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CHAPTER 6

Social Capital Among Urban Youth

How Interactions with Peers and Teachers Promote Achievement

For working-class minority youth to achieve success in school requires more than their simply being exposed to the academic values and identities of the "others." It requires that the social relations of working-class minority students be mobilized as social resources. In addition, schools must make available to these students the kinds of institutional support that can counter their marginalization, help them "master the academic curriculum," and teach them the rules that govern who gets ahead in the system and how. Once again this leads us to the importance of relationships with peers and with key adults who can function as a mediating link or pathway to needed resources. (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004, p. 179)

The objective of this comparative chapter is to quantitatively ascertain the extent to which different sources of social capital, familial or nonfamilial, explain variation in the study habits among students in the three case studies. The multivariate models include the influence of school context and family variables on Black, Latino, and Vietnamese high school youth.

Sociologists have long argued that unequal resources generate disparity in school achievement. School and family resources, in particular, often are considered necessary for positive educational outcomes. Useful resources may be evident (such as financial support) or could be less tangible (such as norms, encouragement, and information gained from relationships and social networks). Following Bourdieu (1977) and Coleman (1987), these less tangible resources have been called "social capital."

Access to social capital is a frequently invoked explanation for the educational outcomes of students. It has been used to explain students' high school dropout rates (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Carbonaro, 1998; Coleman, 1987; Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996, 1997), mathematics achievement scores (Morgan & Sørensen, 1999), and grade point averages (Carbonaro, 1998; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Social capital has been defined broadly and has been characterized in several different ways (Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 1992; Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004). Granovetter, 1974; Loury, 1977; Portes, 1998; Ream, forthcoming). Nevertheless, sociologists who study education often base their research on the work of Coleman (1987), who focused on the information, support, and supervision that closely knit networks of relationships provide. Coleman was the first to formulate the notion of "social closure" (1987). He noted that it was not just the sum of relationships, but also the interconnectedness of those relationships that mattered for children's educational outcomes.

Many researchers consider the family to be the most important source of social capital for children. Following Coleman (1987), research on social capital has focused on the influence that parents have on the educational achievement of the general school population through their connections with children, schools, and other parents (Carbonaro, 1998; Coleman, 1988; Hagan, MacMillan, & Wheaton, 1996; Mehan et al., 1996; Teachman et al., 1996, 1997). Thus far, research on children's social capital has been less concerned with social capital that does not originate in the home, that is, social capital that comes from schools and relationships with peers. Important exceptions are Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) and Zhou and Bankston (1998). Parents, however, are not the only sources of children's social capital. Children spend large portions of their days in settings without their parents. Sources of "nonfamilial" social capital include friends, teachers, school officials, and communities. Ignoring these nonfamilial sources of social capital, and attributing discrepancies in children's educational outcomes solely to the actions of parents, is problematic.

Research on social capital to date often has concentrated on the school population in general and not on particular subgroups. This approach may not provide researchers with a complete understanding of how social capital operates among all students. Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995), as an example, contended that children from low-SES and minority families make use of information and support from peers and institutions even more than from families. Further, recent immigrant parents may have little knowledge of how the American educational system works, and minority parents may feel alienated from it (Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Mehan et al., 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Therefore, children may not always rely on parents for the resources they need in order to succeed. This study used three groups

whose academic performance has been attributed to family relationships to illustrate the importance of considering the contribution of nonfamilial sources of social capital to children's achievement. These groups are African Americans, Latinos (primarily Mexican Americans), and Asian Americans (primarily Vietnamese).

In terms of socioeconomic context and demographically, Mexican Americans and Vietnamese Americans are similar. Each group comprises many first- and second-generation immigrants, and each group in a collective sense has less English proficiency and lower SES status than do Whites. In spite of the similarities, however, these two groups (in a collective sense) have disparate educational outcomes. Vietnamese students maintain better grades, graduate from high school at higher rates, and enroll in college at greater rates than do Mexican American students (Mehan et al., 1996). The popular press and academics alike pose the question, "Why?" Why do two racialized groups with similar demographic and socioeconomic profiles perform differently in school?

The third population group included in this study, African Americans, is quite dissimilar from both Mexican Americans and Vietnamese Americans in a demographic context, although it is quite similar to these two groups in a socioeconomic context. African Americans, as a group, however, perform at lower levels academically than do either Mexican Americans or Vietnamese Americans, which, again, begs the question, "Why?"

A popular explanation for these differences is that Vietnamese families promote children's success through emphasis on Confucian values (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Nash, 1987), while Mexican American families and African American families transmit norms that inhibit success. Some theorists and researchers speculate that a tightly knit family that demands a child's loyalty limits the commitment that Mexican American children and African American children make to further their education. Research examining students' success and academic achievement, for each of the three population groups, tends to attribute successes and failures to the norms conveyed through family social capital. This chapter, however, shows that, in accounting for the disparities between the groups, it may be as important or more important to consider the resources students find available within schools.

Unlike other research on social capital, which leaves the mechanism through which social capital influences school outcomes unspecified, this chapter measures the effects of social capital on a behavior that many believe is associated with positive educational outcomes. This behavior is the time students spend per week on homework outside of school. The investigation of time spent studying is consistent with the work of Coleman (1987), who argued that the social capital provided by Catholic schools

fostered norms promoting studiousness and academic challenge among students.

