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The Development and Impact of Young People's Social Capital in Secondary Schools

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Centre for Research
on the Wider
Benefits of Learning

THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL CAPITAL IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Executive Summary

Introduction

Social capital refers to networks between people and the relationships of trust and reciprocity they develop. It is seen as a desirable characteristic of communities and societies (underpinning community and social cohesion and mitigating crime and social dislocation) and as a valuable asset for individuals, enabling access through social networks to employment, skills, health and other individual benefits.

The ability of young people to develop this network of relationships while in school and in their local community, and its possible impact on school outcomes, is of increasing interest to education policymakers. This report presents the findings of research from the Centre for Research on the Wider Benefits of Learning in two inner-city schools. The report looks at different types of social capital: young people's attitudes to diversity, their sense of school belonging, and their access to support networks.

Key findings

- **Types of social capital are inter-related**. Young people with one form of social capital also tended to have another.

- **Young people's social capital is related to healthy socio-psychological resources.** The extent of networks and relationships influenced young people's socio-psychological resources, such as self-esteem, self-control, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability. All of these, particularly self-concept of ability, are positively related to educational achievement.

- **Social capital and socio-psychological resources are unevenly distributed**. In these two multicultural schools, white boys from lower SES backgrounds had lower levels of social capital while white girls had lower levels of socio-psychological resources.

- **Schools have an important role in developing social capital.**

    - School composition is important. In the highly culturally diverse schools in this study most students held positive attitudes to ethnic diversity, but much more negative views of small minority groups within the schools, such as gay students.

    - Schools can develop social capital through different channels. For example, a feeling of safety, acceptance and support, and being treated fairly by staff and students all helped to build a sense of school belonging.

- **School ethos can make a difference to students' access to support**. The school characterised by a 'strict' ethos appeared to direct more academic support to students, while the school with a more liberal ethos seemed to facilitate students' self-referral or informal access to socio-emotional support.

- **Neighbourhood context and family support are important influences**. Strong family ties are linked to more positive orientations to school and less stress for young people. Young people who live in inner-city areas are more likely to experience violence, crime and inter-ethnic conflicts over space in their neighbourhood. This can lead some to develop negative views of other ethnic groups and engage in behaviour that is valued on the street but unacceptable in school. Other research shows that close, supportive ties with family can protect young people from negative neighbourhood influences.

Background

Social capital is an important notion in British educational policy, and relates in particular to the Every Child Matters and Community Cohesion agendas. The literature of recent decades identifies different kinds of social capital, including 'bonding capital' (close networks with similar people, offering protective resources), and 'bridging' capital (networks with a wider range of different people, offering access to productive resources). However, most research has focused on adults. Less is known about what kinds of social capital young people have, which young people have them and which do not, and how they are developed and sustained in different learning contexts. Very little connection has been made between social capital, and achievement and wider outcomes in contrast to extensive analysis of the influence of socio-economic factors.

This report examines three kinds of social capital that are of particular concern to education policy, especially to the Every Child Matters and Community Cohesion agendas. These are: sense of school belonging (a form of bonding social capital), access to social support networks, and attitudes to social diversity (bridging social capital). The report draws on survey and qualitative interview data from two secondary schools in London to investigate the extent to which different students can draw on social capital, how these forms of capital interact with one another, how they are mediated by particular school and neighbourhood contexts, and how they impact on educational and wider outcomes.

The key research questions were:

1. How do young people develop social support networks, their sense of school belonging and attitudes to social diversity?
2. How do these particular forms of social capital interact?
3. How do young people's social support networks, attitudes to diversity and sense of school belonging relate to their educational and wider outcomes?

Methodology

The data are drawn from a mixed-methods case study of two schools in an inner London borough. The borough is highly diverse in terms of ethnicity/race and class, with almost half the population having a non-white and/or non-British background, and thus represents a particularly challenging setting for the development of community cohesion.

Both schools are co-educational comprehensives, with considerable ethnic and social-class diversity. At the time of the research (2006-2007), more than 70% of the students in both schools were not of white British origin. However, the schools differed both in their composition and in their approach and ethos. One, *Rose Park*, (names of schools have been altered) had a slightly more middle-class intake but the proportion of students entitled to free school meals (FSM) was still about average for the borough. It also had a greater diversity of minority ethnic groups. This school was housed in old buildings and was regarded by staff and students as having a 'liberal' ethos. One indication of this was the absence of a school uniform. The other school, *Oak High*, had a higher proportion of FSM students, fewer middle-class students, and a high proportion of boys. It was less ethnically diverse, with Bangladeshi students making up most of the school's Asian population. This school had new buildings, a uniform, and a 'strict' ethos, with more formal disciplinary and monitoring systems.

