
Social Capital and the Reproduction of Inequality: Information Networks among Mexican-origin High School Students

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The critical role of significant others in status attainment continues to be interpreted mainly in functionalist terms. This article presents an alternative interpretation based on social reproduction theories and on current research on social ties and adult occupational mobility. Using the concept of social capital, defined as social relationships from which an individual is potentially able to derive various types of institutional resources and support, the authors examine data on the information networks of a selected sample of Mexican-origin high school students. Apart from the influence of parental socioeconomic status, they assess how students' grades and educational and occupational expectations are related to the formation of instrumental ties to institutional agents (such as teachers and guidance counselors). Although the authors found some evidence for the relation between grades and status expectations and measures of social capital, their strongest associations were with language measures, suggesting that bilinguals may have special advantages in acquiring the institutional support necessary for school success and social mobility.

Classical explanations for the differential allocation of youths into the status hierarchy in society typically rely on empirical research on intergenerational mobility in the Wisconsin tradition. This work has demonstrated the close links between the influence of significant others, educational aspirations, and educational attainment (Sewell and Hauser 1980). Our view of status attainment reflects a network-analytic approach, shifting emphasis from the "role modeling" and "cheerleading" influences of significant others toward the inequitable transmission of tangible institutional resources and opportunities and toward the difficulties in forming relationships with institutional agents.

This perspective starts with an articulation of the *social distribution of possibilities* (Wellman 1983), a term referring

to the unequal distribution of opportunities for entering different social and institutional contexts and for forming relationships with people who control valued institutional resources, such as career-related information, vital social services, and bureaucratic influence. Such relationships, or ties, have been identified as important influences in adult occupational mobility (see, for example, De Graaff and Flap 1988; Granovetter 1974, 1982; Lin 1990). For network analysts, the pattern that facilitates or restricts opportunities for the formation and maintenance of these social ties is loosely referred to as social structure, whether in regard to specific institutions, residential communities, or society in general.

In the study of school inequality, the analysis of social networks reveals how success within the educational system,

for working-class and minority youths, is dependent on the formation of genuinely supportive relationships with institutional agents. By *institutional agents*, we mean those individuals who have the capacity and commitment to transmit directly or to negotiate the transmission of institutional resources and opportunities (such as information about school programs, academic tutoring and mentoring, college admission, and assistance with career decision making). Although institutional agents can include adult family members, we are generally referring to such people as teachers and counselors, social service workers, clergy, community leaders, college-going youths in the community, and the like. School peers may also act as institutional agents—for example, when working-class youths obtain informational resources from their middle-class peers.

In this article, we explore the relation between the educational and occupational goals and expectations of Mexican-origin high school students, their academic performance, and their reported social ties with institutional agents. We also examine how language patterns, which reflect important cultural-ideological differences in the Mexican-origin student population, affect supportive contact with such agents. We assess student-agent ties in the context of the students' quest for various funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, and Gonzalez 1992) and information-related support, such as guidance related to academic tasks, career decisions, educational and job opportunities, crisis intervention, and the utilization of community services.

We argue that supportive ties with institutional agents represent a necessary condition for engagement and advancement in the educational system and, ultimately, for success in the occupational structure. For working-class and minority youths, however, these supportive ties are mainly found outside the family, in school settings and community organizations. To complicate matters, initiating such ties outside the family has been found to be no easy task, even for majority-group members. Epidemiologists and community psycholo-

gists have shown that the seeking of support is often extremely difficult (see DePaulo, Nadler, and Fisher, 1983, for a review).

Much research has focused on the problem of ambivalence in help seeking, referring to the finding that people who need help often do not ask for it. Among the factors studied are excessive individualism (Ames 1983); feelings of embarrassment (Shapiro 1983) or rejection; and the reluctance to reveal one's inadequacies, to incur debts, or to impose on the helper (DePaulo et al. 1983). In contrast, the social science research on urban minority youths has pointed to more structural problems; that is, social interactions between institutional agents and minority youths are often characterized by social distance and distrust (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Sánchez-Jankowski 1991).

We propose that the successful development of supportive and profitable relationships with institutional agents is closely related to students' social consciousness, meaning those aspects of personality shared with significant others and community members—aspects that are rooted in and shaped by the experiences of community members within the opportunity structure (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Ogbu 1991). Two processes operate in tandem here. First, the degree to which the adolescent is willing to seek out and interact with institutional agents, in ways that promote the development of supportive or instrumental relations, is dependent on his or her *network orientation* (Stanton-Salazar in press; Vaux 1988; Vaux, Burda, and Stewart 1986; Wallace and Vaux 1993). Two particularly important aspects of that orientation are the adolescent's level of trust in society's gatekeepers and agents (for example, teachers who assign grades and counselors who allocate educational opportunities) (Gottlieb 1975) and the adolescent's expectations for the future (MacLeod 1987). Second, when a student's consciousness is manifested in terms of behavior and performance (such as grades and work habits), acculturation style, and status expectations, institutional agents use this information to decide which low-

status students are attractive and worthy candidates for institutional mentorship and promotion (Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, and Shuan 1990).

A NEW CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Aspirations and expectations are conventionally regarded as among the most significant contributors to an adolescent's eventual educational and occupational attainment. The importance normally attributed to self-selection and self-elimination as class effects has been understood mainly in terms of parental influence through encouragement and modeling (Haller and Woelfel, 1972; Sewell and Hauser 1980). Kerckhoff and Campbell (1977; see also Kerckhoff 1976), however, suggested that the effect of family origin (socioeconomic status, SES) is mediated much more by people's access to information about the educational system and by their overall perceptions of discrimination. They maintained that conventional status attainment models misrepresent the mobility process not only for some ethnic minorities, but for low SES Whites who find themselves similarly dependent on the educational system for resources that are not attainable elsewhere. When lack of access to institutional funds of knowledge is combined with perceptions of discrimination, self-elimination is a likely result. A good deal of the more recent sociological treatment of school failure continues to cast the process of self-elimination in terms of systematic institutional exclusion (Fine 1991; Lamont and Lareau 1988; Lareau 1989).

