"Who Gets to be Well"? A Multi Method Social Network Analysis of Well-Being for Black and

Indigenous College Students

By

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Dedicated to Jubilee and Élodie.
May you be well, and always know,
that you belong to the universe.
You belong everywhere.

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Abstract

The recent increase in mental health concerns and service utilization for students has been characterized as the "mental health crisis in higher education." At the same time, there are social inequities on who *gets* to be well and under what conditions. This three-paper dissertation analyzes the well-being support networks of Black and Indigenous college students. While previous scholarship suggests that campus climate and key interactions play a role, understudied is how the structure and composition of relationships and networks shape well-being. I conducted a transformative multiple methods social network analysis project to explore well-being networks and support at national and institutional levels. The first paper summarizes and synthesizes the theoretical and methodological approaches to examining the subjective well-being of Black and Indigenous college students. I argue that scholarship on college student Subjective Well-Being (SWB) often focuses on individualized factors that contribute to well-being, and the research on well-being is disconnected from the larger scholarship on college student success. Utilizing national Healthy Minds Survey Data, the second paper explores the well-being affiliations of (n=1200) Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and found significant differences in support connections by gender, level of well-being, and other factors. The third paper is a transformative mixed structural analysis of (n=22) well-being networks at one predominantly White institution. Results suggest three profiles of networks that are uniquely shaped by the number and density of on- and off-campus support, levels of reciprocity, and the presence and absence of shared identity and experiences. Collectively these papers advance scholarship on the current state of well-being from relational and network perspectives with the goal of bringing attention to the conditions that enhance or impede well-being.

Project Introduction

Who Gets to Be Well?

The title of this dissertation is in part inspired by the words of Dr. Angela Rose Black, a mindfulness and racial justice scholar, activist, and thought leader who is radically transforming and disrupting narratives around the health and well-being of People of Color in the United States (Mindfulness for the people, 2022). As the founder and chief executive officer of Mindfulness for the People (A Black woman-owned social change agency), she frequently presents to audiences around the country invoking the question of "Who gets to be well"? At first glance, this question may seem simple, yet it is a profound re-imagining of well-being discourse and research that commonly focuses on who *is* well (and subsequently) who *is* not well at any given moment in time. And while cross-sectional snapshots and analysis of well-being are important, it is the *getting to be well* aspect of well-being that reveals social forces and power dynamics that shape and constrain individual and collective choices and outcomes. To focus on the *getting* process moves beyond snapshots of well-being-as-outcome, to expose to what extent oppression and racial violence produce "psychic burden and life-threatening consequences to BIPOC lives" (Black & Switzer, 2022, p. 141). While Dr. Black and colleagues primarily focus on disrupting the systemic Whiteness of the mindfulness movement (Black & Switzer, 2022), switching the underlying question can also apply to well-being research writ large. To that end, this study follows Dr. Black's example of asking "who *gets* to be well" in higher education, by producing scholarship as a means to enhance students' health and well-being and taking an assets-based approach that highlights the strengths and possibilities of both individuals and institutions.

Much of the scholarship suggests that quality relationships and a supportive campus environment are two primary factors that shape well-being in college, with the level of racialized experiences potentially moderating the amount of effort that students can put into their academic and well-being endeavors (Bracato, 2021; Mishra, 2020). However, understudied are the network and institutional conditions that best foster well-being for students and how well-being networks differ. Using a critical relational well-being framework approach, I conducted a three-paper multiple-method dissertation project to explore how personal well-being networks shape student well-being experiences and uncover the relational conditions of well-being for Black and Indigenous college students. My research questions were: (1) How have frameworks been utilized to study subjective well-being in Black and Indigenous college students? (2a) Who were the central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic? (2b) What individual, institutional, and network characteristics predict the probability of institutional well-being support connections for Black and Indigenous students? (3a) How do Black and Indigenous college students navigate well-being support while on campus? (3b) How do the structure and composition of support networks shape the well-being experiences of Black and Indigenous students?

Table 1

Three Paper Summary

Title	**Paper 1:** Toward a critical-relational subjective well-being habitus for Black and Indigenous college students.	**Paper 2:** Well-Being Affiliations and Network Centrality for Black and Indigenous College Students	**Paper 3:** Three Network Profiles of Curated Well-Being Habitus for Black and Indigenous College Students
Research Question(s)	(1) How have frameworks been utilized to study subjective well-being for Black and Indigenous college students?	(1) Who are the central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic (2) What individual, institutional, and network characteristics predict the probability of institutional well-being support?	(1) How do Black and Indigenous college students navigate well-being support while on campus? (2) How do the structure and composition of support networks shape the well-being experiences of Black and Indigenous students?
Framework(s)	Critical-relational well-being framework	Critical Social Capital (Ginwright, 2007) Relational Sociology (Bourdieu 2010; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020)	Relational Sociology of Education (Kolluri & Tierney, 2020) *Habitus* and *Field* (Bourdieu, 2010)
Methodology	Literature review with conceptual and methodological analysis	Bipartite Social Network Analysis (Quantitative)	Transformative Mixed Structural Network Analysis (Mixed Methods)
Data Source(s)	Published literature between 2000-2021	Secondary Survey Data (n=1200) Healthy Minds Study Survey	(n=22) Interviews with Black and Indigenous college students
Analysis	Integrative Review Method	Descriptive Network Centrality Analysis and Exponential Random Graph Model	Network mapping and descriptives Network narrative profiles

Summary of Methods

While each paper takes on a different methodological approach, the overall project follows a Social Network Analysis multiple methods research approach (SNAmmr) which privileges social network analysis as the primary focus and methodological throughline of the project (Toraman & Plano Clark, 2020). In the first article, "Toward a critical-relational subjective well-being habitus for Black and Indigenous college students," I conducted an integrative literature review method (Torraco, 2016) to engage previous literature on subjective well-being for Black and Indigenous college students and found a gap in the literature on frameworks that consider both critical and relational perspectives. The second paper, "Well-Being Affiliations and Network Centrality for Black and Indigenous College Students", I analyzed 1200 survey responses from the Healthy Minds Study Survey using a Bipartite centrality analysis and fitted a bipartite exponential random graph model (ERGM). I found significant differences in support networks. The third paper, "Three Network Profiles of Curated Well-Being Habitus for Black and Indigenous College Students," I utilized semi-structured interviews in a transformative mixed structural analysis approach to analyze the personal well-being networks and narratives of 22 college students at Midwestern University. Table 1 provides a summary overview of each paper.

Summary of Findings

For the first paper, I found that scholarship on college student Subjective Well-Being (SWB) often focuses on individualized factors that contribute to well-being and is often disconnected from the larger scholarship on college student success. Critical approaches to well-being often omitted the relationship between individuals and larger social structures, and relational approaches to well-being often concealed the role that power can play within

relationships. Finally, I presented a critical-relational framework of college student well-being through the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and field (1977) as a path forward to studying well-being.

In the second paper, I found significant differences in perceived well-being support by the level of well-being, gender, and by campus engagement indicators such as sense of belonging and involvement in cultural student organizations. Faculty and advisors were central in Black and Indigenous men's well-being support, but less so for Black and Indigenous women. While family and friends provided vital social support, campus actors such as faculty and advisors also served central structural roles for students with both large and small support networks.

For the third paper, I presented three profiles of a well-being habitus: *uni-centric, support-centric*, and *values-centric*. Each profile had unique dynamics around the number and density of on and off-campus support, levels of reciprocity, and the types of support received. Utilizing a critical-relational well-being framework, I argued that there is not one single and ideal well-being network but multiple paths to well-being based on a student's well-being *habitus* (set of dispositions that shape actions) being activated within a particular social space (or *field*) on campus.

Contribution

Collectively these papers advance scholarship on the current state of well-being from a network perspective with the goal of bringing attention to the relational conditions that enhance or impede well-being. By shifting well-being research to an asset-based (factors that support health rather than those that cause disease) and relational frameworks, and by moving away from deficit models that place the responsibility of well-being solely on the students, this study is a part of a larger commitment to research in a way that facilitates harm reduction within higher

education, while also building blocks for equitable institutional change. In this project, I provided methodological and conceptual contributions to the literature. First, by expanding data on the experiences of well-being from a student narrative and perspectives, utilizing data at the national and institutional levels. Second, this study incorporates a social network analysis approach to transform secondary survey and qualitative relational data into network data to both analyze and visualize well-being. Third, a mixed methods approach allowed for complementary and integrated qualitative and quantitative data which added richness, depth, and generalizability through an insider's contextual view of well-being. Additionally, the use of critical and relational frameworks and social network analysis allowed for the incorporation of a power analysis within well-being research to locate areas within networks that have the potential to exert greater power and influence on the well-being experiences of Black and Indigenous college students.

Even prior to the global health crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, mental health and well-being needs and concerns were a top priority for higher education, and these challenges are only expected to grow in the coming years. Efforts to improve well-being that were unprecedented five years ago have now become an essential component of maintaining higher education access for millions of college students around the country. Furthermore, as society continues to question the value and purpose of higher education in the 21st century, this research provides pivotal empirical data to support the inclusion of well-being as an intentional purpose and desired outcome of higher education.

Explanation of Key Terms

Black/ African American: While the U.S. census uses both Black and African American interchangeably as a racial category, I research them as separate components of identity. Black is a racial categorization of a group of people based on broad phenotype or physical characteristics and ancestral origins, whereas African American is an ethnic designation to explicitly categorize those born in the United States and self-identified as a person of African descent, likely from African ancestors who were taken and enslaved in the United States. Nearly all African Americans are also Black, but not all Black people are African American. I primarily use Black in this paper but may also use African American when the literature is ethnic-specific, also acknowledging that there may be participants in the study who identify as Black but may have a different ethnicity than African American (e.g., Afro-Caribbean, Jamaican, Black Canadian).

Field: Field is a concept from French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction (1977) that speaks to specific social spaces that have their own rules and norms for success. It is in these fields that individuals compete for positions and resources.

Habitus: Habitus is a concept coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977) to explain how and why social and cultural norms get reproduced through individual behaviors. A habitus is a set of long-lasting individual preferences, tastes, tendencies, and inclinations that are shaped by a broader social environment. Understanding a habitus can help understand how power and inequity are also reproduced through everyday interactions.

Inequity: While equity and equality are often used interchangeably, I am intentionally using equity to highlight unequal outcomes that stem from social context rather than the random

variance of differences within and between individuals and groups. Equity is a process where personalized resources and supports help all students to achieve common goals (Latta, 2019).

Native American/American Indian/Indigenous: In this paper, I mostly use Indigenous to include all diverse populations Indigenous to the Americas. To be Indigenous, writes Adrienne Keene (2021), is "to be of a place, to have creation stories of how your people emerged from the land and be connected to a community from that place" (p. 11). The term American Indian and Native American refers to the federal designation and recognition of 574 tribal nations in the United States. This study engages with college students who identify as Native American, descended from the first nations in North America, Indigenous, and/or American Indian as a member of a federal or state-recognized tribe. I acknowledge that it is good practice to utilize the name of tribal affiliation whenever possible, or to use the preferred terminology of the community that I am working with, acknowledging nation sovereignty and the diversity of culture, language, and histories within Native America.

Predominantly White institutions (PWIs): Unlike Minority-Serving Institutions (MSI), the term predominantly White institutions is not a federal designation, but a term to signal the enrollment of White students compared to underrepresented groups, the historical legacy of exclusion, and how Whiteness influences campus culture and is embedded throughout organizational practices (Bourke, 2016).

Social Support: The social interactions or relationships that "provide individuals with actual assistance or a feeling of attachment to a person or group that is perceived as caring or loving" (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988, p. 467)

Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs): Tribal Colleges and Universities, are federally recognized institutions of higher education that are controlled and operated by Native

American tribes as an act of self-determination and leadership on Indigenous education. There are 32 fully accredited Tribal Colleges and Universities which serve nearly 30,000 students and 9% of Native American/Indigenous students in the United States (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.).

Well-being: The inter-association definition of well-being in higher education is "an optimal and dynamic state that allows people to achieve their full potential," with individual well-being including the assessment of happiness and satisfaction, having human rights and needs met, and contributions to a community (NIRSA, NASPA, & ACPA, 2020, p. 2).

Wellness: The global wellness institute (2019) defines wellness as the "active pursuit of activities, choices, and lifestyles that lead to a state of holistic health" (p. 2).

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Paper 1: Towards a Critical-Relational Subjective Well-Being Habitus for Black and Indigenous College Students

Abstract

This literature review focused on the conceptual and methodological approaches to studying well-being research in higher education for Black and Indigenous college students, specifically considering how extant scholarship has considered the critical and relational factors that shape well-being. While there has been an increase in socio-ecological models that attempt to reframe well-being as more than an individual experience, large-scale surveys continue to dominate well-being research that focuses on highlighting who is well at any given moment but not who gets to be well, considering systemic factors, historical trauma, and relationships within higher education. Overall, I argue that scholarship on college student Subjective Well-Being (SWB) often focuses on individualized factors that contribute to well-being, and the research on well-being is disconnected from the larger scholarship on college student success. Critical approaches to well-being at times omitted the relationship between individuals and larger social structures, and relational approaches to well-being often concealed the role that power can play within relationships. Additionally, I assert that current frameworks can be enhanced when combined with a relational analytical framework. Finally, I present a critical-relational framework of college student well-being enhanced through the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* and *field* as a path forward to studying well-being. As colleges and universities move towards acknowledging collective and relational elements of college student well-being, this framework could serve as a helpful guide in future research and practice.

Keywords: *subjective well-being, college students, critical theory, relational sociology, habitus*

Even before the Covid-19 pandemic, higher education had been trending in the wrong direction when it comes to well-being, as many students are not well (Auerbach et al., 2018; Brocato et al., 2021). In 2018, the World Health Organization released a report revealing that mental illness impacts a third of all incoming college students (Auerbach et al., 2018), and 8 out of 10 college presidents say that student mental health will be a top institutional priority in the coming years (Chessman & Morgan, 2019). Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, demand for campus counseling and mental health continued to escalate as counseling center utilization grew five times faster than enrollment between 2009-2015 (Education Advisory Board, 2021) with no signs of slowing. In essence, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated an enormous problem already underway, with the surge in resources to student mental health and well-being no longer relegated to health services. Although mental health is one aspect of well-being, there is overwhelming empirical evidence to highlight a growing need to study both the process and outcome of mental health and well-being in higher education, yet the conceptual and methodological approaches to well-being research have not always kept pace with these shifts, accounting for the unique challenges especially that Black and Indigenous students face in higher education.

Institutions of higher education are starting to create discourse that also reflects a broader and more encompassing definition of well-being. For example, three prominent higher education organizations recently collaborated to create an inter-association definition of well-being as "an optimal and dynamic state that allows people to achieve their full potential," with individual and community well-being including the assessment of happiness and satisfaction, having human rights and needs met, and contributions to a community (NIRSA, NASPA, & ACPA, 2020, p. 2). Including subjective and collective aspects of well-being are part of a broader trend within well-

being research and practice to shift from more objective measures such as money (i.e., gross domestic product) and educational attainment towards more subjective measure such as purpose and belonging, and to be more sensitive to place and context (Smith & Reid, 2018). There remains the capacity to consider and analyze relational aspects of well-being, as scholars argue that even this shift of well-being research remains primarily cognitive and humanist in nature (Duff, 2011), and it is important to consider relationships not just to other humans, but to the land and space (Galvin & Todres, 2011).

Currently, there is extensive scholarship that highlights the persistence of inequality within academic student experiences, outcomes, and success, which often falls within racial and socio-economic strata (Colman 2011; Reardon, 2016), with scholars who conclude that higher education mostly *reproduces* rather than *reduces* inequity (Armstrong & Hamilton; 2013; Arum & Roksa, 2011; Warikoo, 2016). However, in addition to the normal stress of higher education, Black and/or Indigenous students experience negative racialized trauma and stress experiences that veritably impact their daily lived experiences within the collegiate environment (McGee & Stovall, 2015; Shotton et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2016; Solórzano et al., 2000; Swim et al., 2003; Watson, 2009). Isolation, alienation, and/or lack of integration commonly correlate with overall negative experiences for students of color on Predominately White College campuses (Davis et al., 2004; Huffman, 2001; Porter, 2022; Solórzano et al., 2000; Watson, 2009; Winkle-Wagner 2009, 2014; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2018) and these experiences can have a devastating impact on students' sense of belonging (McClain et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2007), persistence and college outcomes, (Solórzano et al., 2000), and mental health into adulthood (Goosby et al., 2013). Given the extensive research on the existence and impact of racialized school experiences for students of color at PWIs, there is at times, a disconnect

between research on how these experiences drive well-being and holistic frameworks of student success that include well-being. In essence, we have ample research on the experience of *not* being well, but less so on the experience of being well within the specific context of educational spaces.

Well-being[1], which has substantial literature within the psychology and philosophy fields, is emerging as a critical topic within higher education (Harward, 2016). There is not one single definition of well-being, and there remains overall a lack of one accepted definition within well-being research (Schmidt & Hansson, 2018; Travia, 2020). Psychologists Richard Ryan and Edward Deci (2001) argue that within the field of psychology, there is an empirical division between hedonic (pleasure-based) and eudaimonic (meaning-based) conceptions of well-being. Hedonic well-being (shaped by the Greek philosopher Epicurious) is affective in nature where individuals seek increased positive emotions and decreased negative emotions (i.e., pleasure and happiness), whereas eudaimonic well-being (based on writings from Aristotle) highlights perceptions of life satisfaction and purpose in life (Nelson et al, 2014).

Subjective Well-Being (SWB) is a multifaceted measurement of several aspects of human function, such as positive relationships and affect (emotions and moods), feelings of competence, and meaning and purpose in life (Deiner et al., 2009). In essence, it is a way to understand how people experience and assess the quality of their life (Deiner, 1984; Linton et al.,

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[1] While well-being and wellness are often used interchangeably in contemporary discourse, it is important to note the differences. Well-being comes from the philosophical and psychological tradition that focuses on happiness, meaning, and purpose, whereas wellness is a strengths-based construct that is linked to health and prevention of illness or disease (Goss, 2010).

2016; National Research Council, 2014). According to Ed Diener, there are three primary

components of subjective well-being: assessment of happiness, life satisfaction, and positive

affect. Additionally, subjective well-being is assessed directly by the individual and seen as a

"global assessment of all aspects of a person's life" (Deiner, 1984 p. 544). While there are scores

of well-being measures and instruments, subjective well-being measures are widely used in

research and practice (Linton et al., 2016; Schotanus-Dijkstra et al., 2016). The overall

connection between education and subjective well-being is complex, and it can be positively or

negatively correlated depending on the social position (Tirel, 2021). This complexity also speaks

to a larger societal issue of structural barriers to well-being for all.

Responding to the call for expanded methodological approaches to subjective well-being

(Diener, 2012; Oishi, 2018), the purpose of this paper is to provide a narrative and focused

literature overview of the conceptual and methodological underpinnings of subjective well-being

research in higher education for Black and Indigenous college students. An overarching question

is: How have frameworks been utilized to study subjective well-being for Black and Indigenous

college students? I first provide an overview of the current state of well-being in higher

education, primarily gathered from nationwide surveys. I then provide an overview of socio-

ecological, relational, and critical approaches to well-being and show a misalignment between

how we define and measure well-being for Black and Indigenous students, often taking relational

or critical approaches, but not both, and also lacking a relational analysis of data.

Finally, I assert that both critical and relational approaches are needed within a well-

being framework and can be achieved through the incorporation of Pierre Bourdieu's

conceptions of *habitus*, or preferences and inclinations, and *field*, or social space (Bourdieu,

1967, 1977, 1996, 2010). I offer up a conceptualization of well-being as a critical and relational,

co-, and re-constructed habitus (or set of relational principles and dispositions) that shapes individual and collective access to resources and agency, and accounts for the social-historical, power, and political influence of well-being within educational institutions. In so doing, I show that an expanded framework better aligns research inquiry with the needs of both students and institutions of higher education to elevate well-being as a primary component of student success, health equity, and social justice issues. To conclude, I described and visualized how the study of well-being as a form of habitus could influence the study of well-being within higher education fields.

Review Method

For this study, I utilized an integrative review process that considers literature across academic disciplines and methodologies (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005; Torraco, 2016). An integrative literature review is a form of research that "reviews, critiques, and synthesizes representative literature" that allows a diversity of sources to create new frameworks and perspectives on a given topic (Torraco, 2016, p. 404). The scope of this literature review is between the years 2000 – 2022, which corresponds with the rapid escalation of concern regarding student health and a shift on many college campuses to prioritize student mental health and well-being (Brocato et al., 2021). I conducted this integrative review within the following databases: Web of Science, ERIC, Psychinfo, and Education Research Complete. The search included the following keywords: well-being OR wellbeing OR "well being" OR wellness AND "higher education" OR college OR university AND Black OR "African American" OR "Native American" OR American Indian OR Alaskan Native OR Hawaiian Native OR Indigenous AND student AND "social network" OR "social support" OR "social capital". Additionally, given potential indexing and terminology inconsistencies with computerized databases (Whittemore &

Knafl, 2005), I also engaged in ancestry searching (or the reviewing of bibliographies of useful citations, Poirier & Behnen, 2014), as well as journal hand searching, and utilizing online co-citation and bibliographic coupling, such as https://www.connectedpapers.com/ to explore overlapping citation and reference patterns within foundational papers.

The criteria of eligibility for each reviewed publication were: (1) A focus on subjective well-being as an outcome or predictor, (2) peer-reviewed, (3) published between the years 1990-2021, (4) written in English, (5) includes Black and Indigenous college students as the population of study. From the review, 21 well-being frameworks emerged that have been applied to studying the well-being of Black and Indigenous college students (Table 1), including socio-ecological, relational, or critical approaches. Before engaging in the 21 frameworks, I will first provide a brief overview of the state of well-being for Black and Indigenous students as this offers an important launchpad and socio-historical context for considerations that are at times omitted from well-being frameworks. Then I will present a summary and syntheses of the frameworks.

State of Well-Being for Black and Indigenous College Students

This section lays the groundwork and context for the importance of engaging in well-being literature, especially regarding students of color in higher education, who are often framed as lacking well-being in academic spaces. In general, there is much research that has addressed how individual student behaviors can improve well-being. Stress reduction interventions such as yoga, meditation, getting sufficient sleep, reducing drug and alcohol consumption, physical activity, managing loneliness, and reducing stress are shown to positively support college students' well-being in college (Bowman, 2010; Mahatmya et al., 2018; Ridner, 2016; Strayhorn et al., 2015). Furthermore, engaging in service learning and self-reflection also positively

correlated with greater psychological well-being (Park & Millora, 2010). While individual student behaviors such as utilizing student services and discussions with faculty outside of class are important, Laurie Schreiner (2015) argues in their essay "Thriving: Expanding the goal of higher education," this individualistic type of student success research leaves out critical psycho-social factors that would better craft a holistic idea of student success and well-being.

The empirical literature regarding well-being for Black and Indigenous college students is complex and at times, contradictory, yet most studies highlight just how (un)well some students are. Several nationwide surveys data findings disseminate a disaggregated picture of well-being, suggesting that in general, Black students tend to self-report above-average well-being levels, and Native American students tend to self-report a below-average sense of well-being compared to other racial groups (Brocato et al., 2021; Healthy Minds Network, 2020). For example, in 2020, 44% of Black students and 34% of Native American students indicated that they were flourishing (a measure of subjective well-being) in college, compared to 38% of White, 44% of Asian, and 37% of Hispanic students (Healthy Minds Network, 2020). Likewise, in the well-being collaborative assessment (2021), Black, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and White students had above-average subjective well-being, while American Indian, Alaskan Native, Asian, Hispanic, and those with two or more racial identities reported the lowest levels of well-being. These numbers remain consistent before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, indicating a consistent picture of college student well-being by race with the assumption that some students of color are thriving in higher education while others are not. There are also within-group differences between Native American, Alaska Native, and Hawaiian Native students, which further emphasizes the heterogeneity and diversity of Indigenous people, culture, and experiences.

Knowing if a student is (un)well is only one part of the story. Another branch of subjective well-being research captures health disparities or why well-being may not be as present within certain populations. While some Black and Native Hawaiian college students self-report above-average levels of well-being, other survey-based health research suggests that well-being begins to erode as they age, especially for those who experience high racial stress and high effort coping (Geronimous et al., 2006; Goosby & Heidbrink, 2013). This decline in well-being is what researchers characterize as the Black-White paradox in mental health (Keyes, 2009). This mental health paradox suggests that Black individuals tend to self-report higher levels of well-being and positive mental health despite social inequity and discrimination (Keyes, 2009). Yet, due to chronic racism and discrimination, there is a diminished gain, meaning that the return investment on flourishing and well-being for Black individuals is smaller in comparison to others, contributing to the pervasive health disparities seen across the lifespan. Other studies reveal widespread depression and feelings of mental health stigma among students at HBCUs (Asher Deerfield, 2022; Rahman et al., 2019), worsening depressive symptoms for Black students during the COVID-19 pandemic (Cooley Fruehwirth et al., 2021, Kim et al., 2021, Tausen et al., 2022), and Indigenous students entering higher education with greater health problems (Patterson-Silver Wolf et al., 2013). Overall, these studies show a complex and contradictory story of who is (un)well and why.

The reasons for these contradictions between physical health, mental health, and well-being are not completely clear, though chronic exposure to racism and discrimination, and interpersonal, institutional, and structural discrimination are evidenced to play a role in health disparities (Goosby et al., 2013). It is imperative to note that the colonization of Indigenous peoples is also seen as a fundamental determinant of health and well-being, as Indigenous

communities have long suffered from historical oppression and underfunded and understaffed Indian Health Services (Gone & Trimble, 2012; King et al., 2009; Warne, 2006). Additionally, the lack of research on how racialized experiences shaped the subjective well-being of Native Americans represents a tangible gap in scholarship (Yoo et al., 2018). The next section highlights how institutional conditions shape well-being.

Institutional Conditions That Shape Well-Being

There is growing evidence to suggest that where a student attends college or university could drastically shape experiences that positively shape well-being during their time at the institutions and beyond. Well-being research that centers the perspectives of college graduates and alumni highlights how long-term health and well-being are shaped by their respective college experiences, long past graduation (Winkle-Wagner, 2023). While national survey research suggests above-average self-reported subjective well-being for current Black college students (Brocato et al. 2021), only 7% of Black alumni were thriving in all areas of well-being in comparison to 10% of White, 9% Asian, and 8%Hispanic graduates (Gallup, 2015). The outlier group is Black students who graduated from HBCUs. They are more likely to be thriving in social, purpose, and financial well-being than Black graduates who did not receive their degrees from HBCUs (Gallup, 2015). Gallup cautions against assuming that *where* a student attends predicts well-being, yet instead, it is *what* a student experienced at a particular institution that was a predictor of student well-being. This viewpoint is supported by other research showing no statistical differences in positive mental health between Black students at PWIs and HBCUs (Mushongo & Henneberger, 2020).

However, certain institutions are more likely to facilitate those ideal experiences that foster well-being, and students at Minority-Serving Institutions are more likely to have the type

of positive experiences that lead to greater well-being. For example, Black students at HBCUs are far more likely to have higher levels of support, have a professor who cares about them and gets them excited about learning, and have an encouraging mentor (Gallup, 2015; Kuh et al., 2007; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2018). Native students at Tribal Colleges and Universities are more likely to experience strong connections to physical space and land, cultural content and Indigenous pedagogy, and community outreach (Gallup, 2019). By contrast, both Black and Indigenous students who attend PWIs are more likely to experience racial discrimination, isolation, and interpersonal race-related stressors, all of which could negatively influence well-being (Bernard et al., 2020; Commodore et al., 2018; Huffman, 2001; Shotton et al., 2008; Solórzano et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2016; Watson, 2009; Winkle-Wagner 2009, 2015).

This implication of institutionally influenced well-being is supported by several national well-being data suggesting that, in general, the more minoritized identities that a college student has, the lower their subjective well-being tends to be (Brocato et al., 2021), and that racism and race-related stress greatly influenced subjective well-being (Yoo et al., 2018). Hostile campus climates make students feel unsafe, and a lack of safety compromises students' ability to access and engage with campus resources (Begaye-Tewa et al., 2023; Brocato et al., 2021; Jackson et al., 2003; Locks et al., 2008; Shotton, 2008) and threaten one of the most important needs and prerequisites to self-actualization or reaching an individual's highest potential and purpose (Maslow, 1970). Additionally, other institutional factors such as institutional racial composition (Bernard et al., 2020), positive interactions with students and faculty (Bowman, 2010; Holles, 2021; Trolian et al., 2022; Newman, 2015), faculty mentoring, sense of belonging, connection to cultural identity, activities, and home-like community are shown to increase the likelihood of

well-being for college students (Bernard et al., 2020; Bowman, 2010, Mashford-Pringle & Stewart, 2019; McCubbin et al., 2013; Tachine et al., 2016).