Primary quantitative survey data were collected from most students in both schools (1,583 in total) using a self-completion questionnaire along with FSM and Key Stage 2 and 3 data). The response rates were high: 78% for *Oak High* and 73% for *Rose Park*. The survey was used to quantify the extent to which young people have access to specific forms of social capital, in relation to their social background characteristics, socio-psychological resources and educational and wider outcomes.

This was supported by qualitative semi-structured interview data from 53 Year 10 students, exploring their experiences with and attitudes to their neighbourhoods, social diversity, sense of school belonging and social support. Year 10 students volunteered to be interviewed and under-represented groups were approached to take part. Interviews with 20 members of staff were also carried out. These interviews covered their experiences of multi-agency working, extended services, the Every Child Matters agenda, social diversity in school, sense of school belonging and social support. Supporting secondary material, such as school documents and observations, was also used.

Findings

The development of young people's social capital

The first key finding is that school contexts do matter. Although, overall, our two schools were not very different in terms of students' average levels of social capital, it was clear from the qualitative data that both the composition of the schools (in terms of ethnicity/race, gender and social class) and the specific things they do can influence the development of young people's social capital.

Composition appears particularly important in relation to social diversity. The schools in this study were highly ethnically diverse and, on average, students tended to hold positive attitudes to cultural and racial diversity. This would not necessarily be the case in less diverse schools. However, in both schools gay people were perceived as a small minority, and students seemed much less positive about diversity in terms of sexual orientation. Hence, while cultural diversity appeared to be valued, or at least regarded as a non-controversial issue within school, the data suggest that homophobia was a considerable problem in our two secondary schools. Composition also seemed to affect sense of school belonging. Both boys and girls were more likely to say that they felt part of the school community in the schools which had higher proportions of their gender.

The actions that schools took were important across all the dimensions of social capital and illustrate the inter-relationship between social capital dimensions. Students felt more part of a school community when they felt safe, accepted and supported, and when they were being treated fairly by staff and students. Students regarded both schools as relatively 'safe havens', where intolerance and violence were not permitted. However, schools could achieve this in different ways: *Oak High*, with its 'strict' ethos and structures, seemed to generate more academic support; *Rose Park* generated more socio-emotional support and close and supportive relationships between students.

Neighbourhood contexts also emerged as an important influence. For many young people in inner London, home neighbourhoods have elements of violence, crime and drug use. Competition over space and control between different racial/ethnic groups in their local area may foster negative views of particular racial/ethnic groups, which can be brought into the school, even though they may not be so openly expressed there. International political processes could have the same effect, as for instance expressed in attitudes of Muslim students to Jewish people. Furthermore, in pursuit of social survival on the street, or in protecting their safety and gaining respect on the street, students can adopt tough social fronts and violent strategies that are at odds with what is expected in school.

Interactions between different forms of social capital

The analyses of the student survey data from our two schools show that different forms of social capital associate strongly with each other. Importantly too, all forms of social capital were related to students' socio-psychological resources, especially their self-concept of ability. This term refers to students' perceived ability, interest, importance and effort in doing schoolwork. The survey analyses in our two schools show that white boys from lower SES backgrounds had the lowest levels of social capital while white girls had the lowest levels of socio-psychological resources. These are important findings which suggest the need to further explore whether such differences can be found for young people more generally, and, if so, find ways to support the development of social capital among white working-class students, particularly males.

Relationships between social capital and educational and wider outcomes

The research was not designed to test effects of social capital at a particular point in schooling with subsequent outcomes at GCSE. However, relationships between social capital and past and current educational achievement and wider outcomes were indicated. In general, levels of social capital were strongly associated with students' socio-psychological resources, particularly their self-concept of ability. Previous research indicates that this measure is positively related to beneficial educational outcomes. A number of possible explanations may account for these patterns. For example, students who feel strongly part of the school community have higher levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability and lower levels of stress than other students. This may mean that students with positive socio-psychological resources and low levels of stress are more able to build supportive, positive relationships with others, or that feeling part of a group helps young people develop such positive socio-psychological resources and reduce stress. Access to support tends to be correlated with lower prior attainment and lower engagement with school, which is probably explained by selection effects: struggling students at these two schools sought and gained support. One particularly interesting finding is that close relationships with 'significant others' seem to be correlated with lower levels of stress and more engagement with school; suggesting that social support and support for families may well enhance students' learning experiences.

Conclusions and implications

These findings speak to policy and practice in four principal ways. First, they emphasise that schools can have an important role in developing social capital for young people and that efforts to further develop young people's social capital are likely to increase students' socio-psychological resources and, related to this, their educational outcomes. By the same token, enhancing students' self-concept of ability by rewarding success and helping to build positive relationships and identities is likely to aid them in developing beneficial networks and attitudes. Schools can do a variety of things through their curriculum, pedagogy, pastoral approach, and extra-curricular activities. In particular, they can develop a school community by focusing on students' safety, individual expression, support, fair treatment and voice. However, the study also underscored other research findings demonstrating the impact of performative pressures on school culture, ethos and social relationships, and the way in which such pressures inform the delivery of support in schools. If building social capital is to be seen as important, particularly for more vulnerable groups, there will need to be a stronger emphasis on evaluating schools on their success in realising wider benefits, related to students' happiness, social-integration, safety and well-being, as well as on GCSE outputs.