This chapter examines how differences in both the familial and nonfamilial social capital held by African American, Mexican American, and Vietnamese American students explain the variation in time spent on homework outside of school. The results indicate that it is not only the involvement of families that accounts for the differences between the study habits of the three student population groups, but also the social capital that is available to students through school environments and interactions with peers and teachers.

DIFFERENCES IN STUDENTS' STUDYING BEHAVIOR

Using the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) data, the mean number of hours spent on homework outside of school was determined for each of the three student population groups. The data (together with other data) are presented in Table 6.1.

As the data presented in Table 6.1 indicate, Vietnamese students spend approximately 2 hours more per week on homework (5.9 hours) than do Mexicans American students (3.9), who in turn spend 1.5 hours per more on homework than do African American students (2.4). One popular explanation for this outcome is that Asian American families value schooling more than do Mexican American families and African American families. Popular culture and academic research cite two mechanisms through which Asian American families are perceived to affect children's school norms and behaviors: parental expectations and parental satisfaction with school performance.

One common belief about Asian American families is that parents have higher educational expectations of their children than do other parents. To explain the differences she sees between Asians and other students, one Chinese counselor at Baldwin High School said:

It all starts in the family. . . . That is where students get their foundation. . . . A lot of it has to do with the home. . . . Like when

I think of the Chinese culture, even though they may not be at the higher or even the middle-class economic level, there is this real thing about education. I remember once sitting at the dinner table with my two brothers and my parents, and my brother said he wanted to be a truck driver. I could just see the look in my father's face and he just said, "No, you are going to college!"

TABLE 6.1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics by Ethnicity, NELS 1990-1994 Panel

Variable	Vietnamese American	Mexican American	African American
Mean Hours Spent on Homework Outside of School	5.9	3.9	2.4
Standard Deviation	4.8	3.9	3.1
Immigration Generation (% of total)			
First-generation	67.8	13.0	NA
Second-generation	15.5	35.4	NA
Third-generation	0.4	38.8	NA
Missing	16.3	12.8	NA
Mean SES	-0.44	-0.71	-0.67
Standard Deviation	0.93	0.68	0.72
Father's Education (% of total)			
Less than high school	8.0	40.2	32.4
High school graduate	22.9	31.9	42.3
College graduate	27.6	7.0	14.4
Missing	41.5	21.0	9.9
Mother's Education (% of total)			
Less than high school	25.7	40.2	29.9
High school graduate	22.1	36.3	44.7
College graduate	11.2	6.0	16.7
Missing	41.0	17.5	8.7
N	163	1,237	1,794

Some academic research supports the view expressed by this school counselor. Researchers have noted that Asian American parents hold higher expectations for children than do Whites and other minorities (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Goyette & Xie, 1999). These high expectations are said to compel students to work hard in order to excel in school.

Another indicator of family values found in the academic literature is satisfaction with children's school performance. Some research suggests

reers than do Mexican American families and African American families. In essence, Vietnamese families provide more advantageous social capital for their children.

Of course, there are other explanations for the differences in study habits between Vietnamese students and both Mexican American students and African American students. Although all three groups have low-SES status compared with Whites, Vietnamese have higher average family SES than Mexican Americans and African Americans. This outcome is, in part, due to the relatively high levels of education among Vietnamese fathers in comparison to Mexican American fathers and African American fathers.

Although Vietnamese and Mexican Americans are often recent immigrants, Vietnamese students are more likely than Mexican American students to be of the first or second immigration generation. Researchers have speculated that "immigrant optimism" may account for the high achievement of recently immigrated students, who believe their effort will be fairly rewarded in the United States (Ogbu, 1990; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). As only a very small percentage of African Americans are first or second generation, this finding, if valid, may help explain some of the difficulties experienced by African American students. Descriptive data concerning these differences among the three population groups included in the NELS sample also are included in Table 6.1. These socioeconomic and demographic differences are included as control variables in all multivariate models examined in this study.

A final, underexplored source of variations in study habits that differentiate students in the three population groups is "nonfamilial" social capital. Nonfamilial social capital consists of those academically useful resources that are available to children from their school environments and relationships with peers, teachers, and others outside their families. Past research gives us reason to believe that this nonfamilial social capital may influence the study habits of these three groups.

In this study, social capital was divided into two categories. The first category includes social capital differences that may result from macro-institutional processes such as inequality among schools. The second category constitutes micro-institutional processes. It is possible that the school context may influence the information and support available to students. However, evidence concerning the impact of school environments on students' motivation and achievement is mixed. While many researchers find minimal effects of school context on students' achievement (Catterall, 1998; Jencks, 1972; Rumberger, 1987; Thornton & Eckland, 1980), others find that students who attend schools with predominantly low-SES populations and high concentrations of minorities have less accurate information about educational and occupational opportunities (Hoelter, 1982;

that Asian American parents are less satisfied with children's school performance than are White parents (Chen & Stevenson, 1995). Further, commentators, both popular and academic, cite the pressure that Asian American children feel from their parents to succeed in school (Schneider & Lee, 1990).