This compounding impact of minoritization was also seen in relation to gender identity. For example, well-being of students who identify as a gender other than male or female is substantially lower than for students with dominant gender identities (Brocato et al., 2021; Garvey et al., 2019; Mobley & Johnson, 2015). Furthermore, Black women's well-being experiences are both qualitatively and quantitatively different from other groups (Blackmon & Coyle, 2016; Commodore et al., 2018). For example, Black women college graduates are least likely than all other groups to thrive in financial, purpose, physical, community, or social well-being (Gallup. 2015). This supports growing qualitative research indicating that due to their race and gender, Black women have unique educational experiences and needs for success, and that marginalization-related stress is likely disrupting the development of well-being (Blackmon & Coyle, 2016). This realization of Black graduate women's well-being outcomes comes in stark contrast to the singular and myopic narrative in research on Black women's education success that focuses on increased post-secondary enrollment and degree completion, especially in comparison to Black men (Patton & Croom, 2017). This failure to account for racism and patriarchy effectively narrows down Black women's lives and reduces them to a statistical success story without honoring the complexity of educational attainment and health (Winkle-Wagner, 2015; Patton & Croom, 2017). Likewise, David Patterson Silver Wolf and colleagues (2013) compared self-reported health and wellness conditions of nearly 2100 American Indian/Alaskan Native students, and they found that Native American college women had the lowest overall health rating of any other group and reported the most health issues. Overall, these studies demonstrate how race- and gender-related stress can shape negative psychological and

physiological changes (Harrell, 2000; Utsey & Constantine, 2008), and frameworks that account for well-being at the intersections of multiple social identities, especially those inclusive of race and gender, continue to be necessary.

Overall, the research strongly suggests that racism and colonization can erode the well-being of Black and Indigenous individuals and communities. However, in addition to the mental health paradox characterized by Keyes (2009), which is the existence of worsening mental health symptoms yet higher reported well-being (especially during the COVID-19 pandemic), other research indicates that there may also exist a well-being paradox (Ford, 2021) or higher levels of well-being than expected compared to mental health. This warrants further exploration of the differences between how students experience mental health and how they experience well-being.

Well-Being Frameworks

This section summarizes and synthesizes 21 frameworks that have been used to empirically study subjective Black and Indigenous students in higher education. Overall, there are a growing number of frameworks that take critical and relational approaches to study subjective well-being, but rarely are these approaches combined into one framework (see Table 1). Measuring subjective well-being (Diener et al., 2009) as happiness (hedonic well-being) and psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989) as purpose (eudemonic well-being) are both popular and widely used constructs measurements of well-being within education, although many other themes include mental, social, physical, and spiritual aspects of well-being (Linton et al., 2016). Overall subjective well-being is a useful measurement as it has been shown to be a desirable outcome but also an important predictor of important life outcomes, such as course grades, future income, and workplace success (Borrello, 2005; Deiner, 2012). Several large-scale national survey datasets on college health, such as the Healthy Minds Study, the National College Health

Assessment Survey, and Wake Forest's Wellbeing Assessment (2020), all capture and analyze subjective well-being for college students.

However, one of the main limitations of subjective well-being research is the lack of critical approaches to both defining and operationalizing subjective well-being. For example, several studies have shown that subjective well-being tends to decrease with major negative life events and negative social interactions (Fiori & Consedine, 2013; Harrell, 2000; Krautter et al., 2022, Rook, 1990), yet these negative events and experiences are not always considered within well-being measures. In a systemic review of 99 different instruments to measure subjective well-being only 24 instruments included a dimension of personal circumstances, or external environmental and socioeconomic conditions and pressures (Linton et al., 2016). Furthermore, the World Health Organization's (WHO) systemic review of subject well-being measurements found that few measures accounted for social identity, such as gender, or seldom did they account for cultural sensitivity (Lindert et al., 2015).

Additionally, scholarship on subjective well-being did not often consider the relationship between race and racism-related stress, subjective well-being, and system-level factors, such as family, communities, schools, etc., which requires some caution for cross-cultural research due to cultural differences in the concept of well-being, happiness, and life satisfaction (Oishi, 2018; Yoo et al., 2018). Defining well-being without considering cultural issues, argues Madonna Constantine and Derald Wing Sue (2006), "creates great cause for concern" (p.229), and this underscores the disconnect between how research tends to measure or operationalize well-being and the frameworks used to situate the data findings within an appropriate social and historical context. This suggests that conceptualizations and measures of subjective well-being have a ways to go to be inclusive of systemic structures and identities that would shape well-being for

Black and Indigenous students. There are some promising relational frameworks that have sought to capture cultural and relational elements of well-being which are synthesized in the next section.

Relational Conceptual Frameworks of Well-Being

Another subsection of conceptual frameworks of well-being research acknowledges how Eastern, African, and Indigenous philosophies have long included relational and collectivistic notions of well-being (McCubbins et al., 2013; Joshua, 2016). For example, Kazi Joshua (2016) drew upon the African Humanist Ubuntu philosophy of "I am a person through other persons" (p.73) to describe individual student well-being as fundamentally tied to the community. Joshua further posited that college access programs like the POSSE foundation are successful because of a collective approach where students' "fate in the educational enterprise is tied to the well-being of others" (Joshua, 2016, p.73). Likewise, former Morehouse College president John Silvanus Wilson Jr. (2016) equally attributed the common good and collective well-being as a consistent and reliable measure to determine individual value. He asserted that student well-being is "more about making a life than a living, and as more relational than personal" (Wilson, 2016, p. 238).

This is in stark contrast to the "rugged individualism" present in some current educational spaces (Walsh, 2011, p.373) but highlights the alternative frameworks to the Western European paradigm of well-being as "high income, rewarding employment, advanced education, quality marriage, successful children, good health, close friends, and social status" (McCubbin et al., 2013). The Western values models, argues Laurie McCubbin and colleagues (2013), "may not be sufficient to determine the well-being of individuals and families with roots in Indigenous cultures that value ancestors, cultural traditions, spirits, harmony with nature, managing what resources one has, cultural preservation, language preservation, and collectivism" (p. 362).

Instead, relational well-being must include indicators such as resilience, financial stability, health care, cultural practice, family commitment, and community involvement (McCubbin et al., 2013). Overall, Indigenous definitions of well-being are broader than the absence of disease and consider land, food, health, community, and balance as key components to living well (King et al., 2009).

Relational measurements of well-being, such as those within McCubbin et al. Indigenous relational well-being framework (2013), are more common within community and population health disciplines. McCubbin et al.'s conceptualization of Indigenous relational well-being (2013) is characterized as the "sense of satisfaction and happiness (well-being) derived from confidence and perceived competence to overcome adversity, respect, and be in harmony with nature and ancestors through cultural practices, the management of financial resources, family commitment, access to quality health care, and involvement in and contributing to one's community" (p. 362). This expansive and relational definition of well-being expands beyond the western European value and belief system to seek balance among spiritual, physical, mental, and contextual factors (Constantine et al., 2004; Rountree & Smith, 2016) while also emphasizing the connection to space, nature, and to the community. Relational approaches to well-being are important as research increasingly highlights the importance of positive relationships in supporting the well-being of college students (Bentrim & Henning, 2022). Furthermore, several multicultural scholars have argued that a relational approach is necessary to holistically conceptualize well-being for those that come from more collectivistic values and worldviews (Constantine & Sue, 2006; Frey, 2013; Schmidt et al., 2014).

Out of the fields of counseling and health psychology are additional relational-based frameworks that focus on strengths-based factors that contribute to "psychological and physical

well-being for college students of color." (Schmidt et al., 2014, p. 476). One framework is a

relational-cultural theory (RCT) which is a framework created for the relational and cultural

elements that shape health, especially for marginalized individuals (Schmidt et al., 2014).

Relational health is another concept derived from RCT that acknowledges the large body of

literature supporting the assumption that the quality of relationships is critical to psychological

health (Liang et al., 2002; Schmidt et al., 2014). In one study, Schmidt and colleagues surveyed

229 ethnically minoritized college students of color to examine how relational health and ethnic

identity contributed to overall well-being, including subjective well-being. Using an RCT

framework and correlational analysis, they found that, as expected, there was a positive and

significant association between relational health and subjective well-being, meaning that those

with lower levels of authentic, empowering, and engaging relationships with peers, mentors, and

community also had lower reports of subjective well-being and even lower physical health. They

argue that researchers should focus more on the quality of social support and relationships and

not solely on the quantity of such connections.

As scholars call for research approaches to health and well-being that are "inherently

social" (Jetten et al., 2012, p. 8), many relational approaches connected to well-being and college

students focused on social connection and strong relationships, which are some of the biggest

predictors of well-being (Bentrim & Henning, 2022; Deiner & Seligman, 2002). Furthermore,

social relations with kin and community, and relationships to the land and water are extremely

important values with many North American Native communities (Demallie, 1998; Gail et al.,

2021; Kral, 2011). Therefore, research designs with and for Native students should also reflect

this reality. Well-being research that includes relational approaches, considering in intra-action

of space, place, and context, expands the "ontological categories of well-being scholarship"

(Smith & Reid, 2018, p. 808) and honors the longstanding empirical connections between health and place (Duff, 2011). While relational approaches have included culture and relationships as important factors to consider when studying well-being, there is less of an emphasis on combining relational frameworks with relational analytic methods (such as social network analysis or relational ethnography), nor is there the inclusion of the role of power or structural issues of oppression or discrimination, which are key elements of a critical theoretical approach. The next section will explore how scholarship has included critical approaches and frameworks within well-being research.

Critical Conceptual Frameworks of Well-Being

Critical Theory is a broad, multi-branch set of philosophies that focus on critiquing social structures, inequalities, and power, as well as contemplation of social change and action (Bohman, 2021). According to German Philosopher Max Horkheimer (1972), critical theory seeks liberation from domination and emancipation for all human beings. This is achieved by engaging in social inequity that provides both explanation and understanding, highlighting structure and agency, and describing societal regularity and social norms, or normativity (Bohman, 2021). The creation of Critical Theory is mostly attributed to multiple generations of German philosophers and theorists such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Jürgen Habermas. Many of these Jewish scholars escaped persecution from Nazi Germany and engaged in several sub-branches of critical theory both in Frankfurt, Germany, and the United States in response to antisemitism and vast social class inequity in Western Europe (Crotty, 1998). Habermas is credited with leading the second generation of change-oriented critical theories (Baxter, 1987). While Pierre Bourdieu was not a part of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, he built upon similar Marxist traditions.

Meanwhile, there were several Black American scholars in the early-mid 19th century, such as W.E.B. DuBois (1903), Anna Julie Cooper (1995), and Audre Lorde (1980), who were expanding critical theory perspectives to situate hierarchical and interlocking oppression and domination within a global sphere of influence, including capitalism, imperialism, racism, and sexism. It is from this lineage that other critical theories arose, such as critical race theory (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, 1995), Black feminist thought (Collins, 2022; hooks, 1984), and tribal crit (Brayboy, 2005).

A Critical framework of well-being includes the consideration of power, social structures, social identities, and agency, and an emphasis on changing social structures instead of changing individuals. Amidst calls to include well-being and wellness as a larger component of social justice and equity work (King, 2023), contemporary wellness and well-being frameworks have been critiqued as race evasive or race-neutral, and there are structural, institutional, systemic, and individual challenges to teaching and supporting the whole student (Milner, 2019). In response, some scholars have put forth frameworks that situate well-being with broader equity work. For example, *Critical Wellness* is a concept that "addresses the role of race, culture, trauma, mental health, socio-emotional well-being, bias, identity, and adverse circumstances that inhibit a student's ability to be whole" (Howard et al., 2019, p. xix). This framework was specifically designed to be operationalized in an education setting and considers how schools have enormous power over the humanization and well-being of their students.

Table 2

Summary Subjective Well-Being Frameworks for Black and Indigenous Students

Well-Being Approaches	Citation Example	Framework Summary	Target Population/Spaces	Socio-Ecological	Relational	Critical
Indigenous Relational Well-Being	McClubbins et al., 2013	Expanding notions of well-being to include Indigenous ways of being	Native American/ American Indian	-	X	-
Science of Social Justice	King, 2023	The notion that well-being and social justice are one in the same	People of Color	-	-	X
Critical Wellness	Howard, 2019	The humanization process of those in education to attend to the psychological, social, and emotional well-ness of all students	Education spaces with minoritized student populations	-	X	X
Gender Self-Definition and Gender Self-Acceptance	Hoffman, 2006	Connecting individual perspectives of gender to SWB	University students	-	-	X
The American Indian Well-Being Model in Higher Education	Secatero, 2010	Harmony of eight pillars of well-being necessary to ensure college success (Spiritual, cultural, professional, social, mental, emotional, physical, and environmental)	Native American/ American Indian	X	X	-

Well-Being Approaches	Citation Example	Framework Summary	Target Population/Spaces	Socio-Ecological	Relational	Critical
Ubuntu Philosophy	Joshua, 2016	"I am a person through other persons"	A university setting with college students	-	X	-
Cubic Notion of Success	Seifert, 2016	College student success is not linear but a complex and cubic emergence of well-being	A university setting with college students	X	-	-
Inter-association definition of well-being	NIRSA, NASPA, ACPA, 2020	A holistic, integrated approach to well-being from the individual level to the institutional level	University setting	X	X	-
Well-being University Ecosystem	Lucas & Rogers, 2016	Institutional approaches to guide well-being initiatives from a shared set of priorities and values	University setting in collaboration with leaders, stakeholders, faculty, staff, and student	X	-	-
Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2005)	Brocato et al., 2021	A lens to understand power m oppression, and multiple compounding forms of inequity U.S. society	Originally conceptualize with the US legal system to study overlapping oppression for Black Women	-	X	X
Equity in Mental Health Framework	The JED Foundation, 2017	A framework of 10 recommendations to guide colleges and universities on support the emotional well-being and mental health of college and university students of color	University setting	X	-	X

Well-Being Approaches	Citation Example	Framework Summary	Target Population/Spaces	Socio-Ecological	Relational	Critical
Okanagan Charter Framework (2015)	Brocato et al., 2021	An institutional framework to help colleges and universities embed health promotion into all aspects of campus culture and lead health promotion locally and globally	University setting	X	-	-
Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1992)	Yoo et al., 2018	A critical race perspective on studying SWB	Racial groups in the United States	-	-	X
Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index	Gallup, 2015	An index that measures well-being along five key outcomes: purpose, social, financial, community, and physical	National survey sample of college graduates	X	X	-
Unikkaartuit Inuit Meanings of Well-Being	Kral et al., 2011	Family, talking or communication, and traditional Inuit values most important features of well-being	Inuit community, including college students	-	X	X
Optimal Human Functioning for People of Color (Constantine & Sue, 2006)	Utsey et al., 2008	Multiple unique strengths of individuals of color as part of a cultural or ethnic community	People of Color in the United States	-	X	X
Well-Being Equity Framework	Wellbeing Collaborative, n.d.	Individual and collective thriving that is not disadvantaged by social position or social circumstances	University setting	X	-	X

Well-Being Approaches	Citation Example	Framework Summary	Target Population/Spaces	Socio-Ecological	Relational	Critical
Wake Forest University Well-Being Assessment	Wellbeing Collaborative, n.d.	Evaluates student outcomes, skills, resources, and conditions to be well	University setting	X	-	X
Relational-Cultural Theory (Jordan et al., 1991)	Frey, 2006 Schmidt et al., 2014	A feminist strengths-based health model for marginalized individuals that prioritizes the quality of connections	Originally developed based on the experiences of women	-	X	X
Relational Health (Liang et al., 2002)	Schmidt et al., 2014	Quality of social support from key individuals such as peers, mentors, and community	Women university students	-	X	-
Psychological Empowerment (Berger & Neuhaus 2021)	Molix & Bettencourt, 2010	A process which individual gain control of their lives and environment	Public Policy and Nonprofit Sector	-	-	-

Other critical approaches were not initially designed to study well-being, but are critical frameworks to understand inequity, and as such have been a useful framework to understand how structural and societal forces continue to shape the lives of minoritized individuals. This is an important distinction between including or controlling for elements of social identity such as race and gender, which is common on quantitative inequity research, but also using critical frameworks to situate disparities as a product of an oppressive system and not solely the fault of individuals. Foundational critical theories such as critical race theory (CRT; Bell, 1992) and Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1995) have also been used to study and understand subjective well-being, particularly for students of color (see Brocato et al., 2021; Yoo et al., 2018). For example, one national study by Brocato et al., 2021, utilized an intersectional framework that acknowledges the compounding influence of multiple forms of oppression and equity. Analyzing nearly 12,000 survey responses from 28 colleges and universities across the U.S., they found that students with multiple marginalized identities, especially minoritized racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual orientation identities had "substantially lower subjective well-being levels than their peers with privileged identities" (Brocato et al., 2021, p. iv). It was through the use of intersectionality that provided the authors the theoretical spaces to frame marginality and marginalization as the problem and not the social identities of the students. Critical approaches also put the responsibility on institutions of higher education to change programs, policies, and practices to support students of all identities (see Winkle-Wagner, 2023).

Likewise, Critical Race Theory (CRT) has been used to understand subjective well-being research. For example, Yoo et al. (2018) explored how CRT and Racialization, or the ever-changing process and construction of race and racial groups, can significantly shape subjective well-being, especially for minoritized groups in the U.S. Their literature review revealed four

race and ethnic-specific factors to shape subjective well-being: racial-ethnic discrimination, racial-ethnic identity, acculturation, and enculturation, and racial-ethnic socialization (Yoo et al., 2018). They posit that the role of racialization, power, and inequity should always be considered when studying the well-being of racial groups in the U.S. While it is important to account for race in the study of well-being, the challenge is not to essentialize racial group differences as inherent or natural due to their race, but rather due to the social structures in which racialized bodies attempt to be well.

Other critical approaches adopt a health equity approach to addressing well-being disparities on college and university campuses. Many socio-ecological models are adapted from Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development, which emphasizes the relationship between individuals and their formal and informal environments and social contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The equity in mental health framework (The JED Foundation, 2017), and the equity in well-being framework (Wellbeing Collaborative, n.d.) are two frameworks that acknowledge the role and responsibilities that institutions of higher education have in supporting student well-being. The equity in mental health framework was created specifically for colleges and universities to support the well-being and mental health of students of color. Survey responses from 2,558 college students of color and 130 higher education leaders found that students of color were significantly less likely to see their campus climate as inclusive, more likely to feel isolated, and Black students in particular, were significantly more likely to say they tend to keep their feelings about college challenges to themselves (The JED foundation, 2017). The ten recommendations that followed focused on refining institutional policies and practices. Likewise, the Equity in well-being framework establishes institutional and environmental conditions where "individual and collective potential isn't disadvantaged by social position or

circumstances that are socially determined" (Wellbeing Collaborative, n.d.). While these health equity approaches are more inclusive of the institutional, structural, and societal barriers to well-being, there is less emphasis on the connection between institutional and large societal issues of inequity. Furthermore, the health equity frameworks only implicitly acknowledge the role of relationships to well-being but do not always explicitly address the role of relationships to people and place. Furthermore, there lacks a relational analysis within the empirical application of these frameworks which warrants further broadening of critical frameworks to include relational theoretical frameworks and methods.

Towards a Critical-Relational Framework of College Student Well-Being

This paper summarized and synthesized the empirical and conceptual approaches to subjective well-being for Black and Indigenous students. I first highlighted the benefits of studying subjective well-being, but also the challenge of measurements that lacked inclusion of the influences of culture and identity, which have been shown to be crucial to understanding well-being for minoritized individuals and communities. Empirical research often focuses on survey research and indicates a complex process of well-being for Black and Indigenous students that is influenced by individual behaviors and attitudes as well as positive and negative experiences and relationships on campus, and the presence of racism and discrimination. Relational frameworks for subjective well-being elevate relationships as essential to understanding well-being for Black and Indigenous students but don't often include critical perspectives that highlight the role of power and structural barriers that shape access to meaningful relationships. Critical approaches often lead with assumptions of structural barriers to well-being but, at times lack the inclusion of the immense value of relationships within policy and practice. However, there are a few frameworks that include both critical and relational

approaches (Brocato et al., 2021; Howard, 2019; Kral et al., 2011; Utsey et al., 2008), but not a relational analytic method that considers the role of social interaction and networks.

In an effort to create a more integrated framework, I turn to the lineage of Relational Sociology and, in particular, the works of Pierre Bourdieu, to offer a critical-relational framework for subjective well-being that acknowledges the process of relationships, power, inequity, and structural barriers within a specific context. I argue that Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) notion of a *habitus* could be a useful framework to bridge the relational, critical, and institutional aspects of subjective well-being.

Relational sociology is a broad and diverse set of theories and methods that focuses on social relations, social interactions, and social networks to best analyze, understand, and improve social life (Crossley, 2010; Dépelteau, 2018). Rather than focus on individual variables, attributes, or characteristics, relational sociology studies the dynamic process of transactions as the unit of analysis and sees all social phenomena (including inequity) as a relational process (Emirbayer, 1997; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020; Tilly, 1998). The notion of relational approaches and turning points in Sociology has a long lineage and has been studied since the 19th century through the works of Bourdieu, Simmel, Parsons, Marx, Tilly, and Durkheim to name a few (Dépelteau, 2018). While the term "relational sociology" was coined more recently by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s through his work, "Outline of a theory of practice" (1977), the field of Relational Sociology was established in the 1980s and 1990s through foundational works from Emirbeyer (1997) and Donati (2011).

Habitus has a long genealogy going back to Aristotle (Grotsky & Jackson, 2009), but is it Pierre Bourdieu's revival of *habitus* in relation to capital that is primarily used in educational research (byrd, 2019). Habitus is a complex embodied and socialized collection and system of

principles, dispositions, and practices acquired early in life but is malleable, adaptable, and produces norms that shape individuals and groups to engage with a particular environment (Bourdieu, 1977, byrd, 2019; Musoba & Baez, 2009; Reay, 2004). Scholars note that the concept of habitus is ambiguous (Musoba & Baez, 2009), underutilized (byrd, 2019; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020), undertheorized (Grodsky & Jackson, 2009), and even misappropriated (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008) as a concept within education research. While individual histories and socializations shape habitus within a particular context, Bourdieu (1967) also conceptualized a collective understanding of habitus or "cultured habitus" (p. 344), which includes acknowledging how individuals are in social structures and social positions under constant restructuring and resocialization (Reay, 2004). Schools are particularly known for habitus affirmation, legitimization, transformation, rejection, or reconstruction depending on if fields reproduce, welcome, or reject a particular habitus (Reay, 2004; Lareau & Weiniger, 2003). Bourdieu himself theorized that students struggled in school, not because of innate capacity, but because educational institutions did not value students' home socialization (Bourdieu, 1996). Others also critique how education institutions devalue the culture and capital of minoritized students (byrd, 2019; Carter, 2003; Yosso, 2005). According to Bourdieu and others, social and educational change lies not only in increasing the capital of individuals but also in addressing how institutions legitimize or reject student habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Mosuba & Baez, 2009; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). Although the notion of habitus as a primary mechanism of inequality has been fiercely debated (Bennett, 2010); it remains a useful concept to bridge individual experiences and preferences with an institutional and structural response.

Habitus must also be considered in tandem with the concept of field (Bourdieu, 1977). A field is a structured environment, a social space (but not always spatial or geographic) where

discourses, habitus, practices, and conflict combine (Mosuba & Baez, 2009), and where people compete for specific forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). When there is alignment between habitus and field, a particular practice is supported, capital is accrued, and social reproduction is fulfilled (Mosuba & Baez, 2009). Additionally, the inclusion of field recognizes that a well-being habitus in one (i.e., home community) may yield a different set of capital and legitimization when utilized in another field (i.e., residential college campus, Bourdieu, 1986; Mosuba & Baez, 2009). Therefore, including habitus and field within any analysis of practice (which in this study is the practice of well-being) is a necessary step to highlight the structural societal conditions that constrain individual and collective agency.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework is not without scrutiny and endures ongoing criticism (Bennett, 2010; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Richards et al., 2023; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). For example, Bourdieu's notions of capital have been critiqued for their lack of consideration of the role of other social identities, such as race and gender, as well as for the White European preferences and assumptions of which cultures have desired capital, and which do not (Yosso, 2005). Further tensions include Bourdieu's conception of social capital that was developed in a European context as mutually beneficial for both parties (e.g., agents), especially for elite middle-class and upper-class families and criticized as s too structural, deterministic, lacking enough space for agency and may not be all that useful in addressing inequity (Kingston, 2007; Musoba & Baez, 2009).

This is why it is important to embed critical approaches of Bourdieu's work (see byrd, 2019; Ginwright, 2007; Kingston, 2007; Lamont, 2010; Musoba & Baez, 2009; Richards et al., 2023; Tichavakunda, 2019; Winkle-Wagner, 2010), along with critical assumptions of subjective well-being, These critical assumptions of well-being assume that: (1) modern society is currently

and historically unfair, unequal, and privileges specific individuals over others, therefore it is important to consider multiple and intersecting participant identities, such as race, class, and gender. (2) No space in contemporary society, not even well-intentioned or neutral-presenting spaces such as well-being/wellness/self-care spaces are, immune from hegemony (or domination of one group over another. (3) modern social relations must be situated in a social-historical context. Therefore, it remains pertinent to include historical perspectives of who has been allowed to be well, under what conditions, and who has not.

Others have shown how Bourdieu's concepts help explore relationships and networks, especially research that analyzes the role of culture and the meaning of relations through relational methods such as social network analysis to study the experiences of groups and individuals (Acevedo, 2007; Grenfell, 2014; DiMaggio, 2011; Prell, 2006; Turnbull et al., 2019; Yosso, 2005; Wellman & Frank, 2017). Network approaches to Bourdieu's concepts resources through interpersonal ties, and consider attributes, nature and type of relations, the position of connections, the structure of the whole network, and whether and how individuals and groups benefit, with trust and reciprocity being the most important dimensions of an effective network (Prell, 2006; Scott, 2016).

It is within this collective notion of habitus that I conceptualize well-being as a *habitus*, or a set of individual, institutional, and relational dispositions and principles that impact behavior and actions that can aid educational researchers in not only understanding the outcomes of well-being for students of color, but perhaps more importantly, its process. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that habitus becomes active in relation to a specific field (1977), and that the same well-being habitus in one field can lead to different practices in another. This may help contextualize why Black and Indigenous students have different well-being experiences depending on the

institutional experiences and relationships. Conceptualizing well-being as a *habitus* honors the relational and contextual nature of the process and considers the role of agency within a structure. Well-being as a *habitus* also guides relational data collection by including individual and institutional discourse, principles, and campus climate norms.

Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the relationships between the various conceptual factors and processes that could shape well-being for Black and Indigenous college students, loosely following an input-process-output IPO model to represent all the factors that make up the well-being process. The left side of the diagram (see Figure 2) describes the relational input factors and prerequisites to understanding relational well-being. This first and foremost includes information about the well-being field, or context and space studied, including perceptions of campus climate, institutional policy, and discourse around well-being, as well as hierarchical social spaces on campus (or spaces differentiated by power and wealth), such as

Figure 1

Conceptual Diagram of a Critical-Relational Framework for Subjective Well-Being

high-priced residential halls or membership-only campus recreation and nature centers

(Lefebvre, 2003). Input factors also include the individual habitus, which contains socially

ingrained and supported habits, values, skills, and dispositions (Longhofer & Winchester, 2016).

Therefore, this critical relational well-being framework consists of an institutional habitus of

cultural schemes, expectations, messages, assumptions, and norms (i.e., campus climate) that

could lead to structurally preferential treatment and advantages for dominant groups in higher

education (byrd, 2019; Robbins, 1993).

The middle section of the diagram shows how field and habitus inputs shape the personal

well-being network process. These networks consist of social capital (relationships and

resources) and social support (specific provisions and assistance to cope with everyday life

issues and critical events). Both elements must be situated within critical and relational

theoretical frameworks (represented by the dark blue circle in the middle of the diagram, which

surrounds and embeds social capital within a social, historical, political, and relational context).

The interaction of habitus, field, social capital, and social support provides a comprehensive

conceptual lens to understand college student well-being and uncover new and broadened

definitions and embodiment of well-being with higher education.

Through this paper, I join the growing ranks of scholars calling for a broadened purpose

of education and notions of student success to include well-being (Diamond, 2018; Harward,

2016; Howard, 2019; Schreiner, 2016; Seifert, 2016; Winkle-Wagner, 2014). While there are

growing relational and critical approaches to well-being, I argue that a combined critical and

relational approach along with relational methods are needed to fully capture the well-being

experiences of Black and Indigenous students in higher education more holistically and

contextually. For this review, I have shown the necessity of well-being research of Black and

Indigenous students that includes relationships with people, space, land, and community, that

analyzes the role of power, discrimination, and racism; and that studies the connection between

relationships, interactions, and networks within the field of higher education institutions.

Incorporating the concepts of habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1977) would elevate well-being

research as contextual, relational, critical, and inclusive of individual behaviors and experiences

that are legitimized and rewarded with capital (or support) in specific social spaces. Additionally,

the notion of power and competition for resources within social spaces are rarely included in

well-being research, and a critical-relational well-being framework most importantly, makes

space for the element of power to be followed and explored in understanding who gets to be

well. Bourdieu's concept of habitus and field coupled with Indigenous relational frameworks and

network analysis more readily considers content, structure, agency, and power within well-being

research and serves as a robust framework to navigate the complexities of well-being in higher

education.

