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Social Capital and Adolescent Student At-Risk Behaviors

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND ADOLESCENT STUDENT AT-RISK BEHAVIORS

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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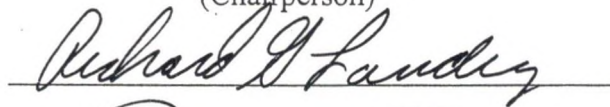
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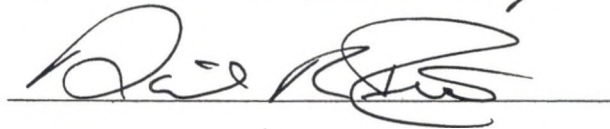
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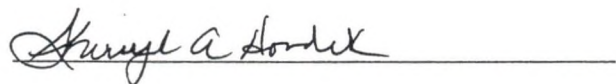
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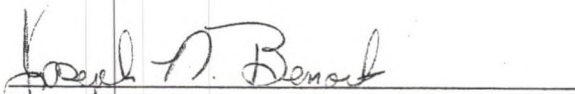


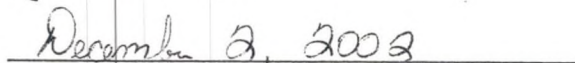






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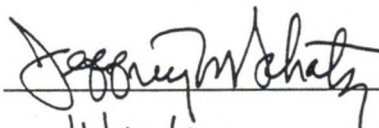

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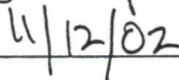


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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the differences between six at-risk behaviors of adolescent students in relation to levels of social capital of 9-12 grade students. Data were gathered from the Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey (YRPFS), administered to ninth through twelfth grade students in a school district located in a medium size midwest city. Factor analysis reduced the 114 questions on Survey A and B to two independent factors. Independent Factor I, Family Social Capital, was the sum of issues pertaining to the parents' educational background, rules at home, and educational expectations for their children. Independent Factor II, School and Community Social Capital, was the sum of issues pertaining to school involvement by parents, the discussions parents had about school with their adolescent, and involvement in community activities. Summated ratings generated six dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. Multivariate analysis of variance was used to determine the level of difference within the three levels of Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital and the dependent variables. A further analysis using a univariate analysis of variance test was conducted to determine if there were significant differences between the dependent at-risk variables and three levels of independent social capital variables. And finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted for each dependent at-risk variable to

determine the level of significant difference between the levels of each independent social capital variable.

The attainment of social capital was determined through the relationships students developed with their family, school, and community. At-risk factors to include alcohol use, drug use, tobacco use, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence were analyzed to determine their relationship to the different levels of social capital.

The results suggest that family, school, and community social capital have a significant influence on the social development of adolescents. It was determined that when levels of social capital were high, participation in at-risk behaviors decreased. The results of this study indicate that, overall, Family Social Capital is somewhat more important than School and Community Social Capital when considering the level of at-risk behavior engaged in by adolescents.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between social capital and at-risk behaviors provides a compelling analysis into the ability of adolescents to acquire the social networking skills necessary to lead a productive life. Siegler (1997) defines adolescence as the period given to “the psychological space between childhood and adult life” (p. 5). The transition between childhood and adulthood is oftentimes characterized as a period of risk taking identified by impulsive and sometime reckless behaviors. During this time, adolescents begin to engage in risk taking behaviors such as the abuse of alcohol and drugs, smoking, suicides, risky sexual behaviors, and violent crimes (Siegler, 1997). It is a period of time that is full of uncertainty and stress as adolescents begin to develop more complex interpersonal relationships (Blyth & Traeger, 1988; Vondra & Garbarino, 1988). Adolescent children experience major physical and emotional changes that alter their relationship with others. Adolescent children begin questioning authority, search for their own sexual identity, and begin developing skills that are necessary for successful integration into the adult world (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001), the strongest factors related to the potential for violent activities in adolescence are directly correlated to their relationship with peers through antisocial or delinquent behaviors and gang memberships. Accordingly, adolescents who have weak social ties are at a high risk

of committing violent crimes. Fortunately, the number of crimes committed by students ages 12-18 have decreased in the past decade (Centers for Disease Control, 2001; Kaufman et al., 2001). Regardless of this decline in criminal behavior, the need to cultivate the social development of adolescents is an ongoing process that requires the nurturance of relationships between adolescent children and their parents, peers, school officials, and community members.

Fundamental to the process of social development of adolescents is their ability to develop trust relationships among parents, peers, school officials, and the community that will assist them in reaching their aspirations in life. Sandefur, McLanahan, and Wojtkiewicz (1992) note, "Family structure during childhood and adolescence affects the subsequent life chance of adults" (p. 103). Putnam (2000) notes that through trust relationships, community networks, and norms of reciprocity within the structure of families, school peer groups, and the community they live in, children are afforded opportunities to successfully engage in behaviors that support healthy development. He states, "Child development is powerfully shaped by social capital" (p. 297). In the context of this study, the question becomes "What is the difference between at-risk behaviors of adolescent students in relation to levels of social capital?" This question is examined in this study.

Social Capital

Coleman (1990) defines social capital as the "relations between persons and among persons" (p. 302). Social capital is further defined as actions that are not singular in nature but an accumulation of a variety of interactions as facilitated through various

social structures and the actions of a person within the structure (Coleman, 1988).

Therefore, social capital is manifested through individual actions as it relates to specific social structures such as home life, school, and community activities. It is in these social structures that young people are provided the opportunity to test their ability to interact among other individuals thereby developing networks of relationships. Effective nurturing of these relationships develops social capital.

Putnam (2000) defines social capital as “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (p. 19). Because of these connections, Putnam (1995) believes that individuals acting together share similar objectives that serve a broader interest to the community as a whole. The assumption is that the more people are connected in a community, the more they will trust each other.

Norms of reciprocity or the transactions that occur through social interactions is one of the pillars of social capital. Stone (2001) provides an operational definition of norms of reciprocity. She defines it as

the process of exchange within a social relationship whereby “goods and services” (meaning exchange of any kind) given by one party are repaid to that party by the party who received the original “goods and services.” Reciprocal relations are governed by norms, such that parties to the exchange understand the social contract they have entered into. (p. 30)

As important as norms of reciprocity are to social capital, trust is just as important. Fukuyama (1995) contends, “Communities depend on mutual trust and will

not arise spontaneously without it” (p. 25). He defines trust as “the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community” (p. 26).

Furthermore, Fukuyama (1995) notes that social capital is a derivative of the mutual trust relations that are developed through social interaction within a society. Because of these trusting relationships, people can access the network of reciprocal relationships, thereby providing them with the social capital that enriches their life chances.

Croninger and Lee (1996) identify two ways that social capital works: through individual personal networks and in a broader sense of public social networks. Through these two avenues of social interaction the networks of trust, reciprocity, and social structure dictate the level of social capital that one attains through social interactions. It is not only through the actions of an individual that social capital is measured but through the reciprocal actions of those involved in the social transfer of interaction between people. Therefore, social capital becomes an integral component of the social structure of an adolescent child. It is the relationship of interactions between people that sets the stage for an examination of the differences between at-risk behaviors and social capital.

At-Risk Behavior

At-risk behaviors on the part of individual actors in a community can have a negative affect on the development of social capital for that individual. According to Teachman, Paasch, and Carver (1996), the accumulation of social capital rests on the fact that a web of social relationships with consistent expectations for behavior is generated.

Behavior that does not align with consistent expectations can be considered at-risk behavior. At-risk behavior can be defined as “anything that increases the probability that a person will suffer harm” (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001, p. 57). The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) (2001) identifies at-risk behaviors as behaviors that contribute to the leading causes of mortality, morbidity, and social problems among adolescents in the United States. It is the context of these definitions of at-risk behaviors that the relationship between at-risk behaviors and social capital will be explored.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate the differences between six at-risk behaviors of adolescent students in relation to levels of social capital of 9-12 grade students in a school district located in a medium size midwest city. The attainment of social capital was determined through the relationships developed with their family, school, and community. At-risk factors to include alcohol use, drug use, tobacco use, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence were analyzed to determine the difference social capital had in relation to a student’s participation in at-risk behavior activities. The at-risk behaviors of dietary issues, trouble with the law, and suicide were not used in this study due to a limited set of questions addressing these issues in the student surveys.

Understanding the relationship that exists between at-risk student behaviors and social capital provides the insight needed to address the transitional needs of students as they enter their high school years. Furthermore, by understanding the concept of social capital and its impact on the ability of students to develop behaviors that enhance their

productive capacities, strategies for schools are recommended to enhance the students' life chance through the accumulation of positive social capital.

Research Questions

1. What are the differences by Family Social Capital levels for at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence?
2. Are there differences by School and Community Social Capital levels for at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence?

Significance of Study

The accumulation of social capital is dependent on the fact that children generate a circle of healthy social relationships in their community with consistent behavior in their daily pattern of interactions (Teachman et al., 1996). By doing so, children develop a healthy sense of community, thus engaging in behaviors that positively affect their ability to develop subsequent social capital. Sergiovanni (1994) notes that a sense of belonging, of continuity, of being connected to others makes the lives of children more meaningful and significant. Ultimately, the result is that social capital is the by-product of a child's actions that either creates or destroys the ability to accumulate social capital.

Consequently, children who engage in inconsistent daily patterns of social interactions run the risk of sabotaging their opportunity to successfully develop social capital. The result is a disconnection in the child's relationship within his or her family, school, and community. Sergiovanni (1994) notes that students who experience a loss of

community have two options in life: to create substitutes for the loss and to live without community, with negative psychological consequences. Many times these substitutes are dysfunctional or distorted leading to participation in at-risk behaviors such as alcohol use, drug use, tobacco use, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence.

Schools must find a way to ease the transition of at-risk students into the high school setting, so that students are provided the best possible opportunity to succeed (Keaster, Downing, & Peterson, 1995). Recognizing that students engage in at-risk behaviors and that participation in at-risk behaviors may jeopardize a child's ability to attain social capital, this study will assist school officials in understanding the relationship between social capital and at-risk behaviors. By having a better understanding of this relationship, schools will be further prepared to provide a social structure that will enhance the ability to build social capital strategies for students who are struggling to succeed in school because of their involvement in at-risk behaviors.

Definitions

For the purpose of this study, the following terms are defined to clarify their meaning in relation to the topic at hand:

Anomie: a sense of normlessness and disconnectedness.

Closure: a self-contained network of social interactions that allows for the proliferation of mutual obligations and expectations among its membership.

Cultural Capital: the hierarchy of cultural development within a society.

Family Capital: the bonds between parents and children that promote child development.

Financial Capital: the wealth or income of a family.

Generalized Reciprocity: the general assumption of reciprocal actions between two people within a network of people.

Human Capital: the educational attainment of an individual that assists in the acquisition of new skills.

Inchoate: As used in Dewey's writing, inchoate refers to a public who is suspect of the workings of a democratic society.

Information Channels: the information that is exchanged in social relations.

Intergenerational Closure: the closure that exists within a family structure.

Mobility: moving from one residence to another.

Norms: expected behaviors as determined through social relations that limit negative external effects or encourage positive behaviors.

Norms of Reciprocity: the expected outcomes or mutual obligations bonded by the interaction between two people.

Peer Groups: the group of people in adolescence who share the same norms and sanctions.

Risk Behavior: reoccurring behaviors that place an individual in danger or in harm's way.

Risk Factor: anything that will increase the probability of harm onto an individual.

Reciprocity: the process of exchange within a social relationship where the benefits of one's actions are received and returned by another actor.

Sanctions: behaviors that have a negative effect in social relations.

Social Capital: connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.

Social Networks: the structure of relations between actors and among actors.

Trustworthiness: the agreement between two people of obligations that will be repaid through the social interaction of those people.

Assumptions

The basic assumptions of this study are as follows:

1. The adolescents understood the survey and were truthful in their responses.
2. The at-risk behaviors – alcohol use, drug use, tobacco use, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence – were measured accurately through the survey.
3. The social capital factor themes – parent involvement in school and community activities, neighborhood and community support for youth, family structure and mobility, family education, student volunteerism, parental rules and expectations, school rules, and school climate – were measured accurately through the survey.
4. Instructors who administered the survey followed survey procedures as prescribed by the school district.

Delimitations

For the purpose of this study, the adolescent sample was limited to all high school students who responded to the survey by attending grades 9 through 12 for the academic year of 2000-2001 in a medium size city located in the upper midwest on the day that the survey was administered. No attempts were taken to survey students who were absent on

the day the survey was conducted or those students who had dropped out of school. The measurement of social capital is limited in this study to the questions available in the current data set. The questions used to measure social capital include parent involvement in school and community activities, neighborhood and community support for youth, family structure and mobility, family education, student volunteerism, parental rules and expectations, school rules, and school climate. Data analysis was limited to the responses gathered from the survey instrument, Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey (YRPFS), that were developed by the studied school district.

The following chapter presents a review of the literature related to the history and development of social capital theory and practical research on social capital and its relationship to educational settings in relation to the family, school, and community. A brief review of adolescent development and the issues associated with at-risk behaviors conclude the literature review.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Chapter II presents the review of literature, which has been divided into the following sections: social capital, other forms of capital in relation to social capital, social capital and families, social capital and schools, social capital and the community, social development in adolescence, risky adolescent behaviors, and summary.

Social Capital

According to Adler and Kwon (2000), social capital represents the features of “social structure that facilitates action” (p. 90). They define social capital as “a resource for individual and collective actors created by the configuration and content of the network of their more or less durable social relations” (p. 93). The social theory known as social capital has increasingly become the theory of choice by sociologists to explain social issues involving “families and youth behavior problems, schooling and education, community life, democracy and governance, economic development and general problems of collective action” (p. 90). This conceptual definition of social capital sets the tone for a more in-depth exploration of what social capital is as it relates to the relationship between adolescence social development and at-risk behaviors.

According to Putnam (2000), social capital has evolved several times over the 20th century by calling attention to “the way in which our lives are made more productive by social ties” (p. 19). He attributes the birth of social capital to L. J. Hanifan,

a practical educational reformer from the Progressive Era. Hanifan was a state supervisor of rural schools in West Virginia who advocated for community involvement in local schools. Hanifan (1916) discussed the need for schools to become involved in community building activities, which develop social capital and ultimately benefit the entire community. Hanifan states:

To that in life which tends to make these tangible substances count for most in the daily lives of a people, namely, goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical center is the school. (p. 130)

This definition of social capital is the impetus behind what Hanifan proposed to be the purpose of the rural schoolhouse. He contends that when interaction occurs between people, community development begins. Hanifan (1916) noted, "The more the people do for themselves the larger will community social capital become, and the greater will be the dividends upon the social investment" (p. 138).

The educational philosopher John Dewey provides further insight into social capital and the networking between different groups of people in a society. Dewey (1927) writes:

In a search for the condition under which the inchoate public now extant may function democratically, we may proceed from a statement of the nature of the democratic idea in its generic social sense. From the standpoint of the individual, it consists in having a responsible share according to capacity in forming and directing the activities of the groups to which one belongs and in participating

according to need in the values which the group sustain. From the standpoint of the groups, it demands liberation of the potentialities of members of a group in harmony with the interests and goods, which are common. Since every individual is a member of many groups, this specification cannot be fulfilled except when different groups interact flexibly and fully in connection with other groups.

(p. 147)

Stone (2001), Putnam (1993a, 2000), Coleman (1988, 1990), Coleman and Hoffer (1987), Croninger and Lee (1996), and Sergiovanni (1994) would call this interaction between community members reciprocal interactions. What is good for the individual is good for the community. Dewey (1927) reinforces this notion as he states, "There is a free give-and-take: fullness of integrated personality is therefore possible of achievement, since the pulls and responses of different groups reinforce one another and their values accord" (p. 148).

The notion of social capital was the impetus behind Jane Addams and her development of the Hull House in Chicago in 1889 (Lagemann, 1994). Addams developed the Hull House as an institution dedicated to the improvement of the social condition in her community. This neighborhood center provided essential services such as "a day nursery, a savings bank, a medical dispensary, and a kitchen that sold hot meals to workers in nearby factories" (Lagemann, 1994, p. 1). She believed that the Hull House would provide the social connectedness in which all individuals, regardless of ethnicity and socioeconomic income, would benefit from the principles of a free and democratic society. She believed that individualism could be developed into a circle of social

interaction that would serve for the common interest of all members in the community. She accomplished this by being a pillar of social activism by providing educational programs and other social activities at the Hull House. During this time, Addams was seeking a stronger tie between people in the community. Her efforts developed a network of reciprocal interaction similar to the social networks that are the underpinnings of social capital theory.

In 1961, Jane Jacobs wrote about the issues associated with the urbanization of large American cities. In her book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, she writes about the planning and building of American cities and the impact that it has on the ability of communities to effectively interact. Her book brought further light to a pre-social capital era about the plight of social interaction in neighborhoods of large cities (Jacobs, 1961). Her descriptions of city life versus town life conclude that life in the big city does not provide for the social connectiveness discussed and written about in the modern social capital era. She contends that due to the reconstruction of neighborhoods in large cities, individuals become even more isolated in their daily activities. The disconnect that exists because of the configuration of larger communities leads to less interaction among the community members leading to what Putnam (1995, 2000) would refer to as the disengagement of the American public in civic activities. Forrest and Kearns (2001) cited the work of Jacobs, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama, and Portes by providing a complete review of the literature on this topic. They report that the urbanization that occurred in the first half of the 20th century that produced social order

through closely knit ties of kinship links and solidarity in religious and moral values has been replaced by anonymity, individualism, and competition.

Putnam (1995) reported that in measuring social capital stock in 12 of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States, community trust was 10% lower and group memberships in civic organizations was 10-20% lower as compared to other communities. Even though social capital was not the word of the time, Jane Jacobs preceded modern sociologists in recognizing that social organization within a community impacts the ability of its members to develop the social networks associated with high levels of social capital.

The writings of early 1900s philosophies, such as Hanifan, Dewey, Addams, and Jacobs, about schools and community issues and the need to develop networks of reciprocity, guide current social theorists as they define and apply social capital to many sociological conditions.

