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# Associations Between Perfectionism, Parental Expectations, Self-Esteem, and Academic Achievement in Gifted Students

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**Senior Honors Thesis** 

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#### Abstract

Intellectual giftedness can affect students in a variety of ways. Research often examines some of these potential effects, such as how giftedness impacts performance in school or attitude regarding academics. However, little research has been done on whether gifted students are more driven by internal pressures to succeed that they place on themselves or by external pressures to succeed that are placed on them by others. The present study examined how perfectionism (an internal pressure) and parental expectations (an external pressure) might affect a student's self-esteem and achievement. Participants were 250 undergraduate students (M age = 20.35 years old, M GPA = 3.53) who completed an online survey. Different aspects of perfectionism had unique associations with self-esteem, whereas parental expectations were not associated with self-esteem. However, perfectionism, parental expectations, and self-esteem were not associated with academic achievement. Taken together, it appears that internal pressure, specifically concern over mistakes, corresponds to lower self-esteem, whereas having high personal standards may be adaptive. Implications and future research are discussed.

#### Introduction

As a University Honors Scholar at East Tennessee State University, I wrote my senior thesis as part of my undergraduate degree. As a psychology major, I chose a topic related to the field of psychology: how some potential effects of intellectual giftedness, such as perfectionism and parental expectations, might negatively affect that student's self-esteem and academic achievement. I especially wanted to study whether internal or external pressures may have more of an impact on gifted students. Additionally, I wanted to help my readers understand some of the negative sides of giftedness in a world that tends to, in my opinion, only focus on the positives. By exploring this topic, I made some intriguing discoveries that I hope have led to beneficial conclusions.

#### **Problem Statement**

Intellectual giftedness is operationally defined as having an intellectual ability that is higher than average. Giftedness is determined by administering an IQ test. A student with an IQ score of 130 or more is considered intellectually gifted. Gifted children make up a large portion of the population. Various studies show that around 6% of students in the United States qualify as "gifted", which is about 3 million students in total (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.). Intellectual giftedness is not a guarantee of success but rather an indication of one's intellectual capabilities. However, giftedness has also been shown to be related to lower rates of self-esteem compared to students who are not gifted (Roznowski, 2000). For the purposes of this study, self-esteem is operationally defined as a person's confidence in their abilities as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale.

# **Purpose Statement**

The purpose of my research study is to explore a few of the contributing factors in this possible correlation of giftedness and self-esteem. I want to discover whether a gifted student's confidence is strongly related to the expectations placed on them by external sources (such as parents, teachers, and friends) or by the internal pressure they put on themselves to succeed and do things well. Furthermore, I want to explore how perfectionism can have an impact on a gifted child's self-esteem and academic achievement. For the purposes of this study, academic achievement is operationally defined as GPA. My hypothesis is that gifted students might be prone to perfectionism as a result of trying to live up to both their own expectations of themselves as well as their perception of others' expectations of them, which could impact their self-esteem and academic achievement.

#### **Literature Review**

Previous research has shown that gifted students tend to have lower rates of self-esteem than their non-gifted peers, although the opposite has been found to be true in other research (Roznowski, 2000). I want to study how confirmed this relationship is and how giftedness could be related to a student's self-esteem. One potential explanation for giftedness seeming to predict lower self-esteem is that gifted children tend to base their identity in their intellectual abilities (Callahan, 2004). Gifted students are typically more intellectually curious and interested in multiple different ideas than non-gifted students. They also have an easier time understanding cognitively difficult concepts than other students their age (Wirthwein, 2019). As a result, when they inevitably fail at something, especially academically, it can impact their self-esteem. This can even happen if they simply do not understand something right away (since they tend to naturally pick up on new concepts quickly). Because many gifted students would also consider themselves perfectionists, they tend to give up easily when presented with something challenging

that they cannot immediately do perfectly (Callahan, 2004). This might lead to a negative cycle of poor perseverance skills and, in turn, low self-esteem. This could even provoke feelings among gifted children of being incapable or unworthy of their "label."