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Paper 2: Well-Being Affiliations and Network Centrality for Black and Indigenous College Students

Abstract

While much of the scholarship suggests that quality relationships and supportive campus environments shape well-being in college, racialized experiences moderate the effort students put into their academic and well-being endeavors. Understudied is a structural and compositional analysis and understanding of how relationships and networks support student well-being. This study analyzed (n=1200) survey responses from the Healthy Minds Survey to determine perceived institutional well-being support connections for Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. Two-mode social network analysis found significant differences in perceived well-being support by the level of well-being, gender, and campus engagement indicators such as sense of belonging and involvement in cultural student organizations. Faculty and advisors were central in Black and Indigenous men's well-being support, but less so for Black and Indigenous women. While family and friends provided vital social support, campus actors such as faculty and advisors also served central structural roles for students with large and small support networks.

Keywords: well-being, higher education, bipartite networks, secondary data, Black students, Indigenous students, exponential random graph modeling, healthy minds study

While college enrollment and degree completion are common indicators of student success in higher education, this traditional operationalization offers little space for the complexities of student success, especially for Black and Indigenous students (Mosholder et al., 2016; Schreiner, 2016; Tachine, 2022). In addition to the normal stress of higher education, Black students and other students of color experience racialized trauma and stress experiences that veritably impact their daily lived experiences. (McGee & Stovall, 2015; Smith, et al., 2011; Solórzano, et al., 2000). Therefore, while students may exhibit traditional markers of student success, such as degree progression and attainment, those accomplishments may be paired with isolation and racial trauma, especially for students of color at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs; Bradford 2021; Solórzano et al. 2000, Swim et al., 2003). In other words, a student can be considered "successful", but unwell and traumatized by their educational experience. Moreover, for many students, it is the experience of racist and sexist experiences that will often thwart a student's progress and increase the likelihood that they drop academic majors, transfer institutions, or leave higher education altogether (Harper et al., 2018; Horton, 2015; Sedlacek, 1987; Winkle-Wagner, 2009).

As a result, there are growing calls for educational scholarship that considers other notions of success, such as satisfaction, personal development, quality of life, and well-being (Diamond, 2018; Howard, 2019; Kuh et al., 2007; Wicker, 2022; Winkle-Wagner, 2015). Including well-being within student success is part of a larger initiative to extend higher education's purpose beyond critical thinking and job placement (Lucas & Rogers, 2016). Additionally, colleges and universities are increasingly interested in well-being interventions that increase student success and enhance institutional effectiveness (Schreiner, 2016).

Furthermore, faculty and staff are increasingly expected to prioritize and support student mental health (EAB Global, 2021). For example, in a recent study from Boston University, they found that almost 80% of faculty surveyed were directly addressing student mental health issues, which have only worsened since the COVID-19 pandemic, and there is a lack of training and preparation for faculty (Lipson et al., 2021). While faculty and other constituents are already engaging in this type of support, there are calls for institutional and structural policies and practices to best facilitate sustainable well-being efforts on campus. Additionally, studies indicate that student well-being decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic (Martinez & Nguyen, 2020), furthering the need to study changing relationships and networks within this context.

This study explores the well-being affiliations of Black and Indigenous college students. Using a relational sociology of education framework (Kolluri & Tierney, 2020), I conducted an exploratory social network analysis to answer the following questions: (1) Who are the central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous college students? (2) What individual, institutional, and network characteristics predict the probability of institutional well-being support connections for Black and Indigenous students? Findings from 1200 responses from the Health Minds Study suggest that both off-campus and on-campus individuals exist in students' well-being networks. Yet, actors have different levels of centrality and influence, complicating previous scholarship on ideal models of college integration and the benefit or determent of off-campus and family interactions. Additionally, student engagement indicators such as a sense of belonging are also associated with perceived well-support from campus actors, contributing to growing scholarship on the significance of cultivating a sense of belonging equity amongst students (Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Hausmann et al., 2007; Strayhorn, 2019). Based on the findings, I argue that current frameworks for student success and well-being do not account for

the interaction of on and off-campus support, gender differences, and institutional influences such as students navigating support within multiple campus (sub)climates. This paper contributes national social network data on the well-being support networks of Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a network analysis perspective on which institutional actors that students perceive in their well-being support networks, and what kind of network roles and power these actors may have.

Literature Review

This literature review presents the main theoretical assumptions, key findings, and research methods used to previously study the role of networks and relationships on college student well-being. While there are likely infinite factors that could explain well-being (Love et al., 2009), the scope of the literature review specifically considered the extent that scholarship had considered the socio-relational and institutional conditions that shape well-being specifically for Indigenous and Black students. Overall, summarizing previous studies and findings of well-being of Black and Indigenous students indicate several behavioral, protective, environmental, and resource factors that shape well-being while in college. For example, relationships (especially with peers and faculty), campus environments, and the prevalence (or lack) of racial stress are critical determinants of well-being (Bowman, 2010; Brocato et al., 2021; Crudup, 2013; Eggens et al., 2008; Mackinnon, 2012; McDougal et al., 2018; Mishra, 2020; Quaye & Harper, 2015; Strayhorn, 2019). Social capital (or relationships that provide special benefits and privileges), social support (help when needed), and sense of belonging (feelings of mattering within a particular context) are common theoretical and conceptual frameworks that guide research on important relationships with post-secondary institutions. Methodologically, there is extensive qualitative literature that highlights the negative experiences of students of color on

PWIs due to racist incidents such as microaggressions (Davis et al., 2004; Huffman, 2001; McClain et al., 2016; McGee & Stovall, 2015; Smith, 2007; Smith et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2016; Solórzano et al., 2000; Strayhorn, 2019; Swim et al., 2003; Watson, 2009; Winkle-Wagner; 2009, 2014). The qualitative research suggests how institutions engage and support students' social identities greatly shape Black and Indigenous student experiences and outcomes, including well-being. Many quantitative studies use large-scale nationally representative surveys to highlight differences in well-being experiences by student involvement, health behavior, race, gender, sexual orientation, and institution type (Brocato et al., 2021; Gallup, 2015, 2019; Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Kilgo et al., 2016; Ridner et al., 2015). For example, a recent national study of (n=23,750) college students found that racially and ethnically minoritized and first-generation students at 4-year institutions had a lower sense of belonging than their peers at 2-year institutions (Gopalan & Brady, 2020). This was the opposite experience for White students who had a greater sense of belonging at 4-year institutions, indicating that contextualized institutional and structural barriers need to be considered when facilitating well-being of all students (Gopalan & Brady). Overall, these studies suggest disparities in well-being experiences and outcomes for college students in higher education that are partly shaped by the campus environment.

How Campus Environments Shape Well-Being

Much research has addressed how individual student behaviors and characteristics can support student well-being (Bowman, 2010; Mahatmya et al., 2018; Ridner, 2016; Strayhorn et al., 2015). This type of student success research leaves out critical psycho-social factors that would better craft a holistic idea of student success (Harward, 2016; Howard, 2019; Schreiner, 2016). Research also suggests that positive institutional experiences increase the likelihood of

well-being for college students. Factors such as institutional racial composition (Bernard et al., 2020), positive interactions with students and faculty (Bowman, 2010), faculty mentoring, sense of belonging (Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Strayhorn, 2019; Well-being Collaborative), and community (Beauchamp et al., 2020) are shown to increase the likelihood of well-being for college students. Additionally, some scholars argue that the differences in well-being by race/ethnicity may be shaped by the effort students need to process racially hostile campus environments (Brocato et al., 2021; Quaye & Harper, 2015; McDougal et al., 2018). For example, Black students at predominantly White institutions tend to experience more minority status stress than those that attend historically Black colleges, are often underrepresented in student engagement (McDougal et al., 2018), and detach from school and academic performances to cope with racism (Reynolds et al., 2010; Steele; 1992).

One underlying assumption of this literature is that the effort that it requires to process racially hostile climates and racial stress diverts effort that could be used in intellectual endeavors. In essence, the inverse relationship between racism and student engagement may play a substantial role in explaining differences in well-being by institution type, meaning that the more time that students spend processing racism, the less time they have for everything else, including well-being. (Crudup, 2013). This argument of racism moderated well-being is supported by national well-being data suggesting that, in general, the more minoritized identities that a college student has, the lower their subjective well-being tends to be (Brocato et al., 2021). Hostile campus climates may make students feel unsafe, and a lack of safety compromises students' ability to access and engage with campus resources (Brocato et al., 2021) and threatens one of the most important needs and prerequisites to self-actualization or reaching an individual's highest potential and purpose (Maslow, 1970).

Another iteration of institutional attachment, a sense of belonging, is the perception of social support, connectedness, mattering, or feeling cared about, accepted, respected, valued by, and important to the campus community (Strayhorn, 2019; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2018). A sense of belonging is a mutually constructed (hence relational) state of being and human right that heightens significance in certain contexts to influence student behavior (Strayhorn, 2019). Similar to other indicators of well-being for college students, factors that shape a sense of belonging include a combination of identity, interpersonal, and institutional variables, such as positive interpersonal interactions and perceived support from peers and faculty (Ingram, 2012; Gopalan & Brady, 2020). Additionally, a student's attachment to their institution is critical for their social and emotional well-being, especially for African American students (Love et al., 2009). Institutional attachment is shaped by a student's sense of connectedness and mattering, peer attachments, as well as having rich, high-impact experiences on campus such as caring faculty, mentorship, and undergraduate research or internship opportunities (Gallup, 2015; Love et al., 2009). Graduates of both Historically Black Colleges & Universities (HBCUs) and Tribal Colleges & Universities (TCU)s are twice as likely to be emotionally attached to their alma mater institutions (Gallup, 2015, 2019). Forty-eight percent of TCU and HBCU graduates are attached to their alma mater, more than double the national average of 19% (Gallup 2015, 2019).

Several studies have demonstrated that a sense of belonging was associated with better wellness and educational outcomes, and consistently predicted persistence, engagement, and mental health (Fink, 2019; Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Hausmann, 2009; Patterson Silver Wolf et al., 2021; Strayhorn, 2019; Walton & Cohen, 2007). By contrast, a lack of belonging undermined academic performance and can lead to isolation, loneliness, marginality, dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, depression, substance abuse, and suicide (Hagerty et al., 2002; Walton & Cohon, 2007).

This research underscores how crucial the campus climate and relationships are to achieving a sense of belonging and well-being in higher education. This also underscores the unequal effort that marginalized students must put into being well in a way that diverts effort and energy away from other intellectual and academic endeavors and still may not result in belonging. Overall, research indicates that gaining a sense of belonging (and well-being) can come at a significant cost for some students, and as such it is imperative that scholarship aimed at addressing inequity must examine and expose those costs to improve well-being in research and practice.

Relationships and Networks

The overall literature consensus is that social support and meaningful relationships matter significantly in college (Chambliss & Takacs, 2014, Felton & Lambert, 2020: Henning et al., 2018), and positive relationships with others are important in maintaining well-being and health in general (Knapik & Laverty, 2018; Ryff, 1989; Seppala et al., 2014; Waldinger & Schulz, 2023). Minoritized students seek emotional support from peers with similar backgrounds to bond over shared negative experiences (Mishra; 2020). While student-faculty interactions appear to positively affect students' well-being regardless of race (Schreiner, 2016), the impact of such interactions varies by race and ethnicity and contributes differently to the learning gains of students of color (Cole, 2007).

The study of networks within higher education is a useful endeavor is it "follows people as they enter a new context with new challenges and stresses, a context where forming a new set of confidants is an option yet retaining the lifelong inner circle of support that many are presumed to have remains appealing" (Small, 2017, p. 8). As network processes and outcomes are contextual, there is also evidence to suggest that distinct influences shape college student networks that are different from other significant contexts (Smith & Vonhoff, 2019).

Additionally, higher education plays a role in structuring and facilitating student networks (via academic, spatial, affinity, and geographic groupings). For example, the information and support received from faculty and peers are shown to influence a student's ability to deal with challenges in higher education (Eggens et al., 2008; Mackinnon, 2012). This structuring can interrupt or perpetuate inequality and yield disparate outcomes for minoritized students who may not have the social capital to maintain or navigate a particular pathway or grouping (Smith et al., 2022). Therefore, understanding those distinct influences remain imperative in a holistic understanding of how higher education can profoundly change student lives and contribute to student success beyond degree attainment.

There are some empirical tensions around whom college students turn to when they need support, with some studies indicating institutional support from faculty, staff and peers is most important (Baker & Robnett, 2012; Fischer, 2007; Kao, 2001; Nora et al., 1996; Terenzini et al., 1994; Tinto, 1993), while others highlight the role of family and friends, especially for students with minoritized identities (Guillory & Wolverton, 2016; Kennedy & Winkle-Wagner, 2014; McCoy & Winkle-Wagner, 2022; Mishra, 2020; Mosholder & Goslin, 2013). For example, to understand whom students turn to in difficult times, Mario Small (2017) followed a group of 38 first year graduate students over the span of a year to see how networks work in practice. Small found that contrary to the standard assumption that people mostly talk about important matters with whom they consider close or strong ties (i.e., family and close friends), Small's research revealed that many students often confided in those that they were not close to (weak ties, acquaintances, even strangers), often preferring empathetic connections over close ones (Small, 2017).

By contrast, Shweta Mishra's (2020) systemic review of social networks, social capital, and social support in higher education found that strong ties in personal networks (consisting of students' family/parents and communities, and weaker ties through institutional networks (consisting of faculty, peers, and learning communities) contributed to student success. Additionally, familial support in the form of advice, motivation, and guidance was pertinent for both Native American and African American students, highlighting the role that families and communities play in their academic success, as well as the failure of institutions to facilitate social capital for minoritized students. While some argue that networks that include frequent interaction from off-campus ties are a good thing (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Cheng & Starks, 2002; Mishra, 2020), others have argued that the most successful student is one that received the majority of social support from inside the college environment as outside obligations to family or employment can hinder academic success (Baker & Robnett, 2012; Fischer, 2007; Kao, 2001; Nora et al., 1996; Terenzini et al., 1994; Tinto, 1993). This potentially has significant implications for research and practice that steer students away or toward off-campus support. This study adds data on the composition and interaction of on-campus and off-campus support and the centrality of different roles of support within student networks.

Social Support and Well-Being

Likewise, a large body of literature documents the benefits of social support in supporting individuals through difficult times, especially on individual well-being and mental health (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988; Small, 2017; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). Social Support is the "social interactions or relationships that provide individuals with actual assistance or a feeling of attachment to a person or group that is perceived as caring or loving" (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988, p. 467), and is also considered paramount to achieving success in higher education, especially for

underrepresented or historically excluded populations without access to other forms of social capital (Mishra, 2020). Social support positively correlates with mental and physical health (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Pinxten & Lievens, 2014). According to researcher Blake Silver, the campus environment is an "intricate landscape of need," with many students requiring support (Silver, 2020, p. 17). Research, especially from social and health psychology fields, acknowledges how both actual and perceived support shapes health and well-being (Taylor, 2009; Sani, 2012). For example, within a higher education context, just the perception of students felt supported or had access to caring individuals was enough to improve student experiences (Taylor, 2010). In fact, "many of the benefits of social support come from the perception that social support is available; that is, that people carry their support networks around in their head" (Taylor 2010, p. 707). Additionally, there are gendered and cultural differences in how social support is experienced or utilized (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001).

While student organizations and other same-race and same-gender support structures are generally seen as a positive contribution to student success for Black and Indigenous students (Mishra, 2020), it is important to note that it was *positive* social support, interactions, and relationships that fostered well-being and student success, and that negative or adverse interactions, especially negative interracial or diverse interactions can quickly erode well-being and sense of belonging for students of color (Bowman, 2010; Chao, 2012; Cole, 2007). This highlights the importance of including both actual and perceived social support within well-being research, as well as clarifying distinctions between positive and negative interactions.

Gaps in Literature

Both quantitative survey and qualitative data showed that institutional campus climate, positive interactions and relationships from faculty and friends, and access to appropriate support

all shaped well-being. While health and well-being appeared to erode with age, especially for those who experience chronic racism and sexism (Geronimus et al., 2006), students who attended Minority-Serving Institutions may experience a bit of a buffer from that erosion due to positive and culturally affirming educational experiences. In synthesizing the literature, I argue that well-being research (1) focused more on individual outcomes and characteristics of well-being rather than the socio-relational process of being well, (2) explored networks in relation to student success without well-being as part of how success is defined, (3) included disaggregated data but not the intersectional perspective that highlights how and why multiple compounding marginalized identities shaped well-being outcomes, and (4) considered well-being as a means to student achievement but not success itself. What is less known are the institutional conditions, such as faculty, staff, spaces, and resources that best foster strong well-being networks for students, if optimal well-being networks differ by institution type, or how much effort students use to create and maintain such networks for self and others, especially in racially hostile environments, and the connection between formal and informal relationships. Additionally, while scholarships tend to collect relational data (especially survey data), rarely are there relational theoretical and relational methodological approaches for analysis and making sense of findings.

Therefore, while previous studies often treat well-being as an *individual* outcome as a means to other more significant outcomes and often excluded from notions and constructs of student success, the study bridges literature on social networks, social support, social capital, well-being, and academic/student success to explore well-being as a relational process of equal importance to other metrics, and a part of a broadened understanding of student success. This study expands notions of social capital and social support within and outside of the college environment combining with critical quantitative race perspectives on the role that race and

racism have on the lived experiences of students and in how researchers quantify, understand, and explain such phenomena.

Theoretical Framework

I combined critical[2], sociological, and relational frameworks that concern the role of social interaction, connectedness, and how individuals gain access to resources and privileges. Relational sociology, evolving from Bourdieu's (1977) social reproduction theory and other include expanded notions of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) or beneficial relationships and resources, such as critical social capital (Ginwright, 2007) and network capital (Wellman, 2001) alongside relational sociology of education (Kolluri & Tierney, 2020).

Central to the idea of relational sociology is the work of French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2010). In particular, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical and conceptual apparatus has dominated sociological and educational research on the role of power, class, status, and resources on inequality (Winkle-Wagner, 2010). Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1979) remains one of the most influential theories in sociology and is instrumental in analyzing persistent inequity in schools (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Portes, 1998, Weininger, 2005; Winkle-Wagner, 2010). Social capital (relationships that facilitate access to beneficial resources and privileges), is one of the most frequently used concepts in the social sciences (Burt, 2019, Lin & Bian, 2021). While social and cultural capital often dominate conversations about inequity in education (Yosso, 2005), several scholars have argued that social and cultural capital are not complete without the other less popular concepts within Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, namely that of *habitus* (or the set of dispositions and principles that shape cultural and symbolic

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[2] By critical approaches, I engage with social inquiry that address social inequities and power structures in society with the goal of social change.

behavior) and *field* (or the social context, Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Dika & Singh, 2002; Reay, 2004; Winkle-Wagner, 2010; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2016).

Relational sociology of education is a framework that is built from Bourdieu's work on relational sociology and assumes that all social reality is manufactured through relationships and contains elements of both structure and agency (Bourdieu, 1977; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020). This means that rather than focus on individual variables, attributes, or characteristics, relational sociology studies the dynamic process of transactions as the unit of analysis and sees all social phenomena (including inequity) as a relational process (Emirbayer, 1997; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020). Therefore, a relational study brings new and more complete answers to any social reality, especially in higher education (McCabe, 2020).

In this paper, I combine critical and relational sociology ideas to center and contextualize the role of power and networks within well-being research. In particular, I consider how social capital plays out within fields of education and ways that ideas of social capital (trust, obligation, social networks, care) might relate to a set of relational dispositions or a well-being habitus.

The original concept of social capital is that these resources are accrued by relationships that are then cultivated and exchanged into other forms of capital and material and social resources, such as power and influence (Bourdieu, 2010). Because social capital is unevenly distributed, social capital is seen as a mechanism to reproduce inequity (Bourdieu, 1986; Perry et al., 2018)., These resources are the information, services, and goods, that people receive and give depending on their networks. One of the drawbacks of current network approaches to social capital is that it tends to overlook the larger socio-economic context to connect how unique settings (such as schools) play a role in the presence or absence of capital (Prell, 2006). As historical tensions and larger structural inequities play a role in shaping who connects,

collaborates, and reciprocates with whom (Prell, 2006), conceptual and analytical frameworks that consider both the network and the larger social context is most ideal for understanding network capital.

Critical social capital (Ginwright, 2007) builds upon traditional frameworks to offer a collective idea of how social relationships can be used in social spaces. Scholars that use critical social capital argue that by centering assets-based racial identity, social-political awareness, and civic engagement, youth (with Black youth in particular) can cultivate empowerment, positive cultural and racial identity, collective social consciousness, and trust (Baldridge 2014; Christens, 2012; Khalifa et al., 2016). Although primarily used in community spaces, critical social capital can also inform education research and inquiry by reconsidering how students harness power by utilizing assets of their identity and background (Winkle-Wagner et al., 2020). Ginwright's critical social capital combines Bourdieu's critical perspective that critiques modern society and acknowledges the role of labor, exploitation, power, and inequality, with Colman's and Putnam's functionalist perspective of how social capital can create better individuals and societies through social cohesion, collective interaction, and civic engagement. Therefore, in addition to conceptual social capital as networks, resources, and benefits, critical social capital allows me to consider how students see their individual quests for well-being as part of a larger collective, political, and structural struggle, and the role of fostering positive racial and cultural identity and social consciousness not solely for their own benefit, but for other current and future students.

As such, this study combines Ginwright's expanded critical social capital, which considers the larger socio-historical context of relationships with the network capital conception of Wellman & Frank's network capital (2001) which considers how the composition and structure of relations and networks shape resources. I define critical network capital as the

combination of relationships and resources that are embedded within the socio-historical context of a unique setting and not as easily converted or transferred into another setting. Instead of utilizing dyadic social capital which focuses on individual achievement and credentials, critical network capital considers how the entire network must interact with one another and the larger social context to achieve a particular aim, as well as how networks treat individual goals as a political and power process. This study also considered the possibility within a higher education setting for well-being to result from social capital, as a resource cultivated through relationships but also exchanged and even sacrificed to achieve success in an educational setting. This is what Bourdieu would characterize as economic capital or institutional credentials (Bourdieu, 1986). It is through the combined framework of critical social and network capital, habitus, and field that guided the selection of variables for the descriptive and inferential analysis and to connect and reflect on how the study findings relate back to the larger social and historical context.

Research Design

Social network theory and analysis (SNA) is a broad term to capture theories, concepts, and techniques for collecting and analyzing relational data (Crossley et al., 2015). SNA assumes that relationships between interacting units are essential for understanding any social context (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) and helps study how relationship structures provide opportunities, constraints choices and are associated with social outcomes (Crossley et al., 2015; Kolluri & Tierney, 2020). Relationships between "actors" are central to this research and include multiple factors, including nodes or actors (i.e., people), ties, social relations, interactions, and flows. All these factors can be collected and examined qualitatively, quantitatively, and visually to reveal fascinating processes and mechanisms of how ideas, influence, and information flow from person to person (Daly, 2010).

Data

To answer the research question concerning who the central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous college students are, it was important to find multi-year national survey data that included information about well-being, relationships, and support. The Healthy Minds Study (HMS) is an annual web-based national survey that examines mental health, service utilization, and related issues among undergraduate and graduate students (Healthy Mind Network, 2021). The survey captures self-reported attitudes and behaviors from 550,000 undergraduate students from over 400 colleges and universities. The HMS questionnaire comprised of 3 standard modules around mental health status and resource/help-seeking utilization, as well as several elective modules ranging from sleep behaviors to diversity and inclusion/campus climate perspectives. Institutions opted into survey participation, which was administered by the HMS research team. Typically, a random sample of 12,000 students from each institution received up to four email invitations to take the survey. Institutions under 12,000 students invited their entire population of students to take the survey (Healthy Minds Network Team, 2022). The response rates for each year were 14% and 13% respectively. From a de-identified public dataset, I utilized a stratified random sampling technique to select a sample of (n= 1200) total responses from Black and Indigenous college students during the survey years of 2019-2021 to represent a snapshot of experiences and attitudes before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. Given previous studies suggesting differences in well-being for Black and Indigenous students (Gallup 2015; 2019) and critical methodological assumptions that the experiences of marginalized communities deserve uplifting in their own empirical right, without the need for a reference category or comparison to majority populations (Pasque & alexander, 2022), I decided to only sample Black and Indigenous students. This survey is ideal for network analysis as it

includes variables on well-being (i.e., subjective well-being score), student characteristics (e.g., health attitudes, demographic information, and campus involvement), and relational data on whom students reach out to for support. Table 3 provides a sociodemographic summary of the sampled survey participants.

Table 3

Sociodemographic Information of Survey Participants

Categories	Sampled Participants (n =1200)
Race	
Afro-Indigenous	174 (15%)
Black or African American	568 (47%)
Native American/ American Indian	456 (38%)
Gender	
Women	853 (71%)
Men	291 (24%)
Non-Binary	56 (5%)
Age	
18-22	961 (80%)
23-29	154 (13%)
30-39	64 (5%)
40-49	20 (2%)
50-59	1 (< 1%)
Well-Being	
Higher well-being (>45)	550 (46%)
Lower well-being (<44)	648 (54%)
Institution Type	
Doctoral	455 (38%)
Masters	204 (17%)
Baccalaureate	150 (12%)
Associates	389 (32%)
Special Focus	2 (<1%)
Transfer Student	133 (11%)
First Generation College Student	361 (30%)
Year in School	
1st year	330 (27%)
2nd year	299 (25%)
3rd year	312 (26%)
4th year	209 (17%)
5th year +	45 (4%)

Note. The Afro-Indigenous racial category indicated survey participants who identified racially as both Black and Native.

Descriptive Analysis

To build the proxy network data, I utilized a binary coding system of 1's and 0's to represent connection and support for well-being based on two specific questions within the utilization/help-seeking module of the Healthy Minds Study. The first question asked if in the past 12 months students had received counseling or support for mental or emotional health from the following sources: "roommate", "friend", "significant other", "family member", "professional clinician," "religious counselor", "support group", "other", or "no one". The second informal help seeking question focused on institutional support and asked: "If you had a mental health problem that you believe was affecting your academic performance, which people at school would you talk to? Students could select options, including "professor from one of my classes", "Academic advisor", "Another faculty member", "Teaching assistant", "Student services staff", "Dean of students or class dean", "Other", or "No one". I utilized the responses from these two questions to build a sociomatrix, which is a two-mode tabular representation of connections for all 1200 sample responses.

Table 4

Sample Sociomatrix of Support Connections (Truncated)

ID	Friend	Family	Religious Figure	Professor	Advisor	TA	Student Affairs	Dean of students
1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
6	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1

While network science often collects and studies relational data that examines data between one set of nodes, meaning that both rows and columns within a sociometric are the same entities, either same people or organizations (also known as one-mode data), it is also possible to examine relations between two different sets of nodes (two-mode data; Borgatti & Evertt, 1997; Valente, 2010). This study uses a two-mode or Bipartite sociomatrix for analysis (see Table 4) for sample sociomatrix), with the rows representing one set of nodes (the students), and the columns representing the campus actors who provide support, such as roommates, friends, faculty, and/or advisors. A "1' indicated that the student selected one of these types of individuals as someone that they would reach out to for social emotional support, thus creating a proxy social support network.

I then used the UCINET (Borgatti et al., 2002) software package to visualize the two-mode network, identify clusters among support actors, and calculate network centrality measures, such as, betweenness, and eigenvector centrality, which measure structural influence within a network (see Figure 2). Next, I created a sociomatrix of the two-mode data to calculate Bonacich power (1987), a measure of influential power within a network. The final descriptive analysis was a core/periphery analysis to identify essential subgroups of individuals and well-being support for the entire sample (Ansell et al., 2016).

Bipartite Exponential Random Graph Model (BERGM)

I used the observations from the descriptive analysis to fit an exponential random graph model to predict the likelihood of supportive ties with campus actors, controlling for individual and institutional attributes. An exponential random graph modeling (ERGM) is a modified general linear model statistical analysis to characterize a network as an outcome of various

network configurations and interactions (Borgatti et al., 2018). Similar to logistic regression, the model parameter estimations are built to determine if configurations occur more or less frequently than expected, given the network's density. This study follows (Wang et al., 2013) general form for the ERGM probability graph distribution:

$$P_\theta(X = x) = \frac{1}{k(\theta)} \exp \left\{ \sum_q \theta_{Edges} z_{Edges}(x) + \theta_{Sociality} z_{Sociality}(x) + \theta_{well-being} z_{well-being}(x) \right.$$

$$+ \theta_{disability} z_{disability}(x) + \theta_{climate} z_{climate}(x) + \theta_{Black} z_{Black}(x)$$

$$+ \theta_{Indigenous} z_{Indigenous}(x) + \theta_{Competitive} z_{Competitive}(x) + \theta_{Woman} z_{Woman}(x)$$

$$\left. + \theta_{Man} z_{Man}(x) \right\}$$

Whereas X represents a collection of tie variables in the graph between set A of nodes (or this case the students) and set B of nodes (support relations). If there is a tie between the sets of nodes, X= 1, otherwise X=0. The is also a set of θ parameters for each variable which is multiplied by their associate graph statistics z. q represents the various network configurations, and $k(\theta)$ is the normalizing constant. The descriptive analysis findings suggested the presence of meaningful differences in perceived institutional support by level of well-being, by gender, and year of survey (pre- or during the COVID-19 pandemic). I used information from the descriptive statistics to test the following null and alternative hypotheses:

1. H0a- There is no difference in the likelihood of perceived institutional well-being connections between students with higher well-being (flourishing) and students with lower well-being.

a. H1a- Students with higher self-reported well-being are significantly more likely to perceive institutional actors as someone they would turn to for well-being network support.

