a few of the pathways to degree obtainment and the dynamic of Chickering's identity development. The aforementioned standards are the same pathways that Bourdieu (1984) states as "blurred" and "subtly ranked". They are blurred by the subjective nature of culture and the relative nature of value and subtly ranked by the hierarchizing of what is and isn't intellectual, and the ranking of whose history to study as a general education or an elective.

Having reached these standards of intellectual competencies and developing the student identity accomplishes two outcomes. First, the white student with Bordieuan cultural capital and an identity constructed through their experiences as a member of a privileged class develops an identity and habitus that feeds into the cloaking of white privilege as cultural capital. This is done by the avoidance of race and class-based barriers that is accomplished only if the student is white (Carnevale & Strohl 2013). Secondly, the racial minority student who successfully navigates the invisible barriers on these pathways is still rewarded, but with embodied counterfeit cultural capital structured from their habitus. This cultural capital is counterfeit because the racial minority student develops their identity as if they are the dominant, traditional, white privileged users of elite higher education institutions. This creates a habitus and identity that produces counterfeit cultural capital. Bourdieu (1977, p.95) explains this dynamic as, "An

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acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular condition in which

it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions

consistent with those conditions" In this sense, the habitus constructs an identity in the spaces of

elite higher education institutions, that will produce the thoughts, perceptions, and actions that

are consistent with the conditions and atmosphere of habitus of the traditional users. These

conditions and atmospheres in context of Chickering and Reisser's (1993) intellectual

competencies in vector one of identity development have been shown as subjective and relative

standards hierarchized and classified by the traditional white users. This demonstrates why the

class and race-based barriers are of no consequences to white students. In addition, this confirms

the findings of Carnevale & Strohl (2013) and the hard to identify reasons why many racial

minority students don't finish college when attending less selective universities.

Vector #4 Tolerance and Appreciation of Differences

Instance #1

According to Chickering and Reisser (1993), the heart of vector #4 is the component of

tolerance and appreciation of differences. This component allows for what Chickering and

Reisser (1993, p.54) call, "a willingness to suspend judgment, to refrain from condemnation, and

to attempt to understand an unfamiliar or unsettling way of thinking or acting rather than to

ignore, attack, or belittle."

A part of this vector according to Chickering and Reisser (1993) is the merging of the

student agenda as "My" agenda to "Our" agenda. If this vector is completed by racial minority or

white college students, the goal is for people to see partners clearly including flaws and

strengths, rather that distorting the view with rose-colored glasses (Chickering and Reisser

1993). What they suggest here is an important part of the development of the college student identity that also carries with it the invisible barriers for racial minority students. The barrier and the production of counterfeit cultural capital with the blending of agendas creates the rose-colored glasses that these authors are trying to avoid.

This agenda blending is meant to develop the understanding of the shared goals all students have at the institution they attend. Agendas such as obtaining a friend group, picking a major, and degree completion. Despite these shared goals and pursuits of the students, the pathways to the realization of their agendas will differ. This is due to the identities they bring with them to elite higher education institutions. Identities such as those who are privileged and those who are oppressed. This vector's attempts in blending agendas may have good intentions. However, the agendas within class differences, and the privileged/oppressed dynamic points to the masking of white privilege by a false sense of sharing the privileges with the oppressed. This creates a sense of false assuredness of the attainment of cultural capital. From this standpoint if agendas and goals are seen as blended or one in the same, the identities of the privileged white students are overlooked. Thus, creating hard to identify and invisible barriers for racial minority students who do not benefit from white privilege (Roediger 1998, Mcdermott & Samson 2005, Carnevale & Strohl 2013). In addition, the blending of agendas and goals can be problematic for the development of student identity because it aids in the denial of white privilege in the same way as color blind racism. According to Anderson (2001, p.183):

> Denial of white privilege is the foundation of color-blind racism, an ideological assertion of the fundamental equality of all racial groups – not only in terms of rights, but also in terms of experiences – that asserts that race-based programs and policies only serve to further solidify racial divisions.

These experiences and agendas as being incorrectly compared as equal for all racial groups are the barriers for racial minority/oppressed student's identity development are embedded. The invisible white privileges get overlooked and blended into the agendas and goals of racial minority students. These agendas and goals that are merged together as one then get accepted by the oppressed racial minority students through the development of their identity via Chickering and Ressier's (1993) vector #4. In addition, the agendas and identity of racial minority students are colonized by the agendas and identities of the privileged, white, traditional users of elite higher education institutions and are accepted and developed through what Freire (1993) states as cultural invasion and cultural conquest. Freire (1993) articulates:

> Cultural conquest lead to the cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders. In cultural invasion it is essential that those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders rather than their own; for the more they mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes. (p.153)