Theoretical accounts of school failure, however, also need to do a good job of explaining school success, in spite of institutional exclusionary practices. Porter (1974, 1976), who was perhaps among the first to illustrate how continued engagement in school is fostered in different ways, focused on the distinctive influence of significant others across ethnic groups. Porter found that for Whites, the academic support of significant others was a major force, directly affecting grades, status expectations, and educational attainment, but that for Blacks, such direct effects were negli-

ble. These findings led him to conclude that for Whites, support enhanced educational attainment by fostering ambition, whereas for Blacks, the effect of significant others operated by promoting conformity, and it was conformity that enhanced educational attainment. Porter's studies suggest that for Blacks and other minorities, higher grades become associated with institutional promotion only when grades symbolize outward conformity, which, in turn, can be seen as an outcome of special socialization by family and peers. More recent studies (for example, Farkas et al. 1990) have reached similar conclusions.

Furthermore, among Whites, the support of significant others usually goes beyond encouragement and modeling to include more class-based and network-oriented forms of support, such as coaching, providing privileged information, and institutional "pull" (Stanton-Salazar, Vásquez, and Mehan 1995). This enhanced aid may come not only from family members and associates, but from school personnel (Ianni 1989). For Whites, membership in resource-rich social networks in schools corresponds to embeddedness in middle-class and privileged networks in their families and communities. For Blacks and other minority groups, participation in such school networks may instead correspond to regular displays of conformity and accommodation. When family members and associates are unable to act as effective institutional agents, they may attempt to promote the institutional success of their children by instilling—consciously or unconsciously—particular ways of behaving that they believe will increase their children's chances of receiving support from school- and community-based institutional agents.

For immigrants, the necessity for such displays and accommodation may be understood within a framework of immigrant adaptation. Gibson and Bhachu (1991:78–79), in detailing the accommodative strategies of the British Sikh immigrant community, described a common belief that "to be successful, one has not only to understand the way the majority society operates but, in addition, *one must gain the social skills and*

personal networks that open doors [italics added].

For working-class and low-income Blacks and other minorities, however, parental and community attempts to instill conformity, optimism, and trust among children and youths may be more problematic. Ogbu's (1991) ethnographic research on chronic school failure among low-income Black youths draws attention to how perceptions of the available opportunities for success within the educational system and the job market help determine minority students' optimism and willingness to conform to the cultural standards imposed by schools. Unlike immigrants, involuntary minorities, particularly Blacks, native-born Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, often distrust those they perceive of as representing the dominant group's interests and question whether conformity to norms for academic behavior will lead to sponsorship and promotion within the educational system.

School personnel can act in ways that exacerbate the situation, as the work of Fine (1991) attests. Research that specifically focuses on the influence of social class and subculture on help-seeking behavior among adolescents is scarce, which makes Gottlieb's (1975) study of male high school seniors of particular significance. This work strongly suggests that supportive contact with mainstream institutional agents is highly dependent on the degree of overlap in subcultural values and norms. Like Fine, Gottlieb showed that teachers, coaches, guidance staff, and secretaries were less responsive to marginal, nonconforming students and often acted to discourage them from seeking their support.

Social Capital

From a social network perspective, the importance of ties to institutional agents is framed in terms of social capital. As used here, *social capital* refers to social relationships from which an individual is potentially able to derive institutional support, particularly support that includes the delivery of knowledge-based resources, for example, guidance for college admission or job advancement.

Working-class youths have vastly less social capital than do middle-class youths.

It is important to formulate criteria for determining when social ties or networks truly represent social capital. If social capital is considered a value attributed to social ties and to networks, then these relations can be assessed in the following terms: (1) whether a tie or a network is oriented toward providing institutional support, (2) the quality of the resources provided (for example, accuracy or privileged status of information), and (3) the degree to which support is tailored to the needs of the individual.

Following Lin's (1982, 1990) social resource theory, the role of social capital in status attainment can be expressed in three major propositions. The most important proposition is that access to and use of social ties and networks reflecting high levels of social capital leads to the acquisition of valued institutional resources and support previously not at the individual's disposal. The second proposition is that structural opportunities for forming ties to those who control access to institutional resources and support are negatively related to the individual's position in the social hierarchy. This formulation addresses how networks mediate the influence of social class on status attainment.

The third proposition relates to variations in the strength of different social ties. Granovetter (1974, 1982) argued that for adults, weak ties (characterized by less intimacy, shorter duration, and less reciprocated assistance) increase the probability of access to institutional resources and opportunities. High-status adults often maintain their access to institutional resources by relying on their network of professional contacts (weak ties), positioned across various institutional domains. Yet, they are usually comparatively less dependent on weak ties, since their strong ties are generally of equal or higher status and, therefore, are more likely to be institutional agents. In contrast, the impact of weak ties among working-class individuals is normally greater because weak ties offer a competitive advantage not

usually enjoyed by similar others. These three propositions lead us to Hypothesis 1: *The level of social capital in the student's network is positively related to the socioeconomic background of the student's family.*

Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977; see also Bourdieu 1977) social reproduction framework suggests that the intergenerational transmission of status among the privileged classes operates largely through the transmission of *cultural capital*. We build on this argument by proposing that the process of inclusion in mainstream institutions is aided when cultural and linguistic capital are converted into instrumental relations with institutional agents who actively transmit valued resources, special privileges, and personal assurances of future institutional sponsorship. The acquisition and display of middle-class cultural capital by minority youths is crucial, since it is viewed as evidence of accommodation and conformity. This proposition leads to Hypothesis 2: *The level of social capital inherent in the student's network is positively related to the student's proficiency in and use of English, with English serving as a proxy for the accumulation of cultural capital.*

Although we define access mainly in terms of personal ties to institutional agents, such as teachers, counselors, and other adults, the concept is extended here to include friendship ties to middle-class and majority-group youths who are assumed to have greater and more consistent access to institutional resources. To the extent that the incorporation of middle-class, non-Mexican-origin youths into the peer network corresponds to the student's social integration into White-majority schools, such incorporation would lead to the accumulation of social capital and to its benefits. To the extent that grades and status expectations correspond to a particular type of consciousness among students, we propose Hypothesis 3: *Students with higher grades report information networks characterized by greater social capital,* and Hypothesis 4: *Students with higher educational and occupational expectations also report greater social capital.*

Among working-class and low-income

minority youths, cultural information, including language assimilation, status expectations, and grades, is important for predicting which students are most likely to form supportive relations with institutional agents. Furthermore, cultural information may well be more important than mere socioeconomic status, particularly in terms of increases in social capital. The peculiar and changing significance of language characteristics is articulated in Hypothesis 5: *The relation between status expectations and social capital and between language traits and social capital is stronger for working-class minority students than for middle-class minority students.*

We have stressed here that status expectations, grades, and language traits are products of socialization and serve to facilitate increases in social capital in two ways, by enabling a student to solicit support from institutional agents and by motivating agents to be genuinely supportive. Of course, any causal direction is difficult to establish, given the cross-sectional nature of the study.¹ Details of the study's parameters are reported next.