2. H0b- There is no difference in the likelihood of perceived institutional well-being connections between students who identify as women, and students who do not.

a. H1b-Students identifying as women are significantly less likely to perceive institutional actors as part of their well-being support.

3. H0c- There is no difference in the likelihood of perceived well-being support by role on campus.

a. H1c-Students were significantly more likely to perceive advisors and professors as someone they would turn to for support rather than teaching assistants, student services staff, or the Dean of students.

In the final model, I included network statistics as well as individual and institutional characteristics that were either of interest due to the initial exploratory descriptive analysis or chosen based on theoretical interests. The final attributes were gender identity, race, subjective well-being score, perception of mental health campus climate, whether the students had a diagnosed disability, sense of belonging, involvement in cultural student organizations, and the academic competitiveness of the institution (Table 5). Initially, there were other institutional-level attributes of interest including institution size, type, and geographic location, but due to converging limitations of the ERGM model (see limitations section), those attributes were not able to be included in the final statistical model.

After checking the correlation of each interested covariate (see Table 3). I used the Bipartite ERGM approach to fit a series of models to test differences by various network,

institutional, and individual attributes (see Table 11). The baseline null model (Model 1) includes

the edges statistics, which is a term to account for the overall density of the sample and

likelihood of a connection. The second model added the network statistics of sociality which is a

term for degree (number of connections). This term adds one network statistic for each actor

equal to the number of ties or connections it has. This helps determine if the number of

connections to one specific institutional actor is remarkable given the sample size while taking

into account other variables. The third model added covariates of interest that arose from the

exploratory descriptive analysis (i.e., well-being, gender, and race). The final full model includes

the baseline network density, network statistics for the degree of each institutional actor,

covariates that arose from the descriptive analysis as well as additional covariates that has

potential significance based on previous research and from the theoretical frameworks of

Relational Sociology and Critical Social Capital (Table 5). The additional covariates included

mental health campus climate perceptions, whether the student has a disability, institutional

academic rank (competitive or noncompetitive), and whether the student is involved with

culturally affirming clubs and organizations on campus.

Table 5

Network Covariates for Inferential Analysis

Covariate	Description	Inclusion Justification
Academic Rank	Perceived competitiveness of the institution	Proxy for *Field*
Subjective Well-Being	Flourishing scale (Diener et al., 2009)	Emerged from descriptive centrality analysis/ previous literature
Sense of Belonging	Adapted from Perceived cohesion scale (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990).	Proxy for Habitus/ Critical Social Capital
Gender Identity	Personal sense of one's own gender	Critical Social Capital
Race	Self-identification of racial category	Critical Social Capital/ Previous Literature
Campus Climate	Perceived campus hostility for students of minoritized backgrounds	Proxy for *Field*
Diagnosed Disability	An official diagnosis of disability with the past 12 months	Control Covariate
Cultural Student Organization Involvement	Been a member of an official cultural student organization	Previous Literature

I conducted several procedures to check the fit of the Bipartite ERGM model. First, I simulated 1000 random graphs and set the probability of an edge being drawn equal to the sample network's density. The number of edges in the observed network were nearly identical to that of the simulated network, indicating an appropriate model fit (Appendix A). A second procedure to check model fit was to fit the statistical models with covariates that only decreased

both the Akaike information criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC), which are measures of model performance (Hossain, 1998; Mohammed et al., 2015). Lower AIC and BIC values indicated a better statistical model fit. I added covariates one by one to the statistical model and only kept nodal covariates that decreased both the AIC and the BIC until both measures no longer decreased, indicating the best model fit given the data. As a final model check, I evaluated the model using goodness of fit measures to determine if the observed network has similar structural features as the simulated graphs, using a boxplot distribution of the b2sociality network statistic (total connections for each institutional actor). In observing the boxplot, there was no indication that the model was badly misspecified (see Appendix B).

Table 6

Correlation of Nodal Covariates

	cult org	belong	disab	climate	flourish	Black	Indig	rank	woman	man
cult org	1									
belong	0.07	1								
disab	0.00	-0.06	1							
climate	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	1						
flourish	0.04	0.28	0.00	-0.03	1					
Black	0.09	-0.07	0.03	-0.07	0.04	1				
Indig	-0.08	0.04	-0.01	0.04	-0.01	-0.76	1			
rank	0.13	0.06	0.00	-0.05	0.04	-0.06	0.08	1		
woman	0.03	-0.06	-0.04	0.00	0.02	0.09	-0.08	-0.04	1	
man	-0.04	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.04	-0.05	0.05	0.02	-0.92	1

Limitations

Many of the limitations of the study center around the dataset characteristics and chosen statistical model. For reasons both related to the survey data and analysis method, this study could not analyze as many institutional characteristics as desired. As a de-identified public dataset, there were limitations to the type of institutional characteristics included in the dataset.

While previous research suggests well-being differences by institution type (Gallup 2015; 2019), particularly for students who attend Minority Serving Institutions, the Health Minds Study only began to make that data publicly available in 2021, which prevented any pre-COVID-19 comparisons.

Additionally, since the original survey purpose what not geared toward network data, the help-seeking questions were inconsistent in their wording, which could have shaped how students answered. For example, the personal support question asked who *did* students turn to for support (actual support), whereas the institutional support question asked who students *would* turn to for support (perceived support). While research suggests that both actual and perceived support shape health outcomes (McCarty et al., 2019), it is difficult to disguise the two from this dataset. This is why I characterize the data as proxy well-being networks to represent possible perceived and actual support.

ERGM models are sometimes difficult to converge and fit with all attributes of interest. For example, while the descriptive analysis indicated homophily (similar connections based on shared nodal attributes), I could not successfully converge the ERGM model with the homophily term [b1nodematch], likely due to the large sample size and bipartite nature of the network. Additional institutional-related covariates such as institutional type and size were of interest but including those covariates to increase predictive power came at the expense of the overall fit of the model (as indicated by the AIC and BIC). Therefore, I chose to omit some covariates of interest to stay as close to the best model fit as possible, likely resulting in some underfitting, and reduced explanatory power of the final model.

Findings

Descriptive Findings

Who are the central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous college students? Descriptive social network findings reveal that a combination of personal and institutional actors are the most central well-being support actors for Black and Indigenous students overall both before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, with some distinct differences by level of well-being and by gender. Figures 2 and 3 represent a sociomatrix visualization of the well-being support networks from the sample by year. Each gray line represented a connection from a student (the outer smaller red or green circle) to well-being support connection (the square black nodes). The size of the nodes represents the number of times a particular actor was selected, with larger black squares indicating more students selected that actor as part of their network. Well-being actors that were more frequently co-selected together are clustered near one another in the visualization. The average number of connections in 2019-2021 was 3 and dropped to 2.8 the following year in 2020-2021. For personal connections, "friends" and "family" stand out as important connections in the sample, along with "significant others". For institutional actors, "faculty" and academic "advisors" consistently led in the number of selections within the sample. However, the option of "No academic support" received the third highest selection within the sample both before and during the COVID-19 pandemic indicating a concerning overall perception of not feeling wholly supported by their institutions. Table 7 provides all frequencies on selections of support by academic year.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics of Well-Being Affiliations by Year

Year	2019-2020	2020-2021
Sample Size	n=600	n=600
Number of Ties	1807	1695
Density	0.19	0.18
Number of Isolates	17 (3%)	38 (6%)
Academic Advisor	198 (33%)	184 (31%)
Dean of Students	39 (7%)	34 (6%)
Family	214 (37%)	199 (33%)
Friend	256 (43%)	264 (44%)
No Academic Support	214 (37%)	212 (35%)
No Personal Support	178 (30%)	188 (31%)
Other Academic	35 (6%)	45 (8%)
Other Faculty	47 (8%)	42 (7%)
Other Informal	5 (1%)	3 (0.5%)
Professor from Class	188 (31%)	180 (30%)
Religious	27 (5%)	25 (4%)
Roommate	110 (17%)	74 (12%)
Significant Other	176 (29%)	166 (28%)
Student Services	86 (14%)	65 (11%)
Support Group	12 (2%)	16 (3%)
Teaching Assistant	22 (4%)	16 (3%)

When comparing the support networks before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, there were three important patterns to note. The first finding is that during the 2020-2021 academic there were about 10% fewer connections overall for all students in the sample (down to 1695 from 1807). This indicates that the students in the aggregate sample selected fewer support connections during the first year of the pandemic than the year prior. Except for "Friends", "Other Academic Personnel" and "Support Groups", all of support actors decreased in the number of selections from students, indicating that many students perceived a loss in the number of people they could turn to for help, and suggest that others turned to peers and friends more

than ever and/or looked for new avenues of connection with other academic personal or support groups. The second pattern is that there were double the number of isolates in the sample during the COVID-19 pandemic. Within a network, an isolate is a node that is not connected to any other node within the network. In this case, more than double the number of students did not check any option to the question about informal help-seeking and support, compared to the previous year (3% in 2019-2020 vs. 6% in 2020-2021). The third pattern in the visualization is the increase of students scoring above average on the subjective well-being scale. Notably, all student populations stayed the same or increased the percentage of students in the sample scoring above average for subjective well-being (see Table 10). This suggests that while students lost perceived support connection during the COVID-19 pandemic, there was still an increase in students indicating that they are well, which warrants further exploration.

While the number of connections (or degree statistic) is one manner of interpreting centrality, there are other interpretations of influence within a network. Eigenvector centrality is a network statistic that considers not only the sum of every direct connection but also of indirect connections to take account of the entire network (Bonacich, 2007). Individuals with a high eigenvector have many connections, and their connections have many connections which suggest a level of influence and popularity within a network (Bihari & Pandia, 2015). A high eigenvector score within this sample means that not only do many students in the sample select similar support actors, but those students also tend to have larger networks. "Family" and "Friends" consistently have the highest eigenvector centrality statistics, are often co-occurring and well-connect to other support actors who are also well connected. "Professor from Class" has the third highest eigenvector centrality for both academic years suggesting that the many students who

tend to perceive professors from class as part of their well-being support network also tend to

have larger networks than others in the sample.

Table 8

Support Centrality by Survey Year

Year	2019-2020	2020-2021
Top Degree	Friend (0.43)	Friend (0.41)
2nd Highest Degree	Family (0.36)	Academic None (0.35)
3rd Highest Degree	Academic None (0.36)	Family (0.33)
Top Eigenvector	Friend (0.52)	Friend (0.53)
2nd Highest Eigenvector	Family (0.43)	Family (0.44)
3rd Highest Eigenvector	Professor from Class (0.37)	Professor from Class (0.37)
Top Bonacich Power	Friend (9.03)	Friend (9.29)
2nd Highest Power	Family (7.55)	Family (7.72)
3rd Highest Power	Professor from Class (6.49)	Professor from Class (6.44)

Bonacich beta-centrality also measures power and influence within a network (Bonacich,

1987), also taking into account the surrounding network slightly different than in Eigenvector

centrality. Actors with a higher beta-centrality power tend to be well connected with those that

have fewer connections and therefore may be more dependent on that particular individual for

support.

Figure 2

Bipartite Sociomatrix of Student Ties to Well-Being Support Before the COVID-19 Pandemic (2019-2020)

Note. Green = student with higher well-being; Red= student with lower well-being; Triangle= Indigenous; Circle= Black
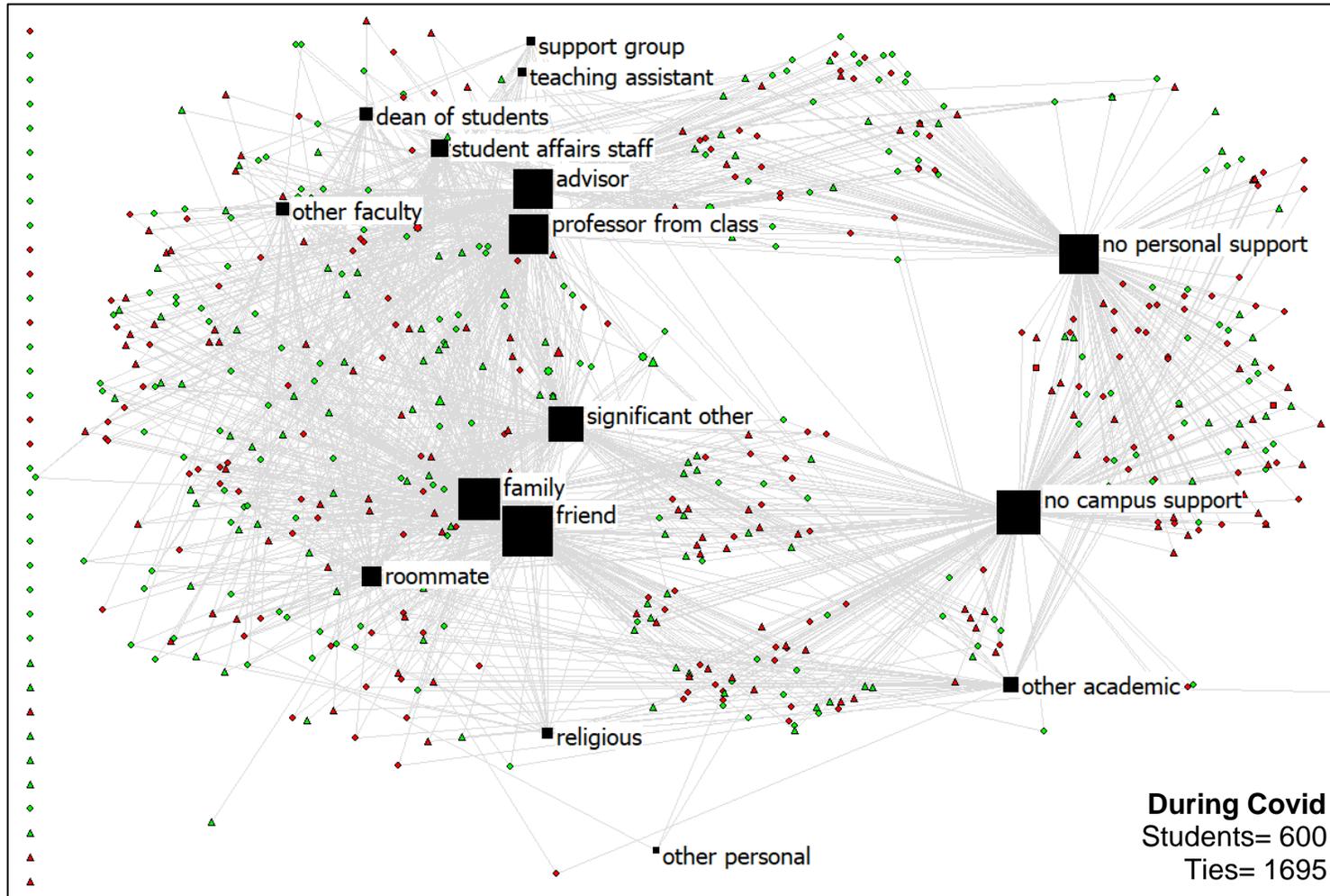
Figure 3

Bipartite Sociomatrix of Student Ties to Well-Being Support during the COVID-19 Pandemic (2020-2021)

Note. Green = student with higher well-being; Red= student with lower well-being; Triangle= Indigenous; Circle= Black

Beta-centrality can also be considered a way to observe power within a network. "Friends" and "family" and "professor from class" also had the highest beta-centrality power before and during, indicating that these actors are more uniquely named by students with smaller, less dense networks, perhaps with fewer choices for support. Overall, the eigenvector and beta-centrality networks statistics indicate that within this sample, students with both large and small network perceive support from the same types of individuals (mainly family, friends, and professors from class), and overall, in the aggregate, these role types remain central before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Support Networks by Well-Being & Gender

When disaggregated by level of well-being and by gender, there are important differences in the top three well-being affiliations before and during the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, when disaggregated by level of well-being, a higher percentage of those in the sample with higher well-being selected professors from class (.37) and advisors (.41) as someone they have or would go to for social-emotional support (see Table 9). In comparison, students with lower well-being had no institutional actors in their topmost nominated well-being affiliations instead, most selecting friends (.45) and family (.36) most often.

Table 9

Summary of Affiliation Centrality by Level of Well-Being and Gender

Centrality Measures	By Well-Being				By Gender			
	High Flourishing		Low Flourishing		Women		Men	
	Pre-C19	During	Pre-C19	During	Pre-C19	During	Pre-C19	During
Top Degree	**Advisor (0.41)** Friend (0.38) **Professor (0.37)**	Friend (0.37) **Advisor (0.35)** Family (0.35)	Friend (0.45) None (0.41) Family (0.36)	Friend (0.44) None (0.41) Family (0.32)	Friend (0.43) Family (0.39) None (0.36)	Friend (0.44) Family (0.36) Sig_Other/ **Advisor (0.29)**	Friend (0.392) **Professor (0.37)** **Advisor (0.35)**	None (0.43) **Advisor (0.39)** **Prof**/ Friend (0.31)
Top Eigenvector	**Advisor (0.45)** Friend (0.44) **Professor (0.42)**	Friend (0.47) Family (0.45) **Advisor (0.43)**	Friend (0.55) Family (0.44) Significant (Other/ **Professor (0.34)**	Friend (0.56) Family (0.42) Significant Other (0.36)	Friend (0.52) Family (0.46) Significant Other (0.37)	Friend (0.55) Family (0.47) Significant Other (0.36)	Friend (0.48) **Professor (0.47)** **Advisor (0.43)**	**Advisor (0.47)** **Professor (0.44)** Friend (0.39)
Top Bonacich Beta-Centrality (Power)	**Advisor (4.73)** Friend (4.69) **Professor (4.46)**	Friend (5.22) Family (5.02) **Advisor (4.77)**	Friend (7.80) Family (6.21) Significant Other (4.80)	Friend (7.77) Family (5.87) Significant Other (5.05)	Friend (7.79) Family (6.97) Significant Other (5.54)	Friend (8.20) Family (6.96) Significant Other (5.41)	Friend (4.312) **Professor (4.23)** **Advisor (3.88)**	**Advisor (4.37)** **Prof (4.05)** Friend (3.547)

This is consistent across all forms of centrality (degree, eigenvector, and beta-centrality), suggesting that for students with lower self-reported well-being, institutional actors were not often selected as someone students would go to,

By contrast, advisors and professors hold multiple levels of centrality for students with higher well-being, have higher eigenvector (or connect to well-connected students), and higher beta-centrality power (connected to students with lower degree and density). While this did decrease during the covid-19 pandemic (especially for professors from class), advisors continued to be highly selected as someone students would turn to for help and maintaining all levels of centrality. This indicates that academic advisors have been playing a central role in supporting students while a high level of well-being before and during the Covid-19 pandemic in a way that is not present for students with lower well-being.

Likewise, affiliation disaggregation by race and gender revealed meaningful differences to note. First, it's important to note that the percentage of students with high well-being increased (or stayed the same for Indigenous men) during the pandemic (see Table 10). While Black and Indigenous women had lower percentages of well-being before the pandemic compared to men (42% and 38%, respectively), they had a larger percentage point increase than men (+7 and +8). Black and Indigenous men had a larger percentage of them indicating higher well-being before the pandemic, with 57% of Black men self-reporting higher well-being, followed by 50% of Black women, 49% of Indigenous men, and 46% of Indigenous women.

The findings indicated that family and friends overwhelmingly contributed to women's (both cisgender and transgender) support before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The top degree affiliations for Black and Indigenous women were friends (0.42/0.47) and family (0.35/0.47), with significant others also highly nominated by Indigenous women (0.40). Except

for "Advisors" for Black women, no other institutional actors made the top three centrality positions for the women in the sample before or during the pandemic. This is in stark contrast to the central well-being affiliations for men, which mostly comprise of institutional actors. For example, "Professors" and "Advisors" held top degree, eigenvector, and bonaich centrality for men in the sample, both before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. "Friends" were the only personal affiliation to hold top eigenvector and boniach centrality. Also notable is the nomination of "No Personal Support" with 39 and 49 percent of the men sampled indicating that they had no personal connections (family, significant other, or friends) that they could go to for mental health and well-being support.

Table 10

Intersectional Summary of Well-Being Centrality by Race and Gender

Centrality Measures	Black Students				NA/AI/ Students			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	Pre-C19 43 % flourishing	**During** 50% Flourishing	**Pre-C19** 55% Flourishing	**During** 57% Flourishing	**Pre-C19** 38% Flourishing	**During** 46% Flourishing	**Pre-C19** 49% Flourishing	**During** 49% Flourishing
Top Degree	Friend (0.42) None (0.371) Family (0.35)	Friend (0.39) None (0.35) Family (0.32)	No Informal (0.465) **Advisor (0.384)** **Professor (0.349)**	No Informal (0.460) **Advisor (0.379)** **Professor (0.310)**	Friend (0.467) Family (0.467) Partner (0.397)	Friend (0.48) Family (0.42) None (0.39)	Friend (0.47) **Professor (0.45)** **Advisor (0.37)**	None (0.369) No Personal (0.357) Friend (0.321)
Top Eigenvector	Friend (0.54) Family (0.44) **Advisor (0.36)**	Friend (0.53) Family (0.44) **Advisor (0.37)**	**Advisor (0.49)** **Prof (0.45)** Friend (0.38)	**Advisor (0.53)** **Prof (0.45)** No Informal (0.44)	Friend (0.49) Family (0.47) Partner (0.40)	Friend (0.55) Family (0.49) Partner (0.38)	**Professor (0.50)** Friend (0.50) **Advisor (0.41)**	**Professor (0.43)** Friend (0.42) **Advisor (0.41)**
Top Bonacich Beta Centrality (Power)	Friend (7.77) Family (5.87) Partner (5.05)	Friend (6.31) Family (5.22) **Advisor (4.32)**	**Professor (3.47)** **Advisor (3.22)** Friend (2.68)	**Advisor (3.82)** **Professor (3.20)** No Informal (3.14)	Friend (5.40) Family (5.19) Partner (4.39)	Friend (5.86) Family (5.25) Partner (4.03)	**Professor (3.575)** Friend (3.543) **Advisor (2.885)**	**Professor (3.03)** Friend (2.95) **Advisor (2.91)**

Inferential Findings

The first hypothesis was that there is no difference in the likelihood of institutional support connected between students with high and low well-being. The ERGM results showed that students who self-reported high flourishing were significantly more likely to perceive institutional actors as faculty, advisors, and student affairs staff and people they can turn to for support (0.30 /0.08, p <0.000). High-flourishing students had a 57% probability of institutional connections in their well-being network, compared to a 43% probability for those with lower well-being. This aligns with the descriptive findings and supports a rejection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that students with higher self-reported well-being are significantly more likely to perceive institutional actors as someone they would turn to for well-being network support.

For the second null hypothesis of no difference in the likelihood of perceived institutional support by gender identity, the ERGM analysis showed that while both men and women were significantly less likely to indicate perceived support connection to institutional actors, the effect is more remarkable in those that identify as women (-0.67 /0.19, p < 0.000). Women had a 34% probability of an institutional support tie compared to a 38% probability for men. These findings lean toward supporting the alternative hypothesis that Black and Indigenous students identifying as female are significantly less likely to perceive institutional actors as part of their well-being support.

Table 11

Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM) Maximum Likelihood Results

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
edges	-1.08 (0.03) ***	18.54 (210.03)	18.62 (194.84)	18.11 (177.49)
b2sociality.professor	-	-19.24(210.03)	-19.10(194.84)	-19.00 (177.49)
b2sociality.advisor	-	-19.25(210.03)	-19.12(194.84)	-19.01 (177.49)
b2sociality.faculty_oth er	-	-21.16(210.03)	-21.04 (194.84)	-20.97 (177.49)
b2sociality. ta	-	-21.92(210.03)	-21.80 (194.84)	-21.74 (177.49)
b2sociality.Stu_Affairs	-	-20.43(210.03)	-20.31 (194.84)	-20.23 (177.49)
b2sociality.dean_stu	-	-21.27(210.03)	-21.15 (194.84)	-21.07 (177.49)
b2sociality.other acad	-	-21.14(210.03)	-21.02 (194.84)	-20.95 (177.49)
b1factor.flourishing	-	-	0.44 (0.08) ***	0.30 (0.08) ***
b1factor.race_bla	-	-	0.05 (0.12)	0.05 (0.12)
b1factor.race_ame	-	-	0.08 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
b1factor.man	-	-	-0.52 (0.20) **	-0.49 (0.20) *
b1factor.woman	-	-	-0.74(0.19) ***	-0.67 (0.19) ***
b1factor.campus. climate	-	-		-0.17 (0.08) *
b1factor.belonging	-	-		0.46 (0.09) ***
b1factor.acarank	-	-		0.19 (0.08) *
b1factor.disability	-	-		0.43 (0.11) ***
b1factor.activ_cultural	-	-		0.34 (0.10) ***
AIC/BIC	8528/8535	4790/4846	4752/4842	4692/4817

Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.'

For the final null hypothesis on differences between indicated support by role on campus, the

ERGM results showed that the degree statistics (or total number of times that each actor was

named as support) was not significant (see Table 11), which supports a failure to reject the null

hypothesis. This means that the number of times an individual institutional actor was nominated

by students was not remarkable. Results of other nodal covariates showed that students who had

a high sense of belonging (0.46 /0.09, p < 0.000), those attending a competitive institution (0.19/

0.08, p < 0.05), those with a diagnosed disability (0.43/0.11, p < 0.000), and those involved in

culture-related student organizations were significantly more likely to indicate perceived

institutional support connections. Students with a high sense of belonging or those with a

disability had a 61% probability of perceiving institutional support; 59% probability for those

involved in cultural organizations; and a 55% probability of a connection for those in more

competitive institutions. In an unexpected finding, students that indicated a more positive and

supportive climate towards positive mental health were significantly less likely to indicate

perceived support connections with academic and student affairs actors on campus (-0.17 /0.08,

$P < 0.05$), with a 46% probability of a perceived connection (Table 12).

Table 12

Probability of Perceived Institutional Support Connection

Variable	Probability of on-campus connection
High Sense of Belonging	61%
Having a Disability	61%
High Flourishing	57%
Involved in cultural student organization	59%
Competitive Institution	55%
Less Supportive MH Climate	54%
Indigenous	52%
Black	51%
Supportive MH Climate	46%
Low Flourishing	43%
Low Sense of Belonging	39%
Man	38%

Woman	34%

Note: Probability based on participants' individual characteristics and attitudes. The one institutional variable is the Carnegie Classification of a competitive institution.

Discussion

This study analyzed the well-being affiliations and institutional support for Black and Indigenous college students before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and showed meaningful and significant differences in the institutional well-being support network depending on level of well-being, on gender identity, disability status, and student engagement indicators such sense of belonging, mental health campus climate, student organization involvement. Specifically, there are three major findings. The first is that family, friends, academic advisors, and professors from class were commonly named by students within this survey sample, yet had different levels of centrality depending on students' level of well-being and gender. Faculty and Advisors held top centrality for Black and Indigenous men's and those with higher self-reported well-being, and family and friends held top centrality for Black and Indigenous women and/or those with lower self-reported well-being. Second, those who perceived institutional support were significantly more likely to have a high sense of belonging, have high well-being, have a diagnosed disability, be involved in a cultural student organization, attend a competitive institution, or identify as a man. The third main finding is that identifying as a woman or having a positive viewpoint of the mental health campus climate was significantly associated with a lower probability of connecting to institutional actors on campus. The student engagement indicators had the strongest prediction of perceived institutional connections which aligns with recent research on the significance of fostering a sense of belonging, especially for students of color (Strayhorn, 2019), and belonging predicting better mental health (Gopalan & Brady, 2020). This study offers new perspectives on how student engagement factors may shape success and health by altering whom students

perceive as trusted individuals to holistically support them on campus and potentially shrinking their networks as a result.

This study also sheds new insight into gender differences in well-being networks. Family and friends were central in Black and Indigenous women's support networks, which was evidenced both in the descriptive and inferential analysis. Black and Indigenous women's well-being network mimics that of those who are low flourishing before the pandemic, aligning with previous literature indicating that women may have lower well-being (Gallup, 2015). However, this study offers new evidence suggesting more Black and Indigenous college women self-reported higher well-being during the COVID-19 pandemic, which may be due to reduced exposure to negative racialized experiences since many students were not on campus. Women's support network likely includes a combination of personal and institutional actors, with advisors potentially serving an important role in supporting Black and Indigenous women's well-being. While other studies highlight how Black women have lower well-being than other groups (Gallup, 2015) this study offers a possible explanation for well-being differences that include not just if a student has support but differences in the composition and perception of well-being support. Since campus perceptions such as sense of belonging and campus climate are a co-constructed process between the institution and students, this suggests that institutions that fail to cultivate a positive sense of belonging for Black and Indigenous women may not only contribute to worsening academic outcomes but also may negatively impact social support networks. Previous studies suggest that diverse interactions with others (Strayhorn et al., 2017), validating and incorporating students' culture and perspectives (Museus et al., 2017; Tachine et al., 2016; Rendón, 1994), improving the racial campus climate (Johnson et al., 2007), and faculty engagement (Hotchkins et al., 2021) have all been shown to improve sense of belonging.