Sociologists Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama, and Portes provide the best interpretations of what social capital is and how it may be applied to this research. Each researcher has brought to light a purposeful definition of social capital as it pertains to social interactions by inhabitants of communities and the derivative of such actions as they pertain to the social capital stock of individuals and communities.

The French social theorist Bourdieu (1986) was one of the first modern day sociologists who brought to light the relationship between the different forms of capital to include the economic, cultural, and social realms as he examined their relationship

through reciprocal interactions among individuals and organizations. He defines social capital as

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition ... to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, “credential” which entitles them to credit. (pp. 248-249)

Bourdieu clarifies the way social capital is acquired as he notes:

The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. (p. 249)

The relationship of social capital to the other forms of capital identified by Bourdieu is the key to improving an individual's economic capital. Zweigenhaft (1993) found that students who graduated from selected elite prep schools tended to be more focused in developing social capital than those students who graduated from other private and public schools. He found that high levels of social capital in contrast to lower entrance exam scores afforded to upper class students a higher level of entrance opportunities to Harvard than other private and public school students. However, once in attendance these elite students were more concerned with developing social capital ties rather than achieving higher academic scores. Students from other private and public schools were more interested in developing their cultural capital and achieving higher

academically. This study provides insight into the importance of social capital in lives of students who graduate from selected elite prep schools. Social capital is viewed as an important part of networking which leads to the attainment of economic capital as proposed in Bourdieu's theory on social and cultural capital. Winter (2000) notes in his interpretation of Bourdieu's theory that, ultimately, social capital is the vehicle through which individuals can improve their overall economic standing in capitalist societies. Bourdieu (1986) explains how the different forms of capital combine to collectively improve the overall status of an individual in his or her position in life:

The network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (pp. 249-250)

In 1988, sociologist Coleman took the lead in the discussion among social capital theorists in his study of social capital as it relates to families and their interactions with school and community, and the relationship of public versus private school environments. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as "by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure" (p. S98). Coleman (1990) adds, "Social capital

is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence” (p. 302). Coleman’s definition of social capital aligns with the thinking of Bourdieu in that it makes possible certain ends to better facilitate the opportunities of an individual actor.

To facilitate this process, Coleman (1988) delineates what constitutes social capital resources as obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness in social structures; information channels within social relationships; and the norms and effective sanctions used to create the identity of the social structure. Through these avenues of social capital resources, individuals create the opportunity to develop a network of connectedness that essentially affords the individual the ability to meet not only his or her needs but also the needs of the larger social structure.

The obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness resources developed through social interactions create the standard or norm of behavior that allows for the development of relationships within a structure. When such behaviors are favorable, information channels are enhanced, thus creating the opportunity to develop a high level of social capital within the social structure. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) provide an example of how this plays out in the relationships between parents and their children. When communities function in a way where there is a mutual expectation or trust and an avenue for information sharing, parents are afforded the opportunity to extend their network of resources as they monitor the development of their children outside of the home. When parents have developed a web of interaction within the community, their

level of social capital assists them in establishing a broader base of support in the socialization of their children.

Paramount to this process is the establishment of effective norms and sanctions. Coleman (1988) explains that through norms and sanctions community behavior is kept in check, thus foregoing the self-interest of an individual for the betterment of the overall community. As Coleman and Hoffer (1987) note, functional communities have a clear and consistent set of norms that expresses the dominant values of a community. It is through these norms that the expectation for behavior is monitored and sanctioned.

These relationships consist not only of the relationships within a family but also the relationships that exist among the parents through the closure exhibited by the structure of the relationships within the institutions of the community (Coleman, 1988). Through the process of closure, norms are developed either to limit or encourage negative or positive ones. Closure becomes an important aspect of social development of a child in relationship to the norms imposed by parents on children and the closure that exists among peer groups. Intergenerational closure is manifested through the effective norms and sanctions as established by the relationships between parents and the institutional structure of the community. Parents who are more connected to the community through a web of relationships in effect develop the ability to better establish a set of norms and expectations for their children.

Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) confirm Coleman's assertion in their study of Catholic schools. The communal organization of Catholic schools provides for a variety of experiences void of any negative consequences associated from the extreme closure

that exists in these schools. Bryk et al. contend, “Catholic school is quite diverse – socially, ethically, and religiously. The cohering force of the Catholic school thus does not derive from any rigid restrictions on school membership or other efforts to enforce like-mindedness” (p. 289). The communal organization of the Catholic schools provides the closure that establishes an agreed upon set of norms between the parents and the school.

In regard to relationships between peers, there exists a high degree of closure because of the social factors involved in everyday interactions among peer groups. This is developed because of the daily contact they experience each day at school or in the larger community. Additionally, closure among peers develops through their daily interactions, which dictate their expectations toward each other and set the standard of each other’s behavior (Coleman, 1988).

According to Chen (1997), peer influences on academic achievement and involvement in at-risk behaviors were significantly influenced by peer group attitudes. Students with friends who cared about learning were more likely to do better in school, were less likely to drop out of school, and were more likely to engage in a rigorous academic program of study designed to facilitate graduating from high school and pursuing education after graduating. Consequently, students who had friends interested in having sex, drinking, and using drugs experienced lower educational outcomes. These students had a higher rate of dropping out of school, were less likely to be enrolled in challenging courses, failed to graduate from high school, and did not pursue education beyond high school.

In another study on at-risk behavior among adolescents, May, Nichols, and Eltzroth (1999) found a distinct difference in the reasons why adolescents participated in at-risk behaviors. Using differential association theory (the effect of peers on one's actions) and nonsocial reinforcement theory (internal gratification one receives from his or her own actions), they found that "delinquent peers may be more important than the intrinsic gratification individuals receive from taking risks" (p. 16). May et al. concluded that the peer group is a primary influence on the choices made by adolescents each day. They also conclude that peer group influence on particularly at-risk adolescents has an impact on their decision to choose to participate in at-risk behaviors.

Putnam (1993b), using Coleman's social capital theory, provides a broader perspective on the theory of social capital as he examined the governmental structure of communities in Italy. Using a variety of different measures he used civic involvement as his measure of social connectiveness within the Italian communities. Putnam (1995) concluded "that the performance of government and other social institutions is powerfully influenced by citizen engagement in community affairs" (p. 664). Putnam (1993b) defined social capital as the features of a social organization such as trust, norms, and networks. Putnam (1995) further defines social capital as "features of social life – networks, norms, trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (pp. 664-665). Putnam (2000) refined his definition of social capital to include "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19).

Putnam (2000) refers to his definition of social capital as a civic virtue. He further explains his point by noting that civic virtue is most powerful when it is embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relationships. A society dense in civic virtues yet scarce in social networks is “not necessarily rich in social capital” (p. 19).

In Putnam’s model, social capital is both a public and private asset. Through the social interactions of a community, benefits are derived for the community as a whole, while at the same time benefiting the individual thus attaining both community and individual objectives. It is this two-way process of reciprocal interactions that defines the trust relationships needed to accumulate positive social capital for both the community and individual. Putnam (2000) notes, “A society characterized by generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society, for the same reason that money is more efficient than barter” (p. 21).

Bryk et al. (1993) provide an example of how reciprocal interactions work in their study of Catholic schools. Inherent in the Catholic school system is the expectation that the teachers will make every effort to provide an education for the student. Inevitably, there is an expectation that the student and parents will reciprocate and do the things that are being asked of them. Through this process of reciprocal interactions, the teachers, students, and parents develop norms and sanctions of the school through reciprocating interactions. Deviation from these norms and sanctions by anyone eliminates the opportunity for that person to continue membership within the school system. The voluntary association made by all of those involved in the school functions is a “facilitating condition” (p. 314). Bryk et al. contend that the high level of trust that exists

between the teachers, students, and parents sets the tone for the types of reciprocal interactions that establish the level of “social capital” needed for a successful school experience.

Fukuyama (1995) provides a further examination of trust as a source of social capital. Fukuyama provides a definition of social capital that incorporates trust relationships as the main element of social capital interactions. Fukuyama contends that “social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it. It can be embodied in the smallest and most basic social group, the family, as well as the largest of all groups, the nation, and in all other groups in between” (p. 26). Fukuyama (1999) further defines social capital as “a set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permits cooperation among them. If members of the group come to expect that others will behave reliably and honestly, then they will come to trust one another” (p. 16). According to Uslaner (1999), trust “helps to create a vibrant and virtuous community where people know their neighbors, join together in voluntary associations, give of themselves, and commit themselves to moral codes” (pp. 121-122). According to Uslaner, communities that have strong positive values, which bond the relationships of people to one another, tend to have powerful norms of generalized reciprocity and cooperation.

According to Fukuyama (1999) and Uslaner (1999), levels of trust have steadily decreased in both the public and private sectors. Fukuyama (1999) cites the decline in the level of trust has been attributed to generation-xers as indicated by a steady decline in trust among high school students with 40% indicating a lack of trust in society in 1975

rising to 60% in 1992. In addition, Fukuyama notes that different racial and ethnic groups report conflicting levels of trust: 80.9% of African Americans report a lack of trust in people as compared to 51.2% of whites. Older people tend to be more trusting than younger people. Fukuyama concludes by noting that trust is the by-product of virtue that arises when people share norms of reciprocity resulting in cooperative relationships between people. Hence, trust, according to Fukuyama (1995, 1999) and Putnam (2000), is the foundation of reciprocal interactions among people that ultimately develops social capital.

Croninger and Lee (1996) explain this relationship between trust and social networking as they note, "Public social networks make possible a richer and wider exchange of social resources than possible through personal social networks, as they extend the individual's access to social capital beyond that which can be acquired through ordinary, day-to-day interactions" (p. 7). They go on to note that these public interactions can have a significant accumulative effect on a person's life chances; however, they caution that public social networks can have a limited ability to make possible norms of reciprocity since the wider the social interaction circle expands the weaker the ties become between members of a group. However, the roles that trust plays in the development of social capital is worth noting in their work.

Coleman (1988) confirms this notion by explaining that "a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust" (p. S101). Sergiovanni (1994) notes, "Students who are fortunate enough to experience belonging from family,

extended family, friends, and neighbors feel attached and loved, experience the warmth and safety of intimacy, and are more cooperative and trusting of others” (p. 10). These reciprocal relationships develop a base of trustworthiness within a social structure, therefore establishing a solid base of social capital between the individual actor and the community as one. When this occurs, the opportunity for healthy relationships exists by role modeling the behavior that is expected by all individuals in the community.

Winter (2000) offers a summary of social capital theory that incorporates many of the concepts used by Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama, and Croninger and Lee:

Social capital, then, is a resource to collective action. That resource comprises the norms and sanctions of trust and reciprocity that operates within social networks. The structural components of networks such as “size,” “density” and the extent of “closure” and relational aspects such as “inequality” shape the social capacity of a network. The outcomes of the social capital within a network comprise a variety of forms of scales of collective action. (p. 5)

Portes offers another perspective on the definition of social capital. Portes (1998) credits Bourdieu as one of the modern sociologists who provided a functional definition of social capital as “benefits accruing to individuals by virtue of participation in groups and on the deliberate construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource” (p. 3). Ultimately, Bourdieu was advocating that social capital was a derivative of reciprocal actions by individual actors using economic and cultural capital resources.

Portes (1998) offers a more refined definition through the consensus of a growing number of literature reviews: “Social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure

benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (p. 6). He contends that “social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits” (p. 3).

In his review of the definition and uses of social capital, Portes (1998) makes considerable note of Coleman and his introduction in 1988 of the term social capital. Portes believes that Coleman’s vague yet popular definition of social capital paved the way for a variety of different interpretations used commonly for a variety of uses. Because of this, Portes states, “Equating social capital with the resources acquired through it can easily lead to tautological statements” (p. 5). Portes believes that the vague interpretations of social capital as they apply to a variety of different situations have in effect led to a one sided picture of only the positive affects that social capital provides. It is at this point in his review of social capital and its applications in a variety of situations that Portes offers his most explicit examples of how social capital works.

Portes (1998) identifies three basic functions of social capital: “(a) as a source of social control; (b) as a source of family support; (c) as a source of benefits through extrafamilial networks” (p. 9). These three functions of social capital as delineated by Portes set the stage for his contention that the effects of social capital potentially have both a positive and negative outcome.

Portes and Landolt (1996) cite several problems with the way the theory of social capital is extended beyond its original meaning by social theorists such as Coleman (1988, 1990), Putnam (1993b, 1995, 2000), and Fukuyama (1995, 1999). Portes and

Landolt contend that Coleman's definition and application of social capital theory brings into question three important considerations in the application of social capital theory to sociological studies. The controversy over the use of Coleman's theory first surrounds the work of Robert Putnam. Portes and Landolt note that Putnam's use of social capital as defined by Coleman comes up short of the overall intent in which social capital is applied. The mere sum of all individual networks does not always provide for a mutual benefit. Portes and Landolt contend that, in some reciprocal interactions, the benefit derived for one individual may come at the expense of another.

Portes and Landolt (1996) point out a second problem with Coleman's theory. The problem exists in what they call "circular reasoning" (p. 19). When circular reasoning is applied to the social capital theory, assumptions are made about the mitigating factors involved in acquiring social capital. Portes and Landolt provide an example: "A student who obtains the money necessary to pay for a college tuition from her parents or relatives is thought to have social capital" (p. 19). In this context, social capital is equated to economic resources made available through the networking of a family structure. The inference in Coleman's definition does not take into account that the student, who may be rich in social capital, yet does not have access to economic resources for college, still possesses a high level of social capital. This is what Portes and Landolt refer to as "circular reasoning."

The third problem of Coleman's definition of social capital, as cited by Portes and Landolt (1996), is its lack of consideration for the negative aspects of social capital. They contend that Coleman as well as Putnam and Fukuyama have recommended "social

capital and its twin, social trust, as a solution for current problems, as if social capital had no downside” (p. 19). Contrary to this statement, Putnam (1993a) does make note of the potential downside of social capital as he writes, “Social inequalities may be embedded in social capital. Norms and networks that serve some groups may obstruct others, particularly if the norms are discriminatory or the networks socially segregated” (p. 42).

Portes and Landolt (1996) note several factors that can be considered the downside of social capital. The first negative factor inherent to the development of social capital is the isolation created in communities that exhibit extreme closure. Portes and Landolt note that sometimes the strong ties that develop social capital in a community can actually bring about a negative effect causing the exclusion of outsiders. Because of this exclusion, communities develop strong ties within, therefore excluding opportunities for newcomers to develop the social connections needed to enhance their social capital opportunities. The direct consequence of this conformity to norms within a community is a sort of cultural isolation where the inability to establish the spirit of entrepreneurship stifles economic opportunities.

Portes and MacLeod (1996) provide examples of this in their study of educational opportunities afforded to second-generation immigrants. They conclude that the human capital afforded to them by their parents had a direct correlation on how well the second-generation children did in school. The critical factor in whether or not they were successful hinged on the adaptation made to the social structure of the school they attended. In schools where academic rigor (such as schools outside of the inner city) was high, the negative factors associated with “disadvantaged ethnicity” were more likely to

have a negative impact on the child (Portes & MacLeod, 1996, p. 271). In other words, the potential failure in school may be related to the student's lack of social capital.

Stanton-Salazar (1997) provides an extensive review of how this works in a school environment. The process of decoding the system becomes paramount to the ability of the disadvantage minority child to be successful in a school environment.

Stanton-Salazar notes, "For members of subordinate groups to fully access these funds of knowledge and to use them productively for instrumental purposes requires no less than tapping into the cultural logic of the dominant group" (p. 13).

Fernandez Kelly (1995) proclaims that social networks do matter in the development of social capital. She emphasizes in the results from her study that networks diverse in subgroup membership from varying social statuses make it possible for individuals to tap resources. By tapping these resources, Fernandez Kelly found that the bridging of network contacts provided for access to a larger and more comprehensive set of opportunities. Therefore, she prescribes that the network systems of impoverished children must be expanded to include a different and richer reality than what exists in their current life. Social connectedness and the bridging of network resources are the key elements to better opportunities for these children.

In another study, Zhou and Bankston III (1994) conclude that "social capital is crucial and, under certain conditions, more important than traditional human capital for the successful adaptation of younger-generation immigrants" (p. 821). They found in their study of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans that it was critical for them to establish their cultural norms with the cultural surroundings of their host society. Through a

process of social integration, the immigrant family is able to adapt to and receive support from other families from both religious and social associations. Development of familial networks proved to be critical in this study. This critical aspect of social indoctrination was critical to the success or failure of the family.

Zhou and Bankston III (1994) found that when there was a strong allegiance to traditional family values, a strong work ethic, and a strong association with the ethnic community, immigrant children received higher grades in school, made plans for college, and scored high on academic orientation. The result was a high level of social capital associated with value conformity and constructive forms of behavior providing an advantage for children who would otherwise be disadvantaged. The significance of this study highlights the importance of Portes and Landolt's (1996) assertion that social capital and its impact on appropriate adaptations to the norms and values of a society are critical when extreme closure exists.

A second negative factor associated with social capital is conformity (Portes & Landolt, 1996). Communities with tightly knit relationships can produce positive social capital networks while on the other hand stifle individual creativity. Portes and Landolt contend that this type of "asphyxiation" can lead to individuals who are "ostracized" when they fail to conform to the norms of the community.

A third negative factor associated with social capital is what Portes and Landolt (1996) call "downward leveling pressures" (p. 20). The case of the inner city gangs provides an example of how this works: "There is considerable social capital in ghetto areas, but the assets obtainable through it seldom allow participants to rise above their

poverty” (p. 20). They explain this concept as “the same kind of ties that sometimes yield public goods also produce ‘public bads’: mafia families, prostitution rings, and youth gangs” (p. 21).

Paxton (1999), identifying earlier works by Portes, confirms that social capital *within a single group* need not be positively related to social capital *at the community level*. While social capital within a particular group may be expected to have positive effects for the members *of that group*, this need not “spill over” into positive gains in social capital for the community. (p. 96)

Additionally, social capital within a group can potentially reduce social capital between groups or, taken to the extreme, be used for inappropriate activities. In those instances, social capital development in a community would not be to the advantage of the community as a whole.