METHOD

Setting and Sample

The sample consisted of 205 Mexican-origin students from six high schools in the San Francisco–San Jose area, who were selected from 744 Mexican-origin sophomores, juniors, and seniors who had participated in two schoolwide questionnaire surveys administered during the 1987–88 academic year by a related Stanford University project. All six schools are located in middle- and high-income White majority areas. Students from lower-income neighborhoods walk to or are transported to them as part of districtwide desegregation plans. Latinos represented from 11.3 percent ($n = 136$) to 33.4 percent ($n = 387$) of the student body in each school, with Mex-

¹ The process whereby social and information networks influence status expectations and grades is fully considered in Stanton-Salazar (1990).

ican-origin students slightly less than half the Latino student population. The proportion of non-Latino White students ranged from 35.4 percent ($n = 589$) to 59.4 percent ($n = 742$).

The sample was selected on the basis of data obtained from the first of the two questionnaire surveys. The sample design, generation \times sex \times achievement, led to a sample consisting of three generational groups—first generation (immigrants), second generation, and third generation or more—an equal number of boys and girls, and three achievement groups (low, middle, and high achieving). We were unable to generate a sufficient number of cases in some of these categories (such as first generation, high achiever, male) by random sampling procedures; consequently, our sample was neither random nor strictly representative.

However, we did investigate the representativeness of our sample by examining a number of sociolinguistic variables that served as our primary indicators of cultural variation.² In tests for mean differences between our study sample and the total Mexican-origin student population, we found no statistically significant differences, suggesting, therefore, some degree of representation.

Although the sample design ensured good cultural variation in our sample, the problems inherent in measures of generational status precluded the productive use of these measures in our analyses. Owing to variations in length of residence, immigrants (whether students or their mothers) may be recent arrivals or residents since infancy. In many cases, students who are classified as being in different generational groups are culturally identical.

Collection of Network Data

We conducted semistructured interviews to determine students' social sup-

² The following variables were examined for differences: the education of both the mother and the father, the student's proficiency in English and in Spanish, the student's comprehension in Spanish, language use by the mother and by relatives, and the student's language use with the mother and relatives.

port networks; their familistic orientations and practices; and their future plans regarding college, work, and marriage. Questions were asked about four principal classes of social support: (1) social-material support, (2) emotional-crisis support, (3) peer interaction and recreation, and (4) informational support. This article focuses exclusively on informational support and on its constituent forms: (1) personal advice on academic decisions, (2) personal advice and guidance regarding future educational and occupational plans, (3) personal advice on personal nonacademic matters, (4) technical information related to educational-occupational future, (5) information regarding current job opportunities, (6) legal assistance, (7) health crisis services (such as for substance abuse), and (8) psychological services—professional crisis management.³

The students were asked to select those people they would have confidence going to if they needed information-related support. After each question, they specified which people, among those selected, they had actually gone to in the past (ranging from the "last three or four months of the past school year" to the "past year") for this type of support. Sources of personal advice and guidance were distinguished from sources of bureaucratic or technical information. With regard to social services, the students were asked to name those they would go to for information when a family member or friend needed such services and to provide detailed demographic information, including occupational status and ethnicity, on each person they identified. We also obtained the names and demographic characteristics of friends, identified as those nonadults with whom the students shared leisure activities. Much of the interview data was converted into quantifiable form and then merged with the questionnaire data.

Social Capital and Predictor Variables

Researchers have developed a variety of measures to gauge the amount of

³ Our network survey instrument was developed following Barrera, Sandler, and Ramsay (1981).

social capital that respondents have. We focused on the number of ties to institutional agents. One commonly used method of identifying such agents is to obtain data on the educational and occupational statuses of those named as providers of information and support (De Graaf and Flap 1988; Lai, Leung, and Lin 1990; Lin, Vaugn, and Ensel 1981). As with other studies that have examined the influence of nonfamily members on the socialization of minority youths, we assumed that middle-class contacts are significantly more likely to have "institutional knowledge" than are lower-class contacts; thus, we considered middle-class sources of information and support, including peers, to be institutional agents. Identifying those contacts that are weak ties is another method of assessing the amount of social capital in students' networks. As in many previous studies (for example, Kim 1986), we restricted the identification of weak ties to sources of information-related support. The following are the seven social capital variables used in the study:

Number of high-status adults named as likely or current sources of information-related support. Duncan's Socio-Economic Index (SEI) (Reiss, Duncan, Hatt, and North 1961) was used to assign a score to each contact. Studies that have used the SEI have conventionally set 40.00 and above as the cutoff mark for middle-class status. To distinguish those who occupied positions of significant authority and power in institutions, such as teachers (64) and counselors (65) from other "middle-class" individuals who occupied semiprofessional positions in the workforce, we designated those selected adults with SEI scores of 64 and above as high-status (white-collar) contacts.

Number of nonfamily weak ties. To isolate weak ties from the larger pool of potential information providers, we excluded three categories of people: (1) primary and secondary kin and friends under age 18; (2) certain multiplex relationships, specifically, persons who were also named as likely providers of emotional support; and (3) those whom the students saw every day.

Number of school-based weak ties. This is a variation of the previous measure that counts only the number of weak ties within the school domain: teachers, counselors, and other school personnel.

Average socioeconomic level of the student's information network. This variable is the mean of all SEI scores pertaining to adult sources of informational support.

Average socioeconomic level of the student's friendship network. Similar to the variable just described, this measure is the mean of all SEI scores pertaining to parents of those persons identified as peers or close friends (including those with whom the student shared leisure-recreational activities).

Proportion of all friends who were not of Mexican-origin. Students who scored low on this measure were considered less socially integrated in their White-majority school than were those with a significantly higher score.

Number of people actually relied on for academically related information and guidance. This variable focuses on the degree to which students were actively seeking and obtaining academic support from selected contacts. We assumed that students who scored relatively high on this measure activated their ties on a consistent basis and were receiving a steady flow of support.