From a theoretical perspective, Black and Indigenous men's well-being affiliations align more closely with traditional models of student integration (Astin, 1993, Tinto, 1993) whereas Black and Indigenous women's well-being affiliations do not, and align more with current support models that emphasize the crucial role of family and friends (Mishra, 2020). This study indicates that neither models of student integration or social capital fully capture gendered differences of network support or how the integration (or lack thereof) between personal and institutional support shapes students' well-being. This suggests some gender differences around how students get and stay well that are not always considered or accounted for when determining student success and thus warrant further exploration.

While the findings may lead some to encourage women to mimic the support networks similar to men, and simply add more campus actors, I would caution against this implication. From a relational sociology of education perspective, networks and social capital are relational, co-, and re-constructed spaces that are either affirmed and or rejected within a particular field (or context). This suggests that institutions may not be creating conditions to affirm women's well-being support networks. Therefore, asking women to rely less on personal support or more on institutional actors is not a desired or appropriate expectation for Black and Indigenous women. Acknowledging that having a sense of belonging is one of the highest predictors of perceived institutional support, colleges and universities can more confidently devote resources and policies that help all students to belong, but specifically Black and Indigenous women. There is also evidence of the positive impact of same-race and same-gender peers and faculty (Grier-Reid & Wilson, 2015; McDougal et al., 2018; Mishra; 2020; Schreiner, 2016). Therefore, the drastic underrepresentation of Black and Indigenous women in faculty and administration positions is also a structural and institutional problem that may exacerbate low sense of belonging.

More Indigenous and Black men have networks that include institutional actors that Black or Indigenous women, and a higher percentage of them have higher well-being both before and during the covid-19 pandemic. In addition, this study emphasizes the role that both professors and advisors can play in supporting student well-being. While not statistically significant, there are meaningful differences in whom women and men turn to for well-being support on campus as evidenced by the descriptive social network graphs that may need to be explored further through qualitative inquiry. Men's lack of personal support for well-being seems to align with previous studies that the more integrated students are on campus, the more successful they will be (Tinto, 1993), however, these popular models of student integration do not account for the complex ways in which women stay well and find support both short and long term. This warrants new relational engagement frameworks that consider the role of identity, and student involvement as it relates to well-being.

Implications

This study contributes research to connect student relationships more concretely to both academic and health outcomes. This study showed that the students who are most likely to perceive institutional support connection are students who already have a high sense of belonging and high flourishing. And while the ERGM statistical analysis prevents determining if students become well because they perceived a connection to campus actor support, or if they perceive support connections because they are already well, this study does contribute new important findings to emphasize that the students who most likely need support (those with low well-being, low sense of belonging, low student involvement) are perceiving none from their institutions. From the descriptive relational data, whatever connections students had before the pandemic were somewhat maintained, which suggest like others, that higher education often

reproduces the status quo (or current unequal structures; see Hamilton, 2016). For the students in this sample, higher education is a place to *maintain* well-being and connections if students already had those connections, but less so a place to *attain* well-being if they did not have connections prior to being on campus. And while more students indicated higher well-being during the pandemic when compared to the previous year perceived campus support connections decreased over this same time. Future studies can use the Healthy Minds Study dataset to examine if well-being returned to pre-pandemic levels in future years as institutions return to in-person instruction and student housing.

While many studies on well-being examine individual behaviors and attitudes, this study first provides a methodological contribution to the literature by extracting relational data from secondary survey data and implementing a relational descriptive and inferential analysis to explore the network and relational components of well-being. Second, this study contributes asset-based empirical research that focuses on factors that support well-being rather than factors that cause disease or mental illness. Lastly, the results of this study complicate the literature on college engagement and integration that views off-campus and family interactions in college as a distraction and hindrance to success in college (Baker & Robnett, 2012; Koa, 2001; Nora, 1996) and prioritizing on-campus support as more crucial for retaining students, especially for Black students (Tinto, 1993). This study expands on the concept of academic success to include well-being as a desired outcome and by viewing on and off-campus relationships as serving equally important yet perhaps serving different structural roles within networks.

Future research can compare the relational and structural components of well-being between students with higher and lower well-being, compare pre-and post- COVID-19 well-being support networks, and discrepancies between perceived and received support networks.

While this dataset prevented the separation of actual and perceived personal and institutional support, future studies can either collect primary data that does this, or the Healthy Minds Study can consider slightly modifying their informal help-seeking questions to differentiate the two types of support. Additionally, given the challenges of convergence with Bipartite ERGM models, future research can study the likelihood of institutional support only using institutional variables such as type, size, geography, etc., to gain greater clarity on how institutional structures shape how relationships are formed.

This study highlights practical implications including increasing the agent awareness of institutional actors striving for equitable well-being on campus. Agent awareness is the ability to understand and position oneself within the context of a particular network (Froehlich et al., 2020; Rudat & Buder, 2015). This could include expanding structural and agentic well-being interventions that value personal and integrated on-campus relationships, enhance faculty and academic advisors' training and development, and facilitating relationship-rich educational conditions (Felten & Lambert, 2020) where relationships by many actors are more likely to occur.

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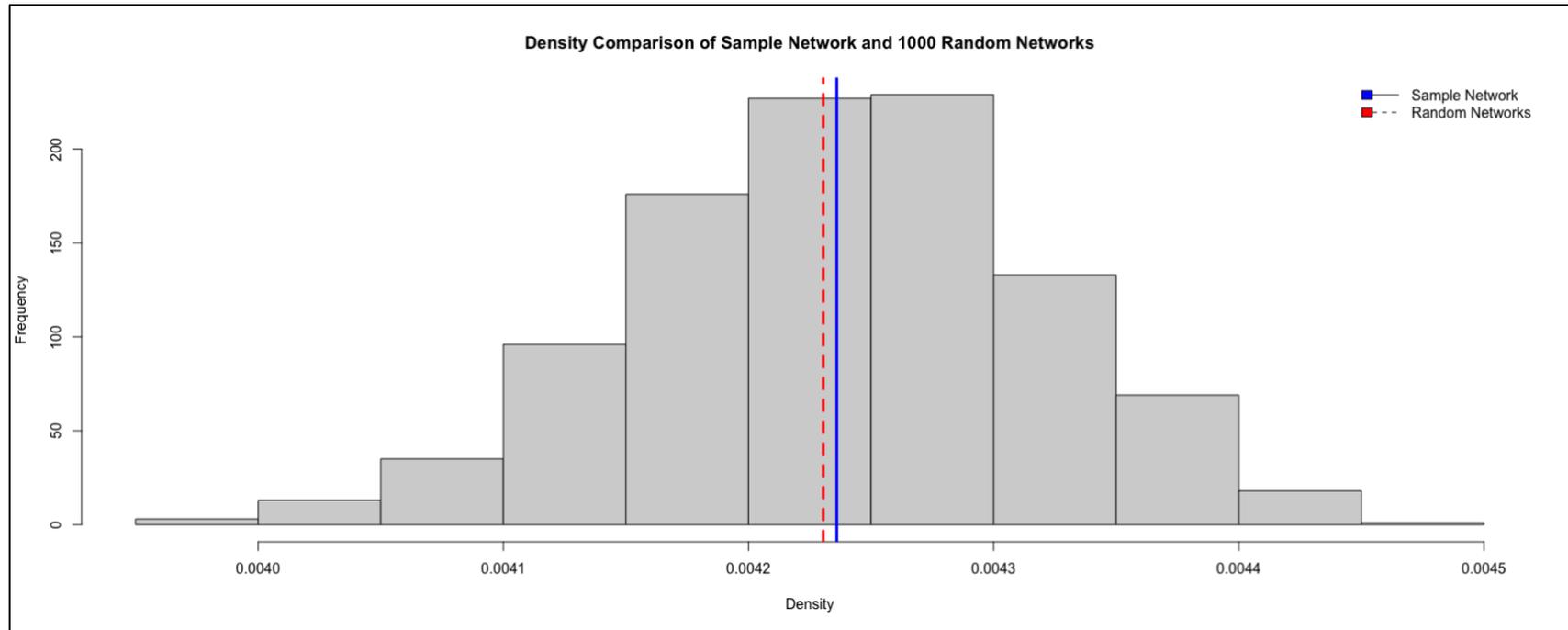
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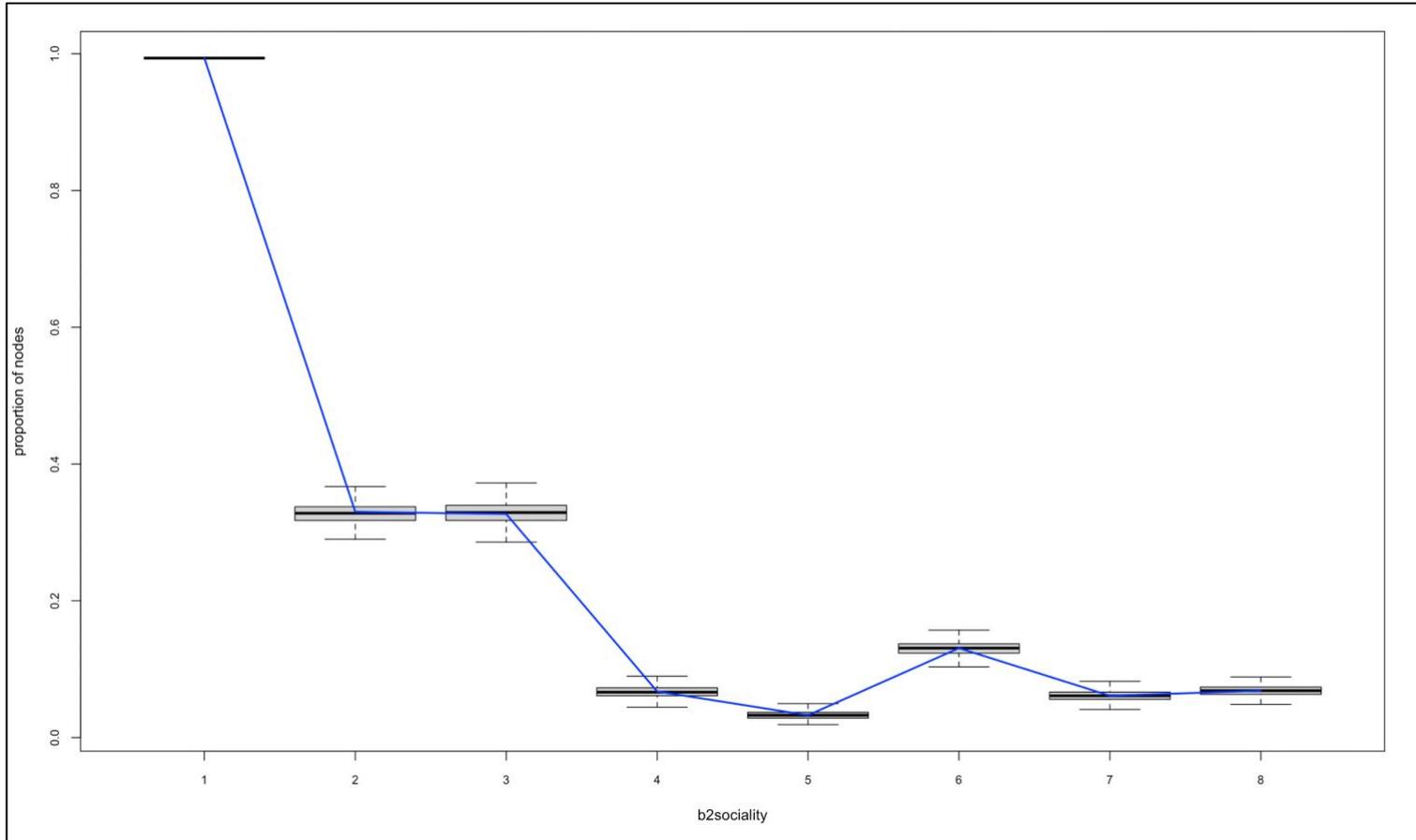
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Appendix A

Density Comparison of Sample Network with 1000 Random Graphs

Appendix B
Goodness of Fit Based on the b2Sociality (degree) Statistic

Paper 3: Three Network Profiles of Curated Well-Being Habitus for Black and Indigenous College Students

Abstract

This egocentric social network study analyzed the personal well-being networks of Black and Indigenous college students at "Midwestern University", a predominantly White institution. Employing a transformative mixed methods structural analysis approach, I interviewed (n=22) students to map the networks of people and types of support received. The network data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and then categorized and tested for mean difference through an analysis of variance. The qualitative narratives were coded using a network narrative analysis approach. The network data and narratives were integrated and characterized into three profiles of a well-being habitus: *uni-centric, support-centric*, and *values-centric*. Each profile had meaningful dynamics around the number and density of on and off-campus support, levels of reciprocity, and the types of support received. Utilizing a critical-relational well-being framework, I argue that there is not one single and ideal well-being network but multiple paths to well-being based on a student's well-being *habitus* (a set of relational dispositions that shape actions) being activated within a particular social space (or *field*) on campus. This study contributes literature on the exemplary distinctions and dynamics of Black and Indigenous college students' curated well-being networks and offers a new model of how network perspectives could shape institutional policy and practice to facilitate equitable well-being experiences for all.

Keywords: egocentric networks, well-being, social support, mixed methods

The increasing interest in well-being in higher education is supported by research that indicates that students are more academically successful when educational environments support their general welfare (Brocato et al., 2021, Tinto, 1993) and promote holistic student identity development, which includes well-being (Harward, 2016; Mahatmya et al., 2018, Patton et al., 2016). Furthermore, greater well-being promotes engaged learning, social activities, and healthy behavior, all of which contribute to student success (Stallman et al., 2018). As several longitudinal studies show, the well-being experiences of college students shape lifelong success and long-term well-being long after enrollment (Gallup 2015; Mahatmya, 2018).

Furthermore, many academic departments, as well as faculty and staff, are increasingly expected to prioritize and support student mental health and well-being in ways that were less noticeable ten years ago (Education Advisory Board, 2021). In a recent study from Boston University, they found that almost 80% of faculty are directly addressing student mental health issues (Lipson et al., 2021), and faculty of marginalized gender identities (85% of female, 85% gender-diverse faculty) reported that they were more likely to reach out and support student well-being as compared with 71% of men, further contributing to unfair burden and emotional labor placed upon these faculty. While faculty and other constituents are already individually engaging in this type of support, there are calls for institutional and structural policies and practices in place to best facilitate sustainable well-being efforts on campus.

Realizing that institutions cannot staff their way out of exponential demand for clinical mental health and well-being services and support (Education Advisory Board, 2021), some colleges have started to include well-being and wellness policy within university strategic plans (Wicker, 2022). Other practices for well-being initiatives include adopting an ecological approach, using key leadership and peers for messaging well-being and model behavior,

adjusting policy, procedures, and resources to support well-being, creating community and

meaning incentives and reward to encourage participation, taking a learner-centered approach,

and embedding well-being into all aspects of campus culture (Amaya et al., 2019; Goss et al.,

2010; Travia et al., 2019.)

Many scholars consider and research students' well-being as an individual student issue. I

argue that a relational and organizational rather than individual analytical approach, which

considers the interactions of relationships, resources, behaviors, and social identities, could

reveal how organizations aid or impede the well-being of their constituents. To that end, this

study is an egocentric social network analysis project that maps and profiles the well-being

support networks of current Black and Indigenous college students. Utilizing a transformative

mixed structural network analysis (Crossley et al., 2015; Dominguez & Hollstein, 2014;

Froehlich, 2020; Herz et al., 2015) and guided by Pierre Bourdieu's conception of *habitus* and

field (1979)*,* and Relational Sociology of Education (Tierney & Kolluri, 2020), I analyzed how

college students create, maintain, and experience well-being support on campus. In this study, I

asked: (1) How do Black and Indigenous college students navigate well-being support while on

campus? (2) How do the structure and composition of support networks shape the well-being

experiences of Black and Indigenous students?

Findings suggest that students are navigating complex well-being networks that are

largely segmented often by on and off campus relationships, and the catalyst for connection

seemed to be shaped by location of support, levels of reciprocity (giving or receiving of support),

and the presence of shared identity(ies), experiences, values, and or interests. I argue that

students are strategically embedding, and at times transposing, their well-being preferences and

tendencies (or *habitus*, Bourdieu, 2010*)* within multiple well-being social spaces, (or *fields*,

Bourdieu, 2010) resulting in different opportunities for support and connection. These findings are important because they demonstrate how there is not one way or approach to be well, but that well-being can be experienced at varying network configurations, and that institutions of higher education need network-inclusive programs and interventions to support college student well-being more holistically.

Literature Review

Multiple national surveys capture the complex picture of well-being for Black and Indigenous students in higher education. While there are at times diverging patterns of well-being for Black and Indigenous college students and alumni, there are consistent findings on well-being when research considers how multiple marginalized identities associate with well-being. Both quantitative and qualitative literature indicates that students with minoritized identities have lower well-being than those with privileged identities, and that the more minoritized identities that a student has, the lower their subjective well-being (Brocato et al., 2021). This compounded impact is also seen in relation to gender identity. Well-being for students who identify as a gender other than male or female is substantially lower than students with dominant gender identities (Brocato et al., 2021). Furthermore, Black women's well-being experiences are both qualitatively and quantitatively different from other groups. For example, Black women college graduates are least likely than all other groups to thrive in financial, purpose, physical, community, or social well-being (Gallup, 2015), and this supports extensive qualitative research indicating that due to their race and gender, Black women have unique educational experiences and needs for success and that marginalization-related stress is likely disrupting the development of well-being (Blackmon & Coyle, 2016).

This realization of Black graduate women's well-being outcomes comes in stark contrast to the singular and myopic narrative in research of Black women education success that focuses on increased post-secondary enrollment and degree completion, especially in comparison to Black men (Patton & Croom, 2017) effectively narrowing down Black women's lives and failure to account for racism and patriarchy (Winkle-Wagner, 2015; Patton & Croom 2017). In addition, David Patterson Silver Wolf and colleagues (2013) compared self-reported health and wellness conditions of nearly 2100 American Indian/Alaskan Native students, and they found that Native American college women had the lowest overall health rating of any other group and report the most health issues. This research points to a need to include intersecting social identities within well-being research, especially gender and race.

In general, research indicates that the more minoritized identities that a college student has, the lower their subjective well-being, and mental and physical health tends to be (Brocato et al., 2021; Goosby et al., 2018; McClain, 2016). Hostile campus climates make minoritized students feel unsafe, and a lack of safety compromises students' ability to experience a sense of belonging and access to engage with campus resources (Brocato et al., 2021; Harper, 2012; Kelly et al., 2021; Porter, 2022) This hostility threatens one of the most important needs and prerequisites to self-actualization or reaching an individual's highest potential and purpose (Maslow, 1970), especially those with minorized racial identities. As Black and Native students experience stress at PWIs due to their race or ethnicity and/or gender (Ambler, 1997; Kelly et al., 2021; McClain, 2016; Jackson et al., 2003), well-being research should come from a position of race-consciousness that considers how campus interactions contribute to the well-being and health erosion of Black and Indigenous students.

Social Networks, Social Support, and Social Capital

It is well-documented that social networks protect mental and physical health, although the mechanism through which (and the reasons why) they offer such protections are largely unexplored (Jetten et al., 2012). What is known is that social networks seem to shape health and well-being by one of two mechanisms; the first or main effect that includes providing positive integration, which produces positive psychological states such as a sense of purpose and belonging, and that in turn can shape self-care and stress responses (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). The second mechanism is a stress buffer model that mitigates the response to stress or reduces the negative emotional response (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001; Thoits, 1986). For example, several studies indicated that having a strong support network decreases minoritized students' level of discomfort at PWIs and strongly predicted persistence (Gloria & Kurpius, 2001; Griffin 1991; Kimbrough et al., 1996). However, the mechanism, positive and supportive networks made a difference in individual health and well-being throughout the lifetime (Valente, 2010). Within higher education, student social networks that include family, ethnic and religious affiliations, friends, and especially faculty and mentors play a role in academic success (Gloria & Kurpius, 2001; Mishra, 2020ll)

Social network size is a strong predictor of well-being (Helliwell & Barrington-Leigh, 2012), yet bigger does not always mean better (Perry et al., 2018). Ronald S. Burt (1992) highlighted the value of small networks for minoritized groups, which are more likely to be mutually supportive and comfortable. Furthermore, people with smaller intimate networks have more time to invest and attend to each connection and are more likely to receive both every day and emergency support (Wellman & Frank, 2017).

While student interpersonal networks (and network research in general) has increased dramatically over the past decade, network research in higher education has primarily focused on how networks shape sense of community, learning outcomes, and persistence through peer and instructional relationships (Smith et al., 2022) and how networks are critical components to post-secondary success (Stallman et al., 2018). Furthermore, other studies highlighted that for those facing discrimination, social networks serve as a form of social capital, buffering against the most negative consequences of change and stress (Helliwell & Barrington-Leigh, 2012). Unfortunately, network research on student success does not often include well-being as part of that conversation. As well-being is inherently relational (Henning et al., 2018), network research that includes well-being could honor the connection between relationships, people, space, and environments within higher education.

The study of networks in higher education is a useful endeavor is it "follows people as they enter a new context with new challenges and stresses, a context where forming a new set of confidants is an option yet retaining the lifelong inner circle of support that many are presumed to have remains appealing" (Small, 2017, p. 8). As network processes and outcomes are contextual, there is also evidence to suggest there are distinct influences that shape college student networks that are different from other significant contexts (Smith & Vonhoff, 2019). Additionally, higher education plays a role in structuring and facilitating student networks (via academic, spatial, affinity, and geographic groupings). For example, the information and support received from faculty and peers are shown to influence a student's ability to deal with challenges in higher education (Eggens et al., 2008; Mackinnon, 2012). This structuring can either interrupt or perpetuate inequality and yield disparate outcomes for minoritized students who may not have the social capital to maintain or navigate a particular pathway or grouping (Smith et al., 2022).

Therefore, understanding those distinct influences remain imperative in a holistic understanding of how higher education can profoundly change student lives and contribute to student success beyond degree attainment.

Likewise, there is a large body of literature documenting the benefits of social support in supporting individuals through difficult times and especially on individual well-being and mental health (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988; Small, 2017; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). Social support is known to positively correlate with both mental and physical health (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Pinxten & Lievens, 2014). Social Support is the "social interactions or relationships that provide individuals with actual assistance or a feeling of attachment to a person or group that is perceived as caring or loving" (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988, p. 467), and is also considered paramount to achieving success in higher education, especially for underrepresented or historically excluded population without access to other forms of social capital (Mishra, 2020). According to researcher Blake Silver, the campus environmental is an "intricate landscape of need" with many students requiring support. The Healthy Minds Survey (2019), which captures the mental and emotional well-being thoughts and behaviors of 62,000 college students highlighted the high prevalence of informal support utilization (such as support from a friend, roommate, or significant other) in college. Other qualitative studies highlighted informal and Indigenous support practices to promote the well-being of students of color, such as turning to friends, family, clergy, or Indigenous healers (Constantine et al., 2004); academic and peer mentoring (Winkle-Wagner & Locks, 2014); culturally specific social networking group (Grier-Reed, 2013); school attachment practices (Goosby et al., 2013); and pre-collegiate preparation for racist treatment (Davis et al, 2004; Nghe and Mahalik, 2001).

Not all student support is positive or leads to positive outcomes (Sani, 2012) especially for woman and minoritized students (Mishra, 2020; Silver 2020). For example, in Black Silver's study on belonging (2020), there were students (mostly female) who often took on the role of caregiving on campus, and while the care work can result in increased sense of belonging and feeling valued by the caregiver, it is also arduous and time-sensitive work that can detract mentally and temporally from one's own well-being and academic engagement (Silver, 2020; Mishra, 2020). Some students even reported that the level and effort of support they provide was never reciprocated (Baker, 2013), and led to prioritization of non-academic activities (Mishra, 2020). Most important to note that it was *positive* social support, interactions and relationships that fostered well-being and student success, and that negative or adverse interactions, especially negative interracial or diverse interactions can quickly erode well-being and sense of belonging for students of color (Bowman, 2010; Chao, 2012; Cole, 2007). Negative interactions can have a more adverse effect on well-being than positive interactions can improve it. This highlights the role that negative experiences play in well-being on campus (Baumeister et al., 2001; Rook, 1984).

The social capital (benefits and resources) obtained through social connections and networks are assets known to have powerful effects on well-being (Berkman et al., 2014; Coleman, 1993; Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). For example, while White students appear to have access to both information-based social capital (through relationships with connected others), as well as social support from peers with similar backgrounds, minoritized students' personal networks do not have much access to the information-based capital that exposes them to resources and connections, and they mostly rely on social support from family (Mishra, 2020). There are some who can compensate and reach out to community members, often faculty

relationships often fill in students personal network gaps to provide additional capital to students (Mishra, 2020). Furthermore, minoritized students tend to seek out emotional support from peers with similar backgrounds to bond over shared negative experiences (Mishra; 2020). While student-faculty interactions appear to have a positive effect on students' well-being regardless of race (Schreiner, 2016), the impact of such interactions vary by race and ethnicity and contribute differently to the learning gains of students of color (Cole, 2007).

Theoretical Framework

Relational sociology assumes that all social reality is manufactured through relationships and contains elements of both structure and agency (Kolluri & Tierney, 2020). This means that rather than focusing on individual variables, attributes, or characteristics, relational sociology studies the dynamic process of transactions as the unit of analysis and sees all social phenomena (including inequity) as a relational process (Bourdieu, 2010; Emirbayer, 1997; Kolluri & Tierney, 2021). Therefore, a relational study brings new and more complete answers to any social reality, especially in higher education (McCabe, 2020). Relationality is a similar philosophical worldview and presupposition that acknowledges the interconnectedness of all human and non-human beings, rooted within Indigenous and feminists' epistemology (knowledge), axiology (values), and ontology (ways of being) (Craig, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 2016). For Indigenous communities, relationality is the worldview that shapes the prioritization of collective rights and gives a sense of mutual responsibility and care (Craig, 1999).

Under the umbrella of relational sociology, there are other relational approaches that influence this study, namely that of social support (Hobfoll & Stokes, 1988) and social network theory (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010), both of which I related to the concepts of Bourdieu's (2010) ideas of *capital*, *habitus*, and *field*. While social and cultural capital often dominated

conversations about inequity in education, several scholars argued that social and cultural capital are not complete without the other less popular concepts with Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, namely that of *habitus* or the set of dispositions and principles that shape cultural and symbolic behavior and *field* or the social context (Bourdieu, 2010; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Dika & Singh, 2002; Reay, 2004; Winkle-Wagner, 2010; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2016).

Habitus is a complex and long lasting embodied and socialized collection and system of principles, dispositions, and practices acquired early in life but is malleable, adaptable, and produces norms that shape individuals and groups to engage with a particular environment (Bourdieu, 1977, byrd, 2019; Musoba & Baez, 2009; Reay, 2004). While individual histories and socializations shape habitus within a particular context, Bourdieu (1967) also conceptualized a collective understanding of habitus or "cultured habitus" (p. 344) which includes acknowledging how individuals are in social structures and social positions under constant restructuring and resocialization (Reay, 2004). Schools are particularly known for habitus affirmation, transformation, rejection, or reconstruction depending on if fields reproduce, welcome, or reject a particular habitus (Reay, 2004). According to Bourdieu and others, social and educational change lies not only in increasing the capital of individual but in also addressing how institutions affirm or reject student habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Mosuba & Baez, 2009). Furthermore, as Bourdieu argued that habitus becomes active in relation to a specific field, and that the same well-being habitus in one field can lead to different practices in another. This may help contextualize why Black and Indigenous students have starkly different well-being experiences Conceptualizing well-being as a *habitus* honors the relational and contextual nature of the process and considers the role of agency within a structure. Well-being as *habitus* also guided data collection by including individual and institutional discourse, principles, and campus

climate norms. A *field* is a structured environment, a space (but not necessarily spatial or geographic) where discourses, habitus, practices, and conflict combine (Mosuba & Baez, 2009). When there is alignment between *habitus* and *field*, then a particular practice is supported, capital is accrued and social reproduction fulfilled (Mosuba & Baez, 2009). Additionally, the inclusion of *field* recognizes that a well-being *habitus* in one *field* (i.e., home community) may yield a different set of capital and legitimization when utilized in another field (i.e., residential college campus, Bourdieu, 1985; Mosuba & Baez, 2009; McCoy & Winkle-Wagner, 2015; Winkle-Wagner & McCoy, 2016). Therefore, including *habitus* and *field* within any analysis of practice such as the practice of well-being is a necessary step to highlight the structural societal conditions and the role that power may play to constrain or afford individual and collective agency.

Mixed Research Design and Rationale

The guiding research questions for this study are: (1) How do Black and Indigenous college students navigate well-being support while on campus? (2) How do the structure and composition of support networks shape the well-being experiences of Black and Indigenous students? Mixed methods research is an "inquiry process that intentionally incorporates quantitative and qualitative data and analytical tools for the purpose of transcending what can be discovered and understood from a traditionally quantitative or traditionally qualitative approach alone" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p.3). Mixed methods research has philosophical roots in pluralism (coexisting principles and interests) and pragmatism that acknowledges the contextual complicity of contemporary social reality and seeks most of all to engage research that produces practical and useful answers and solutions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). As all research methods have strengths and weaknesses, mixed methods research attempts to use the strengths of

each method to minimize the limitation of the other (Bryman, 2006; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

In this study I utilized a mixed transformative structural analysis design (Froehlich, 2020; Mertens, 2007). This approach combines a transformative paradigm that uses mixed research to highlight complexities in research in complex settings as the "basic for social change" (Mertens, 2007 p. 2012) alongside a mixed structural analysis which is a social network analysis approach that combines determining structural properties of social networks while also interpreting networks in qualitative ways (Froehlich, 2020). I acknowledge that context matters in its ability to understand racialized well-being practices (Greene, 2012). Given the lack of research and complexity on how interpersonal and spatial relationships shape well-being networks, a complementary rationale for mixed methods research is a helpful approach as it uses qualitative and quantitative methods to fully address the complexity of the phenomena (Greene et al., 1989; Van den Bossche, 2020). A transformative paradigm in mixed methods research seeks to recognize inequalities and injustices in society and strive to challenge the status quo (Mertens, 2007). It is in this back and forth, moving in, out, and between qualitative and quantitative data analysis that uncovered issues of power while striving towards social justice within well-being in higher education.

Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis (SNA) is a broad term to capture theories, concepts, and techniques for collecting and analyzing relational data (Crossley et al., 2015). SNA assumes that relationships between interacting units are essential for understanding any social context (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) and helps study how relationship structures provide opportunities, constrain choices, and are associated with social outcomes (Crossley et al., 2015; Kolluri &

Tierney, 2020). Relationships between "actors" are central to this research and include multiple

factors, including nodes or actors (i.e., people), ties, social relations, interactions, and flows. All

these factors can be collected and examined qualitatively, quantitatively, and visually to reveal

fascinating processes and mechanisms of how ideas, influence, and information flow from

person to person (Daly, 2010).

While recent statistical advances initiated a sharp increase of social network analysis in

the social sciences (Crossley, 2010), there are calls for more qualitative approaches to social

network analysis (Crossley, 2010; Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Tierney & Kolluri, 2020) to

uncover how each network has a story, and how each relationship has a history (Crossley, 2010).

Qualitative network data is particularly helpful in helping to "identify the mechanism at play in

forming, sustaining, and breaking ties (Crossley et al, 2015). Narrative accounts of networks are

from the actor's point of view, and can reveal how ties are categorized, defined, and acted upon

(Crossley et al., 2015).

While social network analysis has had decades of empirical use to study networks in

higher education (Newcomb, 1943), more recent implementation of social networks examines

issues of college access, transition, and persistence (Gonzalez Canche ́ & Rios-Aguillar, 2015;

Thomas, 2000). Mixed Structural Analysis (MSA) is a form of network data collection and

analysis that allows for the examination of network structures, while also qualitatively

interpreting data (Froehlich, 2020; Herz et al., 2015). One of the primary benefits and

components of MSA is that both data collection and analysis stem from the interview in which

both the creation of a network map is collected and analyzed alongside participant interpretation

of their map (see Figure 4), and network descriptive statistics. This study takes a modified MSA

approach to include a concurrent data analysis model of both network data and network

narratives. This approach is helpful as it allows for a relational perspective when analyzing network maps while also including elements of structural properties such as density centrality, and the identification of clusters. In addition, the study typologized networks into profiles based on similar structural and compositional network elements.

Within social network analysis, egocentric network research is a particularly effective method of data collection in alignment with relational sociology, as it takes a bottom-up approach of understanding networks from the perspective of the individual participant in a way that is sensitive to the qualitative aspects of social relations, such as the content, dynamic, meaning, and definition of ties (Alexander, 2009). Egocentric research provides relational data on the kinds of people individuals interact with most frequently by asking individuals to name whom they talk to most about important matters (Burt, 1984; Valente, 2010). Ego-network research typically includes two types of relational data collection, name generation, or questions that prompt participants to name close relational ties (i.e., "Who are the people closest to you?"), as well as relational data regarding those connections, (i.e., name interpreter questions), such as "how long have you known X?" (Alexander, 2009). While less frequent within the field of higher education, there are growing studies that utilize an egocentric approach (see Grier-Reed & Wilson, 2016; Grommo, 2014; Lukács & Dávid, 2023; Smith et al., 2022). However qualitative approaches to social network analysis continue to be uncommon (see McCabe, 2016; Nimmon & Atherley, 2022).

Site Selection

Midwestern University (a pseudonym) is a large public land grant institution consisting of over 45,000 students. 2% of students identify as African American/Black, 1% of students are American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander, and 52% identify as

women. A land-grant institution is an ideal site for this study for two reasons, First, land-grant institutions have a traditional emphasis on improving the public good and serving their local communities through education (Gavazzi & Gee, 2018). Second, the United States government's designation of stolen Indigenous land to states to build these institutions (often from enslaved Black labor) represents the epitome of what Eve Tuck and K Wayne Yang (2012) characterized as settler colonialism, or the triadic structure between settler, native, and enslaved. To study land-grant institutions is to acknowledge how the foundation of these institutions have a racialized historical past, thus providing a framework a socio-historical context to view current educational trends. Midwestern University is an ideal site for the study due to its geographic and political location, as it was recently cited as having the worst Black student enrollment of all other institutions in their conference, prompting calls to increase Black student enrollment and retention (Shastri, 2022).

Participants and Sampling

I used a stratified purposive sampling technique (Patton, 2002) to recruit individual participants (for interviews regarding social and spatial relationships on campus). Eligible participants were current full-time students enrolled at Midwestern University, living on or within one mile of campus. Students also identified as African American/ Black and/or Native American, Alaska Native, or Hawaiian Native. Given that the COVID-19 health pandemic forced many campuses to conduct classes online for the 2020-2021 academic year. Thus, selected participants for the study must have spent at least a semester attending classes and living on/near campus. I emailed directors of diversity initiatives and/or campus cultural centers explaining the project and asking to forward the info to students who fit the criteria. I also placed flyers around campus at the union, academic buildings, and the main residence halls. Participants

interested in the study were directed online to the IRB-approved consent form, pre-screening

questionnaire (see Appendix A) and baseline subjective well-being (Deiner et al., 2009) via

Qualtrics. 39 students expressed interest in the study and completed the prescreening

questionnaire and (n= 22) participants followed through with the completion of the network

interview. Data for the 22 interviews resulted in 237 network connection observations. Table 13

lists the descriptive demographic summary of participants.

Table 13

Descriptive Demographic Summary of Participants

Category	Participants (n =22) n (%)
Race	
Afro- Indigenous (biracial)	1 (5%)
Afro-Indigenous (multiracial)	1 (5%)
Black (biracial)	1 (5%)
Black (monoracial)	13 (59%)
Native American/ American Indian (biracial)	2 (9%)
Native American/ American Indian (monoracial)	4 (18%)
Gender	
Woman	15 (71%)
Man	5 (24%)
Non-Binary	2 (5%)
Age	
18-22	18 (82%)
23-29	2 (9%)
30-39	1 (5%)
40-49	1 (5%)
Academic Year	
1st or 2nd year	12 (55%)
3rd or 4th year	8 (36%)
5 year +	2 (9%)
Academic Major	
STEM	8 (36%)
Social Sciences	6 (27%)
Arts & Humanities	6 (27%)
Health & Medicine	1 (6%)
Public & Social Services	1 (6%)
Flourishing Score (SWB)	
Sample Mean	45.27
Above National Average SWB (>45)	13 (59%)
Below National Average SWB (<44)	9 (41%)

Note: The racial categories attempt to honor participants' self-reported racial identity(ies) more holistically. Two students identified Black and Indigenous as equally salient racial identities. I felt it important to highlight that rather than force them into one category or the other for the sake of ease or convention.

Data Collection

I conducted one interview with each participant (the "egos") to map and visualize a personal well-being network of each participant, utilizing an adaptation of Pinfold et al. (2015) personal well-being network mapping tool to visualize an individual's social ties, meaningful activities, hobbies, and places connected to their mental and socio-emotional health. I captured quantitative network data characteristics (e.g., network size, density) as well as qualitative narrative reflections from participants' lived experiences and description of well-being support through the interview process. I conducted one 75-110-minute interview virtually via a university-supported video conferencing platform (Zoom). The interview protocol (see Appendix B) included affective and exchange name generation techniques by asking participants to report on activities and locations that enhance well-being and the connections and closeness between network entities. Questions such as "who do you go to on campus for socio-emotional support", or "what spaces improve your social-emotional health" are geared towards allowing the participant to uncover personal stories, experiences, and knowledge related to the changing well-being needs of students. I asked additional questions regarding institutional responses, personal challenges, triumphs, and hopes. Participants received $25 in IRB-approved remuneration for participation in the study. Virtual interviews were recorded and transcribed by a professional transcription service.

The network characteristics were visualized and documented through the Network Canvas, a free and open-source digital cloud-based data collection instrument developed and validated for collecting and analyzing personal networks (Hogan et al., 2016; Network Canvas Complex Data Collective, 2016). During the virtual interview, I shared my computer screen with the participants and completed the interview protocol with participants. The network canvas

software allowed for immediate conversion of qualitative data into network variables for analysis and prevents the need for additional quantification or conversion of qualitative data. In addition, I captured sociodemographic data as well as baseline subjective well-being during a pre-interview questionnaire. Table 15 provides the well-being network measures I used through this platform during the interviews.

Table 14

Sociodemographic Table of Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Year	Major	Well-Being	Habitus
Jo L	Woman	Black, Native, White	1st	Poli Sci/ Enviro Sci	Above Average	Support
Kalysta Long	Woman	Black, White	4th	Social Work	Above Average	Uni
Lex	Woman	Native (Menominee)	1st	Chemistry	Below Average	Uni
Mini Moon	Woman	Black (Ghanaian)	2nd	Comm Arts	Average	Support
Prince Jackson	Man	Black	1st	Pre-Pharmacy	Below Average	Uni
Keith Smith	Man	Native (Choctaw), White	2nd	Physics/ History	Above Average	Uni
Al Matthews	Woman	Black	1st	Journalism	Above Average	Support
Sam Jones	Man	Black	1st	Econ/ Math	Below Average	Uni
Alexis Brown	Woman	Black	2nd	Electrical Engineering	Below Average	Support
C. Boogie	Man	Black	4th	Religious Studies/ Philosophy	Above Average	Values
Stephanie Latifa	Non-Binary	Black	2nd	Biology	Above Average	Uni
Josie Adams	Woman	Native (Calista Corp, Nunam Iqua)	1st	Oceanic Sciences	Above Average	Support
Jessica Rodriguez	Woman	Native (Oneida)	4th	Human Development	Average	Uni

Pseudonym	Gender	Race/Ethnicity	Year	Major	Well-Being	Habitus
Daijah Lloyd	Woman	Black	3rd	Psychology	Above Average	Support
Janice Smith	Woman	Black	3rd	Geography, IT	Below Average	Uni
Rae Peacemaker	Woman	Native (Sac & Fox)	Grad	Linguistics	Below Average	Support
Kam Nichols	Woman	Black	3rd	Urban Land Economics	Above Average	Support
Brandy Jones	Woman	Black, Native (Meshwaki), Jewish	Grad	Education	Above Average	Values
Demetrius White	Man	Black	2nd	Journalism	Above Average	Uni
Gus Bah	Woman	Black (Ghanaian)	4th	Psychology	Above Average	Uni
Axel Johnson	Non-Binary	Black	1st	Psychology	Average	Values
Connor McGregor	Man	Native (Ojibiwe & Navajo)	1st year	Enviro Engineering	Below Average	Values

Data Analysis

For the network data, I first conducted a visual analysis of each egocentric network to look for typographical patterns, using both UCINET and the Egor program in RStudio. In seeing that many of the networks had clusters by on or off-campus ties, I then calculated network statistics for network homophily between on and off-campus support. As there were strong delineations and groups of networks with more on-campus connections, I used the network homophily statistic to divide the network into profiles. Within the profiles, I calculated the remaining network statistics for each profile group, including density, number of components, degree, constraint, the proportion of on and off-campus support, and reciprocity (see Table 15). Then I tested the significance of mean differences through an analysis of variance (ANOVA).

For the qualitative narrative data, I completed coding using a web-based computer software (Dedoose). I moved back and forth between the network profiles and the network narratives listing and cross-checking data until emergent findings aligned. Validation techniques include analytical triangulation (multiple techniques to analyze data), member checking on data (or sharing transcripts and findings with participants for accuracy and resonance) (Birt et al., 2016), as well as searching for data that opposed emergent findings and re-analyzed this data (Patton, 2002). Finally, I used reflection, memoing, to build and explain relationships between the profiles, which developed into finding themes and claims for each profile. Figure 4 below provides the overview of the analysis plan.
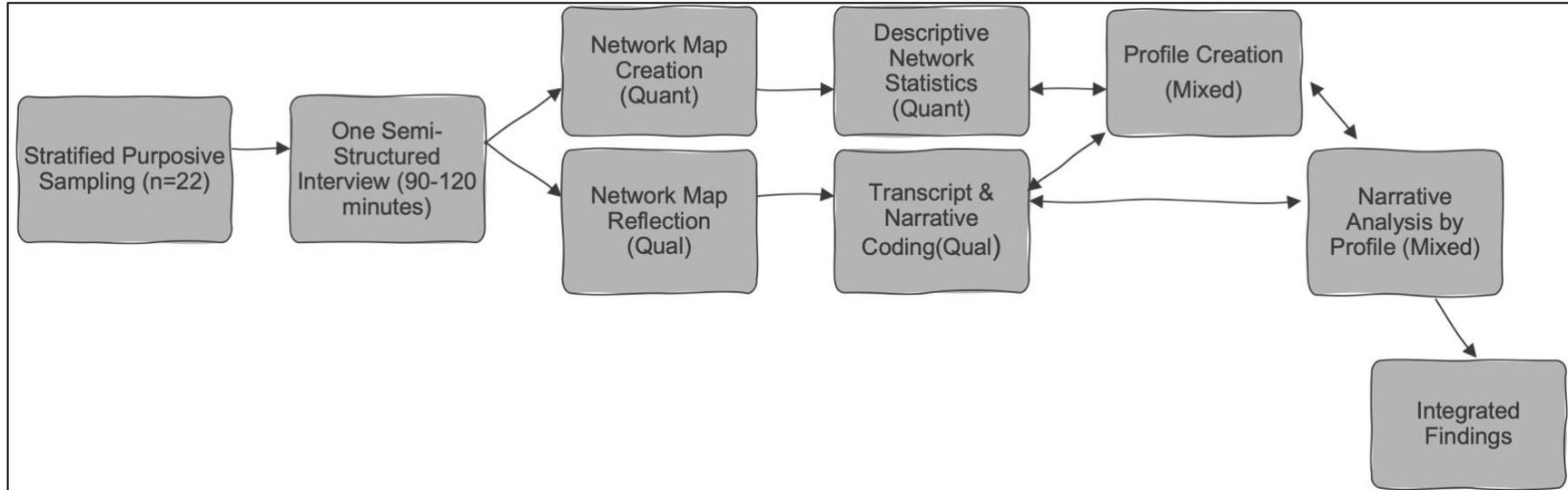
Table 15

Well-being Network Measures

Variable	Description
Degree	Number of individuals named in network
Density	Number of actual ties/ numbers of all possible ties
Subjective Well-Being	Flourishing Scale (Deiner et al., 2009)
Constraint	Mean proportion of dependency on network connections
Closeness	Mean proportion statistic of emotional closeness to connection
Frequency	Mean statistic of frequency of connection
Components	Mean number of disconnected subgraphs
Network Homophily	Mean proportion of on and off campus support in network
Role Heterogeneity	Mean proportion of role differences in networks
Gender Heterogeneity	Mean proportion of gender differences in networks
Social Support	Mean proportion of different types of social support

Method Integration

Within mixed-methods research, there is an integration mixing approach that "merges, connects, or embeds qualitative and quantitative procedures at some point in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data" (Johnson et al., 2019, p. 302). The type of integration of qualitative and quantitative data occurred at several points in the study. As social network analysis is "inherently mixed" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 273), one point of integration is through the social network data collection interview data, which the semi-structure interview produces both quantitative data (Network structural properties) and narrative data of participants reflections and perspectives on their networks. To create the network profiles, I weaved back and forth between the quantitative network data and qualitative data allowing the network descriptive to guide analysis on the narratives and in turn utilize narrative data to confirm and validate the network profile categorization, aligning with a complementarity mixed methods rationale. The final nexus of integration was through displaying findings in a joint display integrated results matrix (McCrudden et al., 2021), which is a visual matrix of merged qualitative and quantitative data, to enhance insight of findings.

Figure 4

Overview of a Transformative Mixed Structural Analysis Research Design

Positionality

My previous experience as a higher education practitioner has greatly influenced my interest in this work. As a former Associate Dean of Students, I worked with many Black and Indigenous college student who were navigating spaces not necessarily created for them. I encountered many broken and defeated students, and faculty, staff, and administration unsure of what could be done. When students pulled away from student life as a form of self-care, the administration viewed it negatively as disengagement. I had success in helping individual students, but it wasn't enough to make a larger institutional impact and being one of the few Black women professionals on campus, the emotional labor was exhausting. These experiences showed me that the study of relationships in higher education should not only focus on people (with limited capacity), but relationships and interactions with space, place, and behavior in how students care for themselves and others, and how institutional campus climates redress or reproduce inequitable well-being outcomes.

I acknowledge that my experiences with Indigenous communities have been limited to working with Indigenous undergraduate students who were often far from their home communities. What I came to realize is that Indigenous students who were pushed out of the institution due to racism, lack of representation, and visibility, often moved back home, attended a Tribal College and University, and thrived. Their refusal of dehumanizing educational experiences, to do more than survive, showed me first-hand what Gerald Vizenor (2008) characterizes as Indigenous survivance, or the "renunciation of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy, and the legacy of victimry" (p.1). Likewise, Black students often stayed but engaged in beautiful world-making (Hartman, 2019), creating as one of my participants framed as "mini HBCUs" on campus to support one another. It is through

these experiences that I now framed their chosen (or forced) departure or seclusion not as a failure, but rather an act of survivance and world-making, which in the long run seemed more beneficial for overall health and well-being.

Overall, my own experiences allowed me to understand the nuance and complexity of educational spaces; that they can simultaneously help and harm, although some are more disproportionately and historically harmed than others. I move forward in this project with intellectual humility and awareness that while I also carry marginalized identities as a Black women, I am equally capable of producing harm and violence through my research should I fail to realize the ways in which I carry insider/outsider identities for both Black and Indigenous communities, especially considering other demographic and social identities such as age, education status, educational experiences, and socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, my lived experiences fuel my passion for this work and my fervent desire for systemic change within higher education and a reduction of educational trauma and suffering for scholars of color.

Findings

The overall findings from the transformative mixed structural analysis suggest that there is not one single and ideal well-being network, but multiple paths to well-being based on a student's well-being preferences and expectations (or *habitus*, Bourdieu, 2010) being activated within a particular social space (or *field*, Bourdieu, 2010) on campus. Participants were navigating complex well-being networks and relationships that centered around the amount of support received from on-campus individuals, such as faculty, peers, advisors, and support received from off-campus from family and friends, as well as differences in the reciprocity of support, and in the variety of relational roles. The narrative analysis highlights how participants navigated complex relational negotiations of support while on campus, and that the most

valuable well-being social spaces (*fields)* are ones that provided space for authentic connections, mutual care expectations, embedded a bit of home, and modeled an ethics of care (Keeling, 2014), or a shared responsibility and responsiveness to student well-being. The paths were categorized into three profiles of well-being habitus: *uni-centric, support-centric, and values-centric*.

The majority of participants (64%) identified as mono or multi-racial Black, 27% identified as mono or multiracial Native American/American Indian, and two participants identified as Afro-Indigenous (9%). Most participants identified as women (65%), were a 1st or 2nd-year student (55%) and majored within a STEM discipline (36%). Subjective well-being was nearly evenly split with 40% scoring higher well-being, 30% lower well-being and 30% scored around the national average for college student well-being, which is around 44/56 on the subjective well-being scale (Deiner et al., 2009). During the network mapping exercise, participants named 237 well-being support individuals. The average well-being network size was 10 people, and the average density was .23, meaning that on average, 23% of all possible ties that could exist were present in networks and represents not strongly dense networks overall in the aggregate.

The majority of individuals named within participant networks (n=237) were on-campus (62%), friends (40%), family (20%), faculty (8%) or student affairs staff (7%), between the ages of 18-29 (52%), reported as Black (45%), White (25%), or NA/AI (12%), and were women (59%). Off-campus individuals provided on average 4 different types of social support, with emotional (90%) and monitoring (79%) support being the most common, compared to 3 different types of support on average from on-campus individuals, with a larger percentage providing informational (80%) and appraisal (63%) support (see Table 14).

While emotional and informational support was most commonly provided to both on and off-campus connections (90% and 80% respectively), instrumental support (e.g., financial assistance, transportation, medical care assistance), was the least named type of support (49% between all support connections) representing a noticeable gap of resources in this area compared the other types of social support. This suggests that overall, for the participants, the focal point of support differs between off-campus and on-campus support connections, with off-campus individuals providing more emotional and monitoring support, and on-campus support connections providing more informational and appraisal support. This indicates that networks comprising of both on, and off-campus connections may be more likely to receive multiple and complimentary forms of support.

Based on network statistics and specifically the proportion of on and off-campus support, all participants' networks were categorized into three profiles of a well-being habitus: *uni-centric, support-centric, and values-centric* (Table 15). The first profile is a *uni-centric* habitus, which is primarily characterized as participants whose majority of support ties and connections occur among individuals on campus. Additionally, on-campus ties within a uni-centric network also are often denser and more interconnected than off-campus support. The second profile is a *support-centric* habitus, consisting of participants who have more equal numbers and density of on and off-campus support connections that were strategically cultivated based on the type of support provided (rather than the location). The third profile is characterized as a *values-based* habitus consisting of larger and more dense clusters of support from off-campus ties that were often created based on shared values. All three habitus profiles have unique integrations of on and off-campus connections which are highlighted through the following participant narratives.

Table 14

Composition of Well-Being Support Network

Category	Support Network (n=237) n (%)
Race	
Black or /African American	102 (45%)
NA/AI	27 (12%)
Multiracial	14 (6%)
White	57 (25%)
Asian	12 (5%)
Latino/a/e/x	11(5%)
MENA	2 (1%)
Gender	
Women	133 (59%)
Men	87 (39%)
Non-Binary	5 (2%)
Age	
Under 18	3 (1%)
19-22	86 (38%)
22-29	31 (14%)
30-39	46 (20%)
40-49	28 (12%)
50-59	18 (8%)
60+	13 (8%)
Location of Support	
On Campus	139 (62%)
Off-Campus	86 (38%)
Support Role	
Friend	91 (40%)
Family	46 (20%)
Faculty	17 (8%)
Student Affairs	16 (7%)
Advisor/Mentor	14 (9%)
Student	13 (6%)
Roommate	11 (5%)
Counselor	9 (4%)
Other	7 (3%)
TA	1 (<1%)
On-Campus Support	
Emotional	81(58%)
Instrumental	42 (30%)
Informational	**111 (80%)**
Appraisal	88 (63%)
Monitoring	86 (62%)
Reciprocal	83 (60%)

Off-Campus Support	
Emotional	**80 (90%)**
Instrumental	42 (49%)
Informational	65 (76%)
Appraisal	66 (77%)
Monitoring	68 (79%)
Reciprocal	73 (85%)

Below are examples of the well-being networks and narrative profiles that represent each type of well-being habitus. I begin with the *uni-centric* well-being habitus and demonstrate through the network narrative of Demetrius, Kalysta, Lex, and Sam of the strong influence of reciprocity and peer support on campus. Then highlighted how the type of support can lead connection through the *support-centric* network narratives of Al, Josie, Kam, and Jo. Finally, the network narratives of Connor, C. Boogie, and Brandy will highlight navigating well-being with friends and strangers alike through a *value-centric* habitus.

Profile 1: A Uni-Centric Well-being Habitus Activated by Outgoing Peer Support and Home-Embedded Institutional Fields

The first well-being profile consisted of participant networks that primarily comprised larger and/or denser connections on campus, including friends, roommates, faculty, advisors, student affairs professionals, characterized as a university-centric habitus (*uni-centric*). Nine of the participant networks are characterized under this *uni-centric* habitus, which on average, 75% of connections in the habitus were located on campus. Two of the participants did not name any off-campus support (i.e., no family) suggesting that their support seems to come from their institutions exclusively, while other participants named 1-3 off-campus connections. This disproportional representation of on campus support is one of the notable differences from the other profiles (Figure 5). Regarding well-being, of the nine participants with the *uni-centric* well-being habitus, five of the students self-reported above-average subjective well-being scores,

while 4 participants had below-average subjective well-being scores meaning that participants within a *uni-centric* habitus could experience high or low well-being. Those within a uni-centric habitus experienced support through building a community of care, engaging in high outgoing of support (especially providing support to peers), and embedding elements of home into campus.

One meaningful characterization within the *uni-centric* habitus profile is how these participants often took an active role in facilitating the well-being support for other students on campus, and by and large, this engagement in peer support seemed to help participants to be well too. Participants within the *uni-centric* habitus reported high levels of reciprocity or receiving and giving support to around 70% of their network on average, and high levels of outgoing social support to other isolated or struggling peers who did not necessarily show up in the participants' networks. For example, Kalysta is a Black biracial woman and 4th-year social work major. Her well-being network consisted of mostly friends from school, her roommate, a faculty member, and a counselor (See Figure 5). She shared how other students often came to her for peer support:

> I focus a lot on people's well-being and especially on a campus filled with White people who can be insensitive at times or having to experience like microaggressions often…I talked to my friends a lot about making sure you take care of yourself first, knowing that this institution wasn't made for us, it wasn't built for us…I'm a pretty good listener, so... I do talk a lot though too, but just listening and just giving advice where I see fit when it's appropriate. And then just tending to people's needs…And just sometimes I'll throw in my social worker hat or stuff and I'll be like, "Well, maybe you could use this technique, or you could use this resource, or utilize this…

This passage is an example of how Kalysta is providing multiple forms of support to her peers on campus, including, informational ("use this resource"), monitoring ("just listening"), and appraisal ("giving advice where I see"). While Kalysta's academic major in social work perhaps made it easier to engage with concerns of well-being, Kalysta also stated that she is interested in "tending to people's needs," especially those that may have had had negative racist experiences on campus such as microaggressions. She knew firsthand that a predominantly White campus could at times be a difficult space to find and build community especially when race is a salient identity. Kalysta also spoke of her challenges in these predominantly White environments:

> Like I went to a photo shoot yesterday for this modeling thing, and all the girls around me were White with straight blonde hair. And I was like, "I know I'm pretty." But I was like, "I just feel weird in this environment." And so just being around that all the time, and the women in my class are always all White social work, social justice warriors, whatever they call themselves. And so, being in those environments, it is like, "Why am I here? What's going on? I don't feel like being here. I don't want to build connections with nobody here. I don't want to build a network."

While Kalysta's network is primarily *uni-centric*, this passage exhibits how whiteness within that Kalysta's academic and social environment caused her to question her place and where she can obtain social support. By reaching out and helping particularly Black students to find support, creating a "mini-HBCU," as she called it, Kalysta is working towards an environment where Black students can be reaffirmed "in what they can do and just how great Blackness is."

Other participants recalled receiving this type of affirmation and support from upper-level students. For instance, Demetrius is a 2nd-year journalism major and Black Man. He spoke

of the challenges he had his first year and how a fourth-year student went out of their way to help

him find the support and connection needed:

 [He] was actually a senior at the time... living in the community I was living in before

even joining a different one, it was just, again, isolating. So, I met him through an event

at the [Black Student Support Services] …and he said, "You know what? Whenever you

get a chance, hit me up, call me…and in my mind I'm like, what if I'm bothering him?

He's a senior, he's got all this stuff going on and stuff like that. And just one random day,

I remember he was like, "Hey, are you free today?" I was like, "Yeah, I'm pretty free."

So, it was just really surprising to see, especially in his particular major that he just was

going out his way to really make me comfortable and also introduced me to other people

in his circles, to even have more connections.

As the upper-level student went "out of his way" to offer and follow up with the opportunity for

support and connection, Demetrius was able to become less isolated and more connected on

campus. In turn, Demetrius also spoke of helping other struggling students find their way, in part

as a way of paying it forward just as the upperclassman did for him:

Yeah, it was a friend of mine that was new to [Midwestern University] and she basically

didn't have no connections or nobody else to go. So, I kind of did what [the

upperclassmen] did where it was like, "Okay, obviously you're still new to [Midwestern],

still adjusting to campus life, you will be living in a dorm, isolated like I was first year.

I'm going to help you out." And took her to various events...And yeah, it worked out

where she definitely got more comfortable with just talking to other people…'Cause

again, I know how it feels to feel isolated, not have nobody to talk to.