Other research has shown that multiple factors outside of a gifted student can also be linked to their self-esteem. For example, some students are so afraid of being seen as "different" by their peers that they do not even disclose to them that they are gifted (Chan, 2002). Receiving any kind of label can ostracize a person from a group, even if it is a label that would normally be considered positive (such as "gifted"). A person's self-concept can be strongly influenced by social acceptance, so it makes sense that their self-esteem might also be negatively influenced by a lack thereof. Along with a gifted student's peers, their parents can also contribute to their self-esteem, both positively and negatively. In fact, the way a gifted child's parents view their giftedness is associated with whether the student has high or low self-esteem (Colangelo, 1983). Parents can either put positive pressure on their child in a healthy way by giving them encouragement, which usually leads to overachievement, or they can put negative pressure on them in an unhealthy way by being overly critical of them, which usually leads to underachievement (Colangelo, 1983; Reis, 2000). Similar pressures from teachers or other caregivers can also affect the student's self-esteem in the same way (Reis, 2000).

# **Reflexivity Statement**

This topic is of particular importance to me personally because I was given the "gifted" label as a 1<sup>st</sup> grader. I remember feeling embarrassed as I was getting tested because I had to guess on multiple questions and thought I had done a poor job. I also remember how it felt moving to a different school in 4<sup>th</sup> grade where I was the only gifted student for two years after previously being at a school where there were eight of us who went to an "enrichment" class

together every afternoon. Even as a child, I was experiencing some of these feelings of low selfesteem both when I believed I did a poor job on the test and when I felt like the odd one out at my new school because I was different from my peers. I hid my giftedness and only disclosed it with my closest friends. I enjoyed challenges and thinking deeply – as long as I could figure out the challenge quickly. If a question or project seemed too difficult, I would get overwhelmed and give up on it. I would then beat myself up for not being able to complete it, which gave me less confidence to conquer the next challenge. Additionally, I understood as a child that my parents and teachers had high expectations of me because of my giftedness, so when I did not live up to their expectations, I would feel upset because I thought I was letting them down. I understand in retrospect that they were pushing me in a healthy way, but as a child, I believed I had to be the best at anything and everything in order to please them. Any criticism I received, even constructive criticism, brought my confidence level down. This led to me striving for perfection in everything so that I would not have to deal with the negative feelings that I experienced when I received criticism from outsiders. I tried to do everything to the best of my ability, which is a good thing, but I took it to an unhealthy extreme in order to avoid (what I thought was) disappointing my parents and teachers. As I got older, lower self-esteem became more of an issue as well. School became more difficult, and new concepts did not come as naturally to me anymore. Eventually, I began to question whether I was actually gifted or if the teacher who had administered my test when I was so young had made a mistake by labeling me as a gifted student when I was in 1<sup>st</sup> grade. I believed that, because I could no longer quickly understand things, there was no way I was actually gifted. In hindsight, I recognize that various aspects of these internal struggles with my self-esteem could probably be attributed to my giftedness: I had an unhealthy desire to be perfect, I was an overachiever, and my low self-esteem led to feelings of

unworthiness of being considered gifted. I am curious as to whether or not other gifted students have had similar academic and emotional experiences.

#### **Research Questions**

Based on previous research, it is clear that there are both internal and external pressures that can contribute to a gifted student's overall self-esteem (Roznowski, 2000; Colangelo, 1983; Reis, 2000). To further expand this research, I want to study the following questions:

- How are different types of criticism (internal vs. external) related to a gifted student's self-esteem? It is hypothesized that perfectionism and parental criticism will be negatively related to self-esteem.
- 2. How is self-esteem related to the student's achievement? It is expected that self-esteem will be positively related to achievement.
- 3. How is perfectionism related to the student's achievement? It is expected that perfectionism will be negatively related to achievement.

## Method

# **Participants**

Participants were 250 undergraduate students attending East Tennessee State University (M = 20.35 years old, SD = 5.2). There were 76 males, 164 females, 6 gender non-conforming students, 3 transgender students, and 1 who preferred not to say that participated in this study. Regarding class year, 128 of the participants were freshmen, 50 were sophomores, 37 were juniors, 30 were seniors, and 5 students declined to answer. Participants' GPAs ranged from 1.04 to  $4.0 \ (M = 3.53, SD = .52)$ . Regarding giftedness, 40% of the sample identified as gifted, 54% identified as non-gifted, and the other 6% declined to answer. The participants identified as 8.4% African American, 3.2% American Indian, 2% Asian American, 38% European American, 3.2%

Hispanic American, 4% endorsed multiple racial ethnicities, 32% identified as "Other", and 9.2% declined to answer.