Once the racial minority student (invaded), began to merge their agendas (Chickering & Reisser 1993) with what Freire (1993) has stated as their values, standards, and goals, the minority student's experiences in elite higher education institutions are influenced by their perspectives of their surroundings. In turn, their perspective of reality has been invaded and conquered by the reality of the traditional users. This reality has constructed a space based off of white privilege. In addition, the racial minority student's habitus structures their identity off their invaded reality. Thus, through the habitus of a racial minority student, elite higher education institutions witness the replication of a white identity from the racial minority student. This also happens through what Bourdieu (1977) explains as:

The habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history (white privilege), the objective structures to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of durable dispositions, in the organism (students) lastingly subjected to the same conditions, and hence placed in the same material conditions of existence. (p.85)

In addition, the success of reproducing the white privilege habitus in white students is supported by the data of student completion from Carnevale & Strohl (2013). However, the data from Carnevale & Strohl (2013) also demonstrates the accuracy of Bourdieu's (1982) claim of the traditional user blurring the pathways and hierarches of elite higher education institutions. Consequently, this reveals a defensive maneuver (Bourdieu, 1982) and invisible barrier that keeps cultural capital scarce and valuable. Revealing this inequality is done once the realization that the space of elite higher education institutions is structuring the racial minority students counterfeit identity. In turn, the student's habitus will then appropriate the white privileged identity.

Vector #5 Establishing Identity

Instance #1

Transitioning to Chickering and Reisser's (1993) vector #5 articulates information that bridges white privilege, Bordieuan cultural capital, and counterfeit cultural capital to student development identity theory. Chickering and Reisser (1993) state:

Whereas it may be possible to conceal one's sexual preference, students of color are bringing more visible heterogeneity to America's campuses. While every student's self-

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definition is shaped by genetic predispositions, cultural traditions, and experiences as a member of a majority or minority ethnic group, little research has been done on minority student development. (p.188)

Note here that Chickering and Reisser's (1993) observation about racial minority and majority college student's "self-definition" is shaped by the same attributes that produce Bourdieu's (1986) "embodied" cultural capital. In addition, the shaping of self-definition and the resources to produce embodied cultural capital reveals the structuring process of Bourdieu's habitus. This connection is of the greatest importance because it is at this intersection where the space of elite higher education institutions begins to produce counterfeit cultural capital. This is done by the subtlety of how habitus is constructed for all students in the space of elite higher education institutions. For example, Bourdieu (1977) states:

One of the fundamental effects of habitus is the production of commonsense world endowed with the objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world. The continuous reinforcement that each of them receives from the expression, individual or collective, improvised or programmed of similar or identical experiences (p.80).

Thus, the subtle production of counterfeit cultural capital through the structuring of habitus can be seen by the blending or harmonizing of experiences and reinforcement that the individual college students all share the same idea of what it means to operate in this world. All of this happens under the united banner of the college campus and in the shared college classroom.

With the nuances of cultural capital and the invisibility of white privilege on the college campus (Jackson and Heckman 2002), this connection between Chickering and Reisser's (1993)

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vector #5 establishing identity and Bourdieu's (1986) embodied cultural capital and habitus can be seen through the demographics of America's top 486 elite schools, including Ivy league schools, as mainly populated by the traditional white users (Carnevale & Strohl 2013). In addition, the retention rate of racial minority students who attend institutions not in the top 486 is significantly lower in comparison to the white students in the same institutions (Carnevale & Strohl 2013).

Why would racial minority students not in the top 486 colleges have such a high dropout rate? The answer is in the previous quote from Chickering and Reisser (1993). Minority students are under researched, and they bring with them the self-definitions from a space that has no white privilege. For example, white privilege allows for greater access to resources, such as time to invest in the children's education if there is a parent who is at home full time, financial resources for tutors, and home location for access to higher rated primary schools. All of these advantages contribute to college readiness that increases retention rates. In addition, as pointed to early through Freire (1990) and Fanton (1967), the act of mimicking the traditional white user and creating the identity of "The Other" establishes the sense of inferiority, worth, and esteem. In turn, negatively influencing the self-efficacy of the minority college student.

To show how this impacts racial minority students, majority white students traverse the first intersection as Bourdieu's (1984) traditional users. However, the white privilege that is brought with them as Chickering and Reisser's (1993) self-definition of family norms, cultural traditions, and experiences doesn't just intersect in the space of elite higher education institutions. White privilege bisects the space of elite higher education institutions into the privileged and the oppressed. In addition, it bisects the pathways college students are traversing to obtain their degrees.