Second, the findings show that social capital is unevenly distributed in the two schools included in this study. Echoing concerns about white working-class attainment, they emphasise the importance for schools of finding ways to engage lower SES white groups, who appear to have less social capital and socio-psychological resources.

Third, they underscore the importance of neighbourhood context and of family support. There are things that schools can do to address these outside factors. For example, tailoring their citizenship curriculum to the neighbourhood contexts and building extended services that promote collaborative relationships between different social groups. On the other hand, it is important to recognise that schools cannot do everything. There are important influences on young people's social capital outside school which are ultimately not within schools' influence.

Fourth, in all these respects, our findings demonstrate some of the possibilities and challenges for schools in implementing their new community cohesion duty. Developing community cohesion in schools cannot be seen in isolation from developing sense of school belonging, improving students' access to social support and enhancing their engagement and self-esteem. Nor can it be seen in isolation from school markets and admissions systems that determine the ethnic and gender composition of schools relative to their neighbourhoods. Community cohesion is more than a new additional duty for schools. It must be embedded in the core activities and values of schools and of the education system.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the research: learning, outcomes and context

This report is about young people's social capital, the context in which it is developed, and its relationship to educational and wider outcomes. It reports on findings from qualitative and quantitative research with young people in two Inner London secondary schools, exploring particularly their sense of school belonging (SSB), their access to social support and their attitudes to social diversity.

The study on which the report is based is itself part of a wider programme of work from the Centre for Research on the Wider Benefits of Learning (WBL) exploring the multi-level social benefits of learning in terms of the well-being and quality of life of individuals, and their families and communities.

Consistent with recent policy developments, notably the creation of children's services departments and the adoption of the Every Child Matters (ECM) agenda, this research programme adopts a broad conception of learning, going beyond cognitive skills, knowledge acquisition and vocational learning to incorporate personal attributes such as resilience and self-concept, and social and communication skills such as self-regulation and behavioural development. It also adopts a broad conception of the outcome and benefits of learning, going beyond individual attainment, human capital and the needs of the economy to a broader concept of 'social productivity', i.e. the capacity of education to support the generation of outcomes of social value. Such outcomes may be individual (e.g. health and well-being) but they may also operate at the level of family, community, or the broader society (e.g. family functioning, community cohesion or sustainable growth). WBL's research aims to inform policy by illuminating the relationships between learning and outcomes, so as to identify ways of maximising the social productivity of learning.

A key principle underpinning WBL's work is that these relationships between learning and outcomes are shaped by the context in which learning takes place, and by the interactions between individuals and contexts, which means that different people respond to context in different ways. Individuals may experience multiple contexts – family, school, community and society. We argue that interventions in educational policy (e.g. curriculum) which aim to improve outcomes without taking account of context are likely to be less successful than those that recognise the various contexts in which learning is taking place.

1.2 Young people's social capital and education policy

Social capital, broadly understood as social networks and norms of trust and reciprocity, has become an important notion in many areas of British social policy over the last ten years. It is seen as a desirable characteristic of communities and societies (underpinning community and social cohesion and mitigating crime and social dislocation) and as a valuable asset for individuals, enabling access through

social networks to employment, skills, health and other individual benefits (DCLG 2006; DCLG 2007; DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b; HMG 2003).

In terms of education, there are three distinct ways in which we can think about the role of social capital: as a vehicle of learning, as an outcome of learning and as an element of the learning context.

Perhaps most obviously social capital can be seen as a vehicle of individual learning and personal development. Learning experiences involve the development and maintenance of social relations, in particular social support networks between those who provide such learning experiences and ‘learners’. In various policy documents the government has emphasised the importance of developing and sustaining relationships through which learning and the delivery of social service more generally can take place. For instance, the ECM agenda aims to improve social service delivery by integrating relationships between different providers (HMG 2003). Similarly, the Department for Children, Schools and Families’ (DCSF) encourages the development of mutual understanding and close, supportive relationships between different social groups, which can help “all students to achieve their potential and bring different groups of people closer together” (DCSF 2007a).

The DCSF’s emphasis on community cohesion also illustrates that social capital is not only perceived as a vehicle for learning, but also as a valuable outcome of learning. Education can support the development of shared norms and values of respect, understanding and tolerance, and affect individual behaviours and attitudes towards community. The contribution that schools can make to these wider outcomes is reflected in the duty recently imposed on them to promote community cohesion (DCSF 2007b). Furthermore, learning experiences can provide opportunities to gain and practise social capital skills such as participation and reciprocity and provide forums for individuals to learn to participate in community and society, and to extend and deepen their social networks.