In addition to the negative factors associated with social capital as reviewed by Portes and Landolt (1996), there are additional factors to consider. A negative factor inherent in the development of social capital is family mobility. An examination of the geographical mobility of Americans provides insight into the potential effects that mobility has in the development of social capital. According to Schachter (2001a), about 43 million Americans moved between March 1999 and March 2000. Fifty-six percent of the moves occurred in the same county, while 20% were between counties, and 20% were moves to a different state. Four percent of the moves accounted for movers that came from abroad. Movers accounted for 16% of the overall population in the United States.

When comparing the age groups of movers, 20-24 year olds were the most frequent movers followed by 25-29 year olds. When age increased, moving rates decreased to 4% by ages 65 to 84. People who are 16 years or older, single, and divorced or separated were most likely to have moved, while widowed people were least likely to have moved. One third of people who rent their housing moved in the previous year compared to 1 in 11 people living in owner occupied homes. In addition, people whose income was \$25,000 or less were more likely to have moved than those whose income was \$100,00 or more. Conversely, educational level had little effect on movers (Schachter, 2001a).

Schachter (2001b), reporting on the reasons why people move, noted that between March 1999 and March 2000 that 52% of the people who moved did so because of housing related reasons. Twenty-six percent moved for family reasons, while work related reasons accounted for 16% of the movers. Long distance moves were more likely to be made due to work opportunities, while shorter moves were more related to housing reasons. The highly educated moved more often due to employment opportunities, while those with a high school education were more likely to move due to family related reasons.

Contrary to the economic theorists' view on mobility for the unemployed, Schachter (2001b) found that the unemployed were not as likely to move to an area of more economic opportunity. Ten percent of people employed moved because of a new job, while 6% of those unemployed made the same move. Schachter (2001b) found that lower income groups were less likely to move for work related reasons as compared to

higher income groups. The lower income groups were more likely to move due to family related reasons. A review of the literature provides several examples on the effect that mobility has on social capital development.

Rumberger and Larson (1998), using data from the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS), conducted a study on the impact that mobility plays in the potential for high school students to drop out. According to their study, 25% of all high school students made nonpromotional school changes between eighth and twelfth grade. The consequence of this mobility is a higher chance of dropping out of school. Rumberger and Larson note, "Student mobility represents an important risk factor that greatly reduces the odds of completing high school" (p. 31). In a follow-up study on student mobility, Rumberger and Thomas (2000) reported that as many as 50% of the student turnover rates in schools are not attributed to changes in residency but rather they are due to students moving from one school to another. They concluded that student turnover rates are attributed in some cases to specific characteristics of students that did not mesh with the specific characteristics of the school. In essence, some students do not fit into the social and cultural world of a school. The result is the disengagement by the student in school interest, which results many times in dropping out or changing from one school to the next. Rumberger and Thomas conclude that the school environment is at least as important as is the specific characteristics of a student's personality and behavior in determining if the student will decide to drop out or move to another school. In either case, the student is placed at risk of dropping out of school. This study confirms Portes

and Landolt's (1996) theory on conformity and the effects that not fitting in can have on a student who moves to a new school.

According to Coleman (1990), mobility of a family plays an important role in the development of social capital. He notes that the stability of a family has an impact on its ability to develop social capital. "Disruptions of social organization or of the social relations can be highly destructive to social capital" (Coleman, 1990, p. 320). Families who are mobile lack the connectedness needed to develop the web of relations that develops social capital stock. The closure available to other families in a community is non-existent for the mobile family, thus depleting opportunities to provide stable, long-term relationships. This has a direct affect on the intergenerational closure; those relationships that develop through the relationships and connectedness of a community needed to effectively develop social capital (Coleman, 1988).

Larner (1990) found in her study of mobility among white, African American, and Swedish children that mobility had conflicting impacts on the relationships between 6-year-old children and the neighborhood where they moved. She found that children who moved were less connected to adults as compared to those children who remained stable in their environment. Consequently, she found that both the white and Swedish children who moved were more connected to the new neighborhood in regard to peer relationships than those children who remained stable in their environment. Her explanation for the phenomenon is that most of the moves were to a new neighborhood where the mother considered the environment to be a more suitable environment for raising children. The new neighborhood offered better schools, play areas, and more

socially acceptable neighbors. Larner concedes that a move for older children would most likely have a more detrimental effect in regard to developing new relationships at school and in the community.

In their study on social capital and dropping out of school early, Teachman et al. (1996) concluded that there is a direct relationship between the number of times a student has changed schools and the potential for dropping out of school. Mobility of students affects their ability to establish effective information channels, their ability to take advantage of the services provided by the school, and they become victim to apathetic teachers who may be less committed to those students who move in and out of the system.

Putnam (2000) notes that the current negative trend of civic disengagement is not completely related to social mobility. According to Putnam (2000), social mobility has been stable for the past 50 years. Putnam relates the negative effects of social mobility to community type concluding that larger metropolitan areas tend to have less civic engagement than smaller communities. He concludes that mobile communities are less friendly, have higher crime rates, and have students whose school performance is lower.

Larner (1990) confirms Putnam's assertion as she concludes the damage that occurs from relocation is limited. She states, "The damage done by local moves is limited partly because such moves primarily affect neighborhood relationships, and evidence from this study shows that the neighborhood plays a relatively insignificant role in the lives of today's urban families" (p. 227). She does, however, caution that the

results of a family move do require that attention be paid to the social adaptation needs of a child.

Another negative factor associated with the development of social capital is the physical absence of adults in a family or a lack of attention given to a child by the parent(s) (Coleman, 1988; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Single parent families or the prevalence of both parents working during the day can cause a deficiency in the contact by the adults with their children during the day. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994), Wojtkiewicz (1993), and Sandefur et al. (1992) conclude that adolescent children who reside with a single parent or a parent and a stepparent are less likely to graduate from high school than those students who reside with both original parents. In regard to disruptions in the family structure during the adolescent years, Sandefur et al. conclude that family disruptions has a detrimental effect on a child's ability to successfully engage in educational activities. Students in this situation have lower academic achievement rates and tend to be at risk to graduate from high school. Even when there is a strong presence of adults in the family structure the relationship between child and parent is important in developing social capital. If the relationships of a child are stronger within their peer group or if the parent's adult relationships do not relate to the child, the connectedness needed to develop social capital is limited in the family (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman (1990) notes other factors that play a role in the inability of a family to create social capital. They include influences of ideology such as religious affiliations, class factors where one person is less dependent on another, and governmental structures that deplete the need for individuals to depend on one another. Regardless of the

negative factors that inhibit the ability of developing social capital, it is important to note that social capital is a resource that needs to be maintained through strong and continuous relationships. Without the continuity in relationships within a family or community, trust relationships, information channels, and norms become dysfunctional in the development of social capital (Coleman, 1990).

Other Forms of Capital in Relation to Social Capital

Generalized reciprocity or social connectedness is no guarantee of positive social capital outcomes. Putnam (2000) notes that social capital is attributed to good outcomes for kids; however, he cautions that other factors must be considered. Putnam (2000), Coleman and Hoffer (1987), and Bourdieu (1986) identify other factors such as parent educational levels (human capital), socioeconomic status (financial capital), and family structure or ethnicity (cultural capital) as other forms of capital that play an important role in the potential attainment of social capital. According to Lesser (2000), the concept of social capital focuses on two positive consequences: the positive derivative of human interaction and the positive effects it has on other forms of capital (i.e., human, economic, and cultural capital).

Coleman (1988) defines *human capital* as changes that take place in an individual, which develop new skills and capabilities. This transformation is described as the education an individual pursues throughout his or her life. This acquisition of an education to improve one's skills can be thought of as human capital. The relationship between human capital and social capital is important in that education alone does not avail an individual a positive stock of social capital. Field and Schuller (1997) note, "The

existence of social capital enables the potential of human capital to be realized” (p. 18). Schuller (1997) contends that rather than increasing opportunities for individuals to continue developing their human capital through different levels of degrees, that social capital should be enhanced through the work force by adopting earlier entry times into work and later retirements. Human capital is developed through the interactions and on the job training provided during gainful employment experiences. By building social capital through employment networks, Schuller (1997) contends that human capital is the positive by-product. Combined, social capital and human capital can accentuate the opportunities of an individual in the community. According to Coleman (1988), in the absence of social capital, human capital becomes less significant in the development of a child.

Financial capital is measured by the wealth or income of a family (Coleman, 1988). Croninger (1997) identifies several types of financial capital to include “wage, investment, return rate, personal net worth, and price” (p. 6). The accumulation of financial capital serves as a valuable resource in the reciprocal transactions of relationships in a community. Absent of social capital, financial capital has limited effects in child development.

Bourdieu (1986) identifies three forms of *cultural capital*: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state. The embodied form of cultural capital is the indoctrination of one’s culture through the acquisition of one’s conditions upon attainment of such characteristics as region or class. It is both an inherited and acquired

property that can be defined as one's heritage. Fukuyama (1995) refers to culture as "inherited ethical habit" (p. 34).

The objectified form of cultural capital consists of the material possessions such as writings and paintings that symbolically and materially objectify benefits proportionate to the mastery of one's embodied capital. The institutionalized form of cultural capital is manifested in the academic qualifications of the bearer. Combined, these forms of cultural capital define the hierarchy of cultural development within a society. The relationship between cultural capital and social capital is important since the utilization of social capital is more effective by groups where there is a strong sense of cultural boundaries and a collective sense of identity (Giorgas, 2000). Absent of social capital, cultural capital becomes an isolated asset where cultures become cut off from the opportunities of networking for both social and economic gain.

Social Capital and Families

The networking that occurs within and outside of the family provides insight to the affects that building social capital has in the relationships between parents and their children. Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) conclude that social capital within the construct of the family unit does have an impact on adolescent development. In their study using Coleman's theory of extra familial social capital, Furstenberg and Hughes confirm that relationships that extend beyond the structure of the family unit play a significant role in adolescent development. According to Cochran and Brassard (1979), "families have always been embedded in social networks of relatives, neighbors, and

friends” (p. 601). It is through the network of these relationships that social capital is developed in the family structure.

Vondra and Garbarino (1988) “define a ‘social network’ to include all those relatives and friends whom one sees on a regular basis” (p. 195). They conclude that family relations have a large influence on the social functioning of adolescents, which, in turn, affects their social psychological adjustment to this stage in their life. Blyth and Traeger (1988) confirm this notion as they found that adolescents who were emotionally close to their parents tended to have a higher level of self-esteem. Family networks that are tightly knit which exhibit a high level of concern and mutual respect for each other develop social competence in adolescents and their ability to successfully participate in supportive social networks (Vondra & Garbarino, 1988). This relates well with the concept of reciprocity, which is a key ingredient in the development of social capital.

The social network of parents can have both a direct and indirect affect on the development of a child. According to Cochran and Brassard (1979), network influences are transferred directly to a child through the assortment and diversity of relationships that occur on a consistent basis within the structure of the family. Indirect social networking influences can be attained through three different types of interactions: relationships with other adults maintained by the parent outside of the family structure such as friends and acquaintances, the networking of a parent through relationships developed in both the educational and occupational networks, and the networking that exists in the role of parenting (Cochran & Brassard, 1979). These indirect sources of

networking have the ability to influence the development of social capital in a family, thereby influencing the development of a child.

Coleman (1988) conducted studies about the importance of social capital within the family as it relates to educational outcomes and children. In Coleman's study, he identified three types of capital that exist in the family structure: financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Financial capital provides the "physical resources such as a place to study, materials to aid learning, and the financial resources that smooth family problems" (p. S109). Human capital is measured by parents' educational attainment. The level of education attained by the parent has a direct affect on the potential for a cognitive environment that will assist in the child's learning. Social capital is the networking that occurs between children and their parents. Social capital differs from financial and human capital in that it is cultivated through the relationships of the parent and child. Financial and human capital are not dependent on the relationships developed in a family structure (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman (1988) concludes that social capital in the family plays an important role in the development of a child. Without social capital, the affects of both financial and human capital are decreased in the opportunities made available to children in their developmental years. Coleman notes, "If the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to a child's educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or a small amount, of human capital" (p. S110).

The networking of parents in relation to their child's development is critical in the analysis of parental networking relationships. Coleman (1988) points out that human capital may be irrelevant to a child if that human capital is only employed outside of the family network. As Cochran and Brassard (1979) have demonstrated, the direct or indirect influence of social networks is critical in the development of a child. If, in fact, the relationship between a parent and his or her child is weak, the potential benefits of the parent's human capital will be null in the absence of a relationship between a parent and a child. Sergiovanni (1994) adds, "When families fail, children sometimes withdraw inward, hardening their shells and insulating themselves from the outside ... the typical response is for them to create their own families by turning to each other for support" (p. 12). Vondra and Garbarino (1988) found that when older teenagers were fully engaged in relationships with the immediate family network there were less behavior problems. However, they found that when older teenagers were disengaged with the family network they tended to develop stronger relationships with other peers in the same situation. They found that these teenagers were more likely to engage in risk taking behaviors. The consequence in the lack of social capital development in the structure of a family is a propensity for teenagers to engage in less than desirable behaviors. Wehlage (1993) confirms this as he notes, "Weak social capital in the family often results in strengthening youth allegiance to peer groups and their culture rather than espoused adult values and behaviors" (p. 4).

Coleman and Hoffer (1987) note that one of the most noteworthy social changes in recent times is the contraction of the family unit. The general contraction of the family

unit is evident in the lack of resources that parents have in raising their children. The resources that were available to the parents of parents today first began to dissipate in the resources available outside of the nuclear family only to progressively move inside to the nuclear family. The consequence is a situation where many children are being raised by parents who lack the social connectedness necessary to build effective social capital relationships. In situations where children live in dual parent/adult homes, resources are being depleted due to full-time jobs away from the home and neighborhood. Because of this, parents are concentrating their time and energy into activities in the workplace, thereby foregoing active involvement in their children's school or neighborhood. Zill (1996) demonstrates that the effects of family structure have a significant impact on adolescent children. Children from two parent families had lower dropout rates when family structure and parent educational backgrounds were considered. Single parent or stepparent families with less than a high school education or single parents or stepparent families with some college had children who showed an increased risk of dropping out of school. Zill concludes that other mediating factors such as age of parents when they had children, earning potential, and minority ethnic backgrounds impact the educational attainment of their children. Braatz and Putnam (1996), in their review of the literature on parent-school involvement, support Coleman and Hoffer by concluding that "when families directly engage in instructional activities the benefits for student achievement are clear, significant, and reasonably uncontroverted" (p. 8).

Social Capital and Schools

Schools are the social institutions that provide the best opportunity for adolescent children to develop social networks. Relationships that are developed during the time spent at school prepare students for their role in the adult world (Cotterell, 1996; Croninger & Lee, 1996). According to their review of the research on the role schools play in the development of social capital, Croninger and Lee (1996) found that the process of learning is a social event. They conclude that students learn best in schools where the organizational structure of the school was strong in social capital. Conversely, they found those schools that were organized for efficiency, control, accountability, and achievement had students who achieved academically at a lower level. Cotterell (1996) notes that large high schools are less personable and do not provide the connectedness necessary for effective adolescent development. Consequently, this period of transition in the life of an adolescent is critical to ensure that levels of academic achievement, psychological development, and the temptations of participation in at-risk behaviors are given appropriate attention by the school and community.

Bryk et al. (1993) found in their study that Catholic schools when compared to public schools had teachers who enjoyed their work more and had a higher level of morale. Students in these school were less likely to cut class, drop out, or exhibit inappropriate behaviors. The difference was found to be in the communal organizational structure of the Catholic schools. According to Bryk et al., these schools exhibited three distinct characteristics: "shared belief in school purpose, student capabilities, and norms of behavior" (p. 283).

States that have high levels of social capital tend to have children who achieve at a higher level in educational settings (Putnam, 2000). In his studies on social capital and education, Putnam (2000) found that “there is something about communities where people connect with one another – over and above how rich or poor they are materially, how well educated the adults themselves are, what race or religion they are – that positively affects the education of children” (p. 301). He proposes that the reasons for this correlation are directly related to the density of social connectedness in a community where civic engagement is high. Those communities and their schools where civic engagement is high tend to experience a high level of parent support, lower levels of student misbehavior, less violence, and overall better attendance rates. Additionally, communities with high levels of social capital are less apathetic about schools.

Studies have indicated that participation in extracurricular programs has a direct correlation in developing social capital between students, parents, schools, and communities. In addition, it has a positive correlation with academic achievement. Broh (2002) conducted a study linking extracurricular programs to academic achievement and social development in high school students. According to the study, students who participated in athletic programs achieved higher grades in math and English. In addition, Broh found that participation in athletic programs strengthens ties between “students and parents, students and school, parents and the school, and parents and parents” (p. 78). Other programs reported positive relationships between academic achievement and social development. Music programs and student council activities also ranked high in the study; however, the structure of athletic programs provided the best

opportunity for social interaction between students, parents, schools, and community members. In another study, Mahoney and Cairns (1997) concluded that “engagement in extracurricular activities is positively linked to decreasing rates of early school dropout in both boys and girls” (p. 248). This was particularly true for students involved in athletic programs early on in their high school careers. These studies confirm Putnam’s (2000) notion that the social connectedness of a community does provide benefits for adolescent children. In particular, it seems that participation in extracurricular activities enhances the opportunity for students to develop stronger social capital.

Putnam (2000) notes that communities where children watch less television tend to have students who perform better in schools. According to Putnam, the correlation between television viewing and schooling is quite high, thus concluding that adult civic engagement tends to facilitate a more productive use of leisure time by both adults and children. This is a direct relationship between the parent and child connectivity. When the relationship between the parent and child is high and where parents are more civically involved in their community, Putnam finds that children achieve higher academically. Ultimately, he concludes, “Student learning is influenced not only by what happens in school and at home, but also by social networks, norms, and trust in the school and in the wider community” (p. 302).

Teachman et al. (1996) found in their study of social capital and schooling that there were several correlations between social capital and educational outcomes for children. They found that children were less likely to drop out of school when there was stability in school mobility, parents knew the parents of other school children,

parent-child connectivity was high, parent-school connectivity was high, and the financial and human resources of parents were high. In addition, they found that children who attended a Catholic school and were living with both biological parents possessed a higher level of social capital.