#### Procedure

Participants were recruited for this study through the SONA research platform, which lists available psychology research opportunities at the university for students enrolled in psychology courses. Participants completed several standard questionnaires and reported demographic information online via the SONA platform and received course credit in their respective psychology courses for their participation. The survey took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Informed consent was obtained online for each student prior to beginning the study.

#### Measures

The study included items from the *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* and the *Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale*.

Rosenberg Self -Esteem Scale. The *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* measures self-esteem with 10 items of positive and negative statements about the self (Rosenberg, 1965). These items are scored using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree". Items 2, 5, 6, 8, and 9 are reversed scored because they ask questions about the self in a negative light. The items are summed to create a total score. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. Internal reliability for this measure was adequate (Cronbach's alpha = .91).

Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale. The Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale is a self-report measure of several aspects of perfectionism (Frost, 1990). This measure includes 35 items that contribute to six subscales: Parental Expectations, Concern Over Mistakes, Personal Standards, Parental Criticism, Doubts About Actions, and Organization. For this study, I used three of the subscales: Parental Expectations (Cronbach's alpha = .81),

Concern Over Mistakes (Cronbach's alpha = .91), and Personal Standards (Cronbach's alpha = .84). I did not include Parental Criticism, Doubts About Actions, and Organization as part of hypothesis testing because these items were not applicable to the study hypotheses. The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree". Higher scores indicate a greater degree of perfectionism in the given subscale. See Tables 1 and 2 for descriptive statistics and correlations of all study variables.

#### Results

As part of preliminary analyses, independent samples t-tests were conducted to examine group differences in study variables (concern over mistakes, personal standards, parental expectations, self-esteem, and GPA) by giftedness. Gifted and non-gifted students did not differ on these variables ( $ps \ge .05$ ), so analyses were conducted with the full sample.

Study hypotheses were tested with a series of regressions. The hypothesis that perfectionism (concern over mistakes, personal standards) and parental expectations would be associated with lower self-esteem was tested using regression. The model was positively associated with self-esteem,  $R^2 = .47$ , F(3, 233) = 67.68, p = .001. Concern over mistakes was associated with lower self-esteem ( $\beta = .76$ , p = .001). Having high personal standards for oneself was associated with higher self-esteem ( $\beta = .39$ , p = .001). Parental expectations ( $\beta = .02$ , p = .659) was not associated with self-esteem.

The hypothesis that self-esteem would be positively associated with achievement (student GPA) was also tested using regression. The model was not significant,  $R^2 = .001$ , F(1, 155) = .122, p = .728, such that self-esteem ( $\beta = -.03$ , p = .728) was not associated with student GPA.

Lastly, the hypothesis that perfectionism would be negatively associated with academic achievement was tested using regression. Perfectionism, which is operationally defined in this

study as concern over mistakes and personal standards, was associated with achievement, which is operationally defined in this study as GPA. Concern over mistakes and personal standards were tested as separate independent variables. The model was not significant,  $R^2 = .026$ , F(2, 159) = 2.085, p = .128. This indicates that concern over mistakes ( $\beta = -.02$ , p = .795) and personal standards ( $\beta = .167$ , p = .052) were not significantly associated with achievement.