Numerous aspects of education policy and practice aim to maximise the value of educational experiences as a means of social capital formation. Examples include school organisation policies, pastoral systems and extra-curricular activities that aim to extend students’ networks; pedagogic practices and curricula that promote group work and community involvement; and aspects of the citizenship and PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) curriculum that extend understanding of community and society and develop political, social and communication skills.

Finally, social capital forms an element of the learning context, with learners bringing particular ‘qualities’ and ‘quantities’ of social capital from their settings in school, family and community. The importance of connecting these different contexts in which social capital develops is reflected in a number of recent policy developments including extended schools, home/school links, family and community learning, and attempts to broaden social networks for children from low income homes through admissions policies, the extension of choice, pairing and federations of schools.

More generally, particular policy documents (DCLG 2006; DCLG 2007; DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b; HMG 2003) suggest that the government tends to view social capital as a positive resource. Social capital is perceived as a tool to realise certain valued (educational and wider) outcomes and as a valuable outcome by itself. However, relatively little research explores what kinds of social capital young people have, which young people have it and which do not, or how it is developed and sustained in different learning contexts, and how it relates to educational and wider outcomes. Extending this knowledge base is the purpose of this report.

1.3 Exploring young people's social capital

The study explores a number of broad issues about the nature of young people's social capital and its development in different contexts.

Previous research suggests that there are different types of social capital (see also Chapter 2). The most basic form is *bonding social capital*, where people network with others close to or similar to themselves. Such networks tend to reinforce the confidence and homogeneity of a particular group. *Bridging social capital* refers to horizontal social networks that extend beyond one's own kind, for example networks of people from a variety of ethnic, cultural and social groups. *Linking social capital* refers to connections with people and institutions with different levels of power and authority, e.g. relationships between students and staff in school.

We know that for adults these capitals tend to be related in particular ways. People from lower social-class groups tend to have high bonding social capital, which allows them to use social networks as a protective factor. However, they tend to have lower bridging and linking capital than people from high socio-economic backgrounds, and thus more limited access to productive resources (Ball 2003). A key issue that we explore is whether these relationships also hold for young people of different ages, ethnicity and gender, and what interventions can facilitate the development of bridging and bonding capital for young people from groups where these forms of capital are typically more scarce.

We also know that these types of social capital will relate to different contexts. Young people will have a range of social networks, with peers in school and neighbourhood, with family, with other adults or young people, and with teachers and support staff in school. These are likely to be of differential importance in relation to outcomes and they are also likely to interact. For some young people, for example, social networks, norms and values in family settings will be aligned with those in school settings, while for other young people these will be in tension. For policy purposes, understanding the relative importance of these different contexts and the interaction between them is a key issue. In particular, we explore the extent to which schools can contribute to the development of social capital and the ways in which they might achieve this.

To investigate these issues, we undertook research in two neighbouring schools in the same borough in inner London, using a design that enabled comparison of two

different school contexts with young people who were drawn from the same urban locality and the same and adjacent neighbourhoods; different social-class and ethnic backgrounds; and who were of different ages and gender. The study involved both qualitative and quantitative work. A survey was completed by 1,583 students (75% of the students at the two schools), and group and individual interviews were undertaken with 53 students in Year 10 (aged 15). Interviews were also undertaken with 20 members of staff and 10 key professionals working for the local authority. The interview and survey data were supplemented by unstructured observation in both schools and the collection and analysis of school records and policy documents.

This research generated a substantial data resource, capable of supporting a number of further analyses of young people's social capital going beyond what is covered here. In this report, we focus on three key research questions:

1. How do young people develop social support networks, their SSB and attitudes to social diversity?
2. How do these particular forms of social capital interact?
3. How do young people's social support networks, attitudes to diversity and SSB relate to young people's educational and wider outcomes?

This report focuses on three specific forms of social capital: social support networks, attitudes to social diversity (as a form of bridging social capital) and students' SSB (as a form of bonding social capital). These particular forms of social capital were chosen because they are analytically different and highly relevant to current policy debates in relation to community cohesion and social inclusion (bridging and bonding capital) and improved service provision (social support). Furthermore, this report considers the importance of a particular school, neighbourhood and policy context in studying the development of young people's social capital and its relationship to educational and wider outcomes. Rather than testing a specific hypothesis, the explorative nature of this project aims to develop particular hypotheses or theoretical explanations in relation to these questions, using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

1.4 Structure of the report

The report examines the three research questions both separately and in combination. Chapter 2 provides a fuller exploration of the concept of social capital and its relevance for young people. Chapter 3 sets out the methodology for this report in more detail and describes the two school contexts in which the data were collected. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present findings on each of the three main research topics: SSB, attitudes to social diversity, and social support. Chapter 7 examines relationships between the three topics. A summary of key findings and their implications for policy is presented in Chapter 8.