Coleman and Hoffer (1987) found in their studies of public and private schools that the interconnectedness evidenced in the web of relationships in the Catholic community made available to students the social resources necessary to keep students from dropping out of school. Essentially, higher levels of social capital associated with the closure that exists within the relationships of Catholic school families were correlated with positive student outcomes in the Catholic schools. The same was not true for other private and public schools. In these cases, student dropout rates were higher and academic achievement was found to be significantly lower than for those students in the Catholic schools.

Bryk et al. (1993) confirmed the research done by Coleman and Hoffer as they reported that students who attend Catholic schools tend to achieve higher in school and drop out less. They make this conclusion through field observations where they reported,

Whether sitting in an English class of twenty-five students, walking the school corridors during class breaks, sitting in crowded lunchrooms while students were eating, or attending a sporting event after school hours, we were struck by the pervasive warmth and caring that characterized the thousands of routine social interactions in each school day. Coupled with this we heard the claim “we are community” repeated often. (p. 275)

Parcel and Dufur (2001) conclude that students who have a high level of family capital and social capital at school tend to score higher on math tests. Specifically, they cite that attending a private school coupled with attending a school with a quality physical environment is associated with increases with math scores. In this context, both family structure and school environment combine to make a difference in student achievement. Henderson and Berla (1997) offer a comprehensive review of the literature on this topic. They conclude, unequivocally, “When schools work together with families to support learning, children tend to succeed not just in school, but throughout life” (p. 1).

Sergiovanni (1994) provides some insight as to the problems that may exist in public schools and the climate of these schools when compared to the success of Catholic schools. When an environment of disconnectedness exists, substitute norms are developed to fill the void. Sergiovanni writes:

One substitute is to create an artificial collective conscience. Students, for example, turn to themselves and insulate themselves from the school and the adult world it represents by creating strong student subcultures. At the extreme, they turn to gangs. Teachers create an artificial collective conscience by turning to informal groups that represent a marginal, albeit powerful, life within the formal life of the school. When students and teachers turn to alternative sources, duty, attachment, and self-determination can become defined as dysfunctional norm systems designed to resist change, to discourage cooperation, and to disconnect them from others and from their work. (p. 64)

Putnam (2000) provides further insight about the importance of social connectedness in schools. He concludes, "Social capital in schools can make a difference" (p. 305). When there is a high level of trust among students, parents, teachers, and administrators, there is a higher commitment to the educational objectives of the school. Putnam (2000) proposes that "teachers in high trust settings feel loyal to the school, seek innovative approaches to learning, reach out to parents, and have a deep sense of responsibility for students' development" (p. 305). He concludes, "Social connectedness boosts school attainment" (p. 305).

Finally, Croninger and Lee (1996) provide a final statement on social capital and schools:

Children benefit from participating in public school networks and that benefits increase as participation grows. Schools, religious organizations, youth associations, and community-based groups provide children with valuable developmental experiences. The relationships that young people form with adults in such settings create bridges that help smooth an often rocky transition to adulthood. Schools occupy a central position in these relationships. We argue that they can and should provide much of the social resources required to promote children's development. Schools can do so by creating and sustaining communal social environments, promoting solid academic and professional goals, and nurturing a sense of common obligation and responsibility between students and adults. (p. 37)

Social Capital and the Community

The networks of relationships and trust developed within a community are critical to the development of children. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) define a functional community as “a community in which social norms and sanctions, including those that cross generations, arise out of the social structure itself, and both reinforce and perpetuate that structure” (p. 7). Nettles (1990) further defines a competent community as one that is characterized by features such as “responsiveness to the diverse needs of members, maximized use of resources, cohesiveness and a collective sense of well-being, physical security, and opportunities for individuals to achieve status and receive recognition for accomplishments” (p. 1). Norms within a community exist both through the needs of children and those that are established by the adult community. The importance of this child-adult relationship is articulated by Coleman and Hoffer (1987) as they note:

A functional community augments the resources available to parents in their interactions with school, in their supervision of their children’s behavior, and in their supervision of their children’s associations, both with others their own age and with adults. The feedback that a parent receives to questions provides extensive additional resources that aid the parent in monitoring the school and the child, and the norms that parents, as part of their everyday activity, are able to establish act as important aids in the socialization of children. (p. 7)

Nettles (1990) suggests that the effects of community structure are determined by the norms, rules, and values that govern the relationships in a community. Sergiovanni (1994) notes, “Students who are fortunate enough to experience belonging from family,

extended family, friends, and neighbors feel attached and loved, experience the warmth and safety of intimacy, and are more cooperative and trusting of others” (p. 10). He goes on to add, “Unfortunately the norms and systems of a neighborhood to which young people adhere as they search for community on their own are often dysfunctional” (p. xiv). Newmann (1993) contends that “social capital is grounded in adults with the commitment, competence, and resources to care for children” (p. 2). Therefore, the adult organizational networks of communication and shared values that provide collective support for adults and youth in a community are contingent on the development of social capital within a community. When a community exhibits a high level of closure, a consistency of norms and sanctions is developed, therefore modeling for children behaviors deemed appropriate by the community. In the absence of a consistent set of norms and sanctions, children develop their own concepts of what is right or wrong. Ultimately, children will turn to at-risk behaviors that impede their opportunity to develop a healthy life pattern.

Bernard (1990) provides insight to the importance of community support in the development of appropriate adolescent behavior. She contends that support from peers may be the only social support that adolescent children receive. This lack of support by other community members, primarily adults in the community, leads to the dysfunctional development of social capital in adolescents. Bernard notes that “children at all socioeconomic levels of our society can and do experience the alienation and disconnectedness that result when the natural linkages between them and their families, schools and communities become frayed or broken” (p. 3).

Winter (2000) notes that locality and neighborhood structure can impact the ability of families to manifest family based social capital at the community level. According to Winter, characteristics of the neighborhood, such as crime rates, impact the ability of transferring the family based social capital to the community level. Families who live in locations where trust and community consecutiveness are low oftentimes lack the types of interactions that build social capital.

Putnam (2000) confirms this notion through his studies of social capital in communities as related to crime rates. In his studies, Putnam (2000) found states that have a high level of community social capital tend to have less violent crimes. He confirms his conclusion by noting that states where social capital is high “tend to be wealthier, better educated, less urban, and more egalitarian in their distribution of income” (p. 308). Rosenfeld, Messner, and Baumer (2001) confirm Putnam’s point as they found that in communities where social trust and civic engagement are widespread, fewer homicides were reported “regardless of the level of deprivation, the density of population, and other sociodemographic influences” (p. 300).

Putnam (2000) concluded in his studies that communities where young people are involved in at-risk behaviors the parents tend to raise at-risk youths who fall into bad habits. In his studies, he found that youths in Boston who grew up in neighborhoods where drug use and other crimes were high tended to become involved in at-risk behaviors regardless of their family background. Putnam explains:

On one hand, the presence of social capital – individuals connected to one another through trusting networks and common values – allows for the enforcement of

positive standards for youth and offers them access to mentors, role models, educational sponsors, and job contacts outside the neighborhood. Social networks may also provide emotional and financial support for individuals and supply political leverage and volunteers for community institutions. By contrast, the absence of positive norms, community associations, and informal adult friendship and kin networks leaves kids to their own devices. It is in such settings that youths are most likely to act on shortsighted or self-destructive impulses. (p. 312)

Braatz and Putnam (1996) found where social capital is high educational achievement by students in primary and secondary schools is higher than those states where social capital is lower. They illustrate this point by comparing social capital in states with test scores from the “National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), by Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, and by dropout rates” (p. 19). In reviewing these measures, they found that NAEP scores are directly correlated to two forms of social capital: social capital centered in the family and social capital centered in the community. In addition, SAT scores indicated a direct correlation with community connectedness. Most compelling was the correlation between family and community social capital on dropout rates. States that had a high level of both family and community social capital had lower dropout rates. In all three cases, social capital was attributed to higher test scores and lower dropout rates.

Sergiovanni (1994), using French sociologist Emile Durkheim’s theory of needs, notes that when the collective conscience is lost in a community, communities are deprived of opportunities to reciprocate interactions between people which results in a

state of “*anomie*, a sense of normlessness and disconnectedness” (p. 64). When anomie occurs, Sergiovanni notes that the need to belong is satisfied in a number of ways: “Students naturally satisfy this need through family, neighborhood, friendship, school, and community ties. When these satisfiers are not available, they search elsewhere. The greater the array of acceptable satisfiers the less likely that unacceptable ones will be chosen” (p. 65). However, when the norms and sanctions of young people are disconnected from society students are forced to turn inward and rely on themselves for support. Sergiovanni notes that unfortunately, when students turn inward to develop their own norms and sanctions, they are dysfunctional.

Social Development in Adolescence

Social capital provides a common thread to the social development of adolescent children. Adolescence is a period of time marked by considerable changes in physical and cognitive development (Vondra & Garbarino, 1988). It is this critical period of development that the ability to effectively transition one’s social skills in a way that will produce positive results is paramount to the development of social capital. Croninger and Lee (1996) note that social relationships of children matter in the many different ways that interaction occurs with others.

Siegler (1997) offers five stages of adolescent development that explain the changes that occur during this period in an adolescent’s life. The five stages include separating from old ties, creating new attachments, establishing mature sexual identity and a mature sexual life, formulating new ideas and new ideals, and consolidating character. Adolescent children begin to separate their ties to parents at about the age of

11. It is during this time that they begin to seek new beginnings while trying to keep the connections of security and nurturance that have been provided by the family structure. During this time, adolescent children strive to lessen parental influence and begin developing a new sense of personal power. It is at this point that relationships with peers begin. During this time, new relationships are developed through peer interactions. Aligned with this new realm of relationships is the period of time when sexual identity emerges. It is during this period of time that the individual develops a sexual identity and relationships with others outside of the family become paramount in the adolescent's life. As the adolescent child becomes more autonomous, the formulation of his or her own ideas about the world around him or her develops marked by the period in adolescence where he or she begins to challenge authority.

According to Siegler (1997), critical to this process is the final stage of adolescence: consolidating character. It is this period where the other four stages of adolescent development meld to form one's character. If the adolescent has been able to progress through these four stages by developing confidence in his or her own abilities, he or she then is prepared to move forward as he or she begins the process of transition from adolescence to adulthood. It is during this critical stage in an adolescent's life that, through his or her development of self-identity, choices being made by the adolescent dictate the choices he or she makes, both healthy and not so healthy.

Swanson, Spencer, and Peterson (1998) provide a detailed account of adolescent development. They note:

Adolescence is associated with a range of biological changes (e.g., puberty), psychosocial tasks (e.g., identity formation), media-emphasized stigma (e.g., youth violence and threat), societal inconsistencies (e.g., an American population that is highly stratified economically), and environmental shifts (e.g., from one school to another and from school to work). Interactions outside of the home and school increase, allowing further integration of cognitive skills, social skills, and emotions. Synthesizing these broadening skills requires an integration of information from one's past, present, and anticipated ability to achieve desired goals given the diverse social demands, constraints, and opportunities available. It involves personal reflection and observation of oneself in relation to others.

(p. 20)

Csikszentmihalyi and Schmidt (1998) provide an explicit example of how self-identity in adolescent girls works. They note that promiscuous sexuality, which results in pregnancy or venereal diseases, is a way of testing adult level skills without considering the mitigating consequences of their behavior. Csikszentmihalyi and Schmidt contend that adolescent children "seek out situations that make them feel competent and fully functioning" (p. 6). Unfortunately, in their attempt to exercise their new-found skills, poor choices are made putting them into the category of at-risk adolescents.

Critical to the process of adolescent development is the relationships that they develop with peer groups. Brown and Theobald (1998) note that ninth and tenth grade students overwhelmingly report that peer relationships are significantly more important

than academics or extracurricular activities. The separation from the nuclear family due to development of peer relationships sets the stage for adolescent children to begin making their own decisions. Cotterell (1996) notes that the peer group is a critical determinant in whether or not adolescent children choose to participate in at-risk behaviors such as smoking, alcohol, and other harmful drugs. Issues such as conformity, personal identity, coping, and peer pressure all play a role in the motivations for engaging in at-risk behaviors. It is during the adolescent years that children begin to develop their own individual self, thus pulling away from authority type figures such as parents and school officials. It is this period of time that is critical in the development of positive social capital networks. Adolescent children who deviate from the effective norms and sanctions, which direct them to negative at-risk behavior attitudes, become at risk of making life choices that will deter their opportunity to effectively build social capital stock.

At-Risk Adolescent Behaviors

At-risk behaviors are identified in many different ways. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001) identifies at-risk behaviors in five different domains: individual, family, peer group, school, and community. At-risk behaviors identified in the publication, Youth Violence: A Report of the Surgeon General, are those behaviors that “predict the onset, continuity, or escalation of violence” (p. 58). At-risk behaviors are identified in each of the five domains delineated in the report. In the individual domain, at-risk behaviors include general offenses, psychological condition (restlessness, difficulty in concentrating, risk taking), aggression, being male, physical violence,

antisocial attitudes and beliefs, crimes against persons, antisocial behavior, low IQ, and substance abuse. In the family domain, at-risk behaviors include poor parent-child relations, low parent involvement, antisocial parents, broken homes, low socioeconomic status, abusive parents, and other family conflicts. In the school domain, risk factors include poor attitude about school and academic failure. In the peer group domain, at-risk behaviors include weak social ties, antisocial peers, and gang membership. In the community domain, at-risk behaviors include neighborhood crime, drugs, and neighborhood disorganization.

The Centers for Disease Control (2001), using the national Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS), identifies at-risk behaviors in six categories: behaviors that result in unintentional and intentional injuries (personal safety, violence related behavior, depression and suicide), tobacco use, alcohol and other drugs, dietary behavior, physical activity, and sexual behaviors.

According to Duberstein-Lindberg, Bogess, Porter, and Williams (2000), at-risk behaviors pose serious threats to the health and safety of adolescents. They define at-risk behaviors as those that are a regular and established pattern of behavior, not exploratory, but recent and frequent participation in the behavior. In their study, they used three national studies (the Youth Risk Behavior Survey [YRBS]), the National Survey of Adolescent Males [NSAM]), and the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health), to develop 10 categories of at-risk behaviors. The at-risk behaviors included regular alcohol use, regular binge drinking, regular tobacco use, marijuana use, other illegal drug use, fighting, weapon carrying, suicidal thoughts, suicide attempts, and risky

sexual activity. It is the research of Duberstein-Lindberg et al. (2000) that most closely aligns its parameters to the descriptors of at-risk behaviors as used in this study.

According to Duberstein-Lindberg et al. (2000), overall participation in at-risk behaviors has decreased over the past 10 years with fewer teens engaging in multiple at-risk behaviors. In their study, they found:

- Between 1991 and 1997, the number of students involved in all of the 10 at-risk behaviors has decreased as well as the number of students engaged in multiple at-risk behaviors.
- Multiple risk students or those who participate in a number of at-risk behaviors engage in most of the at-risk behaviors.
- Most students engaged in some kind of positive behaviors. Almost 92% of all students engaged in at least one positive behavior such as getting good grades, involvement in extracurricular activities, and spending time with their parents.
- When students participate in multiple at-risk behaviors, participation in positive behaviors declines.
- Social connections of multiple risk takers are diverse and widespread in the community where they live.

Of the 10 at-risk behaviors identified in their report (regular alcohol use, regular binge drinking, regular tobacco use, marijuana use, other illegal drug use, fighting, weapon carrying, suicidal thoughts, suicide attempts, and risky sexual activity), Duberstein-Lindberg et al. (2000) report changes in the following categories between 1991 and 1997 to include:

- In the category of drugs, marijuana use has increased the most during this time. The use of alcohol, tobacco, and cocaine has remained stable. Marijuana use had almost exceeded alcohol use by 1997.
- In the category of fighting and weapon carrying, the number of teen homicides dropped after a decade of significant increases. Death due to firearms also decreased during this time.
- In the category of suicidal thoughts or attempts, students who reported thinking about attempting suicide declined while the actual rate of suicide attempts remained stable during this period of time.
- In the category of sexual behaviors, students reporting past sexual activity dropped with a decline in the teenage pregnancy rate, birth rate, and in sexually transmitted disease rates.

Duberstein-Lindberg et al. (2000) report that multiple risk takers (those students who identified being involved in two or more at-risk behaviors) account for 28% of the overall group studied. In the multiple risk taker group, ethnicity did not make a significant difference in the student's decision to engage in at-risk activities, whereas the prevalence of boys being involved in multiple at-risk behaviors increased in higher grades as compared to involvement by girls. In addition, boys who are out of school tend to account for a majority of multiple risk takers. Overall, very few students represent the largest share of multiple risk takers.

In a follow-up study, Porter and Duberstein-Lindberg (2001) confirmed the earlier findings of Duberstein-Lindberg et al. (2000) as they conclude, "A minority of students

take the majority of risks” (p. 2). In analyzing the social structures surrounding at-risk adolescents, Porter and Duberstein-Lindberg conclude that the relationships that teens had with their school and parents were important as to whether or not they participated in at-risk behaviors. They found those students who were connected to their school and who had quality relationships with their parents were less likely to be involved in at-risk behaviors.

Summary

Social capital can be described in three dimensions: the social interactions between individuals and groups, trust relationships, and norms of reciprocity. The social interactions that occur between individuals both institutionally and socially within a community develop the networking and cooperation necessary to develop social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Dewey, 1927; Fukuyama, 1999; Hanifan, 1916; Jacobs, 1961; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Through these social interactions, a network of cooperation develops which leads to trust relationships. It is the trustworthiness that extends from social interactions among individuals and groups that solidifies the purpose of the group (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1993b). Ultimately, norms of reciprocity dictate the behavior of the community that includes both positive and negative outcomes (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Croninger & Lee, 1996; Jacobs, 1961; Lagemann, 1994; Putnam, 2000; Sergiovanni, 1994; Stone, 2001; Uslander, 1999; Winter, 2000). It is the development of social capital that assists an individual in his or her life chances.