SES. This is a composite variable based on educational attainment of father and occupational status (SEI) of father, with each item receiving equal weight. Both indicators were standardized before being summed ($M = 0$; $SD = 10$). A majority of the students lived in two-parent households. When the father was not present in the household, the mother's educational level and occupational status were used.

Language proficiency and use. Twelve language items were factor analyzed using Varimax rotation to develop measures of participation in Spanish-speaking contexts. Four items dealt with the student's self-reported proficiency in Spanish, and the rest with language used in interaction with parents, relatives, and peers. The five-point scale for these latter items ranged from "always En-

lish" to "always the other language," in this case Spanish. Analyses were based solely on the 205 Mexican-origin students in the sample.

The factor structure suggested three interpretable dimensions. The first dimension dealt with language used in interaction with parents and relatives, the second dealt with language used in interaction with peers, and the third dealt with English comprehension and proficiency. Language used with peers was eliminated to reduce complexity.⁴ Using principal component analysis, we selected a two-factor model in which the first factor represented the extent to which social interaction with parents and relatives was in English and/or Spanish and the second factor represented overall English proficiency. The significance of these two factors is that students may be completely proficient in English, as well as highly engaged in English-speaking contexts such as school, while remaining communicatively active in more intimate Spanish-speaking contexts (with parents and relatives). Students who score high in both measures can be distinguished as bilingual and as engaged in bicultural acculturation strategies (see Berry 1980).

Grade level. Grade level was used as a proxy for age. It is captured by two dummy variables, the first representing juniors ($n = 63$) and the second representing seniors ($n = 53$), with sophomores ($n = 85$) as the omitted group.

Self-reported grades. Only one school had up-to-date grade-point averages for all its students. Therefore, we relied on self-reports on the usual grades the students received in various subjects. The categories were mostly As, about half As and half Bs, mostly Bs, about half Bs and half Cs, mostly Cs, about half Cs and half Ds, mostly Ds, and mostly below D. We then computed a numerical scale of self-reported grades, with 4.0 representing the highest category. An

⁴ We were interested in developing a bilingualism variable that would measure Spanish use at home as one dimension and English proficiency as another dimension. To simplify matters, we concentrated on language used with adults.

earlier study (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh 1987) that used this measure found a correlation of .76 between self-reported and recorded grades. This study also found a slight tendency to overstate grades only among students near the bottom of the distribution—those with mean grades of C or below. Given this potential bias, we weighted grades by curricular track, with students mainly enrolled in college-preparation courses receiving the highest weights.

Educational expectations. We inquired about *aspirations* first, hoping that students would differentiate expectations from aspirations. The measure consisted of a six-point continuous scale that asked how far each student *expected* to go in school and included the phrase, "considering your situation." Possible answers for both aspirations and expectations ranged from "leave school as soon as possible" (score = 1) to "finish college and take further training (medicine, law, graduate school, etc.," (score = 6).

Occupational expectations. This measure consisted of a continuous scale of nine general occupational groupings, from laborer or unskilled worker to professional and technical (such as physician or lawyer), indicating what type of job students expected to have at age 30.

Post-high school plans. The students were asked the following question in the interview: "What are your school or work goals immediately after high school?" Their responses were used to create a measure indicating whether or not they intended to enter a four-year university after high school. The quantitative variable used in the study is a dichotomous variable.

Analytic Approach

Descriptive statistics are presented for all variables. To examine the independent effects of social class, language proficiency and use, academic performance, and status expectations on several separate indicators of social capital, we used ordinary least-squares regression. We also repeated analyses using

different measures of status expectations. Although we included a gender variable throughout the preliminary regression analyses, it proved to have no significant effect and was eliminated.

The measures used here represent an incomplete picture of those processes underlying the development of supportive relations with institutional agents. In addition, the social capital constructs we discuss are extremely difficult to measure accurately; therefore, we assume that our variables contain a good deal of measurement error. Both factors help to account for the low levels of variance explained. Nonetheless, the analyses presented here begin to assess the relations between each of the predictor variables and social capital.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the overall means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the network variables and background variables considered in this article. Efforts to elicit the names of people who were current or likely sources of informational support produced an average of 6.52 contacts. On average, students reported actively seeking and relying on half their contacts ($M = 3.15$). Nuclear and extended family members typically formed just over half a student's information network (54.08 percent), or about three people ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.63$), with nuclear family members named a bit more than two-thirds of the time (not included in Table 1). The students named an average of two people who were identifiable as weak ties ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 1.52$; not included in Table 1); 10.8 percent of the sample failed to name any weak tie in their networks. With respect to the influence of parents, 71.2 percent of the sample named their fathers as a likely source of either material, emotional, or information support, suggesting a high proportion of intact families, and 86.4 percent named their mothers.

For many students of working-class and minority backgrounds, school personnel often represent the most readily available source of professionally based information and guidance. Although

school personnel did not represent a large proportion of many students' information networks, reliance on school personnel appears to increase as students progress to higher grade levels. Whereas 48.2 percent of the sophomores in the sample did not name any school staff as a source of informational support, the proportion naming no school staff declined to 30.2 percent for juniors and 13.2 percent for seniors.

We must note here that our sample design and our chosen population did not include many Mexican-origin students of middle- to high socioeconomic origins. Whereas 40.5 percent of the Mexican-origin sample had at least one parent who appeared to be white collar in terms of education and occupational status, only 9.3 percent of the sample reported a parent employed in the professions. Moreover, 48.8 percent of the sample reported that the heads of their households were employed in the low-wage service sector.

We begin with Hypothesis 1, which predicts that the acquisition and accumulation of social capital is dependent on an individual's SES. *T*-tests of social-class differences in the mean scores of the seven social capital variables produced mixed results; no class differences were found in the total number of nonfamily weak ties (results not reported here; $p < .05$).⁵ However, the 52 higher SES Mexican-origin students in the sample reported significantly greater access to school-based social capital, in terms of the number of school-based weak ties and ties to higher SES and non-Mexican-origin peers; they also reported greater access to high-status contacts in general and a significantly higher SEI of their information network. These latter findings may be partially explained by the fact that many of the higher SES students named their high-status parents as contacts.