2 Young people's social capital

2.1 Introduction

The idea of social capital has been widespread in UK policy and research since the mid/late 1990s, popularised by the work of Harvard's Robert Putnam and his book *Bowling Alone* (Putnam 2000), which documented and lamented the decline of American civic society and the loss of social bonds, commitments and support. Putnam adopted a loose definition of social capital as social networks, shared norms, trust and reciprocity. He has subsequently argued that the decline in social capital is associated with higher crime rates; lower levels of economic prosperity, educational outcomes, health and happiness; and that societies should look to develop and support social capital as well as human capital, promoting a social as well as an individual approach (Putnam 1995; Putnam 2000).

The UK government has taken up this approach across a wide range of policy areas (DCSF 2007b; DfES 2005; HMG 2003; HMT 2004), including in education, where schools are seen as sites for the formation and development of social capital, and where enhancing the social capital of the most disadvantaged students and their families is seen as a key step in improving educational outcomes and closing the attainment gap. The current study aims to support this policy agenda, building on a small set of recent studies that emphasises the importance of studying social capital as it is perceived by and develops in young people (rather than adults, upon whom much of the research focuses) and using measurement tools that are appropriate for this age group (Goddard 2003; Marjoribanks 1998; Morrow 1999; Morrow 2001; Schaefer-McDaniel 2004).

However, social capital is a contested idea, and a complex one (Dika and Singh 2002; Portes 1998; Schuller et al. 2000). Not everyone possesses, or can acquire, social capital to the same extent. Different kinds of social capital will be developed by different approaches; more benefits may be gained by some than others; and there may even be tensions between different kinds of capital. This chapter sets out some of the key ideas, and explains how we are using and developing them in this research.

2.2 Theorising social capital

Policy and research usages of the notion of social capital draw on three main theorists: Robert Putnam (Putnam 1995; Putnam 2000), James Coleman (Coleman 1966; Coleman 1999 (1988)) and Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1999 (1983); Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Although Putnam has popularised the concept of social capital and can claim responsibility for its entry into mainstream political discourse, Coleman appears to have a greater influence over scholarship in the debate, especially in education (Dika and Singh 2002; Schuller et al. 2000).

For Coleman (Coleman 1966; Coleman 1987; Coleman 1999 (1988)) social capital was significant primarily as a way of understanding the relationship between educational achievement and social inequality. He used the concept of social capital as a 'post hoc' explanation for his findings, e.g. in explaining why Catholic schools seemed to generate higher levels of attainment than non-Catholic schools. Coleman focused on social capital at the family and community level rather than the level of the broader society. He emphasised its assumed positive effects:

> *"social capital is the set of resources that inhere in family relations and community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person"* (Coleman 1994: 300, in: Schuller et al. 2000).

Most educational studies following Coleman also employed a vague definition of social capital, focused mainly on family structure and parent-child interaction variables, and relied on large-scale panel studies that have not been designed to measure social capital. As a result it may be argued that,

> *"the conceptual umbrella of social capital has been stretched to include a variety of social factors that do not coherently hang together"* (Dika and Singh 2002, p.46).

Most of the studies in this area use crude and arbitrary indicators of social capital, which give little information about relationship dynamics or the quality of the resources accessed (Dika and Singh 2002; Stanton-Salazar 2001). For example, in relation to *family social capital*, educational researchers focus on family structure (number of parents, siblings, family cohesion), characteristics of parents (their educational and occupational status, educational aspirations, knowledge of their child), interactions between family members (frequency of parent and teen interactions often related to schoolwork) and family norms (disapproval of delinquency). Studies that focus on *community social capital* measure interactions with other social institutions (church, school, other families, sport organisations), knowledge of other social institutions (school, other families) and change of community (frequency of changing school or neighbourhood) (Dika and Singh 2002).

In sociological terms, both Coleman and Putnam's interpretations of social capital are essentially functionalist, i.e. they see social capital as serving social stability and the interests of society as a whole. Social capital is seen as a good thing, which anyone may have or develop, and which can promote individual social mobility. Coleman's work in particular has been criticised by sociologists who take a conflict perspective. They argue that his work ignores the fact that some people are less able to acquire resources than others, disregards possible negative consequences of social capital and overstates the positive effects of dense social structures compared to loose ones, and thus, overall, neglects to acknowledge the role of social capital in the reproduction of social inequality (Portes 1998).