In contrast to Asian Americans, Mexican American families and African American families often are "blamed" for the academic failures of their children. As pointed out earlier, the tight kin networks of Mexican American families are perceived to limit children's school success by placing obligations to the family unit above personal achievement. Pearson, Hunter, Ensminger, and Kellam (1990), for instance, found that extended family relationships are of greater significance among Black families in the United States than among White families. When conflicts arise between family responsibilities, such as providing income or child care for other members, and school commitments, schoolwork suffers (Heller, 1966; Horowitz, 1983; Kuvlesky & Patella, 1971; Sánchez-Jankowski, 1991; Vigil, 1988).

Family relationships and the family environment also are implicated as causal factors in the dysfunctional behavior of African American students, especially African American males. A part of the problem lies in the dissolution of many African American families over the past several decades as a consequence of disproportionate unemployment and imprisonment. Each of these factors leads to higher levels of poverty and higher levels of social stress. McLoyd (1990) found that poverty and economic loss are more detrimental to Black than to White families. McLoyd found further that Black males who sustain a heavy financial loss become more irritable, tense, and explosive and, in turn, are more likely to exhibit negative behaviors. These findings imply both continuing and increasing levels of psychological and socioemotional distress for a very large number of Black households in the United States. Improvements in the wider social order to end or, at a minimum, ameliorate the effects of bias and discrimination are required for meaningful change to occur.

While the popular and (to some extent) academic press places responsibility for children's educational outcomes on Vietnamese, Mexican American, and African American families, little research has identified the practices within these families that promote or inhibit educational success. The concept of social capital has been used to explore the involvement of the family in the educational achievement of students. As noted earlier, social capital is composed of the useful resources that are gained from relationships with other people. In this case, these resources could be information, supervision, and support, and/or norms that promote school success. Using this concept, popular perceptions of the differences between the three groups would suggest that Vietnamese families provide children with better resources with which to navigate their academic ca-

Kemple & Snipes, 2000; Mehan et al., 1996; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Weiler, 2000). To some extent, different school contexts also could reflect the social capital of parents. Parents with good information may choose to send their children to particular schools or move to areas where there are high-quality schools. Differences in the acquisition of social capital may occur between schools.

Other sources of nonfamilial social capital are found within schools. Students in the same schools may maintain different relationships with peers, and with teachers and other school officials. These relationships can be conceived of as sources of social capital because peers and teachers provide encouragement, support, supervision, and information. As an example, students who have many friends who drop out of school, are unlikely to receive support and encouragement from these friends to study. Further, these friends are unlikely to have academically useful information. Students whose friends consider studying important are likely to have support, encouragement, and information that motivate and enable them to study hard.

The effects of peers on students' academic behaviors are well known. Educational research has long stressed how students' interactions with one another, and the meanings associated with these interactions, significantly shape patterns of academic behavior in school. Scholars posit that the peer-group influence can serve as a mediating factor that may promote either compliance with or resistance to school rules for success (Lee, 1996; Mehan et al., 1996). For example, students who have many friends who drop out of school will be negatively influenced to do the same (Fine, 1991; Gándara, 1995; Mehan et al., 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Vigil, 1988). Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) further asserted that, although peer groups are an important influence on all students' educational outcomes, for some racial groups, peers are an even more important influence on high school students than parents are. They contend that Asian Americans, who often associate with other high-achieving Asian American students, get most of their information, norms, and support from peers (Lee, 1996).

Relationships with school personnel are another source of social capital. Teachers encourage students they believe are talented or hard working (Conchas, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Principals and guidance counselors may provide information about college-preparation courses, applications, and financing for students who do not have access to this information at home. Guidance counselors may take students on trips to colleges to help them make informed choices. Education personnel may choose students whom they believe worthy to "sponsor" and thus enable their educational achievement (Mehan et al., 1996).

This type of helpful "sponsorship" may depend on the race of the student. Teachers and other school personnel may judge students differently based on their race (Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Valenzuela, 1999; Wong, 1980). Asian American students who are perceived to be model minorities may benefit from positive stereotypes because teachers provide them with information they otherwise would not have (Lee, 1996). While Asian American students may gain from school relationships, Angela Valenzuela (1999) posits that schools devalue the familial social capital that Mexican American students bring into schools. She argues that the schooling process ignores the rich cultural and linguistic practices of Mexican youth in favor of assimilationist policies and practices. Schooling, in turn, functions to subtract social capital from Mexican American students and African American students, leading to academic failure.

My study does not suggest that families have no influence on children's study habits. Rather, the study illustrates that typical measures of social capital in families cannot entirely explain the difference between the educational behaviors of ethnic minority students. I acknowledged that familial influence on children's study habits may operate through channels other than those we typically characterize as social capital. Conceptualizations and measures of familial social capital may have to be adapted to fit the varied situations and experiences of diverse minority ethnic groups in order to be usefully applied to those communities. This study, however, demonstrates that nonfamilial social capital plays a critical role in influencing students' studying behavior.

FAMILIAL SOURCES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Although familial social capital has been shown to influence the mathematics learning and dropout behavior of White children (Carbonaro, 1998; Hurstenberg & Hughes, 1995), most indicators of it cannot explain the better study habits of Vietnamese students compared with Mexican American students and African American students. The data presented in Table 6.2 show that, by most measures, Vietnamese students have less familial social capital than do Mexican American students and African American students, when familial social capital is measured as the frequency of interactions between parents and children, parents and schools, and parents and other children's parents. The exception to this is that Vietnamese parents tend to have higher educational expectations of their children than do Mexican American parents and African American parents.