Behavior that does not align with consistent expectations such as delineated in norms of reciprocity associated with social capital can be considered at-risk behavior (Teachman et al., 1996). The accumulation of social capital rests on the fact that a web of social relationships with consistent expectations for behavior is generated. When an individual participates in activities that could cause him or her personal harm, he or she potentially causes a negative impact in his or her ability to develop social capital. It is this relationship between social capital and at-risk behaviors that constitutes the depth and breadth of this study.

This study investigated the relationship between social capital and the at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence among adolescent students in a midwestern school district. The following chapter will present the description of the instrument and methodology utilized in this study's data collection process.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Chapter III presents the procedures utilized in this study: description of instrument, administration of survey, and data analysis. The sections follow in the named order.

Description of Instrument

The survey instrument, Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey (YRPFS), was developed by a midwestern school district located in a medium size community. The studied district elicited participation in the spring of 2001 from its three high schools totaling a population of 2,548 adolescent students. The YRPFS was administered to fulfill a funding requirement of the Drug-Free Schools and Community Act mandated by the state department of education. This state mandate required all funding recipients to assess the level of risk and protective factors among local adolescents. The school district developed a broader survey than required by the state agency that would produce information regarding several at-risk behaviors among the district's adolescents. Because of this, the district spent one year modifying and developing a broad-based instrument to measure at-risk behaviors of adolescents.

A survey development committee was created to represent a cross-section of the district's community. Surveys from previous years were used to develop the survey instrument (YRPFS). The surveys were reviewed by a small group of high school

students to ensure readability of the instrument and possible changes to be implemented. After this review, the YRPFS development committee concluded that the instrument was at an approximate sixth grade reading level, was adequate in form and content, and did not require any revisions.

The survey instrument, Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey (Appendix A), was administered in a two-survey format. Survey A contained 114 multiple choice questions. Survey B contained 114 multiple choice questions. Questions in both surveys were identical for items 1-76. Survey questions differed for items 77-114 in Survey A and items 77-114 in Survey B. Demographic information was obtained through questions 1-6 on each survey. Demographic factors included school, age, grade, gender, and race. Because some questions addressed two categories at a time, some overlapping of risk factor themes occurred. An example of overlapping occurs in Survey B item 79 which addressed the risk factor themes of alcohol and sexual behaviors in the question “How often have you had sexual intercourse after drinking?”

Both surveys contained questions that pertained to Family Social Capital. The questions were the sum of issues pertaining to the parents’ educational background, rules at home, and educational expectations for their children. In addition, both surveys also contained questions that pertained to School and Community Social Capital. The questions were the sum of issues pertaining to school involvement by parents, the discussions parents had about school with their adolescent, and involvement in community activities (see Table 2, Chapter IV for complete listing).

Questions from Survey A were used for the at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage. Eleven questions in Survey A were used to measure alcohol usage. Items 18, 51, 52, 69, 78, 84, 86, 87, 88, 96, and 97 addressed issues such as access to alcohol, problems caused because of alcohol use by a family member, risk or harm to one's self because of the use of alcohol, friends' perceptions about the use of alcohol, inception and frequency of alcohol use, and drinking and driving. Twelve questions in Survey A were used to measure drug usage. Items 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, and 95 addressed issues such as access to drugs, problems caused because of drug use by a family member, risk or harm to one's self because of the use of drugs, friends' perceptions about the use of drugs, and the inception and frequency of drug use. Four questions in Survey A were used to measure tobacco usage. Items 19, 76, 77, and 85 addressed the at-risk factors for tobacco use by measuring the inception of and frequency of tobacco use in the past 30 days.

Questions from Survey B were used for the at-risk behaviors of sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. Five questions in Survey B were used to measure sexual behaviors. Items 77, 78, 79, 85, and 86 addressed frequency of sexual intercourse during one's life, forcing anyone to have sexual contact, frequency of sexual intercourse after drinking alcohol, consensual sexual contact, and decisions made once pregnant. Thirteen questions in Survey B were used to measure trouble at school. Items 17, 29, 34, 35, 84, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, and 99 addressed grades earned during the school year; frequency of cutting class in the past 30 days; hours per week spent on homework; frequency of times suspended from school; fighting and bullying; and destruction of

student, teacher, or school property. Seven questions from Survey B were used to measure violence. Items 22, 41, 58, 59, 60, 83, and 104 addressed access to guns outside of the home, feeling safe at school, violence in the home, frequency of times purposely vandalizing property, and the use of violence to protect one's self.

Because the purpose of the YRPFS was to gain a better understanding of the school district's attitudes and behaviors concerning at-risk behaviors among the students, all ninth through twelfth grade students were asked to participate in the survey. Parental consent was passively obtained through a notice in the various school newsletters. Parents had the opportunity to communicate their disapproval of participating in the survey to their school administrator. Anonymity was assured to those who participated in the survey by indicating that the YRPFS would not in any way elicit identifiable information.

To ensure anonymity, teachers who administered the surveys distributed the survey instrument to the student and collected each completed survey and placing it in a manila envelope. It is assumed that for the purposes of this study that students answered each question truthfully. Question 114 on Survey A and Survey B asked if the student had truthfully completed the survey.

Administration of Survey

In April 2001, copies of the survey instrument, Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey, were provided to the principals of the schools that contained students in grades 9 through 12 in the studied district. A handout of instructions accompanied the surveys and was given to each teacher administering the survey (Appendix B). English teachers were

chosen to administer the survey since all students are enrolled in required English courses. Each school was given the autonomy to administer the survey in a time and place that would be most conducive to their school schedule.

The YRPFS was administered in the studied schools in April 2001. The English teachers read a series of instructions to prepare the students prior to taking the survey. After receiving #2 pencils, survey booklets, and NCS forms, students were told the purpose of the survey and were reminded that the assessment would not be timed and that no identifiable information would be revealed through participating in the survey. While the English teacher read the instructions out loud, students followed along in their survey booklet. The English teacher guided the students through the first six questions to include survey identification, school, age, grade, gender, and race. Once the students had completed this portion of the survey, they were instructed to use a #2 pencil to blacken in the oval of the most correct response to each question. They were reminded to not write their name on the survey booklet or the NCS form, to raise their hand if they had a question, and to mark only one response for each question. Students were reminded to completely erase any oval when changing their answer to any question on the survey.

Once the survey was completed each student placed the survey's NCS form in a manila envelope that had been set in the back of the classroom. After collecting all completed surveys, the English teacher turned the envelope into the principal's office. The principal at each school collated all survey forms and sent the surveys to the district's assistant superintendent's office. The surveys were then forwarded to a

professor at the University of North Dakota for processing and analysis. A total of 2,180 surveys was processed.

Data Analysis

Factor analysis was used to reduce the number of items in the YRPFS to fewer variables for social capital. To further analyze social capital, a Varimax rotation was used to determine if there was more than one social capital factor. The results produced two factors: Factor I, Family Social Capital, and Factor II, School and Community Social Capital. These variables were further collapsed into three levels of social capital: low, medium, and high. The levels of social capital were determined through an equal distribution of range score frequencies determined by one third break points. The results of summated ratings for at-risk behavior factors generated six dependent variables to include alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence.

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to determine differences across the three levels of Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital on the dependent variables. Further analyses using a univariate analysis of variance test were conducted to determine if there were significant differences between the dependent at-risk variables across three levels of independent social capital variables. Finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted for each dependent at-risk variable to determine the level of difference across the levels of each independent social capital variable.

Chapter IV describes the studied sample in terms of demographics and presents the results of these analyses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the differences between six at-risk behaviors of adolescent students in relation to levels of social capital of 9-12 grade students. This chapter contains the following sections: a description of the sample in terms of demographics, social capital factors, at-risk behavior factors, and the multivariate analysis to investigate the relationship between social capital and at-risk factors. For the purpose of this study, statistical significance was set at the .01 level.

Description of Sample

This study utilized data collected from the Youth Risk and Protective Factors Survey (YRPFS) A and B. Prior to any data analysis, 235 surveys were dismissed for containing exaggerated responses and for containing a significant number of missing responses, leaving a total of 1,945 student surveys for analysis. Student demographic information for this sample is presented in Table 1. Grade size ranges from 549 students in tenth grade to 453 in eleventh grade. Male respondents numbered 950 (49%) compared to 995 females (51%). The majority (89%) of the sample was white. In addition, the majority of the respondents (65%) lived with both natural parents, while 13% lived with one natural parent with stepparent and 9% lived with one natural parent.

Table 1

Demographic Information on Grade, Gender, Ethnicity, and Family for SurveyRespondents (N = 1,945)

Characteristics	N	%
Grade		
9th	462	24
10th	549	28
11th	453	23
12th	481	25
Gender		
Male	950	49
Female	995	51
Ethnicity		
American Indian or Alaskan Native	46	2
Hispanic or Latino	31	2
Asian	24	1
White	1,729	89
African American/Black	31	2
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	11	1
Other	55	3
Family		
Both Parents	1,257	65
One Natural Parent	187	9
One Natural, One Stepparent	254	13
One Natural, Living with Friend	50	3
Divorced Mother	105	5
Divorced Father	23	1
Other Relative or Guardian	47	2
Adoptive Parents	32	2

Results of Factor Analyses for Social Capital Factors

A factor analysis was used to reduce the multiplicity of items in the YRPFS to fewer variables or factors. The process of factor analysis can help to determine the relationships between different items in a set of data. Factor analysis can also assist in reducing the set of items to a smaller set of factors so that the larger set can be better understood conceptually (Coolidge, 2000). Varimax rotation was used to maximize factor loadings and independence of factors.

After a content analysis of survey items, 30 were placed into the content category of social capital. A factor analysis identified two Varimax rotation factors for social capital (Table 2). Independent Factor I was labeled Family Social Capital and contained 18 items with questions pertaining to the social capital between parent and adolescent. Primary questions addressed issues pertaining to parents' educational background, parents' rules at home, and parents' educational expectations for their children. Reliability (coefficient alpha) for this factor was .735.

Independent Factor II was labeled School and Community Social Capital and contained 12 items with questions pertaining to the social capital between school and community and adolescent. Primary questions addressed issues pertaining to school involvement by parents and the discussions parents had about school with their adolescent. Reliability (coefficient alpha) for this factor was .712.

Scores from frequency distributions for Family Social Capital ranged from 0–39. This score was collapsed into three categories of Family Social Capital. The first level of Family Social Capital (low) had a range score of 0-24 with $N = 305$. The second level of

Table 2

Varimax Rotated Matrix Factor Loadings and Alpha Coefficients for Social Capital Items

Item	Item Description	Loading
Independent Factor I: Family Social Capital		
63	Does your family make you feel useful and important?	.613
61	How would you describe your family?	.582
23	Do adults in this city make you feel important?	.543
75	Do your friends think it's cool to get high?	.506
68	Do your parents know where you are going or with whom you will be?	.505
54	How would you describe the rules your parents set for you?	.503
24	Do adults in this city care about the people your age?	.503
64	Does your family have clear rules?	.502
33	What do your parents expect you to do after leaving high school?	.444
62	Do your parents often tell you they love you?	.423
74	Do your friends think it's cool to get drunk?	.404
66	How often does your family eat meals each week?	.402
31	Do your parents expect you to graduate from high school?	.372
7	Which one of the following best describes your family?	.342
10	Number of times you have changed schools?	.315
9	What is the highest level of schooling your mother has completed?	.292
8	What is the highest level of schooling your father has completed?	.270
39	School/community services are available to students with problems?	.229
Coefficient Alpha = .735		
Independent Factor II: School and Community Social Capital		
44	How often discuss with parents your participation in school activities?	.551
46	How often parents attend a school meeting?	.546
43	How often you discuss with parents selecting courses at school?	.506
45	How often you discuss with parents class work?	.502
25	How many hours volunteered to help other people?	.488
26	How many hours volunteered to help friends or neighbors?	.486
28	Are parents involved in community activities?	.479
49	How often parents attend a school event?	.452
47	How often parents spoke with school personnel?	.438
27	Would you participate in mentor program?	.415
48	How often parents visit a class?	.378
67	Do your parents talk to you about alcohol and drugs?	.326
Coefficient Alpha = .712		

Family Social Capital (medium) had a range score of 25-29 with N = 335. The third level of Family Social Capital (high) had a range score of 30-39 with N = 362.

Scores from frequency distributions for School and Community Social Capital ranged from 0-25. This score was collapsed into three categories of School and Community Social Capital. The first level of School and Community Social Capital (low) had a range score of 0-8 with N = 307. The second level of School and Community Social Capital (medium) had a range score of 9-13 with N = 394. The third level of School and Community Social Capital (high) had a range score of 14-25 with N = 301.

Results of Summating Ratings for At-Risk Behavior Factors

Six scales were generated for at-risk behaviors using summated ratings for the dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. Alcohol usage, which included 11 items, ranged from 0-42 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .866. In Survey A of the YRPFS, the items addressed the following at-risk factors for alcohol use: access to alcohol, problems caused because of alcohol use by a family member, risk or harm to one's self because of the use of alcohol, friends' perceptions about the use of alcohol, inception and frequency of alcohol use, and drinking and driving.

Drug usage, which included 12 items, ranged from 0-54 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .900. In Survey A of the YRPFS, the items addressed the following at-risk factors for drug use: access to drugs, problems caused because of drug use by a family member, risk or harm to one's self because of the use of drugs, friends' perceptions about the use of drugs, and the inception and frequency of drug use.

Tobacco usage, which included four items, ranged from 0-18 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .770. In Survey A of the YRPFS, the items addressed the at-risk factors for tobacco use by measuring the inception of and frequency of tobacco use in the past 30 days.

Sex behaviors, which included five items, ranged from 0-13 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .523. In Survey B of the YRPFS, the items addressed the following at-risk factors for sex behaviors: frequency of sexual intercourse during one's life, forcing anyone to have sexual contact, frequency of sexual intercourse after drinking alcohol, consensual sexual contact, and decisions made once pregnant.

Trouble at school, which included 13 items, ranged from 0-43 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .769. In Survey B of the YRPFS, the items addressed the following at-risk factors for trouble at school: grades earned during the school year; frequency of cutting class in the past 30 days; hours per week spent on homework; frequency of times suspended from school; fighting and bullying; and destruction of student, teacher, or school property.

Violence, which included seven items, ranged from 0-15 and had a reliability (coefficient alpha) .534. In Survey B of the YRPFS, the items addressed the following at-risk factors for violence: access to guns outside of the home, feeling safe at school, violence in the home, frequency of times purposely vandalizing property, and the use of violence to protect one's self.

Results of Multivariate Analysis of Variance

The results for the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) are reported in four parts using Survey A and Survey B from the YRPFS. The first part includes analysis of Family Social Capital for the at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage from Survey A. The second part includes the analysis for Family Social Capital for the at-risk behaviors of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence using Survey B. The third part includes analysis of School and Community Social Capital for the at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage from Survey A. Finally, the fourth part includes the analysis for School and Community Social Capital for the at-risk behaviors of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence using Survey B.

Analyses for Family Social Capital: Alcohol Usage, Drug Usage, and Tobacco Usage

MANOVA was used to determine the differences across the three levels of Family Social Capital on the dependent variables of alcohol use, drug use, and tobacco use. MANOVA is used to analyze the effects of one or more independent variables upon more than one dependent variable (Coolidge, 2000). The MANOVA (Wilks' Lambda = .858 with 6 and 1,994 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences within the three levels of Family Social Capital on at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage.

Univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted for each of the three dependent variables: alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage. ANOVA results are presented in Table 3 along with the means and standard deviations. The

Table 3

ANOVA Results with Means and Standard Deviations for Family Social Capital and At-Risk Behaviors: Alcohol, Drugs, and Tobacco

At-Risk Behavior	Low	Medium	High	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Alcohol Usage					
M	15.07	10.63	7.62	57.72	< .001
SD	10.39	8.53	7.98		
Drug Usage					
M	6.48	2.90	1.11	48.83	< .001
SD	10.44	6.23	3.22		
Tobacco Usage					
M	6.21	4.00	2.18	65.87	< .001
SD	5.33	4.61		3.57	

univariate ANOVA for alcohol use ($F = 57.72, 2$ and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital. Also, the analysis finding for drug usage ($F = 48.83, 2$ and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital. Furthermore, tobacco usage ($F = 65.87, 2$ and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital.

To further analyze differences in the at-risk variables by Family Social Capital levels, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted. Significant differences for at-risk behaviors involving alcohol use were found between low ($M = 15.07$) and medium ($M = 10.62$) Family Social Capital, low ($M = 15.07$) and high ($M = 7.62$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 10.62$) and high ($M = 7.62$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, alcohol usage decreased.

Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons also indicated significant differences in drug usage between low ($M = 6.47$) and medium ($M = 2.90$) Family Social Capital, low ($M = 6.47$) and high ($M = 1.11$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 2.90$) and high ($M = 1.11$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, drug usage decreased.

Finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons indicated significant differences in tobacco usage between low ($M = 6.21$) and medium ($M = 4.00$) Family Social Capital, low ($M = 6.21$) and high ($M = 2.18$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 4.00$) and high ($M = 2.18$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, tobacco usage decreased.

Analyses for Family Social Capital: Sex Behaviors, Trouble at School, and Violence

In addition, MANOVA was used to determine the differences across the three levels of Family Social Capital on the dependent variables of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. The MANOVA (Wilks' Lambda = .791 with 6 and 1,876 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences within the three levels of Family Social Capital on at-risk behaviors of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence.

Univariate analysis of variance tests were conducted for each of the three dependent variables: sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. ANOVA results are presented in Table 4 along with the means and standard deviations. The univariate ANOVA for sex behaviors ($F = 52.83$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital. Also, the analysis finding for trouble at school ($F = 77.60$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital. Furthermore, violence ($F = 85.96$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of Family Social Capital.

To further analyze differences in the at-risk variables by Family Social Capital levels, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted. Significant differences for at-risk behaviors involving sex behaviors were found between low ($M = 2.92$) and medium ($M = 1.49$) Family Social Capital, low ($M = 2.92$) and high ($M = .94$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 1.48$) and high ($M = .94$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, involvement in at-risk sexual behaviors decreased.

Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons also indicated significant differences in trouble at school between low ($M = 8.27$) and medium ($M = 5.67$) Family Social Capital, low ($M = 8.27$) and high ($M = 4.13$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 5.67$) and high ($M = 4.13$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, at-risk behaviors associated with trouble at school decreased.