The bisection from the traditional dominant user is articulated here by Bourdieu (1984, p.245) "such as the multiplication of subtly ranked paths through it and skillfully disguised dumping grounds which help to blur perception of its hierarchies." Likewise, the lack of white privilege denotes a lack of embodied cultural capital which is confirmed by Carnevale, Van Der Werf, Quinn, Strhol, and Repnikov (2018) research on how standardized test scores that favor white students are used by selective colleges as a rationale for sorting through applicants, but they are actually used more as a barrier to keep some students out. Therefore, keeping some students out for fear they will drop out like the racial minority students from the less selective colleges and, thus, negatively affect that institution's place in the hierarchy of college rankings (Carnevale & Strohl 2013).

Connecting back to Chickering and Reisser's (1993) examples of self-definition in vector #5, the racial minority student is unwittingly forced to forgo the aspects of their familial, cultural, and experienced self-definition, and begins to adopt an identity based on white privilege as repackaged cultural capital in the attempts to obtain what Bourdieu (1986) articulates as "institutionalized" cultural capital or the college degree.

To further clarify how an oppressed racial minority student is forced to adopt a counterfeit an identity of white privilege in the space of elite higher education institutions Freire (1970) articulates:

> The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped. This phenomenon derives from the fact that the oppressed, in their existential experience, adopt an attitude of 'adhesion' to the oppressor. Their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression. (p.45)

With the space of elite higher education institutions in mind to the quote from Freire (1970) has

stated. The racial minority student attends an institution that is predominantly white and the

space they are in Freire (1970) accurately describes them as "submerged" in the reality of the

predominantly white user. Thus, the reality of white privilege adheres to the racial minority

student as their reconstructed reality.

 In addition, Bourdieu (1977) demonstrates how the submerged student habitus adheres to the

space it is created in as:

> An acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular condition
>
> in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and
>
> all the actions consistent with those conditions, and no others. (p.95)

Furthermore, for a racial minority student to experience submersion into the elite higher

education institutions space and to have their perceptions and reality changed, a closer look at

how the elite higher education institutions space does this is warranted. Being that elite higher

education institutions space has been constructed by the predominant users (Bourdieu, 1986), the

organizational design of the physical institution, the creation and implication of curriculum, and

the pathways to completion are all constructed by the traditionally dominant users. This creates a

pedagogical space that is established and operates from the perspective of the privileged white

class.

When a racial minority student is submerged within this space and their perspectives of

reality are changed due to adhesion of a white dominant class, they began to lose what

Chickering and Reisser (1993) stated within in vector #5 as their self-definition shaped by their

genetic predispositions, cultural traditions, and experiences. Within this scenario; the structuring structure habitus is forced to use the racial minority students adopted white reality as the means to structure the student's identity. This phenomenon is akin to Dubois's (1903) double consciousness and the sense of looking at one's self through the eyes of others. Du bois (1903) later points out that because of this, there is a feeling of twoness: two warring ideals. This twoness then produces counterfeit characterizations, mannerisms, and traits that produce a counterfeit embodied cultural capital. This adaptation of a counterfeit identity is further explained as appropriation. Lefebvre, (2003) states "Over time, each society appropriates, that is to say, adapts to its own ends, preexisting space, whose patterns had been previously formed. Slow changes, penetrating a space that had already been consolidated."

Vector #5 Establishing Identity

Instance #2

The second instance within Vector #5 indicates a way in which the submerged racial minority student in elite higher education institutions adapts a counterfeit identity that would produce counterfeit cultural capital. With the pressure on students to graduate on time and the added student loan debt, racial minority students, like most college students, would be forced to settle for an identity. According
to Chickering and Reisser (1993) if a student conforms to an identity or in this case a racial minority student:

> that basing one's identity solely on one dimension of self establishes a limited
>
> foundation. Adopting any particular role or pattern of living may be helpful if it
>
> provides learning experiences and meaningful achievements and relationships, but it

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is a trap if staying in the role takes precedent over seeking more diverse experiences and more challenging settings. (p.194)

If the goal for a student is to graduate and to receive the benefits of a degree, also known as Bourdieu's institutionalized cultural capital, the pressures of elite higher education institutions and the pressures outside of the students' academic commitments forces them to adopt an identity. In this case, the racial minority student in a preconstructed space by those in power (Lefebvre, 2003) adopts the identity of those traditional users as their own identity, thus recreating the dynamic of the submerged racial minority student previously stated by Freire (1970). This is also a form of the trap Chickering and Reisser (1993) wrote about. However, for traditionally marginalized student groups, it is an even more of a damaging trap. They are trapped to adopt a white identity through the pursuit of institutionalized cultural capital. This trapping could also lead to a form of intense loyalty to the white privileged identity. This is briefly stated in Chickering and Reisser (1993) as:

> Excessive allegiance to a group identity, when it leads to separatism, may serve to isolate black students from the kinds of social and academic contacts, experiences, and environments that can foster social and academic development. (p.193)