Table 2 presents separate regression equations, each using a distinctive mea-

⁵ The sample was divided using the head of household's SEI. Fifty-two students came from households with indexes of 40 and above (middle class).

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations for the Variables (N = 205)

	Mean	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Total number of information contacts (network size)	6.52 (2.49)	.42*	.27***	.28***	-.03	-.02	.57***	.06	.05	-.01	.25***	-.03	.14†	.10	.09	.11
2. Nonfamily weak ties	1.78 (1.42)	.75***	.67***	.35***	-.01	.14*	-.01	.14*	.06	-.09	.18*	.15*	.13†	.17*	.15*	.11
3. School-based weak ties	1.12 (1.17)	.79***	.45***	-.03	.09	-.01	.10	.10	.10	-.03	.16*	.11	.13†	.13†	.20**	.16*
4. High-status ties (high SES)	1.60 (1.37)	.65***	.06	.22*	.08	.18	-.14	.21**	.03	-.00	.09	.09	.09	.21**	.18**	.18**
5. SEI of information network	44.17 (14.76)	.14*	.06	.12†	.33***	-.21**	.19**	-.05	-.10	.03	.22**	-.14*	-.24***	-.10	.02	.19**
6. SEI of peer network	33.06 (14.98)	.11	.26***	.31***	-.27***	.22**	-.14*	-.24***	-.10	.03	.22**	-.14*	-.24***	-.10	.02	.19**
7. Activated academic support	3.15 (1.96)	.07	.17**	-.09	.20**	-.06	-.05	-.05	-.05	.04	.21**	.18**	.04	.21**	.18**	.18**
8. Proportion of non-Mexican-origin friends	0.46 (0.36)	.25***	-.10	.27***	-.20**	-.29***	.06	.11	.21**	.06	.11	.21**	.06	.11	.21**	.21**
9. SES	.54 34.12	-.20**	.22***	-.24***	-.31***	-.15*	.16*	.20**	.22***	-.24***	-.31***	-.15*	.16*	.20**	.20**	.20**
10. Household size	4.8 (2.18)	-.17**	.25***	.30***	.20**	.03	-.08	-.17**	.25***	.30***	.20**	.03	-.08	-.17**	.25***	.30***
11. English Proficiency Index	4.24 (0.86)	-.19**	-.33***	.09	.21**	.14*	.14*	-.19**	-.33***	.09	.21**	.14*	.14*	-.19**	-.33***	.09
12. Spanish Proficiency Index	3.21 (1.12)	.84***	.25***	.19**	-.02	-.02	.22***	.12†	.84***	.25***	.19**	-.02	-.02	.22***	.12†	-.02
13. Spanish usage in context	13.27 (4.94)	.33***	.18**	.32***				.33***	.18**	.32***				.33***	.18**	.32***
14. Grades (self-reports)	2.80 (0.98)															
15. Educational expectations	-0.18 (16.32)															
16. Occupational expectations	6.23 (2.33)															

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Table 2. Regressions: Measures of Social Capital on Social Class, Language Variables, Grades, Grade Level, and Status Expectations^a

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables																			
	School-based Weak Ties				Nonfamily Weak Ties				SEI of Information Network				Proportion of Non-Mexican-Origin				SEI of Peer Network			
	Ed	Occ	CP	Ed	Occ	CP	Ed	Occ	CP	Ed	Occ	CP	Ed	Occ	CP	Ed	Occ	CP		
SES	<i>B</i> .008 [†]	.005	.010*	.008	.007	.008	.229***	.235***	.235***	.235***	.068	.270	.002	.002	.002	.184***	.153***	.172***		
	s.e. .005	.005	.005	.007	.007	.007	.068	.069	.069	.068	.069	.269	.069	.069	.070	.069	.069	.069		
	beta .114	.117	.143	.196	.097	.101	.263	.269	.269	.270	.263	.269	.269	.269	.208	.208	.173	.194		
English proficiency	<i>B</i> .092*	.101*	.107**	.158**	.161**	.159**	.914	1.032 [†]	.878	.878	.031*	.029*	.022	.022	1.208*	1.060*	1.091*			
	s.e. .050	.049	.051	.061	.060	.062	.634	.627	.640	.640	.016	.015	.012	.012	.647	.634	.653			
	beta .139	.152	.162	.195	.199	.200	.106	.120	.102	.102	.146	.137	.104	.104	.138	.121	.125			
Spanish usage	<i>B</i> .024*	.028*	.027*	.034*	.035*	.034*	-.010	.030	-.009	-.009	-.012**	-.012**	-.014**	-.014**	-.405**	-.417**	-.428**			
	s.e. .015	.014	.015	.018	.018	.018	.184	.183	.184	.184	.005	.004	.004	.004	.188	.185	.188			
	beta .139	.159	.158	.159	.165	.161	-.004	.0134	-.004	-.004	-.222	-.215	-.248	-.248	.177	-.182	-.187			
Grades (self-reports)	<i>B</i> .109	.128 [†]	.150*	.193*	.201**	.200*	.349	.634	.356	.356	.035**	.028	.016	.016	-.730	-.1.200	-.1.027			
	s.e. .087	.085	.088	.107	.104	.107	1.106	1.076	1.108	1.108	.027	.026	.027	.027	1.128	1.088	1.131			
	beta .094	.110	.129	.136	.142	.14	.023	.042	.024	.024	.196	.077	.044	.044	-.048	-.078	-.067			
Juniors	<i>B</i> .488**	.496**	.464**	.491**	.493**	.494**	3.229	3.245	3.540	3.540	.070	-.058	-.045	-.045	2.225	.740	.475			
	s.e. .184	.185	.188	.225	.226	.228	2.333	2.347	2.362	2.362	.058	-.057	-.057	-.057	2.380	2.375	2.409			
	beta .200	.202	.189	.163	.164	.164	.101	.102	.111	.111	-.091	-.074	-.058	-.058	.007	.023	.015			
Seniors	<i>B</i> .547**	.531**	.565***	.729***	.724***	.747***	7.063**	6.952**	7.825**	7.825**	-.073	-.087 [†]	-.046	-.046	1.324	.827	1.387			
	s.e. .198	.199	.201	.242	.243	.244	2.503	2.521	2.529	2.529	.062	-.062	.062	.062	2.553	2.551	2.580			
	beta .209	.203	.216	.228	.226	.233	2.08	.205	.231	.231	-.089	-.106	-.056	-.056	.038	.024	.040			
Status expectations	<i>B</i> .100 [†]	.054	.004	.037	.019	.074	1.196	.527	3.567	3.567	.009	.026**	.164***	.164***	-.421	.705	.871			
	s.e. .062	.036	.192	.076	.044	.233	.786	.460	2.418	2.418	.020	.011	.059	.059	.802	.466	2.467			
	beta .122	.110	.002	.037	.032	.024	.113	.082	.110	.110	.033	.164	.207	.207	-.039	.108	.0264			
R ²	.135	.133	.123	.138	.138	.137	.174	.170	.173	.173	.147	.169	.180	.180	.166	.175	.165			

^a Unstandardized coefficients in italics. Ed: educational expectations, Occ: occupational expectations, and CP: college plans.