The measures of familial social capital included in the analyses cover a variety of dimensions of the concept. The first of these dimensions is the

TABLE 6.2. Familial Sources of Social Capital, NELS 1990-1994 Panel

Variable	Vietnamese American	Mexican American	African American
Family Structure (% of total)			
Intact	65.8	70.5	54.6
Nonintact	26.1	27.1	43.8
Missing	8.1	2.4	1.7
Talk to Child About School Experiences (%)			
Regularly	38.8	58.3	46.4
Not regularly	49.5	28.7	44.9
Missing	11.7	13.0	9.7
Talk to Child About High School Plans (%)			
Regularly	30.7	46.2	42.1
Not regularly	59.5	43.9	48.6
Missing	9.8	9.9	9.3
Talk to Child About Post-High School Plans (%)			
Regularly	25.2	38.9	34.6
Not regularly	65.0	51.2	56.3
Missing	9.8	9.9	9.1
Mean Parent-Child Interaction Index			
Standard Deviation	1.1	1.6	1.4
Missing	1.2	1.2	1.2
Missing	11.3	13.3	9.9
Belong to the PTA (% of total)			
Yes	9.8	12.0	10.4
No	75.5	72.3	74.5
Missing	14.7	15.7	15.1
Attend PTA Meetings (% of total)			
Yes	25.5	32.1	26.7
No	59.4	52.9	58.0
Missing	15.1	15.0	15.3
Attend PTA-Sponsored Activities (% of total)			
Yes	12.1	16.0	14.3
No	73.2	68.3	72.5
Missing	14.7	15.7	15.2
Volunteer at the School (% of total)			
Yes	9.0	10.9	10.5
No	75.6	73.4	74.4
Missing	15.5	15.7	15.1
Mean Parent-School Interaction Index			
Standard Deviation	1.0	1.1	1.1
Missing	15.8	16.6	16.1
Mean Number of Child's Friends' Parents Known			
Standard Deviation	2.0	2.5	2.3
Missing	1.6	1.5	1.5
Missing	55.8	31.4	47.7
Parents' Educational Expectations for Child (%)			
Less than high school	1.4	0.7	1.1
High school graduate	4.5	14.6	11.7
Some college	12.3	30.8	27.5
College graduate	72.0	43.7	49.6
Missing	9.8	10.2	10.1
N	163	1,237	1,794

frequency of interactions between parents and children. Table 6.2 measures parent-child interaction with regard to school experiences, high school plans, and post-high school intentions by race.

This measure (frequency of interaction) indicates that approximately half of Vietnamese parents report infrequent discussions about school experiences with children, compared with less than a third of Mexican American parents and less than half of African American parents. Mexican American parents and African American parents also are far more likely to report regularly talking to their children about their high school plans. The data on how often parents talk to children about their post-high school plans indicate the same pattern results. Fewer Vietnamese parents than Mexican American parents and African American parents regularly talk to children. When these measures are combined in a summary index with each component equally weighted (constructed so that if a parent answered "yes" to any of the questions, the parent was scored "1" and the scores were summed), the results are not surprising. The mean for Mexican American parents is higher, at 1.6, than the Vietnamese parents' mean of 1.1, with the measure for African American parents falling between the two at 1.4.

Frequency of, or at least opportunity for, interactions also has been measured by family structure (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995). McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) noted that children living in single-parent families have less social capital available to them because they lack the information, support, and supervision of the absent parent. In this respect, the families in the three population groups vary little. Mexican American families are more likely to be intact (with both natural parents present) than are African American or Vietnamese families.

Relationships that result in advantageous social capital also can be measured by family-school interactions. Based on the measures found in other research on social capital, this study measured family-school interactions with an index composed of four variables. These variables account for whether parents volunteered at the school, joined the parent teacher association (PTA), attended a PTA meeting or attended PTA-sponsored activities. On all measures, Vietnamese parents were somewhat less likely than Mexican American parents or African American parents to participate in school events. When all measures are combined in a single index, the Vietnamese parents achieve a mean score of 0.7, while the mean for Mexican American parents is 0.8 and the mean for African American parents is 0.9 (see Table 6.2). Clearly, parental interaction with schools does not explain variation in study behavior among Vietnamese, Mexican American, and African American students, as it is approximately equal. Mexican American students and African American students appear to have

similar access to familial social capital through the interactions of parents with schools and, in each case, more than Vietnamese Americans.

Another commonly used dimension of familial social capital is social closure. This factor often is measured as the number of parents of the friends of a child that a parent knows (Carbonaro, 1998). Table 6.2 shows that Mexican American parents and African American parents are more involved in children's school communities than are Vietnamese parents. The mean number of friends' parents known by Vietnamese parents is 2.0, compared with 2.5 for Mexican Americans and 2.3 for African Americans. From this measure, it appears that Mexican American children and African American children are more likely than Vietnamese children to benefit from social closure in the school community. Another possible interpretation is that Vietnamese students have fewer friends than do Mexican American students and African American students. The contention in this study, however, is that the variable measures community involvement, as students who have few friends are less likely to be involved in closely knit, supportive networks of relationships.