Table 4

ANOVA Results with Means and Standard Deviations for Family Social Capital and At-Risk Behaviors: Sex Behaviors, Trouble at School, and Violence

At-Risk Behavior	Low	Medium	High	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Sex Behaviors					
M	2.92	1.49	.94	52.83	< .001
SD	3.17	2.37	1.76		
Trouble at School					
M	8.27	5.67	4.13	77.60	< .001
SD	5.84	3.47	2.84		
Violence					
M	3.64	2.24	1.43	85.96	< .001
SD	2.81	1.94	1.48		

Finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons indicated significant differences in violence between low ($M = 3.64$) and medium Family Social Capital ($M = 2.24$), low ($M = 3.64$) and high ($M = 1.43$) Family Social Capital, and medium ($M = 2.24$) and high ($M = 1.43$) Family Social Capital. The results indicated that as Family Social Capital increased, at-risk behaviors associated with violence decreased.

Analyses for School and Community Social Capital: Alcohol Usage, Drug Usage, and Tobacco Usage

MANOVA was used to determine the differences across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital on the dependent variables of alcohol use, drug use, and tobacco use. The MANOVA (Wilks' Lambda = .979 with 6 and 1994 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences within the three levels of School and Community Social Capital on at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage.

Univariate analysis of variance tests were conducted for each of the three dependent variables: alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage. ANOVA results are presented in Table 5 along with the means and standard deviations. The univariate ANOVA for alcohol use ($F = 8.33$, 2 and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital. Also, the analysis finding for drug usage ($F = 7.19$, 2 and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital. Furthermore, tobacco usage ($F = 7.16$, 2 and 999 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital.

To further analyze differences in the at-risk variables by School and Community Social Capital levels, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted. Significant differences for at-risk behaviors involving alcohol use were found between low ($M = 12.65$) and medium ($M = 10.45$) School and Community Social Capital as well as between low ($M = 12.65$) and high ($M = 9.68$) School and Community Social Capital.

Table 5

ANOVA Results with Means and Standard Deviations for School and CommunitySocial Capital and At-Risk Behaviors: Alcohol, Drugs, and Tobacco

At-Risk Behavior	Low	Medium	High	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Alcohol Usage					
M	12.65	10.45	9.68	8.33	< .001
SD	10.91	8.74	8.44		
Drug Usage					
M	4.54	3.20	2.30	7.19	< .001
SD	9.50	6.76	5.27		
Tobacco Usage					
M	4.84	3.82	3.44	7.16	< .001
SD	5.40	4.54	4.36		

There was no significant difference indicated between medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital. These results indicated that there is a significant difference between students who participate in at-risk alcohol usage and low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital.

Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons also indicated significant differences in drug usage between low ($M = 4.54$) and medium ($M = 3.20$) School and Community Social Capital as well as between low ($M = 4.54$) and high ($M = 2.30$) School and Community Social Capital. There was no significant difference indicated between the medium and

high levels of School and Community Social Capital. These results indicate that there is a significant difference between students who participate in at-risk drug usage and low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital.

Finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons indicated significant differences in tobacco usage between low ($M = 4.84$) and medium ($M = 3.82$) School and Community Social Capital as well as between low ($M = 4.84$) and high ($M = 3.44$) School and Community Social Capital. There was no significant difference indicated between the medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital. These results indicate that there is a significant difference between students who participate in at-risk tobacco usage and low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital.

Analyses for School and Community Social Capital: Sex Behaviors, Trouble at School, and Violence

In addition, MANOVA was used to determine the differences across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital on the dependent variables of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. The MANOVA (Wilks' Lambda = .971 with 6 and 1,876 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences within the three levels of School and Community Social Capital on at-risk behaviors of sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence.

Univariate analysis of variance tests were conducted for each of the three dependent variables: sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. ANOVA results are presented in Table 6 along with the means and standard deviations. The univariate ANOVA for sex behaviors ($F = 5.89$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant

Table 6

ANOVA Results with Means and Standard Deviations for School and Community Social Capital and At-Risk Behaviors: Sex Behaviors, Trouble at School, and Violence

At-Risk Behavior	Low	Medium	High	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Sex Behaviors					
M	2.09	1.78	1.36	5.89	< .001
SD	2.93	2.57	2.26		
Trouble at School					
M	6.84	5.96	5.08	1.29	< .001
SD	5.00	4.36	4.04		
Violence					
M	2.85	2.32	2.05	8.97	< .001
SD	2.59	2.22	2.04		

differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital. Also, the analysis finding for trouble at school ($F = 11.29$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital. Furthermore, violence ($F = 8.97$, 2 and 940 *dfs*, $p < .001$) indicated significant differences for this at-risk behavior across the three levels of School and Community Social Capital.

To further analyze differences in the at-risk variables by School and Community Social Capital levels, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted. Significant

differences for at-risk behaviors involving sex behaviors were found between low ($M = 2.09$) and high ($M = 1.36$) School and Community Social Capital as well as between medium ($M = 1.78$) and high ($M = 1.36$) School and Community Social Capital. There was no significant difference between the low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital. The results indicate that there is a significant difference between students who participate in at-risk sexual behaviors and the low and high and medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital.

Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons also indicated significant differences in trouble at school between low ($M = 6.84$) and medium ($M = 5.96$) School and Community Social Capital, low ($M = 6.84$) and high ($M = 5.08$) School and Community Social Capital, and medium ($M = 5.96$) and high ($M = 5.08$) School and Community Social Capital. The results indicate that as School and Community Social Capital levels increased, at-risk behaviors associated with trouble at school decreased.

Finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons indicated significant differences in violence between low ($M = 2.85$) and medium ($M = 2.32$) School and Community Social Capital as well as between low ($M = 2.85$) and high ($M = 2.85$) School and Community Social Capital. There was no significant difference between medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital. The results indicate that there is a significant difference between violence at the low to medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital.

Summary

This chapter presented the frequencies and percentages of the demographics for the total sample. In addition, results of a factor analysis for the independent variable of social capital were conducted. A Varimax rotated factor matrix identified two independent factors for social capital: Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital. Range scores from a frequency distribution were collapsed to identify three levels of social capital for each factor. A factor analysis using summated ratings created six scales for at-risk behaviors for the dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. To further investigate the independent levels of differences between the three levels of social capital and the dependent variables, a multivariate analysis of variance was used.

Chapter V presents a summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the results, and recommendations for educators and researchers.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION,
AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter presents a summary of the present study within the context of previous related research and the findings and conclusions drawn from the results. In addition, recommendations to educators and to researchers are provided.

Summary

The transition between childhood and adulthood can be characterized as a period of at risk where adolescents engage in impulsive and sometimes reckless behaviors (Siegler, 1997). During this time of development, adolescents begin experimenting with at-risk behaviors such as alcohol, drug, and tobacco usage as well as engaging in at-risk sexual behaviors. In addition, this is a period where adolescents begin to engage in at-risk behaviors that impact school performance and at times lead them to violent activities.

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001), adolescents who have weak social ties are at a high risk of committing violent crimes. Sergiovanni (1994) notes that social connectedness in one's family, school, and community is essential in the development of adolescents. When the need for belongingness is not satisfied through family, neighborhood, friendships, school, and the community, adolescents search elsewhere. When young people become disconnected from society they develop their own sanctions and norms, most of which are

dysfunctional (Sergiovanni, 1994). Sandefur et al. (1992) noted that family structure during adolescence is critical in the subsequent life chances of adolescents when they become adults. Ultimately, it is through the trust relationships, community networks, and norms of reciprocity within the structure of families, school peer groups, and communities that children are afforded the opportunity to successfully engage in behaviors that support healthy social development. Putnam (2000) contends that child development is powerfully shaped by the social capital children develop during these formative years.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the differences between at-risk behaviors of adolescent students in relation to social capital of 9-12 grade students. Data were gathered from the survey instrument (YRPFS) administered to ninth through twelfth grade students (N = 1,945) in a school district located in a medium size midwest city. Factor analysis reduced the 114 questions on Survey A and B to two independent factors. Independent Factor I, Family Social Capital, was the sum of issues pertaining to the parents' educational background, rules at home, and educational expectations for their children. Independent Factor II, School and Community Social Capital, was the sum of issues pertaining to school involvement by parents, the discussions parents had about school with their adolescent, and involvement in community activities. Summated ratings generated six dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to determine the level of difference across the three levels of Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital and the dependent

variables. A further analysis using a univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was conducted to determine if there were significant differences between the dependent at-risk variables and three levels of independent social capital variables. And finally, Bonferroni's post hoc comparisons were conducted for each dependent at-risk variable to determine the level of significant difference across the levels of each independent social capital variable.

The attainment of social capital was determined through the relationships students developed with their family, school, and community. At-risk behaviors to include alcohol use, drug use, tobacco use, sexual behaviors, trouble at school, and violence were analyzed to determine the impact the different levels of social capital had on a student's participation in at-risk behavior activities. The results of these analyses are summarized in response to the research questions posed by this study.

Conclusions and Discussion

Research Question 1: What are the differences by Family Social Capital levels for at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence?

For the dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence, significant differences were found across the three levels of Family Social Capital. This was consistent between low and medium, low and high, and medium and high Family Social Capital. These findings indicate that as family social capital increases, involvement in alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage,

at-risk sex behaviors, at-risk behaviors associated with trouble at school, and at-risk behaviors associated with violence decreases.

It appears that the differences in the levels of Family Social Capital and the potential for adolescents to involve themselves in at-risk behaviors is influential to the successful social development of adolescents. In particular, it seems that Family Social Capital has a direct influence on the successful social development of adolescents. These findings support the research done by Coleman (1988) as he concluded that social capital in the family structure has a significant impact in the development of a child. As Coleman noted, the lack of social capital within the family structure decreases the opportunities afforded to children in their developmental years.

In this study, social capital in the family makes a difference in determining whether or not an adolescent participated in at-risk behaviors. In families where social capital was found to be high, the involvement in at-risk behaviors decreased. Researchers Furstenberg and Hughes (1995), Vondra and Garbarino (1988), and Blyth and Traeger (1988) all provide examples that support this result. Specifically, Vondra and Garbarino illustrated that social capital in families is critical in keeping adolescents from engaging in at-risk behaviors. When adolescents are engaged in strong family relationships they tend to have fewer behavior problems, which can be associated with at-risk behavior. Once again, this illustrates and supports the results of this study where strong family relationships make a difference as to whether or not an adolescent will engage in at-risk behaviors.

Cochran and Brassard (1979) provide additional evidence that not only strong family networks within the structure of the family are important, but additional relationships and networks developed through family ties are just as important to the successful development of a child. In particular, relationships developed between relatives, neighbors, and friends have a significant impact on the social circles in which children are exposed. The culmination of these relationships is a larger circle of access to social capital, which assists children during their transition from childhood to adolescence. The strong bond developed within the family circle provides positive development of norms and sanctions, thus reducing the possibility of involvement in at-risk behaviors. It appears that the results of this study support this assertion.

It can be concluded from this study that Family Social Capital does matter when considering the at-risk behaviors of alcohol, tobacco, and drug usage; at-risk sexual behaviors; trouble in school; and violence. As Sergivanni (1994), Vondra and Garbarino (1988), and Wehlage (1993) noted, when Family Social Capital is low, adolescents tend to search elsewhere to find the relationships they seek within their family. Oftentimes the relationships they develop are with peers in the same situation. The result is the development of norms and sanctions within their group that may not be desirable. When this occurs, the lack of social capital within the immediate family places the adolescent at risk of participating in at-risk behaviors.

The data from this analysis support previous research about the profound positive impact of Family Social Capital on the social development of adolescents. It would seem that secondary school leaders would, as a result, look for ways to strengthen the

relationship between families and the school. By involving parents and adolescents in school activities that do not threaten the independence sought by adolescents, the school could become a central focus in developing positive Family Social Capital. As a result adolescents would develop norms and sanctions that are desirable, therefore reducing their potential to engage in at-risk behaviors.

Research Question 2: Are there differences by School and Community Social Capital levels for at-risk behaviors of alcohol usage, drug usage, tobacco usage, sex behaviors, trouble at school, and violence?

For the dependent variables of alcohol usage, drug usage, and tobacco usage, significant differences were found between low and medium and low and high levels of School and Community Social Capital. Furthermore, there were no significant differences found between medium and high School and Community Social Capital for these variables. The results suggest that adolescent involvement in alcohol, drug, and tobacco usage at-risk behaviors is more influential at the lowest level of School and Community Social Capital. This difference suggests that students who are not engaged in the network of reciprocal relationships at school and/or in the community tend to engage themselves in these at-risk behaviors. This supports earlier research done by Putnam (2000) where he found that adolescents who do not have positive norms as modeled by informal relationships with adult friends or relatives within the community tend to be left to their own devices that, in his study, involve shortsighted or self-destructive impulses. Also, Sergiovanni (1994) noted that students left to their own devices make dysfunctional choices, which are oftentimes destructive. This study supports both Putnam's and

Sergiovanni's conclusions in regard to destructive or at-risk adolescent behavior in the absence of School and Community Social Capital.

For the dependent variable of sexual behaviors, significant differences were found between low and high and medium and high School and Community Social Capital. Furthermore, there were no significant differences found between low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital. The results suggest that adolescent involvement in at-risk sexual behaviors is more influential at the low and medium levels of School and Community Social Capital when compared to the highest level. It is apparent that the norms and sanctions developed with the school and community by adults matter in the case of adolescents and their decision to engage in at-risk sexual behaviors. Inherent to the support that adolescents receive from their community is the notion that a community where adults exhibit a high level of closure or a consistency in expectations for behaviors deemed appropriate by the community tends to have adolescents who are not engaged in at-risk behaviors (Newmann, 1993). The lack of direction or modeling by adults may be a key factor in the decision making process of an adolescent who chooses to engage in at-risk behaviors. It appears that the results of this study, in regard to students who indicated involvement in at-risk sexual behaviors, support Newmann's notion that community sanctions of what is deemed appropriate behavior is a key factor as to whether or not adolescents choose to engage in at-risk sexual behaviors. In the absence of guidance by community norms, adolescents develop the concept of what is right or wrong through their own experiences. It may be that, in

this case, the lack of social capital in the school and community setting has an influential impact on whether or not an adolescent will engage in at-risk sexual behaviors.

For the dependent variable of trouble at school, significant differences were found across all three levels of School and Community Social Capital. This was consistent between low and medium, low and high, and medium and high School and Community Social Capital. The findings indicate that as School and Community Social Capital increases, at-risk behaviors associated with trouble at school decreases. The results suggest that social capital within the school and community has an influential impact on at-risk behaviors associated with trouble at school. These results support earlier research done by Putnam. Putnam (2000) concluded that communities where social capital is high tend to have students who achieve at a higher level in school. In addition, Putnam noted that student achievement is influenced not only at home and in the school but through the social networks, norms, and trust relationships developed in the school and in the wider community.

For the dependent variable of violence, significant differences were found between low and medium and low and high School and Community Social Capital. Furthermore, there were no significant differences found between medium and high levels of School and Community Social Capital. The results suggest that adolescent involvement in at-risk behaviors associated with violence is more influential at the lowest level of School and Community Social Capital. The results support the research done by Putnam (2000) and Rosenfeld et al. (2001) as they noted that communities where social capital is high have less violent crimes. Finally, Sergiovanni (1994) contends that when a

sense of normlessness or disconnectedness to the collective conscience of a community exists, adolescents tend to create their own norms, which in most cases are dysfunctional. The result is a potential for adolescents to be involved in at-risk behaviors that include violent acts. It appears that the results of this study confirm Sergiovanni's research.

The data from this analysis support previous research about the profound positive impact of School and Community Social Capital on the social development of adolescents. Putnam (2000), Sergiovanni (1994), Bryk et al. (1993), Nettles (1990), and Winter (2000) all concluded that consistent norms and sanctions found in both the school and community conclusively have an impact on the development of social capital in adolescents. As a result it is essential that schools and communities provide consistent rules of behavior that are modeled by adults. By doing so, adolescents are provided the guidelines necessary in developing positive behaviors. The school and community norms and sanctions become the pinnacle of expectations for reciprocal interactions that dictate acceptable behaviors. The results of this study confirm that when expectations for behavior are appropriately modeled by adults in the school and community, positive forms of social capital are developed by the adolescents. The results of this study, as supported by the literature, suggest that school and community leaders should invest in developing the forms of social capital that keep adolescents from engaging in at-risk behaviors.

Inherent to accomplishing this task is rethinking the way in which schools are structured. Cotterell (1996) and Croninger and Lee (1996) confirmed in their research the need for schools to reconsider the impersonal nature of large institutions controlled by

excessive rules and regulations. The impersonal nature of large schools negatively impacts the ability of institutions to develop the interconnectedness essential to developing social capital. The results of this study indicate that when low levels of social capital are found in schools and communities, adolescents tend to engage at a higher level in at-risk behaviors. This suggests that school and community leaders need to find ways to develop opportunities for interaction that will personalize the environment where adolescents can develop positive behaviors associated with social capital development.

To accomplish this task, opportunities to engage in activities that develop positive school and community social capital should be provided by the school and community. Teachman et al. (1996), Coleman and Hoffer (1987), and Henderson and Berla (1997) suggest that this can be accomplished through improving the relationship between parents, their children, and the school. Parents who show an interest in school matters tend to be more involved in a relationship with their children and other adults in the community. Broh (2002) and Mahoney and Cairns (1997) indicate that this can be accomplished through extracurricular programs sponsored by the school and community. Students engaged in school sponsored extracurricular activities tend to develop relationships with others that are healthy. Parent involvement in these types of school activities increases through participation in their children's activities. The connectedness afforded to adolescents and their parents enhances the social capital bond developed between the parent, child, school, and community. Opportunities for positive behaviors through engagement in such programs build social capital and thus keep adolescents from engaging in inappropriate at-risk behaviors. As a result it is important that school and

community leaders continue to support and sponsor such activities. Ultimately, the results of this study, as supported through the literature, indicate that School and Community Social Capital matters when considering the social development of adolescents.