The counterfeit identity then helps to construct the embodied cultural capital of this student that produces counterfeit cultural capital. This type of event is articulated by Middleton (2016) as, A 'pedagogy of appropriation' which involves student appropriation of educational space Therefore, the racial minority student is forced to appropriate a ready-made white identity. These ready-made identities are the most damaging to racial minority students because they are not the

privileged or dominant class and would be trying to identify with the dominant white identity. However, it is damaging to all students and Chickering and Reisser (1993) argue this by stating, "In today's society, identity in terms of a prescribed role or lifestyle is no longer a given. Young persons no longer experience a unified and internally consistent framework of beliefs, behaviors, and adult roles that they can assimilate almost automatically." However, Chickering and Reisser (1993) overlook how this forced adaptation, or pedagogy of appropriation, stunts the identity of racial minority students and creates a counterfeit identity and counterfeit cultural capital.

Vector #5 Establishing Identity

Instance #3

In this instance under "Sense of Self in Response to Feedback from Valued Others" (Chickering and Reisser 1993), one of the hard to pin down barriers for racial minority students that Carnevale & Strohl (2013) articulated begins to reveal itself by understanding how counterfeit cultural capital is produced. After the racial minority student appropriates a counterfeit identity, their sense of self deteriorates. Erikson (1968) proposes that:

> Identity involves not only a sense of well-being, a feeling of being at home in the body, and a realistic self-assessment of assets and liabilities, but also an inner assuredness of anticipated recognitions from those who count. (p. 197)

With this in mind, the reality of the submerged racial minority is altered to the white dominant reality (Freire 1970), and the racial minority student's assessment of self is altered. This kickstarts the deterioration of their identity and the perpetuation of the counterfeit identity that produces counterfeit cultural capital. This would then limit their inner assuredness of anticipated

recognition from those who count. In this sense, they are not getting assuredness because their forced counterfeit identities cause the ones who count to be extremely limited. Again, Chickering and Reisser (1993) anticipated this by stating:

> One problem for the evolving self is that those in the immediate neighborhood may not be affirming, especially if we are remodeling in a way that does not look right to critical egos nearby. If mutuality does not exist, there may be reciprocal negation. (p.197)

Simply put, a racial minority student that has been forced to adopt a counterfeit identity would need other counterfeit identities to assure their sense of self. In addition, if these counterfeit identities are not present to assure the corresponding identities, the data by Carnevale & Strohl (2013) showing the lower completion rate of racial minority students in comparison to white students in less selective colleges, are confirmed by the dynamic of how counterfeit identity and counterfeit cultural capital play into these retention rates. In addition, Chickering and Reisser (1993) anticipated the importance of other critical egos by stating, "Development involves an ability to update our self-concept based on information from others." Also, "A sense of adequacy and self-acceptance emerges when feedback is not only consistent but specific about where students are doing well and how they can improve."

Chickering and Reisser (1993) fall short of explaining how pedagogy of appropriation changes who counts for the racial minority student. A counterfeit identity forced upon the racial minority student in pursuit of cultural capital causes these "critical egos" to be in short supply. In turn, causing the manifestation of Bourdieu's (1982) blurred pathway to cultural capital by forcing the counterfeit identity to continue and produce counterfeit cultural capital, or in the case of Carnevale & Strohl (2013), causing the racial minority student to drop out and seek out the

critical egos of others to confirm an identity that hasn't been forced on them by the space of elite higher education institutions.

For the racial minority student who remains in college, they will face the task of navigating their experiences with a perspective informed by their oppressed cultural history and the counterfeit identity they are forced to adopt in the space of elite higher education institutions. It is here in the end of vector #5 that the racial minority student is understood to be a decentered and fragmented student. This is brought on by their habitus passively accepting and using the environment and experiences within the space of elite higher education institutions, a space previously constructed by the dominant, traditional, white, user, to develop their identity. This produces a counterfeit embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977 & Chickering and Resisser, 1993). Also, if the privileged white student traverses Chickering and Reisser's (1993) vectors with either their privileges made invisible to them or uses defensive maneuvers to not be classified as privileged, they would manifest the decentered and fragmented identity through the perpetuation of their masked privileges. This would allow for the space of elite higher education institutions to continue forcing racial minority students to adopt an identity that produces counterfeit cultural capital.

Hence, we see fragmented students trapped from their invisible privileges or from their counterfeit identity feeding into a space that no longer provides stability in structuring their identity. Chickering and Reisser (1993) anticipated the instability of special support for college student development, and in their research, they point out that conflicting and mutually exclusive messages about what constitutes a satisfying life offer a smorgasbord of ingredients from which identity must be constructed and reconstructed (Chickering and Ressier, 1993). Chickering and Reisser (1993) mention that composing their life and identity as college students with mutually

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exclusive messages requires the student to improvise their identities as a last resort or an established way of evoking creativity. Bourdieu (1977) also mentions the schemes of thought and expression he has acquired are the basis for the intentionless invention of regulated improvisations." Here Bourdieu (1977) writes about the individual habitus, or a person's systems of durable, transposable dispositions. However, Bourdieu's (1977) statement should be a warning sign that Chickering and Reisser's (1993) and Bateson (1989) are incorrect in suggesting for students to improvise their identities due to instability in societal support. This is because if they get to the point of having to improvise their identities, the student has manifested themselves as decentered and fragmented and created and recreated counterfeit cultural capital.