While almost all parents in each of the three population groups expect their children to graduate from high school, Vietnamese parents are far more likely to expect their children to graduate from college. Seventy-two percent of Vietnamese parents report that they expect their child to complete college, compared with 43.7% of Mexican American parents and 49.6% of African American parents (see Table 6.2). While Vietnamese parents do not interact with children, teachers, or other children's parents as often as Mexican American parents and African American parents do, they do hold higher expectations of their children than Mexican American parents do. The relative influence of these higher expectations on the study habits of children is explored in multivariate analyses reported later in this chapter.

NONFAMILIAL SOURCES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Although most sources of familial social capital do not appear to be able to account for the variation between the study habits of Vietnamese students, Mexican American students, and African American students, sources of nonfamilial social capital may. Table 6.3 shows that Vietnamese students attend more affluent schools than Mexican American students and African American students. For example, Vietnamese students attend schools in which on average 17.6% of the school body receives reduced-price lunch. In schools attended by Mexican American students in this sample, almost 41% of the student body receives reduced-price lunch, while

42.1% of students receive subsidized lunches at schools attended by African American students.

These findings indicate that Mexican American and African American students attend schools with higher proportions of poorer students. Mexican American students and African American students also attend schools with higher dropout rates. Vietnamese students are more likely to be in schools with college-bound students, with 45.2% of the senior class heading to a 4-year college, compared with 32.8% in schools attended by Mexican Americans, and 34.4% in schools attended by African Americans. Parents are slightly more likely to be involved in the schools Vietnamese students attend than is true of schools attended by Mexican Americans and African Americans. When school administrators were asked whether teachers motivate their students to achieve, the schools attended by Vietnamese had a slightly higher rate of agreement than schools attended by Mexican Americans and African Americans.

Further, Mexican Americans and African Americans are more likely than are Vietnamese Americans to be in public schools. Vietnamese Americans are much more likely than are Mexican Americans and African Americans to be in Catholic schools. Apart from the structural differences between public and Catholic schools, Catholic schools also may provide students with greater social capital than do public and other private schools. According to Coleman (1987), in Catholic schools, students are accountable to a value community, and thus receive more supervision and support than do students in other types of schools. Distinctions also are made in this study between urban, suburban, and rural schools, although it is unclear how urbanicity affects students' study habits. Table 6.3 also shows that Mexican American students and African American students are more likely to be in rural schools than are Vietnamese American students.

Indices of peer relationships do not include the frequency of interactions with peers or relationship quality, as the NELS does not ask questions that would allow this measurement. In place of this measure, two other measures were used in this study. The first was the number of friends who have dropped out of school, because this factor could affect the information, academic support, and advantageous study norms available from peers. The second, whether friends consider studying important, is taken as an indicator of friends' support for a student's educational goals and whether the friends' behavior teaches or reinforces good study habits.

Table 6.3 reveals large ethnic differences in peer-group norms and behaviors. Vietnamese students have friends who drop out of school less and consider studying more important than do the friends of Mexican American students and African American students. More than 73% of Vietnamese students reported having no friends that dropped out of high

TABLE 6.3. Nonfamilial Sources of Social Capital, NELS 1990-1994 Panel

Variable	Vietnamese American	Mexican American	African American
BETWEEN SCHOOLS (SCHOOL CONTEXT)			
% Receiving Reduced-Price Lunch	17.6	40.5	42.1
Standard Deviation	20.3	28.7	26.6
Missing	15.7	15.9	15.6
% 10th Graders Who Drop Out	8.2	13.2	14.8
Standard Deviation	8.2	14.5	15.2
Missing	16.0	16.9	16.4
% Students Going to a 4-Year College	45.2	32.8	34.4
Standard Deviation	26.2	20.8	21.7
Missing	32.2	46.7	37.8
% Parents Who Volunteer	13.7	11.4	12.5
Standard Deviation	17.5	17.0	17.4
Missing	31.0	48.8	29.9
% Teachers Push Students to Achieve	13.6	12.8	13.1
Not accurate or somewhat accurate	56.2	42.7	46.7
Accurate or very accurate	30.3	44.5	34.9
Missing			
% School Type	90.0	95.1	96.8
Public	8.9	3.3	1.7
Catholic	1.1	1.1	1.2
Other private	0.0	0.6	0.3
Missing			
% School Urbanicity	56.4	42.2	46.5
Urban	38.4	33.0	29.8
Suburban	5.2	24.3	24.4
Rural	0.0	0.5	0.3
Missing			
WITHIN SCHOOLS			
% Number of Friends Dropped Out	73.4	53.3	47.4
None	22.0	34.4	37.7
Some	2.5	2.6	6.2
Most or all	2.1	9.7	8.7
Missing			
% Among Friends, Importance of Studying	2.8	7.9	9.8
Not important	42.4	49.6	52.2
Somewhat important	52.7	32.1	29.6
Very important	2.1	10.4	8.4
Missing			
% Teachers' Expectations	16.1	8.2	15.9
No college	56.4	51.8	40.1
College	15.6	22.3	31.3
Teacher doesn't care	11.9	17.7	14.7
Missing	163	1,237	1,794
N			

school, while only 53.3% of Mexican American students and 47.4% of African American students reported having no friends drop out of high school. Another 34.4% of Mexican Americans reported having some friends that dropped out of high school, and 37.7% of African American students reported some friends dropping out of school, compared with only 22% of Vietnamese students. On the other hand, nearly 53% of the friends of Vietnamese students reported that studying was very important, compared with 32.1% of the friends of Mexican American students and 29.6% of the friends of African American students. These results are consistent with the findings of Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992), who reported that Asian Americans' peers are more likely to encourage their academic success than are the peers of other groups.