[†] $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

sure of status expectations and an alternative measure of social capital. Missing data reduced the sample size to 201. The results show that family SES has little or no independent effect on nonfamily weak ties. Family SES, however, does have a small significant independent effect on school-based weak ties and a strong effect on the SEI of the student's information network, another measure of social capital. These findings were expected to be consistent across all measures of social capital. It may be that other variables besides SES are better predictors of weak ties for this sample. In any case, all students raised their network index by incorporating nonfamily weak ties, but higher SES students had an additional advantage by also incorporating their high-status parents.

When we looked at the number of students who actually sought academically related assistance, we found that although SES had an initial influence, its effect was either reduced or eliminated with the introduction of English proficiency (table available upon request).

We turn next to our two measures of peer social capital. The initial results showed a significant effect of SES on access to non-Mexican-origin friends, but this effect was attenuated by the introduction of the English proficiency measure in the final regression (Table 2). Language attributes proved to be the most important variables predicting friendships with non-Mexican-origin peers. The use of Spanish had a consistent negative effect on ties to non-Mexican-origin peers and also held in separate analyses using a subsample of 109 students designated as above the mean in English-proficiency.

Regression results for the SEI of the student's friendship network are included in Table 2. In all three models, SES retained a significant effect. Similar to the results just discussed, Spanish use produced a negative effect on peer social capital, even when English proficiency was controlled. In sum, out of six measures of social capital, family SES produced a consistent and significant main effect on two.

Language use-English proficiency. In

contrast to our measure of family SES, our language variables proved to have a consistent influence across regression models. In accordance with Hypothesis 2, we found that access to school personnel as sources of support is significantly enhanced by reported proficiency in English. More interesting, however, is that when English proficiency and SES were controlled for, Spanish use proved to have a positive and significant effect on school-based weak ties (access to school personnel) (see Table 2).⁶ Similar results surfaced when we examined the total number of nonfamily weak ties. Both English proficiency and Spanish use retained significant positive relations, net of other variables. Thus, our analyses provide support for the hypothesized relationship between language status and social capital, although with an added twist: Bilingualism may play a prominent role in determining access to social capital.

Grades and grade level. We turn next to Hypothesis 3, which predicts that students with higher grades will report information networks characterized by greater social capital. In these analyses, grades failed to register their consistent independent effect on our social capital variables, with the exception of nonfamily weak ties. The lack of an effect on school-based weak ties was puzzling. In separate stepwise analyses, we first introduced grades and a selected status expectation variable, then added SES, followed by our two language variables to complete the regression analyses. In the series of regressions run for the 152 lower SES students, we found that grades retained a significant and independent effect on school-based weak ties until the introduction of the English proficiency index. The problem of collinearity does not appear to be the explanation, given that grades and English proficiency are not correlated ($r = .08$, $p < .22$) (tables available on request).

Grade level was used as both a proxy for age and as a control variable. In our

⁶ Preliminary analyses using this model with the higher SES subsample of 52 students showed that the independent effect of Spanish use was also significant and positive.

regression analyses, grade level proved to have a significant and independent influence on access to adult social capital. Our descriptive analyses showed that the sophomores reported the least access to school personnel as sources of social capital.⁷ In our regressions, status as a sophomore produced negative effects on our weak-tie measures, but no effect on our measures of peer social capital. Thus, younger students, who are also less firmly established in the school environment, apparently have less access to institutional resources and to those who transmit them.

Status expectations. We turn next to Hypothesis 4, which predicts that students with higher status expectations will report information networks characterized by higher social capital. Our regression analyses produced mixed results. Status expectations did not register any independent effect on school-based weak ties (Table 2) or on the SEI of the student's information network. Nor did they register any main effects on the number of nonfamily weak ties. Students with high educational expectations, however, tended to be slightly more actively engaged in academic help seeking ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), although it is somewhat perplexing that this relation did not extend to those with relatively higher occupational expectations or college plans (table available on request). When we examined the formation of ties with non-Mexican youths, we found that although educational expectations showed no effect, both college plans and occupational expectations registered positive and significant main effects. These effects, however, were not replicated in analyses of the second measure of peer social capital.

⁷ To confirm these findings, we conducted analysis of variance (ANOVA) to test for mean differences across grade levels. Although we found no significant differences in the mean size of the students' information network ($F = .92, p < .40$), we did find significant mean differences in the number of school personnel chosen ($F = 4.88, p < .009$), as well as the number of nonfamily weak ties ($F = 4.98, p < .008$). Multiple *t*-tests showed the difference between sophomores and students in the other grade levels.

Regression analyses were also conducted to provide a more rigorous test for the enhanced effect of our status-expectation variables on social capital among lower SES students. For each dependent variable, 20 separate regressions were run to examine the interaction between each of the status-expectation variables and SES and for grades and SES. Out of these regressions, only three registered significant effects, and these effects were not in the expected direction (results not reported; table available on request). High levels of colinearity between interaction terms and main effects may be responsible for some of the noneffects.⁸

Although most of our interaction terms were not statistically significant, there may be reason to rethink our hypotheses about the interactive effect of SES and status expectations on social capital. To illustrate, our significant interaction results showed that the effect of occupational expectations and college plans on the number of nonfamily weak ties increases the higher the student's SES. Similar results surfaced when we examined the SEI of the student's friendship network, although in this case, educational expectations had a significant interactive effect. These results, although not consistent throughout our other regressions, may point to an underlying relation between SES and acculturation level. Our language measures may not have been sufficient to control for differences in acculturation, which, in turn, may be interacting with SES in complex ways. It is possible that the hypothesized relation between grades, expectations, and social capital is less dependent on SES than on language patterns and acculturation style. In other words, status expectations and grades may influence access to institutional agents, but only among those who are proficient in English, of neither high nor low SES, and of a certain acculturation level.⁹

⁸ Correlations between our main effects and interaction terms (by SES) ranged from .79 to .89.