In summary, it is abundantly clear that both Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital matter when it comes to the social development of adolescents. Since the independent variables of Family Social Capital and School and Community Capital were analyzed independent of each other, it is difficult to ascertain which one has more of an impact on whether or not a student will engage in at-risk behaviors. Comparisons between the two are speculative at best; however, it should be noted that significant differences were found between the relationships of all six at-risk behaviors when compared to all three levels of Family Social Capital. This was not the case for School and Community Social Capital. The results of this study may indicate that, overall, Family Social Capital is somewhat more important than School and Community Social Capital when considering the level of at-risk behavior engaged in by adolescents.

Limitations

As a secondary analysis of data, results were limited to those behaviors measured by the YRPFS created and administered for the purposes of obtaining an overall picture of student at-risk behaviors in the studied district. Furthermore, Family Social Capital and School and Community Social Capital were analyzed independent of each other making it difficult to ascertain which one has more of an impact on whether or not a

student will engage in at-risk behaviors. Finally, the at-risk behaviors – dietary issues, trouble with the law, and suicide – were omitted due to a lack of data to conduct meaningful analysis.

Recommendations

The following recommendations emerge from the analysis of the data and review of the literature for this study.

Recommendations for Educators

In general, the relationship between social capital and the at-risk behaviors of adolescents indicates that communities should develop programs designed to enhance the development of social capital. Central to this concept is the school itself. As a center of the community, schools can provide the structure needed to develop the interagency connectedness necessary in developing social capital. By reaching out to the resources available in the community, programs can be coordinated by identifying specific interagency agreements that stipulate the types of services that are needed to serve at-risk students (Nettles, 1990). Through a coordination of community services at the school, networks of communication can be enhanced, thereby improving the reciprocal relationships between parents and their children, schools and their students, and communities and their inhabitants.

Secondary schools should include programs designed to enhance the development of social capital. This may be accomplished through three different ways:

1. Through the education of school administrators and teachers about the theory of social capital and the implications it has on the social development of adolescent students.
2. Through restructuring the structural environment of secondary schools.
3. Through the development of peer programs designed to engage peers in the development of healthy relationships, thus extending their social network.

To accomplish these tasks, the faculties of educational leadership programs for aspiring administrators and teachers should include in their curriculum an understanding of social capital theory as it applies to the school and community setting. By having a better understanding of social capital theory, administrators and teachers will be better able to develop a climate in the school conducive to social capital development. Furthermore, the social capital developed within a school can be extended in networks established with the community at large.

A second way to enhance the development of social capital should be accomplished by redesigning the overall structural environment of secondary schools to better accommodate a collaborative environment conducive to the development of interpersonal relationships between students and teachers, students and parents, teachers and parents, and the school and community. The redesigned high school would use strategies such as academic teams, school within a school, and/or class level academies designed to improve reciprocal interactions within the smaller dimensions of the school units. Relationships extending beyond these units would be maintained to ensure that social capital opportunities that exist beyond the classroom of each school unit include

the larger school environment. In addition, relationships with the larger community could be fostered through the development of formal and informal institutions designed to identify and solve problems facing adolescents (Newmann, 1993). The physical structure would be changed to accommodate site-based programs designed to address the needs of at-risk students. Examples of programs could include but are not limited to tutorial programs, day care centers, substance abuse programs, health and mental health services, family counseling, and recreation opportunities (Nettles, 1990).

Finally, there is overwhelming evidence as cited by Bernard (1990), Brown and Theobald (1998), Coleman (1988), Cotterell (1996), Putnam (2000), Sergiovanni (1994), Vondra and Garbarino (1988), and Wehlage (1993) that peer relationships have a strong influence on the social development of an adolescent. With this being the case, peer programs designed to support peers by peers should be developed in schools. Programs as suggested by Bernard (1990) could include youth community service, cooperative learning, peer tutoring, cross-age tutoring, peer mediation, and peer leadership. By designing programs to develop healthy relationships that support at-risk youth among their peer groups, opportunities to succeed in life's chances may be enhanced.

Recommendations for Researchers

Since the literature explicitly refers to the strong bond between peer groups, a further study of peer interactions and the relationship to social capital is recommended. Such a study would identify the factors inherent to peer relationships and the development of good or bad social capital (i.e., nurturing relationships that produce positive results versus involvement in deviant behavior such as is the result of gang

membership). In addition, any further study should include the at-risk behaviors of suicide, dietary behaviors, and trouble with the law.

Another recommendation for further research is to conduct a study that correlates the relationship between family structure to include socioeconomic background and nontraditional families as they relate to the development of social capital and its relationship to at-risk adolescent behaviors. A study such as this would identify the specific factors inherent within a family structure that cause adolescents to take part in risky behaviors.

Since the ethnic groups for this study were too small for meaningful analysis, a further study including different ethnic backgrounds would provide insight to different cultural norms and sanctions as they relate to reciprocal relationships that develop social capital within family, school, and community structures. Such a study would further provide school leaders the insight needed to develop a model of social capital development to include the norms and sanctions of all ethnic groups.

A final recommendation for further study is to separate the independent variables of school and community social capital. By doing so, a researcher could specifically identify the aspects of each domain as they relate to the at-risk behaviors of adolescents.

In closing, social capital is a powerful theory that has the potential to provide opportunities for adolescents to improve their life's chances. By having a better understanding of this theory and how it applies to adolescents, school officials, parents, and communities as a whole can become proactive in designing social structures that will enhance the social capital potential for all adolescents. Schools should make it part of

their mission to cultivate a climate of social connectedness as they model the development of social capital within a community. By doing so, communities can improve their social situation and enhance the overall quality of life for all citizens.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SURVEY A

Survey A
April 2001

1. Please darken circle A on form.
2. School attending?

A. Central	E. South
B. Community	F. Twining
C. Red River	G. Valley
D. Schroeder	
3. How old are you?

A. 12	E. 16
B. 13	F. 17
C. 14	G. 18 or older
D. 15	
4. What grade are you in school?

A. 7 th
B. 8 th
C. 9 th
D. 10 th
E. 11 th
F. 12 th
5. What is your gender?

A. Male
B. Female
6. How do you describe yourself?

A. American Indian or Alaskan Native
B. Hispanic or Latino
C. Asian
D. White
E. Afro-American/Black
F. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
G. Other
7. Which one of the following best describes your family?

A. Living with both natural parents
B. Living with one natural parent
C. Living with one natural parent and one stepparent
D. Living with one natural parent and their boyfriend/girlfriend
E. Living with a divorced mother
F. Living with a divorced father
G. Living with other relatives, foster parents or guardians
H. Living with adoptive parents
8. What is the highest level of schooling your father has completed?

A. Completed grade school or less
B. Some high school
C. Completed high school
D. Some college
E. Completed college
F. Graduate or professional school after college
G. Don't know
9. What is the highest level of schooling your mother has completed?

A. Completed grade school or less
B. Some high school
C. Completed high school
D. Some college
E. Completed college
F. Graduate or professional school after college
G. Don't know
10. Indicate the number of times you have changed schools that were not due to grade promotion:

A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
11. On average, how many hours per week do you spend at a job outside of school?

A. 0 hours
B. 1-5 hours
C. 6-10 hours
D. 11-20 hours
E. 21-30 hours
F. 30 or more

Some of the questions in this survey ask about your parent(s). In this survey, "parent(s)" (and "father" or "mother") refer to the adults who are most responsible for raising you. They could be foster parents, step-parents, adoptive parents, or relatives/guardians.

Survey A
April 2001

12. On average, how many hours per week are you involved in extracurricular activities?
- None
 - 1-2 hours
 - 3-5 hours
 - 6-10 hours
 - 11 hours or more
13. On average, how many hours per day do you watch television, play video games or use the computer?
- None
 - ½ hour
 - 1-2
 - 3-5
 - 6-10
 - 11 or more
14. If you drink alcohol, (beer, wine, hard liquor) where do you most often get it? (Select only one response.)
- I don't use alcohol.
 - I purchase it myself.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission.
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend who buys it for me.
 - I ask a stranger to buy it.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative.
 - Other
15. If you smoke marijuana (pot, weed), where do you most often get it?
- I don't use marijuana.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend or someone else who buys it for me.
 - I buy it myself from another source.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative.
 - Other
16. If you use other drugs, (meth, cocaine, ecstasy) where do you most often get them?
- I don't use drugs.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission.
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend or someone else who buys it for me.
 - I buy it myself from another source.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative
 - Other
17. During the past year, how many times have you been in trouble with the law (i.e., seen in juvenile court)?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
18. How easy is it for you to get alcohol in your community?
- I don't drink alcohol
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
19. How easy is it for you to get cigarettes or tobacco products in your community?
- I don't smoke or chew.
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
20. How easy is it for you to get other drugs (other than tobacco) in your community?
- I don't use drugs
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
 - I don't know

Survey A
April 2001

21. Does your neighborhood care about you?
- Yes
 - No
 - Maybe
 - I don't know
 - Doesn't apply (live out in the country, etc.)
22. Do you have access to guns outside your home?
- Yes
 - No
23. Adults in this city make you feel important.
- Agree
 - Not sure
 - Disagree
24. Adults in this city care about the people your age.
- Agree
 - Not sure
 - Disagree
25. During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping other people without getting paid (such as helping out at a hospital, daycare center, food shelf, youth program, community service, or doing other things) to make your city a better place for people to live?
- None
 - 1 hour
 - 2 hours
 - 3-5 hours
 - 6-10 hours
 - 11 hours or more
26. During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors?
- None
 - 1 hour
 - 2 hours
 - 3-5 hours
 - 6-10 hours
 - 11 hours or more
27. A mentor is an adult outside your family who cares about and spends time with you. Mentors can come from schools, businesses, or other organizations. Would you participate in a mentor program in this community if it were available?
- Yes
 - No
28. Are your parents involved in community activities?
- Yes
 - No
 - Don't know
29. What grades did you earn most often this year?
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| A. Mostly A's | D. Mostly D's |
| B. Mostly B's | E. Mostly F's |
| C. Mostly C's | F. Incompletes |
30. Do you expect to graduate from high school?
- Yes
 - No
31. Do your parents expect you to graduate from high school?
- Yes
 - No
32. What do you expect to do after leaving high school?
- Attend a four-year college
 - Attend a vocational/technical school
 - Military Service
 - Get a full time job
 - I don't care
 - I'm not sure
33. What do your parents expect you to do after leaving high school?
- Attend a four-year college
 - Attend a vocational/technical school
 - Military Service
 - Get a full time job
 - I don't care
 - I'm not sure
34. In the past 30 days, have you cut any classes at school?
- Yes
 - No

Survey A
April 2001

35. On average, how many hours per week do you spend on homework outside of school?

- A. None
B. 1-2
C. 3-5
D. 6-10
E. 11 or more

36. Is alcohol available on your school grounds?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

37. Are other drugs (cocaine, meth, ecstasy) available on your school grounds?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

38. Is the policy at your school for students who use alcohol or other drugs enforced?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

39. Do you think there are school/community services available to students with alcohol or other drug problems?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

40. If you knew someone brought a weapon to school, or threatened someone with a weapon, would you report it to an adult?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. It depends on who it is.
D. I don't know.

41. Do you feel safe at school?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. Sometimes

42. In your school are the rules clear?

- A. Yes
B. No

Since the beginning of the school year, how often have you discussed the following with either or both of your parent(s) and/or guardian(s)...?

43. Selecting course or programs at school?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

44. Your participation in school activities?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

45. Current class work or projects?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

Since the beginning of the school year, has either your parent(s) or guardian(s) done any of the following...?

46. Attend a school meeting?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

47. Phone or spoke to a teacher, counselor, or principal?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

48. Visit classes?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

49. Attend a school event?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

Survey A
April 2001

50. On the average, how many hours a day are you without adult supervision?
- None
 - 1-2 hours
 - 3-5 hours
 - 4-6 hours
 - 11 hours or more
51. Do your parents/guardians think you drink alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor)?
- I don't drink they think I do.
 - I don't drink they think I don't.
 - I do drink they think I do.
 - I do drink they think I don't.
52. How do you think your parents/guardians would feel about you drinking alcohol?
- They would strongly object.
 - They would not be sure what to think.
 - They don't seem to mind.
 - They think it's okay.
 - I don't know.
53. Which consequence from your parents/guardians would most keep you from drinking? (select only one)
- I don't drink
 - No consequences would prevent me from drinking.
 - Losing my driving privileges.
 - Grounding
 - Withholding my allowance.
 - Alcohol or drug testing.
 - Keeping me from doing extra curricular activities.
54. How would you describe the rules your parents set for you?
- I have no rules.
 - Fair and reasonable.
 - Strict and fair.
 - Strict but unfair.
55. Do your parents think it's OK for you to have pre-marital sex?
- Yes
 - No
 - They don't care.
 - I don't know.
56. Has alcohol or any other drug use (other than tobacco) by any family member repeatedly caused family, health, job, or legal problems?
- Yes
 - No
57. Do your parents think you smoke marijuana?
- I don't smoke they think I do.
 - I don't smoke they think I don't.
 - I do smoke they think I do.
 - I do smoke they think I don't.
58. Have you been harmed at home or by someone in your family or living with your family (i.e. where someone caused you to have a scar, black and blue marks, welts, bleeding or broken bone)?
- Yes
 - No
59. Have you ever witnessed violence in your home? (not including typical sibling arguing or fighting)
- Yes
 - No
60. Do you feel safe from abuse in your home?
- Yes
 - No
 - Sometimes
 - Most of the time
61. How would you describe your family?
- Happy and content
 - Stressful and on edge
 - Somewhere in between
 - Isolated
62. Do your parents often tell you they love you?
- Yes
 - No
63. Does your family make you feel useful and important?
- Yes
 - No

Survey A
April 2001

64. Does your family have clear rules?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
65. Do you have access to guns in your home?
- A. We do not have any guns.
 - B. Yes
 - C. No
66. How often does your family eat meals together each week?
- A. 0 times
 - B. 1-3 times
 - C. 4-6 times
 - D. More than 6 times
67. Do your parents talk to you about alcohol and other drugs?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
68. How much of the time do your parents know where you are going or with whom you will be?
- A. Never
 - B. Seldom
 - C. Some of the time
 - D. Most of the time
 - E. All of the time
69. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage regularly?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
70. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke marijuana regularly?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
71. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per week?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
72. How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke cigarettes?
- A. They would strongly object.
 - B. They would not be sure what to think.
 - C. They don't seem to mind.
 - D. They think it's okay.
 - E. I don't know.
73. How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke marijuana?
- A. They would strongly object.
 - B. They would not be sure what to think.
 - C. They don't seem to mind.
 - D. They think it's okay.
 - E. I don't know.
74. Do your friends think it's cool to get drunk? (wasted)
- A. Yes
 - B. No
75. Do your friends think it's cool to get high? (stoned)
- A. Yes
 - B. No
76. How old were you when you first began smoking cigarettes?
- A. I don't smoke cigarettes.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
77. How old were you when you first began using chew or spit tobacco?
- A. I don't use the above.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over

Survey A
April 2001

78. How old were you when you first began to drink alcohol? (beer, wine coolers, hard liquor)
- A. I don't use alcohol.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
79. How old were you when you first began to use marijuana (pot, weed)?
- A. I don't use marijuana.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
80. How old were you when you first began to sniff glue, breath the contents of aerosol spray cans, or huff any paints or sprays to get high?
- A. I don't do any of the above.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
81. How old were you when you first began to use cocaine?
- A. I don't use cocaine.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
82. How old were you when you first began to use meth (speed)?
- A. I don't use meth.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
83. How old were you when you first began to use ecstasy?
- A. I don't use ecstasy.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
84. If you drink alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor), how much do you usually drink at one time?
- A. I don't drink alcohol.
 - B. One can, glass, drink
 - C. Two cans, glasses, or drinks
 - D. Three cans, glasses or drinks
 - E. Four cans, glasses or drinks
 - F. Five cans, glasses or drinks
 - G. Six or more cans, glasses, drinks
85. During the past 30 days, how often did you smoke cigarettes?
- A. I don't smoke cigarettes.
 - B. 1-5 days
 - C. 6-9 days
 - D. 10-19 days
 - E. 20-30 days
86. During the past 30 days, how often did you use alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor)?
- A. I don't use alcohol
 - B. 1-5 days
 - C. 6-9 days
 - D. 10-19 days
 - E. 20-30 days
87. During the past 30 days, how often did you drink at school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once
 - C. Twice
 - D. 3-5 times
 - E. 6-9 times
 - F. 10 or more times

Survey A
April 2001

88. During the past 30 days, how many times were you drunk (buzzed) in school?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
89. During the past 30 days, how often did you use marijuana?
- I don't use marijuana
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 days
90. During the past 30 days, how many times were you stoned (on pot) in school?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
91. During the past 30 days, how often did you use cocaine?
- I don't use cocaine.
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 days
92. During the past 30 days, how often did you use meth (speed)?
- I don't use meth.
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 day
93. During the past 30 days, how often did you use ecstasy?
- I don't use ecstasy.
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 day
94. During the past 30 days, how often did you sniff glue, breath the contents of aerosol spray cans, or huff any paints or sprays to get high?
- I don't do the above.
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 days
95. During the past 30 days, how often did you use acid?
- I don't use acid.
 - 1-5 days
 - 6-9 days
 - 10-19 days
 - 20-30 days
96. During the past 30 days, how many times have you ridden in a car or other vehicle driven by someone who had been drinking alcohol?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
97. During the past 30 days, how many times have you driven a vehicle when you had been drinking alcohol?
- I don't drive.
 - Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
98. How many hours of sleep do you get each night?
- 0
 - 1-4
 - 5-6
 - 7-8
 - 9-10
 - 10 or more
99. In the past week, how many times did you exercise a minimum of 20 minutes per day?
- | | |
|-----------|--------------|
| A. 0 days | E. 4 days |
| B. 1 day | F. 5 days |
| C. 2 days | G. 6 days |
| D. 3 days | H. Every day |

Survey A
April 2001

100. Is it against your values to have pre-marital sex?
A. Yes
B. No
101. Do you act courageous?
A. Yes
B. No
102. Do you believe everybody's ideas and feelings are important even if they are different than your ideas or feelings?
A. Yes
B. No
103. Do you feel students are trustworthy at your school?
A. Yes
B. No
104. Do you feel students feel like they "belong" to your school?
A. Yes
B. No
105. Do you feel cheating is rare at your school?
A. Yes
B. No
106. Do students act respectfully towards each other?
A. Yes
B. No
107. Are the adults in your school respectful to all students?
A. Yes
B. No
108. Do you feel students act in a responsible manner?
A. Yes
B. No
109. Do you believe teacher's care about students at your school?
A. Yes
B. No
110. Do you believe there is a culture of positive character within your school?
A. Yes
B. No
111. Do you believe students participate fairly during athletic or other competitive (speech, debate, etc.) activities?
A. Yes
B. No
112. During competitive activities do you feel students from your school threat opponents respectfully?
A. Yes
B. No
113. Do you feel students take appropriate action when resolving conflicts with other students?
A. Yes
B. No
114. Did you answer all the questions on this survey honestly?
A. Yes
B. No

APPENDIX B

SURVEY B

Survey B
April 2001

1. Please darken circle B on form.
2. School attending?

A. Central	E. South
B. Community	F. Twining
C. Red River	G. Valley
D. Schroeder	
3. How old are you?

A. 12	E. 16
B. 13	F. 17
C. 14	G. 18 or older
D. 15	
4. What grade are you in school?

A. 7 th
B. 8 th
C. 9 th
D. 10 th
E. 11 th
F. 12 th
5. What is your gender?

A. Male
B. Female
6. How do you describe yourself?

A. American Indian or Alaskan Native
B. Hispanic or Latino
C. Asian
D. White
E. Afro-American/Black
F. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
G. Other
7. Which one of the following best describes your family?