There are several problems with using the reported values and behaviors of friends as a proxy for the social capital available from these sources. The biggest difficulty with this measure is that students select their friends. It is difficult to know the extent to which observed coefficients in multivariate models are due to the influence of friends and the extent to which they are due to the student's own unobserved characteristics. Studious students tend to choose friends with like norms and behaviors. Fortunately, I gathered qualitative information that demonstrates the importance of peer relationships on students' motivation and study habits.

Another source of nonfamilial social capital I explore is the relationship between the student and teachers. The NELS provides no information on the frequency of interactions between the student and his or her teachers, nor can we gauge the helpfulness of the teachers' resources for the educational careers of students. There are, however, students' reports of their favorite teacher's expectation for future education. Table 6.3 shows some differences between teachers' expectations of students of the three student population groups, although, at first glance, teachers' expectations of these students appear to be similar. Among students who report that teachers do not care, however, there are larger ethnic differences. On average, over 22% of Mexican American students and more than 31% of African American students report that teachers do not care, compared with less than 16% of Vietnamese students.

This NELS variable that measures the student-teacher relationship is imperfect for several reasons. First, the variable is student reported. Second, it is difficult to separate the influence of students' unobserved characteristics from their teachers' expectations. Finally, these measures do not capture the nuances of the relationships between students and teachers. The multivariate models reported in this study rely on this imperfect measure, although I present additional qualitative information to further clarify the quantitative results.

MULTIVARIATE RESULTS: THE INFLUENCE OF FAMILIAL AND NONFAMILIAL SOCIAL CAPITAL ON STUDY HABITS

The data presented in Table 6.1 indicated, without controlling for other variables, that Vietnamese students do approximately 2 hours more homework per week than do Mexican Americans, who in turn do 1.5 hours more homework than African American students. To test whether differences in the sources of social capital are related to variation in study habits across these two groups, multivariate tests were performed. Table 6.4 presents multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models with time spent on homework outside of school per week as the dependent variable. Table 6.4 shows relationships displayed in Table 6.1 to be statistically significant with regard to differences in time spent doing homework outside of school.

Coefficients represent the increase in time spent on homework outside of school (in hours) that corresponds to a one-unit increase in the independent variable. Results from these models account for the stratified, cluster sampling design of the NELS through the use of weights in the statistical program STATA. Model 1 reproduces the bivariate results from Table 6.1. These differences are significant at the 0.01 level of confidence. Model 2 introduces the controls for immigration generation and family socioeconomic status. From this model, the indication is that second-generation students do more homework than first-generation students do, but third-generation students do not. Neither of these differences is significant. SES, though, does seem to matter for time spent on homework. The higher the family SES, the more hours a student spends on homework. With the introduction of these controls, the differences between the groups are reduced (African Americans were not included in the immigration control model). Vietnamese now average about 1.5 hours more on homework per week than do Mexican Americans. The time Vietnamese and Mexican Americans spend on homework, however, remains different at the 0.01 level of significance.

In Model 3, familial social capital was added to the model. These measures further reduce the differences between the student population groups. Vietnamese are predicted to do about 1.25 hours more homework than Mexican Americans and approximately 2.25 hours more homework than African American students. The differences here, however, are not statistically significant ($p < .10$). Parents' interaction with schools has a positive and significant effect on time spent on homework, as does parents' interaction with children. In contrast, family structure and social closure do not seem to have much effect on homework. Parents' expectations matter, though, particularly for those children whose parents expect them

TABLE 6.4. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Models Predicting Hours Students Spend on Homework Outside of School, NELS 1990-1994 Panel (Coefficients & Significance)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
CONSTANT	4.436**	5.865**	3.657**	4.980**	3.436*
Race (Mexican = excluded)					
Vietnamese	2.472**	1.986**	1.459*	1.326*	1.080
African American	2.298**	2.156**	1.657*	1.388*	1.159
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS					
Immigration Generation (First-generation = excluded)					
Second-generation		0.041	-0.200	-0.071	-0.250
Third-generation		-0.261	-0.212	-0.370	-0.326
SES		1.029**	0.705**	0.884**	0.683*
FAMILIAL SOCIAL CAPITAL					
Family Composition (Intact = excluded)					
Not intact			-0.442		-0.472
Parent-School Interaction Index			0.389*		0.295*
Parent-Child Interaction Index			0.162*		0.138*
Closure			-0.199		-0.195
Parents' Expectations (Less than high school = excluded)					0.814
High school graduate			0.799		1.670*
Some college			1.675*		1.879*
College graduate			1.985*		
NONFAMILIAL SOCIAL CAPITAL					
% Receiving Reduced-Price Lunch			-0.005		-0.004
% of 10th Graders Who Drop Out			0.014		0.016
% of Students Going to 4-Year Colleges			0.005		0.005
% of Parents Who Volunteer			0.015		0.016
Teachers Push Students to Achieve (Not accurate or somewhat accurate = excluded)			0.002		0.004
Accurate or very accurate					
School Type (Public = excluded)					
Catholic			-0.138		-0.667
Private			-1.042		-0.564
School Urbanicity (Urban = excluded)					
Suburban			-0.115		-0.101
Rural			-0.354		-0.290
Friends Who Have Dropped Out (None = excluded)					
Some			-0.988**		-0.844*
Most or all			-1.347**		-1.146*
Importance of Studying to Friends (Not at all = excluded)					
Somewhat			1.179*		1.071*
Very			1.863**		1.757**
Teachers' Expectations (College = excluded)					
No college			-0.682		-0.599
Doesn't care			-1.210**		-1.066**
R ²		0.036	0.055	0.152	0.176

Note: * $p < 0.100$ ** $p < 0.050$ *** $p < 0.010$

to graduate from college. These children are predicted to do almost 2 hours more homework per week than children whose parents do not expect them to complete high school.