While Putnam has also been criticised for adhering to a functionalist conceptualisation of social capital, his recent work seems to acknowledge the 'dark side' of social capital for both members of networks and the society as a

whole (Day 2006; Schuller et al. 2000). This seems particularly apparent in his focus on the potential tensions between 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital. While such ties have the potential to build strong ties between members of a particular in-group, they can equally result in higher walls excluding those who do not qualify. Building social capital refers to the connections between heterogeneous groups, which are likely to be more fragile and also more likely to generate social inclusion (Day 2006; Schuller et al. 2000).

In sharp contrast to research done in the USA, educational research in the UK has only recently focused on the importance of social capital. It has also tended to draw on qualitative rather than quantitative research methods, and on the theory of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu 1999 (1983); Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) rather than Coleman or Putnam. Bourdieu 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 institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition… which provides each of its members with the backing of collectively-owned capital"* (Bourdieu 1999 (1983), p.51).

Here there is an emphasis on the resources that can be acquired through networks: networks in themselves are not of intrinsic value. Also, Bourdieu makes a distinction between the existence of networks and the characteristics of relationships. He does not, unlike Putnam, embed notions of trust and reciprocity within the notion of networks.

It is perhaps not surprising that in relying on Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital UK researchers have emphasised more the role of such capital and related policy measures in social reproduction rather than its function as a primary resource for social mobility. For example, qualitative studies demonstrate how middle-class parents activate social capital to obtain 'hot knowledge' in making choices of school or college for their children (Ball 2003; Ball et al. 1996; Ball and Vincent 1998).

In this work, following Bourdieu, we define social capital as social relationships between actors (individuals, groups, organisations) through which particular resources can be acquired. Nevertheless, we adopt Putnam's notion that relationships can exist between members of a particular in-group (bonding social capital) or between members of in- and out-groups (bridging social capital). In line with Bourdieu we distinguish social networks from people's sociability, or ability to understand how these networks work and how such relationships can be maintained and utilised over time. Thus we consider both the existence of networks and their characteristics, such as the level of reciprocity, closeness and trust in relationships, and the extent to which they are based on shared norms and values. These aspects of social networks are likely to influence their potential effect on outcomes.

In relation to young people this means that social capital can manifest itself as real or imagined relationships and related social identities between a young person and actors from which particular resources can be acquired or instilled. The actors with whom a young person can establish a relationship vary and can include family

members, friends, school staff, and/or larger social groups, such as ‘gangs’, friendship groups, a school community and racial/ethnic groups. Specific characteristics of such relationships, such as access, closeness and trust will inform the impact that such relationships have on the individual’s life.

2.3 Conceptualising social capital in its context

A central problem with social capital theories is their inability to capture the complexity of people’s lives and the number of settings (schools, families, neighbourhoods…) in which they form beneficial or detrimental social networks. Most theorists tend to concentrate on one kind of setting.

Hence, this research emphasises from the outset the importance of the many embedded contexts (such as peer groups, embedded in particular schools, embedded in particular neighbourhoods) in which young people and the social relationships between them develop. Drawing on work in the field of developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Bronfenbrenner 1986; Bronfenbrenner and Crouter 1983), we adopt an ‘ecological approach’ (Feinstein et al. 2004) which identifies different environmental context measures and classifies them according to the level in which they are situated, including: the level of (national) states, neighbourhoods, schools, ethnic/racial group, family and friends/peers. At each of these levels particular characteristics or dimensions of social capital may be found, including:

- Safety;
- Trust;
- Reciprocity;
- Support;
- Cohesion;
- Closeness;
- Conflict;
- Discrimination/Inequality;
- Shared Values;
- Size of Networks, Density, Heterogeneity.

Thus, for a given individual, family networks may be characterised by safety and trust, networks with peers by closeness and reciprocity, but school-based networks by conflict. However, research suggests that these dimensions may also interact with each other. For instance, the concept of ‘neighbourhood cohesion’ (MacMillan and Chavis 1986) refers to a cohesive or close relationship between an individual and her/his neighbourhood (group), which in turn relies on face-to-face relationships between individuals in a particular neighbourhood context and various characteristics of such relationships (safety, trustworthiness, based on shared values and norms…). Seen in this light, social capital appears a more complex phenomenon than in single-level models, and one that is difficult to measure. However, we suggest that this multi-layered and multi-dimensional view of social capital more closely approximates to the reality of social life.

2.4 Focusing on particular forms of social capital and particular contexts

The complexity of social capital means that it is almost impossible to focus on all its forms, and all possible contexts in a single study. In this research we focus on three particular forms of social capital:

- Sense of school belonging
  i.e. the closeness or cohesiveness of relationships between students and their peers, and teachers in school, who together make up the school community. This can be considered as an indicator of 'bonding social capital'.