⁹ There is the issue of whether age is correlated with linguistic competence (among

Special Role of Language Status

So far the evidence has shown that our measures of language proficiency and use produce more consistent effects on our social capital variables than does family SES. In follow-up analyses, we divided our sample into two groups: those designated Spanish dominant, whose scores were at or below the sample mean in English proficiency, and those designated English proficient, whose scores were above the mean (results not reported; table available on request). For the Spanish-dominant subsample ($n = 96$), status expectations were correlated only with two network variables: activated academic support and the proportion of non-Mexican-origin friends. For the English-proficient subsample ($n = 109$), however, educational expectations correlated with the number of high-status contacts, the number of school-based weak ties, and the SEI of the information network. Occupational expectations, in turn, was correlated with the same variables and with the number of nonfamily weak ties and activated academic support. Tests of differences among correlations showed that of the 19 apparent language-group differences, 6 were statistically significant.

Twenty regressions were run to examine the statistical interaction between each status-expectation variable and English proficiency and between grades and English (results not reported; table available on request). Although the partial correlations reported earlier led us to expect that the influence of status expectations and grades on social capital increases with English proficiency, only two regressions provided support for this expectation.

Bilingualism. The acculturation differences in our sample made this investigation both perplexing and informative.

immigrants). We believe that length of residence, not age, is likely to be more associated with linguistic competence and social capital. During the school years (K–12), the earlier the time of arrival, the more that age would be expected to correlate with English proficiency.

The perplexity arises from trying to interpret the relationship between SES and social capital because this relationship may not be linear for this population. Other studies of Mexican-origin student populations have shown that the most significant challenge is to interpret the apparent educational advantages enjoyed by those who are bilingual and bicultural, in spite of their low SES. Although the lack of English proficiency may inhibit contact with institutional agents, continued use of Spanish may have its own independent effect—positive or negative—once students attain a certain level of English proficiency.

To explore the influence of Spanish use and bilingualism further, we examined participation in Spanish-speaking contexts among the 109 students, either English dominant or bilingual, who were above the mean in English proficiency (table available on request). As expected, Spanish use was correlated with lower SES ($r = -.28, p < .01$) and with larger households ($r = .26, p < .01$). More important, Spanish use (as a proxy for the degree of bilingualism) was correlated with grades and with the number of nonfamily weak ties ($r = .25, p < .01, r = .23, p < .02$), although not with the number of school-based weak ties ($r = .10, p < .28$). Spanish use did not show positive effects across the board, however, since it was negatively associated with the proportion of non-Mexican-origin friends ($r = .21, p < .03$).

We proceeded to divide this subsample into those who were highly bilingual ($n = 54$) and those who were English-dominant bilingual ($n = 55$) and conducted a series of tests of differences in means (table available on request). Those who were highly bilingual, as a group, were of lower SES and reported significantly higher grades. In terms of social capital, they reported significantly larger information networks and a greater number of nonfamily weak ties (which may have included school personnel). Differences in ties to school personnel, however, were not apparent. When we looked only at those of lower SES, we found that the highly bilingual students ($n =$

46) also reported significantly higher educational expectations than did the English-dominant students.

One problem related to the issue of bilingualism is that our measures of language proficiency and use may be serving two simultaneous functions, as an indicator of cultural consciousness and as an indicator of second language acquisition. In this sample, with our inclusion of lower-income immigrant or first-generation students, measures of language proficiency and use become a powerful differentiating device, overshadowing any possible effects of other measures on access to social capital. However, only one-third of our sample was first generation, and among the 59 immigrant students who provided information on their length of residence in the United States, only 34 percent had been in this country for six or fewer years; 55.2 percent had been here for nine or more years—plenty of time to become proficient in English. In fact, when we looked at those who scored at or below the mean in English proficiency ($n = 96$), 81.2 percent reported speaking English “moderately well” to “very well.” This finding suggests that our measure of English proficiency, far from just accounting for language proficiency, evidently served as a proxy for acculturation and more consequential social status markers, such as sociolinguistic cues and modes of self-presentation, that label one a member of a low-status immigrant group. In the majority-dominant middle-class domains (such as the schools) in which these youths participated, such markers may have had a stifling effect on intergroup relations—even when the students were fluent in English (see Cohen 1986). The next section presents a theoretically based interpretation of our results.

DISCUSSION

Although the findings of this study are preliminary and mixed, they provide some support for the notion that Mexican-origin high school students with higher grades and higher status expectations will generally have greater social capital than their counterparts with lower grades

and expectations. We purposed that grades and expectations and language traits all serve as indicators of students' consciousness and are important not only because they indicate a persistent motivation to remain engaged in the schooling process, but because they heighten chances for the development of supportive and instrumental relations with nonfamilial institutional agents.

Our results, however, provided only partial and mixed support for our hypothesized associations. For example, the hypothesized effect of family SES in this study was at times attenuated by the language variables, which we can assume served as proxies for variations in consciousness and cultural behavior. The problem may be both methodological and theoretical. The skewed distribution of our sample on SES restricted our ability to see how this variable truly relates to weak ties. There is an ample empirical basis for expecting more weak ties with nonfamilial institutional agents among the middle class (see De Sola Pool and Kochen 1978; Fischer 1982). At the same time, many Mexican-origin student populations are less differentiated in terms of social class, mainly because they are demographically over-represented within the working class and the poor. In many school populations across the Southwest, differentiation among Mexican-origin students tends to be more generational and cultural. Thus, in quantitative studies that attempt to predict academic performance, high school completion, and other related outcomes, conventional social class indicators wane in their predictive value; cultural and sociolinguistic variables, which may be operating as proxies for forms of consciousness, usually become key (see Garcia 1980).

Overall, our findings suggest the need to incorporate alternative and more qualified hypotheses, as well as to improve our research design. A more adequate test of our hypothesis regarding the effects of SES would require a larger and more representative sample of the greater Mexican-origin student population, including representative lower middle-class and middle-class distributions.