In Model 4, sources of nonfamilial social capital include both school context variables and variables that pertain to students' relationships within schools. In this model, school context variables have little significant effect on students' study habits. The percentage of the school that receives reduced-price lunch has a small negative effect, while the percentage of seniors attending a 4-year college, teachers' motivation of students, and the rate of parental volunteerism are slightly positive. Surprisingly, the effect of the percentage of 10th-grade dropouts is weak but positive, while the influence of attending a Catholic or private school compared with a public school is negative. None of these variables, however, achieved statistical significance ($p < .10$). Some analysts suggest that the influence of school environment on students' motivation and behavior may operate in opposing directions and thus cancel out overall effects.

In contrast to the results concerning the school environment, relationships within schools appear to be strongly related to students' study behavior. In this model, students' friends' norms and behaviors are linked to the time they spend on homework. Children who have many friends who drop out of school do about 1.3 hours less homework per week than children who have no friends who drop out of school. If studying is very important to a student's friends, then that student is likely to do 2 more hours of homework per week than a student whose friends do not consider studying important at all. Both of these effects are statistically significant ($p < .01$).

Further, teachers' expectations have a significant effect on students' study behavior. Students who believe that teachers do not care do over an hour less homework than do those whose teachers expect them to attend college. With the addition of these nonfamilial social capital variables, differences between Vietnamese and both the Mexican American and African American student groups are reduced further in comparison with the model controlling only familial social capital variables. Rather than doing 1.25 hours of homework more than Mexicans Americans, in this model Vietnamese are predicted to do just about an hour more homework per week and approximately 1.75 hours more homework than African Americans. This difference, however, is not statistically significant ($p < .10$).

In the final model, Model 5, both familial and nonfamilial sources are included in the same model. Here differences between Vietnamese and Mexican American students are reduced to nonsignificance. After controlling for both familial and nonfamilial social capital, Vietnamese students are predicted to do less than an hour more homework per week than Mexican American students and just over an hour more homework than Afri-

can American students do. Connections between parents and schools, and parents and children; parents' expectations; friends' norms and behaviors; and teachers' expectations all remain significant in this model.

While statistical generalization may be, in some cases, problematic when the conventional decision rule ($p < .05$) is applied, that does not foreclose the opportunity for analytical generalization (Payne, Dozier, Nomai, & Yagade, 2003). Analytical generalization is appropriate when dealing with case studies, particularly when multiple cases are involved, as is the situation here. Where relationships logically proceed from the theoretical basis supporting empirical work, analytical generalization is justified. To the degree that multiple cases support the same conclusions, as they do here, the confidence one has in the generalization is multiplied.

Among the advantages of applying multiple, complementary methods and measures in this investigation is the support provided for claims of internal validity. Theoretical expectations engendered by qualitative data regarding influences on student performance are largely confirmed when relevant concepts are operationalized for quantitative analysis.

Claims for external validity, however, must await praxis, the conjunction of the expanded theoretical configuration proposed here and its application in development and implementation of school-level structures shown to have been effective at one California high school.

NONFAMILIAL PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL WITHIN BALDWIN HIGH SCHOOL

The students I interviewed identified several important resources they gain from their relationships with teachers and friends. These resources include support and information for achieving their educational goals. The support and information they receive from peers and teachers influence their motivation to succeed in school, which in turn relates to their study behavior. Often, they report that the acquisition of these resources differs by ethnicity.

Students note that peer support is vital for their motivation, behavior, and achievement. Data from this study reveal that students' friends give them information, influence them to study hard, and encourage their school success. Although this is true for students in each of the three population groups, the Vietnamese students, more so than the Mexican American students or the African American students, form relationships in school to support one another's academic achievement. For instance, a Vietnamese student remarked that "[Vietnamese] believe in all this brotherhood

thing where if one [Vietnamese] needs help . . . the whole group of [Vietnamese] come out to help."

Although students in each of the three population groups recognized that peers shape their study motivation and behavior, they also note that friendships within the school are segregated by race. This self-segregation limits the resources that mostly low-achieving Black, Latino, and Vietnamese students are able to obtain from peers.

Another source of social capital within schools is relationships with teachers. The results of my qualitative study show that these relationships also appear to vary by students' race and the academic program that they are in. Overwhelmingly, teachers and administrators in Baldwin High School portray Vietnamese students positively, while Mexican American students and African American students are viewed negatively. The Chinese counselor quoted earlier in this chapter stated:

We place students in academies based on what they are capable of doing . . . and it also depends on what the student wants. . . . Many Asian students want to be engineers, as opposed to Black students who do not think about engineering, and as opposed to how many Latino students don't either.