Likewise, Lex is a first-year Chemistry major and Menominee woman. She also shared a story of supporting isolated students on campus:

> Some of my best friends are the people who have had like no friends that I kind of just like found, and like I took them in as my own. Like my best friend now, she wanted to transfer at semester, she hated her roommate, she didn't have any friends, and then I found her, and now I spend like every day with her. And then my other friend is a transfer student from New York, from the Bronx, and he had like no friends and like his roommate was a foreign exchange student, he was leaving next year, and I found him, and now they're like my best friends. And like I took them up on the rez[3] this weekend and stuff.
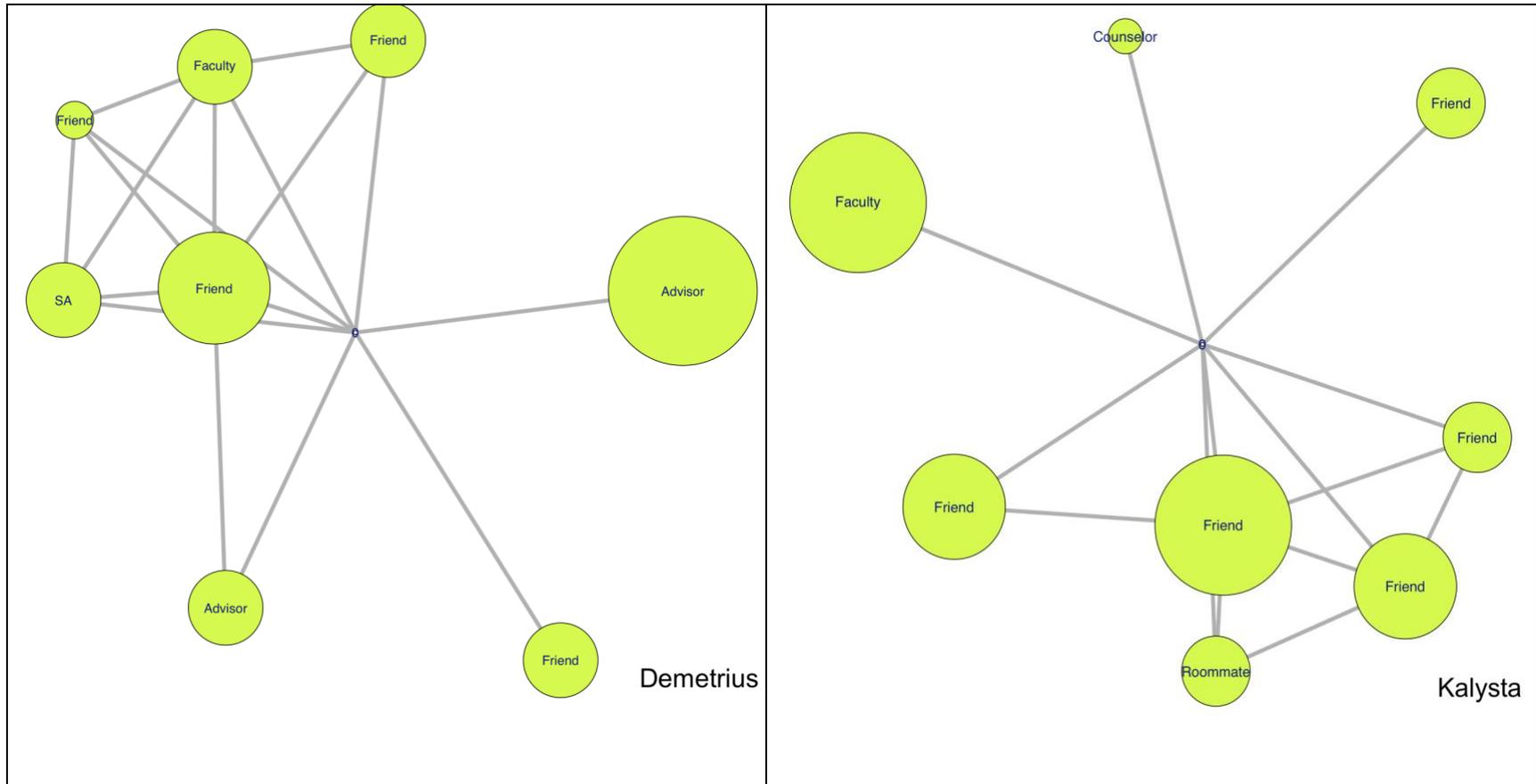
For Lex, Demetrius, and others, managing and avoiding isolation for themselves and the students around them through outgoing social support seemed to be a prominent structure of their uni-centric networks. Additionally, these narratives suggest that well-being support for those in a uni-centric habitus becomes particularly activated when students can engage in their mutual or shared sense of collective support for others on campus through residential or student leadership spaces. And yet while uni-centric, there are elements of home that arose and were also cultivated in these spaces.

While shared identity and outgoing peer support seem to affirm those within a uni-centric habitus, physical social spaces also facilitated shared mutual understandings of interconnected support on campus and appeared to be particularly useful for those within a uni-centric habitus.

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[3] The rez is a informal word for a North American Indian reservation

Figure 5

Example of 100% Uni-centric Well-being Networks

Note. Yellow nodes= on campus connection, size=amount of support. Demetrius and Kalysta are the two participants who only named individuals on-campus as a part of their well-being network, consisting of friends, roommates, advisors, student affairs (SA), faculty, and counselors.

When asked he why found multicultural support services to be an important campus space toward his well-being, Sam (Black man, 1st year Economics and Math major) said that "being around people that look like you and being around people that you just share similar interests to makes the place feel more like home, which is good." Like Sam, several students within the uni-centric well-being habitus sought out and created spaced that felt like home, and in this way integrated elements of home community through uni-centric spaces. In particular, residential living and supportive culturally relevant social spaces (*fields)* such as learning communities are another uni-centric habitus characteristic that supported students' well-being in a meaningful way. For example, Kalysta and Demetrius both share about the benefits of living in a residential community that were supportive, particularly of their racial identity. Kalysta spoke about her decision process on where to live:

> I made sure to build community when I came here because I knew how it was. I made sure to live on the [DLC], the Diversity Learning Community. I made sure that I built that community around me and that I could come home to people that looked like me every day. People that lived in the really White dorms would just come to the DLC when they didn't want to be with their weird roommate or just on a random floor in [another residential hall]

For Kalysta, she valued the importance of learning and living in a space that affirm her racial identity as a Black woman and the ability for her to "come home" to people who looked like her, which allowed for her to build community in a supportive way inside and out of academic spaces. Likewise, Demetrius shared how moving to a learning community improved his well-being:

I was actually living in [another residential hall] and it was not the best. I felt like it was

not the best place for me, especially just not being able to connect with a lot of people as

I wanted to…And also it kind of got it to the point where I just isolated myself from even

trying to interact with other people. So yeah, that's kind of where the pause came from.

But now that I'm in a different dorm and with actually a multicultural community it's

more…I feel well. I just feel like I'm able to talk to people, even if I'm still kind of like,

eh, I'm not really a social butterfly or something like that, but I'm more just like, I'm

comfortable where I'm at.

Kalysta and Demetrius both shared about the benefits of living in a residential community that

are supportive particularly of racial identity and created spaces that reduced isolation and felt and

bit more like home, suggesting that even uni-centric habitus have an element of on and off

campus support integration that supports their well-being, especially by reducing isolation.

Network integration manifested through infusing or embedding elements of home or off-

campus support within a mutually supportive environment, which for these participants meant

learning and living among those with shared social (and especially racial) identities, as well as

through providing strong ongoing support to other isolated students on campus, which in turn

also reduced isolation for the participants. Focusing more on university connections may have

allowed participants to experiment with giving and receiving support in mutually and identity-

inclusive spaces. Overall, these narratives suggest that while students with a uni-centric habitus

may have a propensity and disposition towards peer support, it became most beneficial for their

well-being when they could embed this habitus within a social spaces *field* on campus that also

allowed them to bring parts of home through a mutually shared understanding of collective

support on campus such as through learning communities and student organizations. The

consideration and integration of both on and off-campus support seemed to also matter and shapes well-being experiences and outcomes. Next, I present network narratives connected to a *support-centric* habitus that centered type of support over people or location.

Profile 2: A Support-Centric But Less Relationally Diverse Well-Being Habitus with Lacking Faculty Connections.

Nine of the 22 networks are classified as a *support-centric* habitus profile, meaning that they had close to equal amounts of connections between on-campus and off-campus individuals and that they prioritized the form of support over the context or *field* in which support was offered (See Figure 6). Participants with a *support-centric* habitus had on average 8.75 individuals within their network and a medium density of .24. The average well-being score was 45, which is slightly above the national average at a score of 43 (out of a possible 56 points). Some notable departures from the other habitus are the mean proportion relational diversity, constraint, and reciprocity network statistics are the highest within the *support-centric* habitus. This means that on average, participants within this habitus have a lower number of different types of relations within their network (e.g., "friend", "advisor"), receive and provide support to 76% of their network, indicating a more equal power structure between connections. The *support-centric* habitus also had higher same race and same gender connections than the other habitus. (See Table 15), which suggests that multiple shared social identities and the specific types of support provided may play an especially important aspect for network inclusion within this habitus profile.

For the narrative data, those in a support-centric habitus expressed a greater awareness of how different parts of their network provide different types of support. For example, Prince

Jackson, is a 1st year pre-pharmacy major and Black man. When asked about his well-being

network, he acknowledged how he chose to go to different people for different types of support:

> There's a whole thing with a friend group supporting me. I do have my Posse mentor,
>
> who I see biweekly, who I get to talk about stuff with. And then I try to call my parents
>
> once a week. I'll talk to them together and I'll talk to them separately, because they each
>
> have their certain specialties, where my dad is much better on social, and my mom's
>
> better academically.

For this passage, Prince named three different on and off campus role categories within his

support network (friends, mentor, and parents) with each one seemingly providing a different

type of support. Even within clusters of on-campus and off-campus support, Prince spoke about

both knowing and acknowledging how different people have support specialties and part of

maintaining his network is knowing when to go to someone and for what specialty (i.e., talking

to his dad about social concerns). Likewise, Jo, A Black and Indigenous woman and first year

Political Science major, shared her preference for multiple on and off campus connections:

> I'm very used to having multiple different groups of people in my life…but a lot of these
>
> people, they just don't connect with each other, they connect through me if you get what
>
> I'm saying…I do keep like all my environment separate and that's just like how I've
>
> always been is like, I know that I needed spaces that I needed multiple different people
>
> that I can go in life because I just like, I have to have that type of like, I don't know what
>
> that is like structure I guess

The network narratives suggest that participants within a support- habitus are aware, and at times

prefer and are intentional about the separate and or fragmented nature of their networks as it

allows them to utilize and access different resources and honors the unique specialties within

each person or space. Al Matthews, A first-year Black women and journalism major spoke about why she sought support from both those from on and off campus:
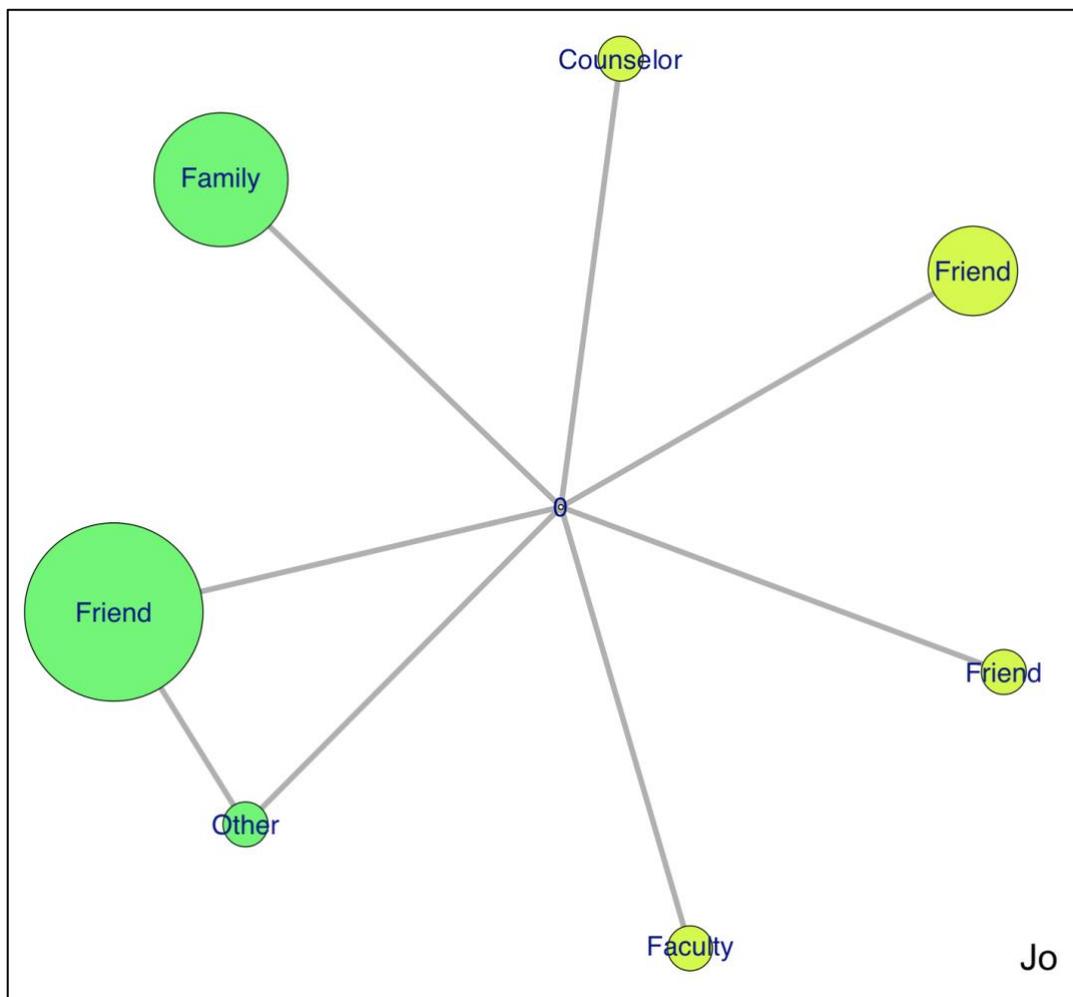
> There's a lot of overlap between my community off-campus and then on-campus, which I think is healthy because I feel like life isn't all just on-campus. It's good to have that area or that space to branch out. I think it's definitely expanded, especially the on-campus part.

Overall, as in the case for Prince, Jo, and Al, disconnected or segmented support may have given more control over how and when support is activated. For the most part, those within the support-centric habitus saw their networks comprising of both on and off-campus connections to be largely beneficial in getting specific types of support when needed.

Another habitus difference for those in the support-centric habitus are the high levels of reciprocity yet also lower levels of relational diversity with their networks compare to the other habitus. This means that participants who are more equally included on and off campus support have fewer categories of relationships ("friend", "roommate" "advisor" etc.) and instead tend to have larger numbers of support in fewer categories. For example, Josie Adams is a first-year Native woman and Oceanic science major. Josie the largest egocentric network of the study, which consists primarily of multiple "friends", "family" and "student affairs staff." Similarly, Prince has only three categories (out of 11 categories possible) of relational support roles ("friends", "family", and "student peer"; see Figure 7). With lower relational role diversity, some participants were able to find support from people and spaces that provided multiple forms of support, such as within Jo's well-being network, where the Native American Student Center often provided emotional, but occasionally other types of support such as financial. Jo recalled a time she received multiple forms of support during at an Indigenous community dinner:

Figure 6

Jo's Support-Centric Well-Being Network

Note. Yellow nodes= off campus, green nodes = on campus, size= support strength. Jo's star like network consisted of on and off campus friends, family, faculty, counselor, and other, that were mostly disconnected from one another.

I just realized that while I was there, we had an Indigenous financial advisor there and I had been completely stressing over some studying abroad in May. And then also for my off-campus housing that just has really been like stressing me out... I was able to solve that situation yesterday…it just like really helped with my mindset, what I need to do, what I need to prepare. They also gave me options for what I can do for next year and their email, which helps a lot because personally, I don't have like a regular financial advisor within my scholarship group, like other scholarships do.
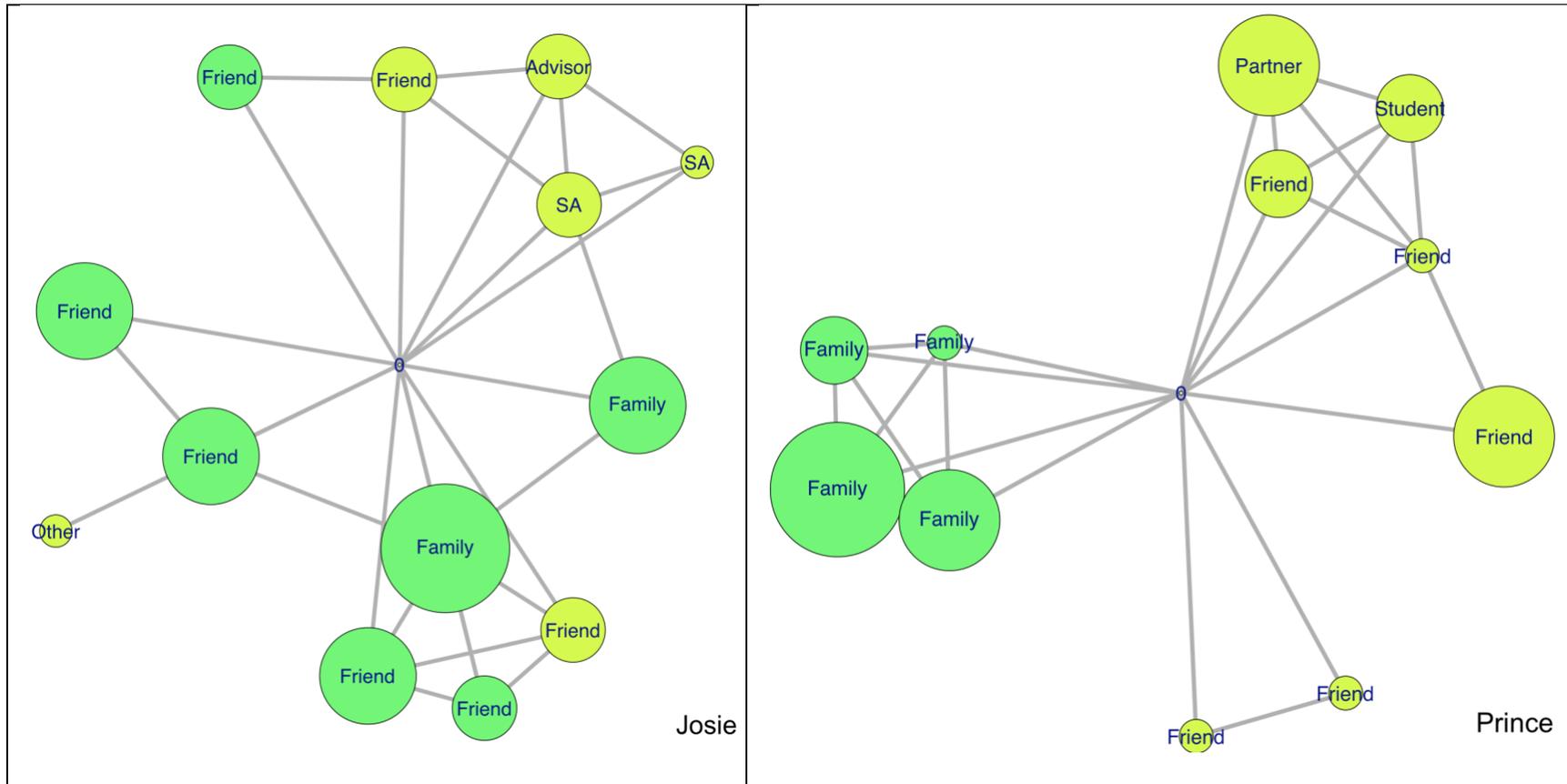
While Jo does not normally receive instrumental (i.e., financial) support at the Indigenous community dinner, through special programming planned by the Indigenous student services staff, Jo had the opportunity to take advantage to receive support in a way that would otherwise be more difficult to obtain. While instrumental support (i.e., financial support) was the lowest social support type provided by participants' networks, it is higher for those in a support-centric habitus which could suggest the importance of the value of both on-campus and on-campus connections providing different types of support as well as roles connections and spaces providing access to multiple forms of support, especially for on-campus connections.

Missing Support Within Academic Fields

One notable missing on-campus relation within the *support-centric* habitus is with those in academic social spaces such as with professors and teaching assistants. With the exception of one participant (Jo, who named one faculty member in her network), there were no other faculty members or teaching assistants (TAs) present within any other *support-centric* habitus networks, which suggests that participants seem to prioritize same-race and same gender relationships with family, friends, student peers and student affairs staff, or those with a known expectation of the type of support they would receive. There were tensions and lack of clarity on how to navigate support with those in academic affairs, such as with faculty and TAs. One of the tensions revolved around how to create and maintain a mutual and authentic relationship, especially devoid of same race or same gender similarities. For example, Kam Nichols, a 4th year land economics major, and Black woman, spoke of the difficulties of moving beyond surface level relationships with her professors:

Figure 7

Examples of Lower Relational Diversity Within the Support-Centric Well-Being Habitus Profile

Note. Yellow nodes = on- campus; green nodes= off campus; SA= student affairs, size= support strength. Out of 11 possible relationship role categories, participants Josie and Prince have larger well-being networks, but only five and three of the categories are present, respectively.

I mean I don't really relate to a lot of my professors. Other than professional advice or things that pertains to my career in the future, I don't see them as a very close-knit relationship. It's just more so I would say a valuable acquaintance, like success personally. Yeah, it's more of a professional relationship than any connection. Nothing to relate to on anything…A big thing for me is shared experiences. So, it's not really much I could go there. I mean maybe we have a show in common or a food we like, but other than that, it's not much. A surface level I'd say.

While Kam does not directly name the social identities of her professors, she believed that they did not have much in common beyond surface level things such as TV shows or food preferences, which could suggest that they did not share similar social identities which often shaped lived experiences. Furthermore, While Kam sees these type of relationships as "a valuable acquaintance," it is unlike other connections on campus through peers and student affairs staff and felt more like a professional relationship that perhaps should not include all flows of social support, but perhaps only specific types that support career development, but not necessarily well-being. Jo also expressed the lack of shared experiences with professors from class.

Yeah. So, I would say that like, I don't necessarily ignore my professors…but I wouldn't necessarily like call on them for anything more than academic advice or just like moral support in general… So, I know the questions that I ask, they would not be able to answer because they do not have the same experiences as me. So, it's just in my mind, I don't know if this is a good thing or a bad thing, but I'm just like, I'm not gonna waste my time trying to further this very professional relationship into something where I can call upon them if they are not the role model that I'm seeking.

For Kam and Jo, a lack of shared experiences made it difficult to consider professors in their well-being support network, and an assumption that "professional relationships" lack the inclusion of all social support interactions that could support well-being beyond general academic support. Josie, however provided a bit more nuance to the student-professor relationship in that it is possible for a professional relationship to also have "general care and concern" for one another. That in lieu of shared experiences, professor-student connections could include other forms of social support, but this requires authentic connection, moving beyond transactional interactions, and toward a sincere humanization of students and the challenges they may be facing, especially as students of color. This would require, according to Al Matthew (4th year Black woman), that faculty "make themselves available beyond 'what's your question?..it's a bit of push and pull, but a bit more push from them". Josie also reflected on how one recent statement from a professor made the difference on whether she would go to a professor for a variety of social support:

> I don't want to be best friends with them, but just treat me a human being. I feel like that's how my professor's going to be that I met [recently], because they [said], "I think all people of color and the queer community need a space in science" and I'm like, okay, so we're probably going to be a decent connection. You just have to say that one statement. And I'm like, I feel safe coming to talk to you because it's like I am a person of color in science. I feel like I can come talk to you, as a native student. So, it's just knowing that I have a safe space in your office automatically means that I'm going to feel more comfortable coming to you if I have a question or need advice as a person in science.

For Josie, the explicit recognition by the professor of the unique needs of Native students was the appropriate sign and signal from faculty that this could be a trusted connection. Josie was also open to the connection but needed to see an initial signal from the faculty, which in this case came from the statement of understanding and acknowledgment of some of the unique needs of LGBTQ and people of color, especially within science disciplines. This type of signaling is also perhaps and example of the "push" as described by Kam. The pathway to including faculty with a *support-centric* habitus seems to stem from a shared experience, identity, or from professor-initiated authentic and holistic care and concern. Nevertheless, those within a *support-centric* habitus have more equal support from both on and off-campus connections and often find it beneficial to have different individuals provide different types of social support. Yet due to lower relational role diversity, support-centric habitus participants greatly benefit from connections that provide multiple forms of support, which as has been shown in the narrative, is not often the case in faculty-student relationships, which are experienced by participants as more one-dimensional in terms of support. The third type of network was value-centric where instead of specific support as the center, participants prioritized shared values with those in their networks.

Profile 3: A Value-Centric Well-Being Habitus Driven by Desires for Deep Connection Shared Interests, and Low Reciprocity.

The third profile is a *value-centric* well-being habitus, which are cultivated networks with a larger proportion of well-being support coming from off-campus individuals, such as family, friends, and acquaintances, tied together through shared values and interests. Four of the 22 participants fit into this category, with friends and roommates primarily serving as brokers, or bridges between off campus and on campus support components. Overall, the *values-centric*

habitus had greater relational role diversity with faculty and student affairs staff to bridge together networks in a way that created better support for participants. Similar to the other profiles, these participants had higher levels of same-race (58%) support connections, but by contrast had the lower levels of same-gender support (35%) which is a departure from other habitus. Compared to the *uni-centric* and *support-centric* profiles, average network statistics for the *values-centric* facing habitus profile show the highest well-being (47/56), and lowest constraint (.19), or access to support, and lowest reciprocity (.46) or outgoing support of any other profile, which suggest a connection to how much they are able to easily access support without the added responsibility to return support at the same level of the other habitus profiles. One main finding from the *values-centric* well-being habitus is that while identity continues to shape well-being support, participants in this profile built and maintained support connections primarily based on a desire for deep connection and a community based on shared values and interests.

With a larger relational role diversity, those in the values-centric habitus profile had a wide variety of roles of people that support them both on and off-campus, although both the number and density trended towards off-campus support. Instead of an emphasis on quantity, those within a *values-centric* habitus often spoke of deliberate connections based not on proximity but based on deep connections and shared values and /or interests. For instance, C. Boogie is a 4th year Black transfer student and religious study major. He reflected on the observation that most of his support connections were off-campus:

It's interesting to see that the people and objects, I guess, that I'm the closest to have nothing to do with campus… and so the real outstanding relationships that I've had have either been outside of [Midwestern University]… Basically, the relationships that have

persisted and that are important to me are the ones that aren't there because of convenience's sake. We're not friends just because of the convenience of us being in class. We're friends because there's something that we really care about.
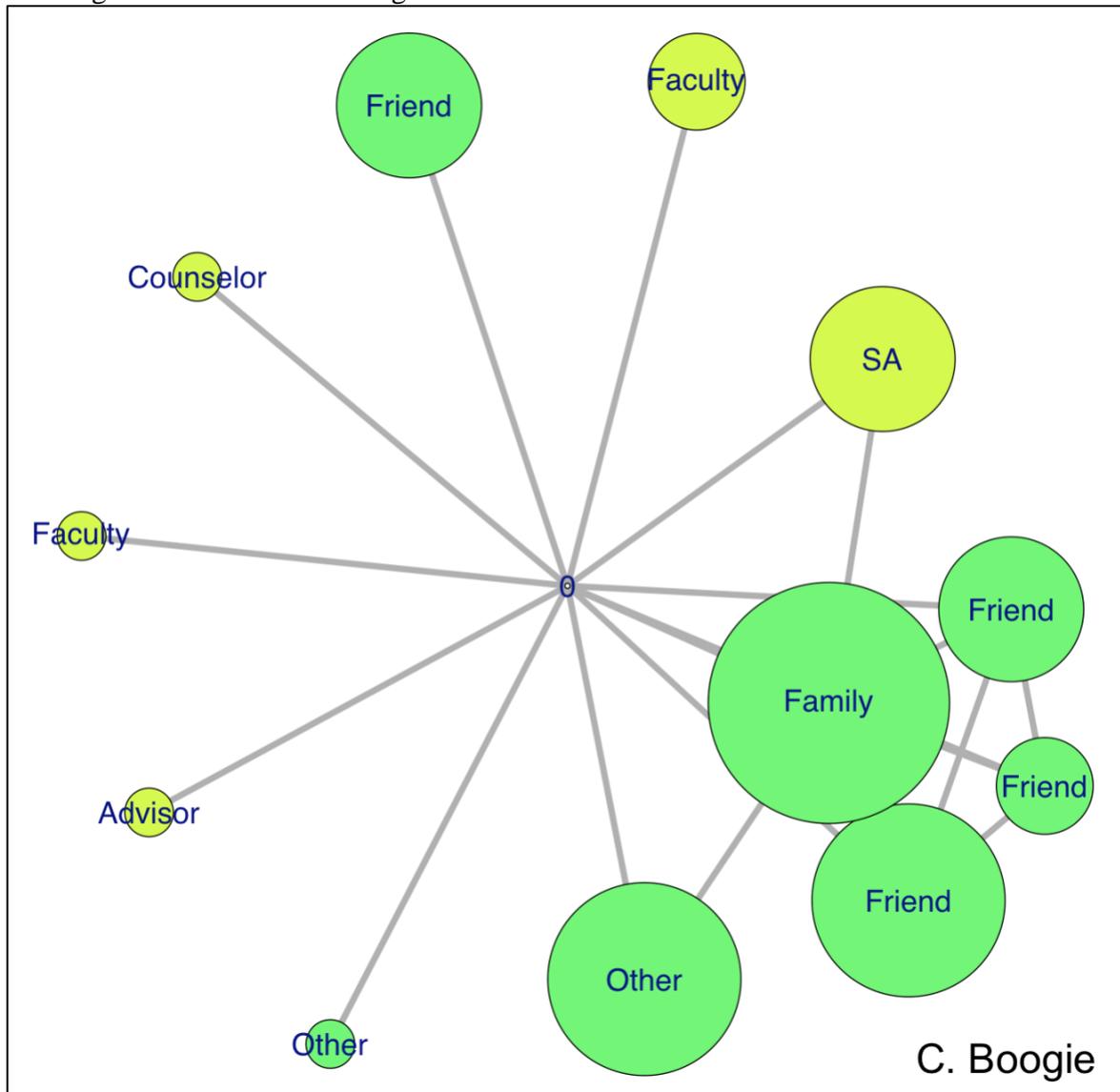
For C. Boogie, geographic proximity due to class schedules or housing alone was not enough to support his connections, but instead was based on a share value or something that they "really care about." As a Black man interested in Buddhism and meditation, C. Boogie (Figure 8) is used to being an "exception to the rule and an outsider." "It would be nice", he remarked, "to have a really close friend on campus…but I'm also not expecting it to happen." Additionally, as a transfer student, C. Boogie has likely needed to utilize some strategic agency and take more initiative to reach out for support to ensure that he has what he needs to be successful. At the same time, he is really satisfied with his network ("This is beautiful. I love it") and chose to connect more closely with off-campus connections, such as this experience with mindfulness spaces:

> [I] typically do [meditation group] every Tuesday. And that's also been a great support. Not only just meditating but doing it with a group of people. A sangha has been so important. And it honestly was what I felt I was lacking a lot when I had two years out of school and I just felt very isolated. Living with my parents, didn't really feel connected to a group of people that were equally invested in the same thing I was.