Our revised hypotheses would also include scope conditions. For example, we would again predict that among working-class minority students, higher grades and status expectations contribute to the formation of ties to nonfamily institutional agents, but only among those who are sufficiently acculturated. This acculturation would include not only proficiency in English, but also the acquisition of other forms of mainstream cultural capital. It would also include the ability to conceal or downplay markers of cultural foreignness, in part a function of socioeconomic background and length of residence in the United States. Our findings suggest that the lower SES Spanish-dominant students in our sample have yet to acculturate sufficiently. Because of language and cultural barriers, many immigrants are denied opportunities to acquire valued institutional support—even when their consciousness and their efforts may reflect and pay tribute to American ideals of hard work and material success.

It is also important to recognize the restricted range of our measure of school-based weak ties. Most students who chose school personnel as sources of informational support reported confidence in only one or two adults. This finding raises the possibility that the institutional culture of the schools we surveyed restricted the formation of adult-student relationships of support, particularly for Mexican-origin students. Further research is needed to discern whether such minimal reliance on school personnel is typical of all adolescents.

Friendship ties to non-Mexican-origin youths also constitute an important form of social capital. Our findings suggest that family SES, in conjunction with acculturation, determines access to peers who double as institutional agents, with SES determining less the ethnicity of friends and more their economic status. Low SES students have a difficult time incorporating higher SES friends. Acculturation levels complicate the situation by introducing those processes normally involved in race relations (such as boundary maintenance). Even among those who were highly proficient in English,

the use of Spanish continued to be associated with less friendly relations with non-Mexican youths. The maintenance of Spanish proficiency and its regular use may correspond to homophilic tendencies, but institutional factors, such as tracking, may also be responsible for fostering this relationship. When class background and language status correspond to tracking and course assignments, institutional arrangements may be much more responsible for observed friendship patterns than are purely associational preferences.

Given more equitable school arrangements, the question remains whether a common orientation to a secure future in society is sufficient to break down ethnic and class-based barriers that normally inhibit the formation of close friendships and, thus, access to another vital source of institutional support. Further research is likewise needed to determine whether other indicators of consciousness, such as perceptions of a discriminatory opportunity structure and ethnic identity, affect supportive associations with higher-status peers and whether aspects of consciousness are particularly consequential among certain sectors of the Mexican-origin student population.

Finally, our findings suggest that highly bilingual students may have an advantage over working-class, English-dominant students in gaining access to adult social capital. One explanation, congruent with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) theory of social reproduction, is that bilinguals represent a sector of the Mexican-origin student population that receives special consideration for institutional sponsorship. This possibility is also in keeping with Ogbu's (1991) and Matute-Bianchi's (1991) differentiation between the educational experiences of immigrant students and Mexican-origin students. Bilinguals tend to be either immigrants with many years of residence in this country or native-born persons living with immigrant parents who insist on maintaining the Mexican culture and the Spanish language in their households. According to Gibson and Ogbu (1991), bilinguals are known to retain a significant degree of trust in

"the system" and in its gatekeepers. Thus, although Spanish-dominant immigrant students have not accommodated sufficiently to be able to integrate into mainstream domains and working-class, English-dominant students may be acquiring an oppositional stance toward "the system," bilinguals are in a potentially optimal position. On the one hand, they have acquired sufficient mainstream cultural capital to share in the resources enjoyed by dominant group members and, on the other hand, they have retained sufficient trust in the system to believe that cultural accommodation will ultimately produce desired returns. This kind of bicultural adaptation appears to lead to increases in social capital, both by lowering the risks entailed in help seeking¹⁰ and by increasing the likelihood of genuine support from institutional agents.¹¹

To summarize, our study attempted to draw attention away from classical explanations of status attainment based on processes of parental encouragement and assessments of merit by self and others by applying an alternative perspective that relies on the conceptual framework of social capital. We were able to address both the constraints on and consequences stemming from the formation of personal ties with those who control institutional resources. This approach redirects attention to important rela-

tional processes underlying institutionalized inequality. Despite the limitations of the study, the findings presented here provide encouraging evidence that network-analytic models of mobility and attainment can contribute to a better understanding of differential achievement and mobility among Mexican-origin and other minority youths.

APPENDIX

Methodological Note on Measures of Social Capital

This investigation highlighted two important methodological issues pertaining to studies of social capital and youths. First, youths of middle- to high-income backgrounds possess social capital regardless of whether they fail to report parents and adult kin as personally chosen sources of support. Even when relations are strained, residence in a middle-class household and community and involvement in routine activities with in-group members are sufficient to expose adolescents to institutional funds of knowledge. For these youths, access to social capital (as well as to mainstream cultural capital) is built into familial and community relationships. Furthermore, middle-class youths, by virtue of having parents who qualify as viable institutional agents, may not be affected by those processes that determine the development of direct supportive relations between working-class youths and non-familial institutional agents; for privileged youths, other processes may prove more relevant.

Second, in the future, researchers (especially those who are interested in assessing the long-term impact of social capital on working-class and minority youths) who use the framework presented here must strive to develop better techniques for measuring the concept of social capital. Although confidence in and rapport with institutional agents may convey to working-class adolescents that institutional resources are readily available, *the actual transmission of resources may never occur*. The perception that certain ties will provide resources may be sufficient to encourage some youths to continue to be engaged in the school, but the application of our notion of social capital to the process of status attainment requires that social ties labeled as high in social capital serve, in reality, to transmit privileged resources. Thus, other criteria besides self-reports of potential contacts and the status

¹⁰ The research on help-seeking behavior has consistently shown that help seeking is related to internal locus of control (see DePaulo et al. 1983, for a sound review of theoretical issues related to help seeking). In anthropological terms, the folk model of immigrants continually reinforces the belief that effort, particularly hard work and sacrifice, will, in time, pay off in desired returns. The folk model of Ogbu's (1991) "involuntary minorities," in contrast, may not reflect confidence in such a payoff, an orientation grounded on an acute awareness of their group's historical experience with institutionalized discrimination.

¹¹ Although this mode of adaptation is often misinterpreted as assimilation, or "Anglo conformity," Gibson (1988) and Gibson and Bhachu (1991) skillfully described this strategy in bicultural terms, referring to it as "accommodation without assimilation."

characteristics of these contacts need to be used to determine more accurately whether reported ties truly represent social capital.

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