- Attitudes to social diversity
  i.e. their perceived relationships between an in-group and out-group. This can be considered as an indicator of 'bridging social capital'. As with people's sense of neighbourhood cohesion (MacMillan and Chavis 1986), SSB (see Chapter 4) and attitudes to diversity (see Chapter 5) relate to and depend on other dimensions of social capital.

- Social support networks
  i.e. students' micro-sociological interactions with actors around them. In this research we look at both students' perceived access to support from others and their closeness to actors around them. Access to support refers to the kinds of resources students can acquire through their relationships with others and relates to issues of inequality (access) and sociability (knowing how to employ such relationships). Students' perceived closeness to others refers to a particular form of 'bonding social capital', measured on a micro-sociological level.

For each of these forms of social capital we explore:

1. How they develop, and what kind of factors can be associated with their development;
2. How they interact;
3. How they relate to young people's educational and wider outcomes.

We consider the importance of contexts by exploring how characteristics of schools and neighbourhoods interact and influence the development of social capital and related outcomes.

3 Methods

3.1 A mixed-methods case-study approach

The research adopted a case-study methodology, with two case-study schools in a single borough in Inner London providing the sites for the research and enabling investigation of impact of particular school and neighbourhood contexts.

In each case-study school, the same mixed-methods research design was used, involving the collection of primary quantitative data through a survey, qualitative interview data, and supporting secondary material such as school documents and observations.

The rationale for employing a mixed-methods design was motivated by the potential advantages such research designs offer (Greene et al. 1989; Hammond 2005). Analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data were used to explore various factors and processes that relate to the development of students' social capital, thus allowing findings to strengthen each other, enabling the discovery of fresh perspectives through paradoxes and apparent contradictions. At the same time, we employed quantitative and qualitative data analysis for different purposes. The quantitative survey data were used to explore general characteristics of our population and relationships between different forms of social capital and educational and wider outcomes. In so doing we made use of particular strengths of quantitative data analysis and developed more reliable descriptions, generalisable findings, and measurements of the strength of particular relationships. We employed qualitative data analysis to investigate students' views on what it means to 'belong to school', 'respect diversity' and 'have social support'. Therefore, we made use of the unique strengths of qualitative data analysis (Hammersley 2000) and developed knowledge that could not be generated through our school survey.

The following sections describe the case-study area and schools, the research process and the different sources of data collected and analysed, including the survey of young people, interviews with students and professionals, and supporting information. Finally, this chapter also describes our analytical approach and related characteristics of our key variables. As a result, the following sections will analyse and report on some of the qualitative interview and quantitative school survey data.

3.2 The case-study area and schools

Inner London offers a particularly rich context for the exploration of students' social capital, given its diverse and rapidly changing environment. The borough in which the schools are situated is highly diverse in terms of ethnicity/race, with almost half the population having a non-white and/or non-British background. It is also socially diverse, with some of the richest areas in London and some of the poorest. Overall, the borough has relatively low Free School Meal (FSM)

eligibility compared with Inner London, although still much higher than the national average. An annual Joint Audit and Inspection letter (Audit Commission) in 2005 rated the local authority as 'excellent' in providing services and the local authority describes itself as a front-runner in developing, testing and implementing government policies aimed at improving social service delivery and reducing inequality.

Both schools are large, co-educational comprehensives. They are located close to each other, both surrounded by neighbourhoods that are very diverse in terms of ethnicity and different in terms of social-class composition. As Table 3.1 shows, both schools are typical of Inner London comprehensives in terms of their ethnic and social-class diversity. For example, around 60% of the students are of non-white background, and both schools have a substantial number of students from both working and higher social-class backgrounds.

However, the schools draw on different catchment areas and have different reputations and intakes. *Rose Park*[1] borders two other boroughs and therefore attracts many more students from different boroughs than *Oak High*. It is a slightly more middle-class school – 41% of the students' fathers had higher education compared with 28% at *Oak High*. Proportions of students on free school meals are very different: *Rose Park* has about the average for the borough; *Oak High* significantly more. While both schools are very ethnically mixed, they have slightly different ethnic composition, particularly in the breakdown of students of Asian origin. Most of *Oak High*'s Asian students are Bangladeshi, while in *Rose Park* there is a mix of Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani and other Asian students, making the school overall more diverse. *Rose Park* has a more typical gender mix than *Oak High*, which seems particularly affected by the presence of a number of girls' schools in the borough and has an unusually high proportion of boys (66%).

Table 3.1: Composition of student populations in schools (%)

	Oak High	***Rose Park***
Ethnic/Racial group		
white British/white other	42	39
black Caribbean/African other	19	18
Asian	22	20
(Bangladeshi)	(17)	(6)
mixed/Other	17	23
Gender		
Boys	66	53
SES		
Fathers went on to HE	28	41
Language		
ESL	44	35

Note: Detailed ethnic breakdowns have not been given to avoid identifying the schools.