For C. Boogie, being in a weekly sangha with all people who value mindfulness and meditation seemed to have provided him with the level of connection needed to overcome feelings of isolation and as such, positively supported his well-being. C. Boogie also took some time off between transferring to another institution so his habitus around who he can reach out to for support has likely needed to be shift outside of institutional connections through the university.

Figure 8

C. Boogie's Personal Well-Being Network

Note. Yellow nodes= on-campus, green nodes= off-campus, size= support strength C. Boogie has a mix of support, although off-campus connections are denser and more likely to reinforce and offer multiple forms of support.

For participants Brandy and Connor, they were both led by the cultural values that centered on inter-generational community. For example, Connor McGregor is a Ojibiwe and Navajo first-year student engineering major. He spoke about how his cultural values have taught him to value community and elder wisdom as part of what it means to "walk in a good way" (one of the Anishinaabe conceptions of well-being):
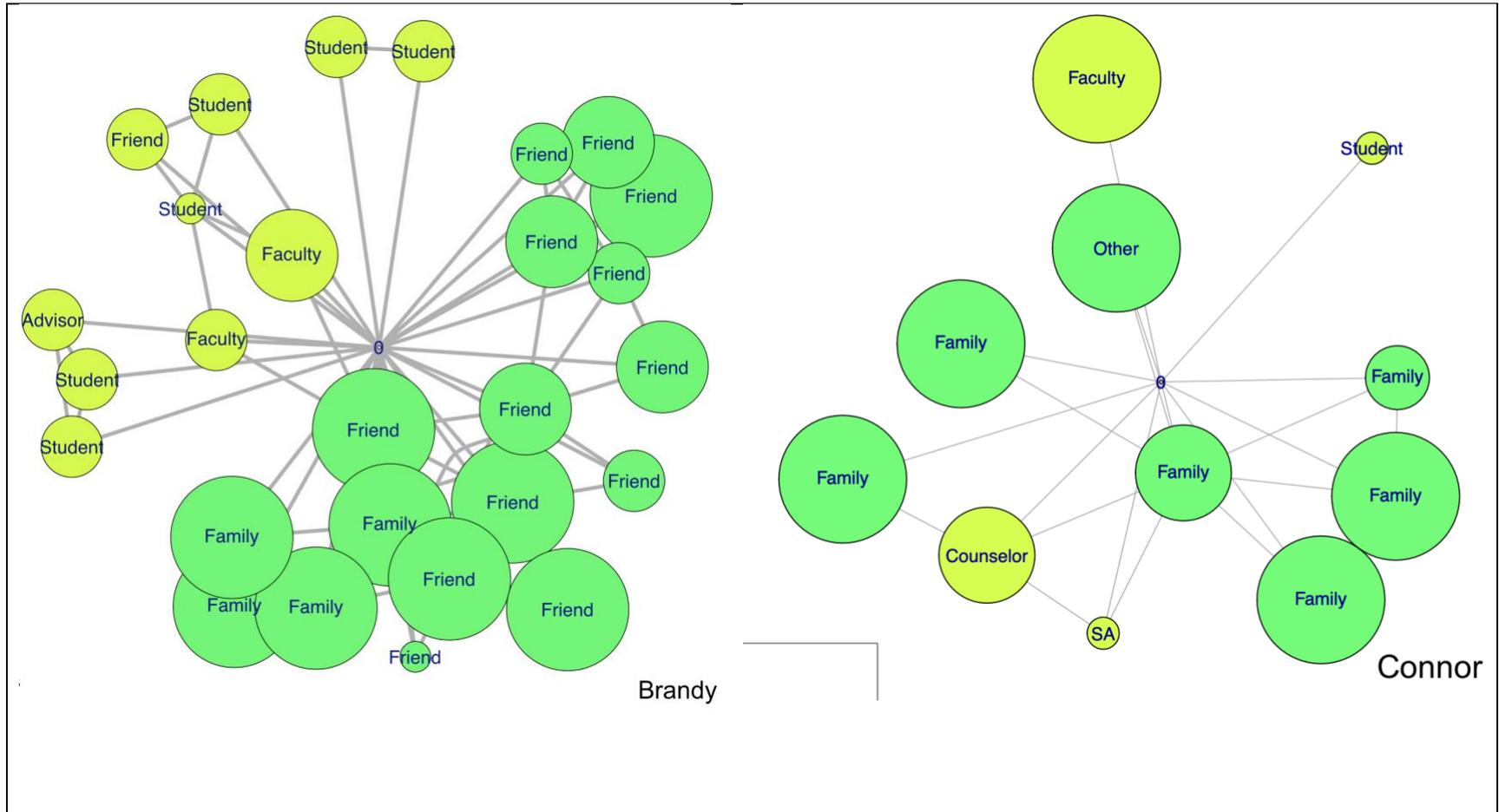
The English translation is to walk in a good way...to living with our spirituality, living by our cultural values. One of our cultural teachings is that we must continue trying to learn as much as we can, especially from our elders, and those who have, you know, walked the earth longer than us. So that was in our way, finding community, and just not like finding community in a more than local sense as well.

What it means to be well-being support, for Connor, is to be in community with elders and with those you can learn from, and this is represented in a well-being network comprised almost exclusively of older individuals (See Figure 9). Similar to C. Boogie, their notions of community were broader than geographic proximity but instead focused on spaces and places where learning, wisdom, and helping can take place. This may help explain the differences in Connor's network which had far less student and peer support (only one peer support from a student on campus) compared to other participants (Figure 9). Connor's other connections are family and "professional connections" with faculty, student affairs staff, and a counselor, although the connections move beyond the "local sense" to include family and other connections from around the country. Brandy, A graduate student who identifies as Black, Indigenous, Jewish, and Queer, likewise shared similar values around multi-generational healing and bridging community that span multiple spaces and places when thinking about her well-being network:

How am I in relationship with my community, my ancestors, with the concept of spirit, whatever that is for me, and my values are storytelling, individual and communal healing, which is inherently multi-generational, and I think that there's some people who are called to build bridges. That's another one of my values…building bridges for myself and others' and collective liberation.

Figure 9

Example of Values-Centric Well-Being Habitus

Note. Yellow nodes = on campus support; green nodes= off-campus support; SA= student affairs; size= support strength. Both Brandy and Connor have larger and denser clusters of off-campus support within their well-being networks.

For Brandy, who connects "not only to people, but to place and history" prioritizes relationships that allow her to express her values and be in community with others who do and feel the same. This has resulted in a large network full of cultivated relationships that she carries with her into new social spaces on campus.

Another meaningful characteristic of the values-centric habitus is much lower reciprocity (only 46% of ties), compared to the other two habitus profiles with 70% and 76% reciprocity respectively. Because this habitus prioritizes deep shared value and interest-based connection, this can come from anywhere on or off campus, from friends and strangers alike, with the added benefit of not needing as much to return the favor. For example, for C. Boogie, a visit to the doctor ended up as a sincere and valuable well-being connection and a strong source of unreciprocated support. C. Boogie recalled;

> She was like a receptionist and…we talked about the fact that I'm from [southern State] and that I don't have any family up here. And she was so sweet and she gave me her number and was like, "if you ever need anything, call me. But it was really touching for me and it meant a lot to me at the time... And when somebody was able to, within five minutes or seven minutes of talking to me, to recognize that I was somebody worth protecting or worth caring for…and that was just a spiritually reaffirming moment.

While on the surface this seemingly random encounter may seem nonsignificant, but for C. Boogie, he was able to connect with someone who showed genuine care for his well-being when he was in a particularly vulnerable and isolated state as a new transfer student from a different part of the United States. C. Boogie went on the share how this connection continued to evolve:

And then she gave me a gift card to Walmart for 20 bucks the next time I saw her. And
me, her and her husband have gone out for drinks and to restaurants and stuff. And every
now and then we'll just call and check in, make sure everything's good. And even if I
have something, just something happen at work or school or I'm stressed about
something or something in my family, I'll talk to her about it and she'll just pull from her
experience with life to be like, "I've been there. I understand, I got you." And so it's just
nice to have that.

As a transfer student, C. Boogie is perhaps more comfortable that others in initiating and
activating support than traditional college students. However, in this connection, C. Boogie is
able to receive important monitoring and emotional social support that has a positive influence
on his well-being, yet as it is not a peer-to-peer interaction, C. Boogie can also benefit in this
connection as much as he likes and receive as much as he needs without having to reciprocate
the same level of support. Overall, participants in the *values-centric* habitus seem to privilege
deep connection and shared values and interests, with low reciprocity. And while more of these
connections start off campus than on campus, *values-centric* participants build and bridge
communities across space and place and intentionally cultivate deep personal connections on
campus which at times also included faculty and student affairs staff on campus.

Profiles Summary

Another way to consider the way that students are creating their well-being networks is
through analysis of theeir aggregate network composition. In the table below (Table 15), I
demonstrate how the profiles are similar and different in terms of structural elements. Analyzing
the structural components, I demonstrate that the *uni-centric* habitus profiles have more
components (subgroups) and the highest proportion of relational diversity of the three profiles.

The support habitus has the highest constraint and reciprocity, and the values-centric habitus profile has the lowest mean proportion of reciprocity. Based on an one-way analysis of variance, there are significant mean differences in degree (number in network), reciprocity, relational diversity and homophily of ties between profiles. Overall, what this means is that students are likely engaging in fields or social spaces that not only provide them with support, but also embed within fields that will also affirm, legitimize, and reproduce their network's structural characteristics. Yet in spite of varying network structures, students are thriving within every profile, which further emphasizes the need combine network perspectives alongside narrative interpretations to reveal nuances in how networks shape well-being.

Table 15

Central Tendency of Network Characteristics by Well-Being Habitus

Network Profiles	Uni-Centric Habitus	Support-Centric Habitus	Values-Centric Habitus
Degree*	10	9	16
Density	.24	.24	.18
Well-Being	45.89	43.89	47.00
Components	11.78	11.00	9.50
Constraint	.26	.31	.19
Reciprocity*	.70	.74	.46
Closeness	.46	.48	.47
Frequency	2.29	2.07	2.76
Campus Homophily*	-.65	-.01	.44
Relational Diversity*	.73	.62	.72
Campus Support*	.75	.60	.40
Off Campus Support*	.25	.40	.60
Emotional Support	.65	.72	.75
Instrumental Support	.36	.46	.35
Informational Support	.75	.65	.73
Appraisal Support	.56	.59	.62
Monitoring Support	.61	.63	.64
Same Race Support	.58	.66	.58
Same Gender Support	.64	.65	.35

Note. Network statistics calculated from proportion means. * Indicates a significant difference in means of three groups based on one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) hypothesis testing (p <0.05).

Discussion

This study explored the personal well-being networks of Black and Indigenous college students at Midwestern University. Based on integrated structural and compositional variables, I provided an egocentric and mixed structural analysis to understand well-being support for Black and Indigenous students. Study findings revealed that participants are navigating complex relationships of support and embedding their well-being dispositions and preferences (or *habitus)* through multiple social spaces (or *fields)* on campus. Participants in the *uni-centric* habitus concentrated on highly reciprocal support on campus, whereas those in the *support-centric* habitus activated connections based on specific types of support. And the *value-centric* habitus cultivated deep connections based on shared values and interests. While there are three network profiles based on the compositional of roles within the well-being network, it is important to note that within each network, well-being can be found and experienced when affirmed within social spaces on campus. Participants thoughtfully and skillfully curated networks of support based on their well-being habitus, and strategically embedded them within specific well-being *fields* on campus. This study also demonstrates how participants well-being habitus seemed to contain not only individual and behavioral preferences and inclinations, but also structural relational tendencies that are affirmed, legitimized, reproduced, or reject depending on the social space (*field)*.

While previous studies have shown that relationships matter in college, especially with family, campus peers, and faculty (Chambliss & Takacs, 2014, Felton & Lambert, 2020; Mishra 2020) the study contributes a network perspectives which adds a growing number of scholars that urge colleges and universities to better cultivate interactions of social support that include integrated institutional and personal support (Mishra, 2021; Winkle-Wagner, 2009). Network

composition such as subgroups of on- and off-campus support, levels of reciprocity and outgoing support shape how participants are able to access support. Depending on the habitus, tie activation for support seems to center on shared experiences, values, and interests, as well as a collective or mutual understanding of support.

Additionally, this study showed that framing and studying well-being as a *habitus*, or a collection or relational dispositions or preferences, is a useful framework to demonstrate how these preferences get activated with particular social spaces on campus. In sum, three network profiles were identified and distinguished by compositional and interactional network characteristics. Support activation for those in a *uni-centric* network is connected to avoiding isolation often through one-on-one peer support that is embedded in fields on campus spaces that students to bring elements of home and shared social identity into the space. This habitus supports a robust set of literature on the importance of peer support in college student success (Grier-Reed, 2021; McCabe, 2016), however, this study contributes network perspectives on the high prevalence of outgoing support for Black and Indigenous students and highlights just how much students are helping one another to be well. For instance, without the habitus affirmation of support that Kalysta and Demetrius received through identity-based learning communities, they might not have been able to feel connected themselves, nor contribute to the support and well-being of other peers on campus.

Those characterized in the second well-being profile, *support-centric* habitus, were often in a position to receive the most support from both subgroups, however, lower relational diversity meant that one-dimensional connections with faculty and TAs were less desirable and elusive for students who appreciated clearer understandings of what type of support is provided within relationships. Additionally, higher same-race and same-gender networks tended to

associate with lower academic affairs support from faculty and teaching assistants. This finding supports prior research highlighting the importance of same-gender and same-race interactions on campus (Grier-Reid, 2015; Museus, 2011). Therefore, the underrepresentation of Black and Indigenous faculty of color in the academy (Brayboy et al., 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2021) potentially shaped not only experiences in the classroom and academic support, but also the structure of student's well-being networks and the available access to social support. Furthermore, due to the underrepresentation of Black and Indigenous faculty, White faculty members may assume that they may be unable to support students' well-being without shared experiences with students in terms of race/ethnicity. This study also contributes new knowledge on the expectations and mechanisms of tie activation for support within academic spaces. Although homophily among race and gender influenced whether and how Black and Indigenous students will engage with institutional actors on campus, these well-being narratives also highlight the positive influence of share experiences and struggles around well-being and health, as well as the existence of authentic and shared responsibility of support can also shape student's social support in meaningful ways, especially with faculty, teaching assistants, and other academic affairs individuals.

The third profile, *values-centric* habitus, prioritized deep multi-generational connections based on shared values and interests, which could come from friends and strangers alike. This habitus supports previous network research that emphasizes the importance of weak ties such as acquaintances (Granovetter, 1977, Small, 2017) and how they relate to other connections. However, given that this habitus has the highest average well-being yet lowest reciprocity, this study contributes new data on both the benefits and challenges of maintaining relationships with strong and weak ties. The value-centric profile also highlights the importance and desire for

colleges and universities to support multi- and intergenerational connections. While there is

literature that speaks to how intergenerational relationships shape college student well-being,

navigating such relationships on college or university settings has received scant attention in

college student well-being and social support literature.

Implications

While each habitus profile had some unique properties of network creation there are three

commonalities seen across profiles, especially when determining tie activation, or the process of

choosing (or not choosing) to utilize specific support which has important implications for future

research and practice. The three common characteristics focused on the tensions of navigating

reciprocity and mutuality within connections, and the value of sharing identities or experiences

in activating connections on campus, and tensions navigating multiple well-being fields on

campus.

The first commonality is how the narratives highlight how social spaces (*fields)* on

campus facilitate same-race, same-gender, or multi-faceted forms of social support that are

important and meaningful for college student well-being networks. Black student centers,

Indigenous student spaces, and learning communities are three prominent examples from this

data that facilitated the type of positive social support, which further emphasizes the need for

having these spaces, especially at predominately White institutions. In addition to literature

emphasizing the importance of culture centers as hubs for support and resources for Black and

Indigenous students (Brayboy et al., 2012; Cooper & Freeman, 2015; Harper & Quaye, 2018;

Reyes & Shotton, 2018), as this study has shown, these fields on campus are more than surface-

level resources, but also facilitate conditions for vital social support and well-being connections

for many Black and Indigenous students. This study contributes a new understanding on how the

connections come to be and how certain *fields* on campus affirm and support students' well-being habitus.

The second commonality is the notion that students are navigating multiple *subfields* on campus (instead of one big campus climate), and these *subfields* often center on different forms of social support, resources, and relationship expectations, especially regarding reciprocity. Except for two participants (see Figure 5) all other participants named both on and off campus support in the number, quality, and content of connections. While some students valued the integration of the two subgroups of support, many kept them separate. But what this study contributes is the significance of how types of support can contribute to flourishing when activated within a particular field. More thought and consideration are needed on how to better consider and complement support from both groups.

Additionally, this study highlights network tensions between student services and academic affairs *subfields* on campus in terms of types of support provided and the mechanisms that support authentic connections. Student affairs services have had longer experiences of holistically engaging with students in ways that are perhaps newly emerging in other academic spaces on campus with faculty and teaching assistants, and while some participants have been able to make genuine and find social support within academic spaces, the rubric on how to do so, by and large, is less clear from many students. This study provides some data on how students think about and navigate well-being support and connections within academic settings, and especially the challenges in determining authenticity and the boundaries and specifications of how to receive social support from academic individuals. Future research could also examine and compare the facilitation of support and ties by various *subfields* on campus or a future network mapping of support on college campuses. Ultimately institutions of higher education can work

towards interventions and programming within campus fields that complement but not necessarily duplicate efforts on campus as well as embedded practices that implicitly and explicitly signal a collective agreement of care, especially in academic *subfields* on campus.

The third commonality within the three profiles is disparities in the type of social support received, with most participants receiving emotional and instrumental support, yet much fewer receiving instrumental support, representing a pertinent gap in support received from either on or off-campus individuals. Instrumental support offers direct tangible and practical resources in a time of need, such as financial support, food, or transportation. As multiple studies have shown how financial stress negatively shapes health, well-being, and academic persistence for Black and Indigenous college students (Deckard et al., 2022; Moore et al., 2021; Youngbull, 2018) this is an important support gap that warrants additional examination. While not expanded on in this paper, several participants in the study spoke to how those that offered instrumental support were highly valuable and influential in student networks. Additional research could examine aspects of campus engagement and social spaces that enhance or impede access to crucial instrumental support for Black and Indigenous students.

Conclusion

To quote Black feminist scholar and poet Audre Lorde "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives" (1982, p. 130). Through networks and narratives, this study demonstrated how Black and Indigenous college students are skillfully and strategically navigating and cultivating complex and multi-issue relational situations and experiences while engaging in their academic pursuits. When students can align and access support in social spaces that affirm preferences and dispositions around reciprocity, values, and shared identity, well-being can be found in a variety of network profiles and configurations.

At a time when there exists much well-being and health research that focuses on the 5 D's: disparity, depravation, disadvantage, dysfunction, and difference (Walter, 2018), especially for minoritized communities, the findings from this study show how Black and Indigenous students desire and skillfully master multi-dimensional relationships and spaces on campus, which I believe could be a model to help institutions of higher education prioritize policy and resources towards factors that will lead to more equitable thriving for all. As such, this research offers asset-based "Ds" into well-being research to show the distinctions, dexterities, and dynamics of Black and Indigenous college students' curated well-being networks. Students are capable of holding space for the complexity of navigating academic, mental, emotional, social, and financial challenges when met with the right institutional conditions. A network perspective provides a more thorough and detailed understanding on what and how institutional conditions should connect to one another and to students so that well-being is a normal and expected outcome of higher education.

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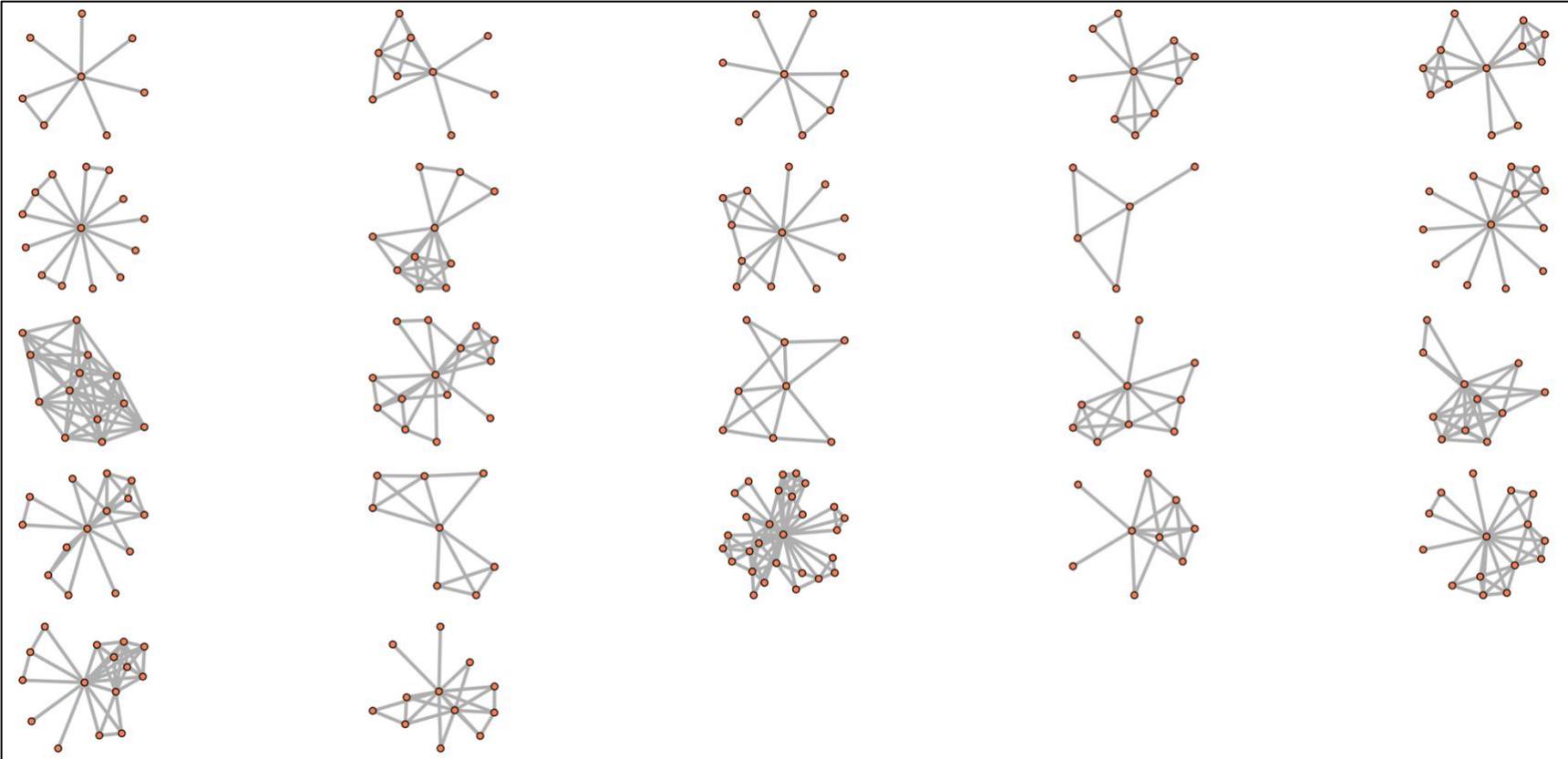   https://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2019.1593201

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Appendix A

Egocentric Visualization of Participants' Well-being Support Networks

Note. The center circle of each network represents one participant. Each outer circle represents one support connection and the lines indicate flowing social support between individual

Appendix B

Interview Pre-Screen Questionnaire

1. I am at least 18 years old
   - Yes
   - No
     i. If no, screen out

2. I am a full-time college student
   - Yes
   - No
     i. If no, screen out

3. I identify as Black/ African American and/or Native American, American Indian, Alaskan Native, Hawaiian Native, or Indigenous
   - Yes
   - No
     i. If no, screen out

4. I attend one of the following institutions:
   A Tribal College or University in the Midwest United States
   A Historically Black College/University in the Midwest United States
   The University of Wisconsin- Madison
   - Yes
   - No
     i. If no, screen out

5. I live on or near (within two miles) of the college campus?
   - Yes
   - No
     i. If no, screen out

6. Name:
7. School email (.edu)
8. Other email:
9. Please identify your Race/Ethnicity (select all that apply)
   - lack or African American (1)
   - American Indian or Alaska Native (List Tribe:) (2)

     _____
   - Hispanic/Latino/a/x (3)
   - Asian (4)
   - Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
   - Multiracial/multi-ethnic (6)
   - White (7)

- Other (8) _____

10. Select your gender identity (select all that apply)
    - Non-binary (1)
    - Male (2)
    - Female (3)
    - Other (4) _____

11. What is your primary role on campus?
    - 1st year undergraduate (1)
    - 2nd year undergraduate (2)
    - 3rd year undergraduate (3)
    - 4-year undergraduate (4)
    - 5+ year undergraduate (5)

12. Below are 8 statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1–7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by indicating that response for each statement.

	7- Strongly Agree (1)	6- Agree (2)	5- Slightly Agree (3)	4- Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	3- Slightly Disagree (5)	2- Disagree (6)	1- Slightly Disagree (7)
I lead a purposeful and meaningful life (1)							
My social relationships are supportive and rewarding (2)							
I am engaged and interested in my daily activities (3)							

I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others (4)

I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me (5)

I am a good person and live a good life (6)

I am optimistic about my future (7)

People respect me (8)

Appendix C

Qualitative Interview Protocol Questions

Help Seeking/Giving Questions

- During this academic year, what campus resources did you utilize to improve your well-being? How did you know about those resources and what was the result?

  - Share a time when you received mental/emotional health support from someone on campus?

  - Describe a time when you have given mental/emotional support from someone on campus?

  - How have you seen students helping one another to be well?

Name-generating questions

- Most people discuss important matters with other people. Who are the people with whom you discuss matters with?

- If you needed advice, help, or support with a health or emotional problem on campus, whom would you approach?

- Who approaches you for advice/help or support with health or emotional problems?

- Which health or social care practitioners do you see regularly?

- Who has recently helped you with tasks such as homework, shopping, filling out forms, and finding out information?

- Whom do you help with these kinds of tasks?

- Who else do you often interact with?

- Who do you currently see on campus with whom you find encounters difficult?

- Describe your most/least helpful relationship on campus regarding your well-being.

- What are the demographics of those people (age, race, campus, role, closeness? frequency)?

Place-and activity-generating questions

- Where do you regularly go in the course of a week that is important to your health and well-being?

- When you have problems with your physical health, where do you go?

- Where do you go for support from mental health practitioners?

- Are you using any other campus-based health services, such as UHS? If so, please name all that you are currently in contact with.

- Are you using any other social or health services that you have not already mentioned? If so, please

- Do you currently attend any student groups, clubs, or societies? If so, please name all those you currently attend.

- Where do you go when things are difficult?

- What places do you go to that are bad for your health and well-being?

- Are you part of any online group, blog, or society?

- What are the other hobbies or activities you do on your own?

- Are any other activities important to you that we still need to mention?

4. Questions about network

- (a) Thinking about the map before you, what three words would you use to describe your network best? [if necessary, show the participant a pre-prepared list of words]

- (b) What is your overall satisfaction with the current network we have mapped?

  From Very satisfied – Satisfied – Neither satisfied/unsatisfied – Unsatisfied – Very

  unsatisfied.

- Why is this?

  (c) Is your network changed much from 6 months ago? From Not at all – Slightly –

  Moderately – Quite a bit – Extremely.

- Why is this?

- (d) Are there any barriers to getting the most out of your network?

- (e) Who are the key people, places, and activities you would miss the most if they

  were not in your life anymore?