Summary

What has been shown in this chapter is that Chickering and Reisser's (1993) updated seven vectors provide a powerful tool for the construction and development of student identity. The structural integrity of their theory has been revealed to be faulty and detrimental to the holistic development of student identity. The continued production of counterfeit cultural capital has been stunting the development of college students, and within the instances of each vector shown, an error has been made in the belief of what constitutes pathways to the holistic identity. The misrecognition of white privilege as repackaged cultural capital aids the racial minority student in the adoption of a white student habitus. This is a key element that goes into the development of student identity, the production of counterfeit cultural capital, and the student's embodied cultural capital.

The inherent missteps within the seven vectors and elite higher education institutions are not addressed and become the catalyst to an underdeveloped student identity and the production

of counterfeit cultural capital. The student who is developed under these circumstances faces an existential crisis of absurdity, a crisis fueled by the missteps of Chickering and Reiser's (1993) seven vectors, elite higher education institution's perpetual structuring of the traditional users white privileged habitus, and the racial minority student's appropriation of this habitus. In turn, this structures a counterfeit identity that produces counterfeit embodied cultural capital. Like Sisyphus, the college student will push a boulder, represented as their identity, up a hill only to eternally find it back at the bottom the next day.

Chapter Three: Discussion

After reading the literature on white privilege, pedagogical theory, and critiquing the work of Chickering and Reisser (1993) through a philosophical Bordieuan lens, the overarching takeaways from this philosophical critique are revealing. As pointed out in chapter one, Carnevale & Strohl (2013) demonstrated that, despite controlling for income and parenting, there are still race-based barriers for racial minority college students that are hard to identify. In addition to these barriers, the racial minority student is submerged in the elite higher education space that is majority white. It has been shown in Chapter Two that this submerging of the racial minority student in a white space causes the racial minority student to adopt the identity of the white majority oppressor (Freire 1972). Also, Fanon (1967) demonstrates how an African American individual, while in a space dominated by a white majority, will adopt a guise as a white individual for access to resources.

In the case of this thesis, it is white privilege that has been shown to grant the resources needed. Resources as McIntosh (1988) highlights as roadmaps, passports, codebooks, and blank checks. According to Bourdieu (1984) and discussed in chapters one and two, these resources

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have also been shown to be consistently related to cultural capital. Once each of the three types of cultural capital (objectified, embodied, and institutional) are understood and the concepts of McIntosh's (1988) invisible knapsack of white privilege are projected against Bordieuan cultural capital, the closely bound relationship between the two are revealed.

As shown in chapter two, the catalyst for repackaging white privilege into cultural capital comes to light through the creation and maintenance of an overlooked second white identity. Paring the repackaging of white privilege into cultural capital with Chickering and Reisser's (1993) work on college identity development congruently shows how the phenomena of a second white identity is being overlooked and allowed to aid the racial minority student in producing a white habitus that is meant to produce cultural capital. In turn, the second identity causes the production of a counterfeit cultural capital via the white habitus of the second identity held by the racial minority student. Lastly, this dynamic results in realization that the lack of recruitment and retention of racial minority college students points to the psychological stress (Ogbu, 2004) caused by the assumption that racial minority students would need to commit cultural suicide to avoid intellectual suicide (Tierney, 1992).

From within this thesis, it has been shown how white privilege is being repackaged as cultural capital in elite higher education. Starting with the invisible knapsack of white privilege (McIntosh, 1988) and a Bordieuan philosophical lens, this thesis points to the racial minority student's social creation and maintenance of Fanon's (1967) the other. The creation and maintenance of this second racial minority identity in elite higher education begins with two of the three aspects of Bordieuan cultural capital production. The first type of cultural capital being institutional capital. This type of cultural capital manifests itself from the type and pedigree of the institution where the racial minority student receives their undergraduate degree (Bourdieu,

1984). The second from what (Bourdieu, 1984) calls embodied cultural capital. This type of capital is derived from the knowledge, skills, and perceptions of the racial minority student (Bourdieu, 1984). Once the analysis of white privilege and cultural capital is done the relationship between the two is revealed.