#### Discussion

The present study examined undergraduate students' self-reported perspectives of their self-esteem, upbringing, and academic experiences. I sought to discover whether perfectionism, self-esteem, parental expectations, and achievement among students might somehow be related. Some of my findings aligned with my hypotheses based on previous literature, but most of them did not. Interestingly, gifted students did not differ from non-gifted students in their self-reported perfectionism, self-esteem, or academic achievement. This was unexpected based on the previous literature review indicating that gifted students tend to exhibit higher rates of perfectionism compared to non-gifted students (Callahan, 2004). One possible reason that these differences may not have been present in the study I conducted is that it was a self-report study; the results might have been different if parents had reported as well. Additionally, it is possible that, because of the nature of my study, student's responses were slightly inaccurate. The study was cross-sectional, so I only retrieved information from them at one point in time. If I had been able to do a more longitudinal or otherwise in-depth study (including components such as participant interviews), I might have had results more aligned with current literature. Regardless, in the present study, the responses from the gifted students did not differ from the responses from the non-gifted students. Therefore, study hypotheses were tested with the full sample, reported below.

# Perfectionism and Parental Expectations Associated with Self-Esteem

I discovered that, in my sample, gifted students did not have higher rates of perfectionism in general, showing similar concern over their mistakes as well as having similar personal standards as their non-gifted peers. This was unexpected based on the previous literature review indicating that gifted students tend to exhibit higher rates of perfectionism and lower self-esteem compared to non-gifted students (Callahan, 2004; Roznowski, 2000). Therefore, hypothesistesting was conducted with the full sample, and conclusions pertain to gifted and non-gifted students. My first hypothesis was that high rates of perfectionism among students as well as high expectations from their parents would be associated with lower self-esteem in gifted students. I found that certain facets of their perfectionism were related to their self-esteem; a student's concern over their mistakes and their own personal standards were positively associated with higher self-esteem. Though unexpected, it could be that this association was a result of students' high rates of conscientious behavior because it makes sense that a student who shows higher concern over their mistakes and has higher personal standards would have a higher self-esteem than those who do not. Results also showed that a student's parental expectations were not related to their self-esteem, which was also unexpected. Previous studies had shown that parental expectations of a student based on their giftedness could affect their self-esteem either positively or negatively (Colangelo, 1983). However, this association was not evident in the present study. This might have been because, in the present study, I looked at both gifted and nongifted students, and in the previous study, the authors only looked at gifted students. Therefore, the differing results might have been because I analyzed different kind of sample. Another possible explanation is that the population I studied was a group of undergraduate college students. Students in this stage of life are adults and more independent than younger students, so they were likely not as affected by their parents' expectations as younger gifted children might be.

Therefore, their self-esteem may be less likely to change based on what their parents expected of them.

#### **Self-Esteem Associated with Achievement**

The next hypothesis tested whether a student's self-esteem was associated with their academic achievement, or GPA. I hypothesized that higher rates of self-esteem would be positively associated with a higher GPA and the same for lower rates of self-esteem and a lower GPA. However, findings indicated that a student's self-esteem was not associated with their academic achievement, which was unexpected. This could potentially be explained by acknowledging that many students, especially gifted students, have natural academic abilities and tend to excel in school regardless of how they feel about themselves because it comes easy to them (Wirthwein, 2019). Also, it could be possible that there are other factors besides self-esteem that can affect a student's academic achievement, including whether or not the student participates in extracurricular activities or has a job, the difficulty of the classes the student is taking, additional responsibilities on the student besides the classes they are taking, etc.

## Perfectionism Associated with Achievement

Lastly, I found that a student's score on the perfectionism measure could not have significantly impacted their achievement because there was no association between a student's perfectionism (concern over their mistakes, their own personal standards), their parents' expectations of them, and their GPA. Like the above hypothesis, this finding was unexpected and actually rather surprising. I thought that a higher rate of perfectionism would be associated with higher achievement because it would be expected that a student aiming to do everything correctly would achieve good grades as a result of doing their schoolwork well. However, this

association was not present. Like the previous finding, this could be because many students, especially gifted students, know how to perform well in school regardless of whether or not they are driven by a desire to be perfect (Wirthwein, 2019). Also, similar to the previous finding, there are plenty of other factors besides a desire to be perfect that could affect a student's GPA. One of these might even be self-doubt; a student who is experiencing this feeling might underperform and not have the ability to reach their full potential. Contrarily, perfectionism might impact a student's well-being in ways unrelated to their academic achievement; for example, it might impact their physical or mental health by creating academic-related stress and anxiety.

# Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

One of the strengths of the present study is the large sample size from which I drew information and made conclusions. There were 250 college students that took the survey, providing an adequate number of students to draw various generalized conclusions among the population I was studying. Additionally, the survey included standardized measures that have been tested repeatedly and proven both valid and reliable. The *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* was created in 1965 by Morris Rosenberg and is one of the most widely used measures to study self-esteem. The *Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale* was developed in 1990 by Dr. Randy Frost. The original measure has six subscales, but I only drew from three of them to determine perfectionism based on the relevant hypotheses (parental expectations, concern over mistakes, and personal standards).

The present study did have a few limitations as well. To begin with, my sample size was not very diverse; the demographic was mostly white females. This makes sense provided the platform I used to collect information from students. The survey was posted to SONA, a

platform that many psychology professors at East Tennessee State University (ETSU) use to allow students the opportunity to be involved in research projects for extra credit. A large portion of psychology majors at ETSU are white females, which explains why the majority of responses came from white females. Additionally, because of the nature of SONA, the only students who had access to my study were those who are currently enrolled in one or more psychology courses, so the population is made up of either psychology majors or students currently taking a psychology course. Therefore, the population of my study is not very diverse, and findings cannot easily be generalized to students who do not identify as white or female. It is also not generalizable to college students with majors besides psychology or who attend schools other than ETSU.

Another limitation of the study was that the survey was made up of entirely self-report measures. Therefore, participants could have been affected by social desirability, which is a person's tendency to answer questions about themselves in a way that presents themselves in a positive light. For example, students might have reported higher rates of self-esteem in order to seem socially desirable. Additionally, participants might have been affected by bias if they figured out what I was studying before completing the survey. Gifted students might have tried to answer the questions based on what they thought would be typically expected of them (high rates of parental expectations, etc.) in order to try to align their responses with the research hypothesis. Lastly, the study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. I only got information from students at one time point in their entire college career. Their feelings about their own giftedness and how it has affected them academically might have fluctuated as they got older or took more college courses. However, because I did not study my participants over time, I cannot draw any conclusions of this type.

Going forward, future research should address how exactly a gifted student's inclination towards perfectionism is related to their self-esteem. Specifically, what might be related to perfectionistic tendencies in gifted students should be studied. Future research should also address why higher rates of self-esteem and perfectionism among the gifted students that were studied were not associated with higher rates of achievement (higher GPAs). After finding that neither self-esteem nor perfectionism hardly impacted achievement at all, it would be helpful to discover what does. Therefore, one question that this research project prompted for me is what factors do affect a student's GPA, if not their self-esteem? Some potential factors to study could include time spent on schoolwork, number of credit hours, and/or the student's major, among others. Lastly, it should also be extensively studied how carrying around the "gifted" label and feeling different from their peers might negatively impact a student's self-esteem, as has been shown in previous literature (Chan, 2002). Future research in this specific area could include studying whether or not gifted students could be affected by this by measuring their self-esteem compared to that of their non-gifted peers.

## **Conclusions**

Taken together, these findings suggest that gifted students might not be as affected by both internal and external factors as previously thought. They were shown to be able to excel academically and attain high achievement regardless of their self-esteem or their parent's expectations of them based on their giftedness. Additionally, the only factor that was shown to be associated with a student's high or low self-esteem was their own perfectionism. Therefore, it can be concluded that, in this study, gifted students were possibly more impacted by internal pressures than external pressures. All in all, these findings, while surprising, highlight the resilience of gifted students.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

	M	SD	Range
Concern over mistakes	28.38	7.86	11-45
Personal standards	22.25	4.35	9-30
Parental expectations	17.02	4.19	5-25
Self-esteem	33.36	9.02	11-50
GPA	3.53	.525	0-4

Table 2

Correlations of Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5
Concern over mistakes	1				
2. Personal standards	.43*	1			
3. Parental expectations	.42*	.33*	1		
4. Self esteem	58*	.07	16*	1	
5. GPA	.04	.16*	.02	03	1

*Note.* \**p* < .05.