Teachers and counselors in this study seemed to believe that a student's goals and ability relate to his or her race.

Students are aware of these perceptions. Vietnamese students comment that teachers expect them to excel simply based on their race. Mexican American students and African American students are also aware of teachers' perceptions of them, although these perceptions are often negative. Marisa, a Mexican American student, says that teachers "think we're all the same, they think we don't exist." Students notice that their interactions with teachers differ by race.

Further, students are aware that important resources are differentially gained from these relationships. For example, in a conversation, Tran suggests that some teachers' negative attitudes toward African Americans and Mexican Americans result in their receiving less academic support than many Asian and White students.

Relationships with peers and teachers influence students' motivation to work hard in school. For example, Vietnamese students see the support they receive from teachers as integral to their academic success. Tran, for instance, believes that "the [school] program pushes us and motivates us and tells us by giving support and lets us know when we are doing well." Similarly, Sandy expresses the importance of receiving information for students' motivation.

The [program] makes you focus on what you really want to do, you know, like especially for students who want to do something in the medical field. They motivate you, they put you in the right classes . . . and in the right level. They put you in everything, they give you a whole bunch of packets, and they take care of you.

Support such as this motivates students to work hard to achieve their academic goals.

While Mexican American students and African American students also see such support as necessary, the majority of Mexican American students and African American students at Baldwin High School were not as academically motivated and successful as the Vietnamese students. These students did not belong to any college-preparatory academy. Therefore, low-achieving Mexican American students and African American students at Baldwin High School found school boring and disengaging. They cut classes and did little or no homework.

Most attribute their lack of academic motivation and achievement to a lack of guidance from adults and other students (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Many of the Mexican American students and African American students contend that teachers and counselors are concerned only about Asian students. Jorge, for instance, relates that counselors are not attentive to his needs: "I don't think they care because I have been filling out slips to go see my counselor. I sent like four from September and they still have not called me. Every time I go there, he's at lunch or is with other students and during class he has no time for me."

Even the high-achieving students noticed this phenomenon. As quoted in Chapter 4, Ricardo, a high-achieving Graphics Academy student, comments that differing perceptions of students by race influence his ability to improve his schoolwork. In short, the Mexican American students believe that teachers do not notice them or care about them. Similar sentiments were expressed by African American students. This perception is linked to their lack of motivation to study outside of school. As pointed out in Chapter 2, these students are given little guidance and support from what Stanton-Salazar (1997) calls key "institutional agents" such as peers, teachers, and counselors. During interviews and informal conversations, some expressed career goals, but, unlike the Vietnamese students, they do not know how to achieve these goals—unless they are enrolled in one of the career academies.

Together the quantitative and qualitative data illustrate that nonfamilial social capital found within schools is linked to differences in the study habits of the students in the three population groups studied. The quantitative data show that indeed peer norms and behaviors are important influences on the

time students spend on homework. Further, students who believed their teachers did not care about their educational futures did substantially less homework than others. Using the quantitative data, we found that Vietnamese students benefit more than Mexican American students or African American students from relationships with motivated peers and caring teachers. These interactions result in higher motivation and more studious behavior among Vietnamese Americans than among Mexican American students or African American students.

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this chapter was to investigate the extent to which different sources of social capital explain variation in study habits across Black, Latino, and Vietnamese students. Although academic literature and popular media have argued that families are largely responsible for the differences, the present research shows that relationships outside the family (nonfamilial social capital) also play a significant role in explaining variation among the three student population groups.

This chapter suggests many directions for future research. The findings, both quantitative and qualitative, point to the fact that the acquisition of social capital may vary by race. In this research, race is particularly important in accounting for resources available to students from nonfamilial relationships. More work should be done to see how the sources of social capital differ according to race and ethnicity.

The perceptions of teachers and other school officials of these racial groups may be influential. A view of Vietnamese as model minorities and Mexican American students and African American students as lazy and unmotivated may affect the extent to which they are able to use the social capital they receive from their families. Much more work is required to investigate how students are able to activate their social capital in various settings.

The challenge is to push those exploring social capital to think about how race and ethnicity influence its acquisition and expression. Research done on the effects of social capital using predominantly White samples has led to generalizations among policy makers and the public about steps that should be taken to enhance children's success in schools. Since most of the research done on social capital and educational achievement has focused on the role of the family in transmitting it, families are either praised or blamed for children's success in schools.

The results of this chapter suggest that intangible resources gained from families may not be as important in influencing study habits as are

those gained from relationships within schools. Findings from this study suggest that educators should concentrate their efforts on equalizing access to such relationships by designing policies to reduce ethnic segregation among peers and to encourage teachers to mentor students of all ethnic groups.

Before we can truly understand how family and nonfamily practices influence children's school success, there is a need to investigate their influence on all social groups—immigrants, minorities, and low-SES students. It is not self-evident that what works for the majority, usually middle-class Whites, also will work for others. Social capital, in this case, ultimately refers to the useful, although intangible, resources students are able to utilize to enable their educational success. To provide a more complete understanding of inequality in schools, there is a need to further explore how these intangible resources are distributed and actualized, and how this affects the educational achievement of all children. The present research, however, takes us closer to unraveling the ways in which school context can promote success among urban youth.

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