One such concept that expands the theme of this thesis is how the racial minority student is submerged in the predominantly white space of elite higher education the racial minority student will then adopt a guise or other that then creates a second white or oppressor identity (Fanon 1967, Freire, 1972). This second identity has been shown to be constructed with what Bourdieu (1984) calls a habitus. This habitus is a constructing construct that is itself produced from the space that it inhabits (Bourdieu, 1984). The racial minority student being submerged in the traditional white majority space of elite higher education shows how the habitus of the second identity is in the guise of a white majority student that is constructed to produce a cultural capital from a white identity. This creates the cultural capital necessary for racial minority students to navigate Carneval and Strohl's invisible barriers. However, the conflicting messages of the two identities could lead to psychological stress and or cultural suicide for the racial minority student, which would then negatively influence retention and completion. This presents an opportunity for future research.

Direction of Future Research

With this philosophical critique, a number of paths can be taken for future research. The first path being an answer to Chickering and Reisser's (1993) call for more research on racial minority students. Currently there are a great number of published research articles already available for racial minority student identity development. However, this thesis introduces the

influence of cultural capital as repackaged white privilege and its effects on the racial minority student identity. With more research into Bordieuan cultural capital, white privilege, and student identity development, these subjects should wield more information about the development of both racial majority and minority student's identity development. This path for research is also supported by the hard to pin down barriers for racial minority students as stated by Carnevale and Strohl (2013). Once these barriers are revealed through either quantitative or qualitative research into the dynamic of cultural capital as repackaged white privilege, theory and procedural approaches can be developed to aid in the identity development of college students and better retention rates.

One of Bourdieu's more nuanced contributions is his introduction of the habitus, which is defined as "the habitus consists of abstract mental habits, schemes of perception, classification, appreciation, feeling, and action." (Bourdieu, 1977) With the current research on college student identity development, Bourdieu's habitus could be researched in connection to how college students develop new perceptions in an environment that is far removed from parental influence. This type of research could also examine how college students' preferences and tastes may change year after year. It could also show how those attributes contribute to their decision making and problem solving that ultimately guide them into their choice of major and possibly even in their reasoning for either completing or dropping out of university.

Since habitus is a structuring structure of the college student and ultimately influences the embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), future research can be directed to ascertain how the space and atmosphere of elite colleges acts as a Freirean submergence on the perceptions of racial minority students. Also, how racial minority students and racial majority students differentiate cultural capital from their conditions of cultural capital production, and how

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institutional upholding and recognition of cultural capital is maintained (Meghji, 2017). This is seen in what Fanon (1967) states as the space shared by the white majority is where the second identity emerges. Fanon (1967) also states, "The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other (in guise of the Whiteman), for The Other alone can give him worth." (p119.) This future research into racial minority college student identity development could reveal how the creation of their habitus, and, ultimately, their identity, causes this "other" to be created. Thus causing, as Dubois (1903) terms warring ideals and dual consciousness. Future research into how this happens and what to do when the other is created or enforced could also aid both in a more holistically developed racial minority student and in retention.

Another path for future research could focus on instructing undergraduate students on the existence and consequences of cultural capital. This would be key because the very act of obtaining an undergraduate degree is the acquisition of institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Completing one's undergraduate degree does provide the cultural capital needed for class mobility. Future research into what type of degrees and from where, in connection to the cultural capital they provide, would benefit future and current students in their decision making. In addition, this research would help to build the bridges needed so that minority students could go back and forth between standard knowledge and vernacular knowledge (McLaughlin, 1989) in the context of repackaged white privilege as cultural capital.

Future research into this topic would need to better define cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital, and embodied cultural capital. This future research would shape the perceptions of each capital's value to society and how a racial majority and minority would navigate, obtain, and spend their cultural capital. Research into how this

topic could fit into an introductory course for freshman, honors students, and as a key topic into various departments. This could then open up a better understanding of such key factors in the development and success of both racial minority students and majority college students.

The author would like to point out that this thesis highlights the development of counterfeit cultural capital. This is not to say that a racial minority's completion of an undergraduate degree or obtainment of cultural capital is invalid. There have been and will continue to be a great number of successful racial minority students. However, future research into understanding how society values the same cultural capital from different races, how counterfeit cultural capital can be turned into valuable capital, and how it can be used would be a great benefit for the undergraduate, their university, and society as whole.

The question of value and its connection to cultural capital runs throughout Bourdieu (1984). He addresses the issue of elite colleges versus non-elite and how these non-elite are considered dumping grounds, which suggests a greater cultural capital value over the other via the pedigree of the chosen institution. Carnevale and Strohl (2013) also separate universities into selective and non-selective universities which serves as another indicator of one institution having a greater value over the other. Future research related to this could explore whether or not a racial minority student believes their cultural capital value is of equal value to a racial majority student's. In addition, are higher education institutions creating or maintaining this gap in cultural capital value? If they are, how and why does this happen? This dynamic could also be one of the hard to pin down barriers that Carnevale and Strohl (2013) and Stephens et al (2015) pointed out: a barrier that is an invisible because it may cause too many issues for institutions to confront.