# **Appendix**

# **Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale**

Instructions: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. At times I think I am no good at all.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. I certainly feel useless at times.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Scoring: Items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 are reverse scored. Give "Strongly Disagree" 1 point, "Disagree" 2 points, "Agree" 3 points, and "Strongly Agree" 4 points. Sum scores for all ten items. Keep scores on a continuous scale. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem.

#### Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale

Response options: "Strongly Disagree", "Disagree", "Neutral", "Agree", & "Strongly Agree"

Concern Over Mistakes: CM

Parental Expectations: PE

Personal Standards: PS

Parental Criticism: PC

Doubts About Actions: D

Organization: O

- 1. My parents set very high standards for me. PE
- 2. Organization is very important to me. O
- 3. As a child, I was punished for doing things less than perfect. PC
- 4. If I do not set the highest standards for myself, I am likely to end up a second-rate person. PS
- 5. My parents never tried to understand my mistakes. PC
- 6. It is important to me that I am thoroughly competent in everything I do. PS
- 7. I am a neat person. O
- 8. I try to be an organized person. O
- 9. If I fail at work/school, I am a failure as a person. CM
- 10. I should be upset if I make a mistake. CM
- 11. My parents wanted me to do the best at everything. PE
- 12. I set higher goals than most people. *PS*
- 13. If someone does a task at work/school better than I, then I feel like I failed the whole task. *CM*
- 14. If I fail partly, it is as bad as being a complete failure. CM
- 15. Only outstanding performance is good enough in my family. PE

- 16. I am very good at focusing my efforts on attaining a goal. PS
- 17. Even when I do something very carefully, I often feel that it is not quite right. D
- 18. I hate being less than the best at things. CM
- 19. I have extremely high goals. *PS*
- 20. My parents have expected excellence from me. PE
- 21. People will probably think less of me if I make a mistake. CM
- 22. I never felt like I could meet my parents' expectations. PC
- 23. If I do not as well as other people, it means I am an inferior human being. CM
- 24. Other people seem to accept lower standards than I do. PS
- 25. If I do not do well all the time, people will not respect me. CM
- 26. My parents have always had higher expectations for my future than I have. PE
- 27. I try to be a neat person. O
- 28. I usually have doubts about the simple everyday things I do. D
- 29. Neatness is very important to me. O
- 30. I expect higher performance in my daily tasks than most people. PS
- 31. I am an organized person. O
- 32. I tend to get behind in my work because I repeat things over and over. D
- 33. It takes me a long time to do something "right." D
- 34. The fewer mistakes I make, the more people will like me. CM
- 35. I never felt like I could meet my parents' standards. PC

# **Demographics**

- 1. Age:
- 2. Gender:

Male/Female/Transgender Male/Transgender Female/Gender non-conforming/Prefer not to answer

3. Marital status:

Single/Cohabitating/Married/Separated/Divorced/Widowed

- 4. Academics:
  - a. Are you enrolled as a part-time student or full-time student?
  - b. What is your academic class? Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior
  - c. Are you a first-generation college student? Yes/No
  - d. What is your GPA?
  - e. Did your high school have weighted GPA's?
- 5. Were you identified as a Gifted student by your school (i.e., having strong intellectual or academic abilities, eligible for extra enrichment activities at your school)?
  - a. At what age were you identified as Gifted by your school?
  - b. If yes, did you receive Gifted services from your school?
- 6. Do you currently have paid employment? Yes/No
  - a. If yes, how many hours per week do you work?
  - b. Is this a university work-study arrangement?
- 7. Who would you identify as your primary caregiver growing up?

Mother/Father/Stepmother/Stepfather/Grandmother/Grandfather/Aunt/Uncle/Other relative/Foster parent/Family friend

8. Who would you identify as your secondary caregiver growing up?

Mother/Father/Stepmother/Stepfather/Grandmother/Grandfather/Aunt/Uncle/Other Relative/Foster Parent/Family Friend/None

9. What is the highest education completed by your mother?

Some high school/High school degree/Some college/College degree/Graduate degree

10. What is the highest education completed by your father?

Some high school/High school degree/Some college/College degree/Graduate degree

11. How would you describ	be your ethnic backgro	und? (Check as many as apply.)
African American	_ Asian American	European American (Caucasian)
Hispanic American	Native American	Other