A. Living with both natural parents
B. Living with one natural parent
C. Living with one natural parent and one stepparent
D. Living with one natural parent and their boyfriend/girlfriend
E. Living with a divorced mother
F. Living with a divorced father
G. Living with other relatives, foster parents or guardians
H. Living with adoptive parents
8. What is the highest level of schooling your father has completed?

A. Completed grade school or less
B. Some high school
C. Completed high school
D. Some college
E. Completed college
F. Graduate or professional school after college
G. Don't know
9. What is the highest level of schooling your mother has completed?

A. Completed grade school or less
B. Some high school
C. Completed high school
D. Some college
E. Completed college
F. Graduate or professional school after college
G. Don't know
10. Indicate the number of times you have changed schools that were not due to grade promotion:

A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
11. On average, how many hours per week do you spend at a job outside of school?

A. 0 hours
B. 1-5 hours
C. 6-10 hours
D. 11-20 hours
E. 21-30 hours
F. 30 or more

Some of the questions in this survey ask about your parent(s). In this survey, "parent(s)" (and "father" or "mother") refer to the adults who are most responsible for raising you. They could be foster parents, step-parents, adoptive parents, or relatives/guardians.

Survey B
April 2001

12. On average, how many hours per week are you involved in extracurricular activities?
- None
 - 1-2 hours
 - 3-5 hours
 - 6-10 hours
 - 11 hours or more
13. On average, how many hours per day do you watch television, play video games or use the computer?
- None
 - ½ hour
 - 1-2
 - 3-5
 - 6-10
 - 11 or more
14. If you drink alcohol, (beer, wine, hard liquor) where do you most often get it? (Select only one response.)
- I don't use alcohol.
 - I purchase it myself.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission.
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend who buys it for me.
 - I ask a stranger to buy it.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative.
 - Other
15. If you smoke marijuana (pot, weed), where do you most often get it?
- I don't use marijuana.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend or someone else who buys it for me.
 - I buy it myself from another source.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative.
 - Other
16. If you use other drugs, (meth, cocaine, ecstasy) where do you most often get them?
- I don't use drugs.
 - From my home with my parent's permission.
 - From my home without my parent's permission.
 - From a friend who gives it to me.
 - From a friend or someone else who buys it for me.
 - I buy it myself from another source.
 - From a brother, sister or other relative
 - Other
17. During the past year, how many times have you been in trouble with the law (i.e., seen in juvenile court)?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
18. How easy is it for you to get alcohol in your community?
- I don't drink alcohol
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
19. How easy is it for you to get cigarettes or tobacco in your community?
- I don't smoke or chew.
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
20. How easy is it for you to get other drugs (other than tobacco) in your community?
- I don't use drugs
 - Very easy
 - Easy
 - Difficult
 - Very difficult
 - I don't know

Survey B
April 2001

21. Does your neighborhood care about you?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Maybe
 - D. I don't know
 - E. Doesn't apply (live out in the country, etc.)
22. Do you have access to guns outside your home?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
23. Adults in this city make you feel important.
- A. Agree
 - B. Not sure
 - C. Disagree
24. Adults in this city care about the people your age.
- A. Agree
 - B. Not sure
 - C. Disagree
25. During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping other people without getting paid (such as helping out at a hospital, daycare center, food shelf, youth program, community service, or doing other things) to make your city a better place for people to live?
- A. None
 - B. 1 hour
 - C. 2 hours
 - D. 3-5 hours
 - E. 6-10 hours
 - F. 11 hours or more
26. During an average week, how many hours do you spend helping friends or neighbors?
- A. None
 - B. 1 hour
 - C. 2 hours
 - D. 3-5 hours
 - E. 6-10 hours
 - F. 11 hours or more
27. A mentor is an adult outside your family who cares about and spends time with you. Mentors can come from schools, businesses, or other organizations. Would you participate in a mentor program in this community if it were available?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
28. Are your parents involved in community activities?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. Don't know
29. What grades did you earn most often this year?
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| A. Mostly A's | D. Mostly D's |
| B. Mostly B's | E. Mostly F's |
| C. Mostly C's | F. Incompletes |
30. Do you expect to graduate from high school?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
31. Do your parents expect you to graduate from high school?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
32. What do you expect to do after leaving high school?
- A. Attend a four-year college
 - B. Attend a vocational/technical school
 - C. Military Service
 - D. Get a full time job
 - E. I don't care
 - F. I'm not sure
33. What do your parents expect you to do after leaving high school?
- A. Attend a four-year college
 - B. Attend a vocational/technical school
 - C. Military Service
 - D. Get a full time job
 - E. I don't care
 - F. I'm not sure
34. In the past 30 days, have you cut any classes at school?
- A. Yes
 - B. No

Survey B
April 2001

35. On average, how many hours per week do you spend on homework outside of school?

- A. None
B. 1-2
C. 3-5
D. 6-10
E. 11 or more

36. Is alcohol available on your school grounds?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

37. Are other drugs (cocaine, meth, ecstasy) available on your school grounds?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

38. Is the policy at your school for students who use alcohol or other drugs enforced?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

39. Do you think there are school/community services available to students with alcohol or other drug problems?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. I don't know

40. If you knew someone brought a weapon to school, or threatened someone with a weapon, would you report it to an adult?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. It depends on who it is.
D. I don't know.

41. Do you feel safe at school?

- A. Yes
B. No
C. Sometimes

42. In your school are the rules clear?

- A. Yes
B. No

Since the beginning of the school year, how often have you discussed the following with either or both of your parent(s) and/or guardian(s)...?

43. Selecting course or programs at school?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

44. Your participation in school activities?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

45. Current class work or projects?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more

Since the beginning of the school year, has either your parent(s) or guardian(s) done any of the following...?

46. Attend a school meeting?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

47. Phone or spoke to a teacher, counselor, or principal?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

48. Visit classes?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

49. Attend a school event?

- A. Not at all
B. Once or twice
C. Three times or more
D. I'm not sure.

Survey B
April 2001

50. On the average, how many hours a day are you without adult supervision?
- A. None
B. 1-2 hours
C. 3-5 hours
D. 4-6 hours
E. 11 hours or more
51. Do your parents/guardians think you drink alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor)?
- A. I don't drink they think I do.
B. I don't drink they think I don't.
C. I do drink they think I do.
D. I do drink they think I don't.
52. How do you think your parents/guardians would feel about you drinking alcohol?
- A. They would strongly object.
B. They would not be sure what to think.
C. They don't seem to mind.
D. They think it's okay.
E. I don't know.
53. Which consequence from your parents/guardians would most keep you from drinking?
- A. I don't drink
B. No consequences would prevent me from drinking.
C. Losing my driving privileges.
D. Grounding
E. Withholding my allowance.
F. Alcohol or drug testing.
G. Keeping me from doing extra curricular activities.
54. How would you describe the rules your parents set for you?
- A. I have no rules.
B. Fair and reasonable.
C. Strict and fair.
D. Strict but unfair.
55. Do your parents think it's OK for you to have pre-marital sex?
- A. Yes
B. No
C. They don't care.
D. I don't know.
56. Has alcohol or any other drug use (other than tobacco) by any family member repeatedly caused family, health, job, or legal problems?
- A. Yes
B. No
57. Do your parents think you smoke marijuana?
- A. I don't smoke they think I do.
B. I don't smoke they think I don't.
C. I do smoke they think I do.
D. I do smoke they think I don't.
58. Have you been harmed at home or by someone in your family or living with your family (i.e. where someone caused you to have a scar, black and blue marks, welts, bleeding or broken bone)?
- A. Yes
B. No
59. Have you ever witnessed violence in your home? (not including typical sibling arguing or fighting)
- A. Yes
B. No
60. Do you feel safe from abuse in your home?
- A. Yes
B. No
C. Sometimes
D. Most of the time
61. How would you describe your family?
- A. Happy and content
B. Stressful and on edge
C. Somewhere in between
D. Isolated
62. Do your parents often tell you they love you?
- A. Yes
B. No
63. Does your family make you feel useful and important?
- A. Yes
B. No

Survey B
April 2001

64. Does your family have clear rules?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
65. Do you have access to guns in your home?
- A. We do not have any guns.
 - B. Yes
 - C. No
66. How often does your family eat meals together each week?
- A. 0 times
 - B. 1-3 times
 - C. 4-6 times
 - D. More than 6 times
67. Do your parents talk to you about alcohol and other drugs?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
68. How much of the time do your parents know where you are going or with whom you will be?
- A. Never
 - B. Seldom
 - C. Some of the time
 - D. Most of the time
 - E. All of the time
69. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they take one or two drinks of an alcoholic beverage regularly?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
70. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke marijuana regularly?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
71. How much do you think people risk harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per week?
- A. No risk
 - B. Slight risk
 - C. Moderate risk
 - D. Great risk
72. How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke cigarettes?
- A. They would strongly object.
 - B. They would not be sure what to think.
 - C. They don't seem to mind.
 - D. They think it's okay.
 - E. I don't know.
73. How wrong do your parents feel it would be for you to smoke marijuana?
- A. They would strongly object.
 - B. They would not be sure what to think.
 - C. They don't seem to mind.
 - D. They think it's okay.
 - E. I don't know.
74. Do your friends think it's cool to get drunk? (wasted)
- A. Yes
 - B. No
75. Do your friends think it's cool to get high? (stoned)
- A. Yes
 - B. No
76. How old were you when you first began smoking cigarettes?
- A. I don't smoke cigarettes.
 - B. 10 or under
 - C. 11-12
 - D. 13-14
 - E. 15-16
 - F. 17 and over
77. With how many people have you experienced sexual intercourse during your life?
- A. This question does not apply to me.
 - B. 1 person
 - C. 2 people
 - D. 3 people
 - E. 4 people
 - F. 5 people
 - G. 6 or more people

Survey B
April 2001

78. Have you forced anyone to have sexual contact?
- Yes
 - No
79. How often have you had sexual intercourse after drinking alcohol?
- This question does not apply to me.
 - Rarely
 - Sometimes
 - Usually
 - Always
80. During this school year, how many times have you considered attempting suicide?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
81. During this school year, how many times have you attempted suicide?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6 or more times
82. If you had problems and wanted to talk to an adult, who would you feel most comfortable talking to? (select only one)
- Parents/Guardians
 - School counselor
 - Teacher
 - Clergy (pastor, priest, rabbi)
 - Older brother or sister
 - All of the above
 - No one
83. During this school year, how many times have you damaged property (i.e. purposely vandalized)?
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
84. During this school year, how many times have you been suspended from school? (in or out of school)
- Never
 - Once
 - Twice
 - 3-5 times
 - 6-9 times
 - 10 or more times
85. Has anyone ever touched you sexually or had you touch them sexually without your consent?
- Yes
 - No
86. I was pregnant or I got someone pregnant and I...
- This question does not apply to me.
 - had an abortion
 - released the baby for adoption
 - kept the child
87. How often do you binge eat (eat a lot of food in a short period of time) and then make yourself throw up or use laxatives to get rid of the food you have eaten?
- Never
 - Once in a while
 - Sometimes
 - Often
88. Is it important for you to tell the truth, even when it's not easy?
- Yes, it is important.
 - No, it is not important.
89. Do you accept responsibility for your actions when you make a mistake or get in trouble?
- Yes
 - No
90. If you knew a student had threatened to hurt or shoot someone, who would you most likely tell? (select only one)
- My parents
 - The student's parents
 - Teacher, counselor, or principal at school
 - My friend(s)
 - Older brother or sister
 - All of the above
 - No one

Survey B
April 2001

91. If you heard a rumor that someone was going to shoot or hurt someone, how seriously would you take it?
- A. I would discuss it with my friends.
 - B. I'd think that student was just looking for attention.
 - C. I would take it very seriously and tell an adult.
 - D. I would ignore it.

Please base your answers on the past year (past 12 months):

92. How many times have you started a fight or beaten up somebody at school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
93. How many times have you stayed home from school because of fears of being hurt or bullied by other students?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
94. Have you been in trouble for picking on or bullying another student at school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
95. Have you started rumors or repeated lies about someone at school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
96. Have you been part of a group who bullied or hurt another student?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
97. Have you stolen or destroyed another student's property?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
98. Have you stolen or destroyed property belonging to a staff member or the school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
99. Have you been bullied by other students at school?
- A. Never
 - B. Once or twice
 - C. 3-5 times
 - D. 6 or more times
100. How often do students bully others in your school?
- A. Never
 - B. Occasionally
 - C. Frequently
101. Have you ever broken up a fight at your school?
- A. Never
 - B. 1-2 times
 - C. 3 or more times
102. Have you ever tried to stop a student from picking on another student at school?
- A. Never
 - B. 1-2 times
 - C. 3 or more times
103. Do teachers try to protect students from bullying?
- A. No, they ignore it.
 - B. Sometimes, if it's bad enough.
 - C. Usually
 - D. Always; bullying is not tolerated in this school.
104. Do you believe students have a right to use violence to protect themselves or their reputation?
- A. No, never.
 - B. Maybe; it depends on the situation.
 - C. Yes, definitely.

Survey B
April 2001

105. Do you believe you can count on adults in this school to protect you from being hurt by others?
- A. Yes, maybe.
 - B. Maybe; it depends on the situation.
 - C. No
106. If you were being bullied or harassed by another student, whom would you tell? (select only one)
- A. My parents
 - B. The student's parents
 - C. Teacher, counselor, or principal at school
 - D. My friend(s)
 - E. All of the above
 - F. No one
107. I have a number of good qualities.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
108. I have a positive attitude towards myself.
- A. Yes
 - B. No

Think about the people who know you well. How do you think they would rate you on the following?

109. Knowing how to say "no" when someone wants me to do things I know are wrong or dangerous.
- A. Not at all like me
 - B. Somewhat like me
 - C. Quite like me
110. Caring about other peoples' feelings.
- A. Not at all like me
 - B. Somewhat like me
 - C. Quite like me
111. Respecting the values and beliefs of people who are different than I am.
- A. Not at all like me
 - B. Somewhat like me
 - C. Quite like me
112. Being good at planning ahead.
- A. Not at all like me
 - B. Somewhat like me
 - C. Quite like me

APPENDIX C

MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS DIRECTIONS

**AT RISK SURVEY
MIDDLE AND HIGH
SCHOOL PRINCIPALS**

Below are the instructions for distribution:

1. You will be receiving
 - survey's A and B for grades 7-12th.
 - NCS forms
2. You will receive equal amounts of Surveys A, B. Please make sure each classroom has equal amounts of each survey (A and B) to ensure random sampling of each class.

*Example: 20 kids in Mrs. Doe's classroom – she should be given 10 of Survey A and 10 of Survey B
(survey is identified at the top right corner of each page)*

3. Make sure all students have a #2 pencil and a NCS form.
4. Make a copy of the teacher's directions for every teacher administering the survey.
5. Provide an envelope for each classroom for the teacher to return the completed survey's to the office.
5. Send the completed survey's to Karolyn at GFEC.

APPENDIX D

MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS SURVEY DIRECTIONS

<p style="text-align: center;">AT RISK SURVEY MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER DIRECTIONS</p>
--

Thank you for assisting us by administering the At Risk Survey to students in grade 7-12. Please help us get valid results from this survey by setting a serious tone in your classroom. The responses are very important to assess student's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

- #2 pencil
- 1 survey for each student
- NCS form for each student
- envelope for completed answer sheet

TEACHER DIRECTIONS:

1. This survey is a district survey that is being given to all students in grades 7-12.
2. Pass out the NCS forms and equal amounts of survey's A and B. Please have students remove everything from their desk.

Example: 20 kids in Mrs. Doe's classroom –give 10 of Survey A, 10 of Survey B (survey is identified at the top right corner of the first page)

3. Thank you for helping us with the survey. Remember, this is not a timed test, and no one will be able to identify responses. Make sure everyone has a survey, NCS form, and a #2 pencil.
4. Place the completed answer sheets in the envelope that you have placed on your desk or somewhere in the room. Turn in the envelope (containing the completed answer sheets) and all the surveys to your building principal.

READ THESE DIRECTIONS TO STUDENTS:

- Darken completely the circle next to the answer you choose. Make sure the letter you are marking on your answer sheet corresponds to the letter on your form. Mark only one response to each question.
- Erase cleanly any mark you wish to change.
- Do not write your name on the survey or answer sheet.
- If you have any questions, please raise your hand so that I may help you.
- When you have completed this survey, please place your pencil and survey on the table and your answer sheet in the envelope.

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