The literature in the fields of racial identity development, critical race theory, and social identities call for research in connection to the topic of this thesis. For example, Torres, Jones, and Renn (2009) highlight the potential for research that considers a social status focus on the relationship between the context of the developing college student and the influence of a person's group membership in the larger societal context. Also, the weight that culture, and in the case of this thesis, the capital one's culture produces represents in defining a social identity versus the impact of individual experience. (Deaux & Reid, 1996).

Lastly, future research can also play an important part toward uncovering the mechanisms and process involved in the relationship between the self and academic achievement (Cross & Markus, 1994). Also, research could examine the self being the identities that a student has that can connect academic achievement to the interplay of identities. In turn, this provides the opportunity to research what Powell (1997) calls the missing literature from better understanding the role that Whiteness plays in the knot of minority student failure.

Limitations

A limitation to this thesis is the study design of philosophical critique. This thesis doesn't use qualitative or quantitative data and, in its place, uses a critical analysis of elite higher education institutes through the lens of cultural capital, white privilege, and critical pedagogy. The use of Carnevale and Strohl's (2013) data on institution's and their retention rate of racial minority student provides a beacon into what racial minority students may face in elite and non-elite institutions. Thus, this philosophical critique led the author to a critical analysis of Bourdieu's (1984) cultural capital including how it is created, operated, and valued in elite

higher education. It also led to an analysis of how the space of elite higher education influences racial minority student identity development.

Another limitation, if qualitative data is used in future research or had been used in this thesis, is that it requires extensive time collecting interviews and responses to questions that address the many issues brought up in this thesis. It would be difficult to focus on and to create questions that best capture such a nuanced phenomena as counterfeit cultural capital. Also, if quantitative data was collected to further this study, the types of questions created to measure topics such as perceived value of cultural capital, white privilege and its influence on racial minority students, and the structuring of the habitus would be difficult and time consuming to create. In addition, the impact limitation of needing too specific of responses in order to accurately measure the influence of the varied topics.

Lastly, this thesis could call for an approach to these topics that requires both qualitative and quantitative data. In this case, that would increase the need for more time and resources to measure and analyze the collected data. However, despite these limitations, this thesis raises important questions on racial minority identity development and the invisible barriers these students face. In addition, this thesis shows that cultural capital as repackaged white privilege could be negatively affecting racial minority student retention. The loss of such students is a waste of potential and could be better handled by researching the invisible barriers this thesis indicates.

Significance

The importance of this thesis can be seen through the lens of Bourdieu's (1982) theory on cultural capital, Carnevale and Strohl's (2013) data on the retention and dropout rate of racial

minority students, and Freire's (1977) approach to pedagogy. With Chickering and Riesser's (1993) point that racial minority students lack identity development research, and with the current research of racial minority identity development, this thesis supports Carnevale and Strohl's (2013) data that indicates unforeseen and hard to pin down barriers for racial minority students in elite higher education. This is specifically shown in Chapter 2 of this thesis by analyzing Chickering and Reiser's (1993) seven vectors of identity development.

Analysis shows a number of instances where the racial minority students' identity, self-perceptions, perception of their surroundings, and habitus are all heavily influenced by the dominant white student population and by campus leadership. This philosophical critique, along with Freire (1977), show how racial minority students are led to adapt to the realities of the traditional white user. In turn, this creates what Fanon (1967) calls "the other" in the space of elite higher education, which ultimately creating and or maintaining an additional identity for the racial minority student.

This thesis opens the door to anticipate the creation of the other and the warring ideals. This thesis doesn't claim that the creation and maintenance of the additional identity is to be stopped or continued. However, it does claim that because the existence of Bourdieu's (1982) cultural capital, habitus, and McIntosh's (1988) examples of white privilege in the space of elite higher education, there is a greater potential for racial minority students' identity development to be overlooked and or underdeveloped. This thesis also points out that if this duel consciousness (Dubois, 1903) develops on its own with no guidance, the space of elite higher education causes the second identity to become a kind of counterfeit identity. It's counterfeit because as Fanon (1967) indicates, the other is in the guise of the whiteman, and with this guise comes an attempt to utilize cultural capital that elite higher education has repackaged from its original form of

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white privilege. This counterfeit identity could also lead to racial minority students using their guise to act white and cause psychological stress (Ogbu, 2004). The author's goal is to ultimately use the content of this thesis, and its Bordieuan philosophical critique, to bring to light the missed opportunities and the wasted talent. Specifically, to highlight the wasted talent that accompanies the lack of research and development of the racial minority student identity when it confronts white privilege and cultural capital in the space of elite higher education.

The benefit from this thesis starts and ends with the racial minority student. The holistic development of these students is important to an institution's diversity and retention rate. With the many decades of research centered around the traditional white user, the need for better approaches to racial minority student development is still needed. The data of Carnevale and Strohl (2013, 2017) points to the low rates of degree completion and of retention for racial minority students and the difficulty of pinning down these low rates. This thesis points to the influence of cultural capital as repackaged white privilege that negatively impacts the identity development of racial minority students as one of the main reasons these completion and retention rates are low. Racial minority students are having to develop a second identity while in contact with the dominant white traditional user (Fanon 1967, Freire 1972) and elite higher education seems only fit to develop the identity of the traditional white user and not the identity based off a guise of the white identity.

Implication of Practice

This thesis endeavors to show how racial minority students, majority white students, and elite higher education institutions suffer from this phenomenon with college student identity development and low retention rates for racial minority students. The following implication of

practice will show ways in which students and institutions can overcome these barriers. Despite the increased access to higher education through government backed loans, restructured standardized testing, and state scholarships, retention rates of racial minority students show little improvement. (Carnevale and Strohl, 2013, 2017; Stephens et al, 2015).

This philosophical critique has shown, through critiquing accepted concepts such as McIntosh's invisible knapsack of white privilege, as well as combining the use of Bordieuan cultural capital as a philosophical lens, that elite higher education is overlooking the racial minority student identity development in the context of a second identity seen through Dubois' (1902) dual consciousness and Fanon's (1967) "the other". This oversight highlights a main reason that Carnevale and Strohl's (2013, 2017) data suggests that there are hard to identify barriers for racial minority student's retention. For example, one such barrier from this philosophical critique is that elite higher education has repackaged white privilege as Bordieuan cultural capital thus making these barriers difficult to navigate. This causes the racial minority student to create or maintain Dubois' (1902) dual consciousness and Fanon's (1967) "the other" in the space of elite higher education. In consequence, the racial minority student identities could be less developed due to the lack of awareness on the part of elite higher education and negatively impact retention and completion rates.

With these barriers revealed, there are now opportunities for institutions to act on improving racial minority student retention and their identity development. First, institutional policy could supplement current diversity and inclusion policy by promoting Freire's (1972) dialogue approach to the undergraduate classroom. Doing so could resurface or reveal the needs to be able to develop the dual consciousness (Dubois 1902) or the other (Fanon, 1967). An institution's educational researchers can turn their attention to the racial minority identity

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development by confronting white privilege and cultural capital as a combined idea early in the undergraduate years.

Secondly, Freire's (1972) dialogue approach combined with the discussion of white privilege, cultural capital, and attention to the absence of people of color in various contexts (Diangelo, 2006) could help institutions to move away from what Freire (1972) calls the banking style of teaching that submerges racial minorities in the space of white privilege. Thirdly, once racial minority students are less submerged, the research and practice to improve retention rates within this demographic, and having student affairs professionals made more aware of black identity development (Ritchey,2014) could have less of what Carnevale and Strohl term as (2013, 2017) hard to pin down barriers. Lastly, out of the resurfaced racial minority student, developmental theory could be formulated to act on this new type of resurfaced racial minority student, a more holistic student can be developed, and retention rates could also increase.

Chapter 3 Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate and critique the effects of Bordieuan cultural capital and habitus in the space of elite higher education as repackaged white privilege. Also, this study attempts to use the concept of Bordieuan cultural capital as a philosophical lens that attempts to reveal that racial minority students are submerged in the space of elite higher education and are wittingly or unwittingly forced to adopt and maintain a second identity. In turn, this reveals that this second identity is being overlooked and underdeveloped, as well as, causing retention rates to fall due to the lack of understanding that this second identity is in the guise of a white individual. (Fanon, 1967)

A move to incorporate Freirean dialogue in the classroom starting in the first year of undergraduate work could resurface already established second identities, highlight the need for better understanding of what white privilege means, and emphasize how the oppressed confront privilege in the space of elite higher education.

Conclusion

The research of Bourdieu (1984) and McIntosh (1988) demonstrate that in the space of elite higher education, there is a set of learned habits and privileges that are used to advance an individual's position in society. In addition, this thesis points to the elite higher education space that these habits and privileges are structured and are dominated by white students and white faculty as a space that repackages white privilege as Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital. This capital is described as the conduit for advancement in socioeconomic classes (Bourdieu 1984). However, because white privilege has been shown as repackaged cultural capital, racial minority students are forced, wittingly or unwittingly, to adopt a second identity in order to access and try to fully utilize cultural capital.

The second identity of racial minority students is being overlooked or dismissed because it is invisible due to the second identity in the form as Fanon (1967) states, "In the guise of a whiteman" (p.19). This leaves the racial minority student in need of second identity development and the lack of how to approach the second identity could be the cause of low retention and completion rates. This thesis may point out the barriers for racial minority student's retention, but further research is needed.

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