Both schools were inspected and rated 'satisfactory' overall by Ofsted a year before the start of this project, and both were praised for their pastoral support, inclusiveness, links to the community and the general happiness of students and

[1] No real names are used in this research. While students invented their own fake names, names of staff and our two participating schools are invented by the researchers.

their parents with school. However, the schools have different strengths and markedly different facilities and ethos.

In terms of attainment, *Rose Park* achieves and has been achieving over the past few years at about the same level as the borough as a whole. However, Ofsted criticised the school for not challenging enough students to do well and for not following their progress sufficiently. Close examination of attainment data shows that there are differences in attainment between sub-groups within the school. Students who are not receiving free school meals are more than twice as likely as students who are to achieve five good GCSE passes. Girls are more likely to achieve at this level than boys, and white British students do better than some other groups, particularly black Caribbean and black Africans. *Oak High* is an improving school in terms of achievement, but overall its attainment is lower than *Rose Park*'s and on average it still achieves below the borough's average. While Ofsted inspectors rated *Oak High* stronger in terms of 'leadership' than *Rose Park*, they also criticised it more strongly for not raising students' level of achievement. In contrast to *Rose Park*, within-school differences between groups are negligible.

Oak High is a fully-extended school that benefits from a new, PFI-funded (Private Finance Initiative) school building with extensive and modern facilities. In contrast, *Rose Park* does not benefit from such modern facilities and is just in the process of developing extended services. The schools seem to have a different ethos. According to our interviews (including some with students who had attended both schools), *Rose Park* is perceived by both staff and students as a more 'liberal' school as students seem to enjoy much more freedom compared to *Oak High*. In *Oak High*, students are reportedly held more accountable for their academic progress and student behaviour is more strictly regulated, policed and punished. For example, some students who moved from *Oak High* to *Rose Park* described *Oak High* as a school were students were 'chased' and *Rose Park* as a school where 'nothing happened' when they did not follow school rules. Similarly, during our fieldwork, it was much more common to find students in the corridors during lesson time in *Rose Park* than in *Oak High*, where staff and cameras were constantly policing such behaviour.

However, *Oak High* has not always been a 'strict' school. It seems that in response to the school's low position in the league tables and related poor reputation in the neighbourhood the new headteacher not only moved the school to a new building but also developed a stricter school ethos:

> **I**: 'And other things that the headteacher has done?'
> **MS. BABEL**: 'Well, he raised academic achievement. But I think he's just kept boundaries very strict and he's been consistent in everything; he hasn't let it slip. It hasn't been a case of, you know, the first term of being in a new building we're strict about your uniform but after that, you know, we'll forget about it – every single child: he's tightened up on timing, they've tightened up on attendance. So, I think it is just strong leadership, probably, that has enabled him to achieve that'
> **Interview *Oak High*– teacher**

Interestingly, the new headteacher in *Rose Park* is in the processes of implementing similar policies because a recent Ofsted report criticised the school for not achieving its potential, and in particular for not monitoring and setting students' academic progress. While both staff and students felt that the school had not yet changed much and could still be described as a more 'liberal' school, changes were under way:

> **I**: 'How did the school use to work?'
> **MR RIISE**: 'Learning together, achieving together, a very liberal way of how we worked in here. I think it's, you know, we had a lot of middle-class students attending this school, I don't think we… I think those numbers have kind of dropped off. I think the intake that I've observed over recent years has changed. And the way of talking to the students, how we work together, has changed because of that. We are now getting more Eastern European students, more East African students, and I believe from their cultures, they WANT and expect the school to play more of a leading role. So, less negotiation, more of THIS is what we're going to be doing.'
> **I**: 'A bit stricter?
> **MR RIISE**: 'Yes'
> **I**: 'Can you give an example of that?'
> **MR RIISE**: 'The three strikes rule. If there's a problem and the teacher has to speak to you more than three times, you're out. You go to the Head of Department, and you're placed elsewhere. That is it.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– senior management**

In both schools, senior management pointed to the change of intake in motivating the change of school ethos. However, *Rose Park*'s position in the league tables, and, related to this, the public perception of the school and perceived competition between different secondary schools for students seemed to be the driving force behind such a shift from a 'liberal' to a 'strict' school ethos:

> **I**: 'What is the impact of these changes for the school? For the school's reputation, its identity, its position in the market?'
> **MR RIISE**: 'We're a business and we have the (name of other school) is down the road, we're gonna have a new school being built within 3/4 miles of us, so we have to compete for that business. So, I believe the changes, well some of the changes being implemented, yes it's for the right way. You know, we're taking some of the pastoral responsibilities away from some of the Directors of Learning, because the Head feels that there are other professionals, non-teaching staff, who could do just as good a job as them, and he wants them to focus more on the ACADEMIC side of teaching in school, and I think, yeah, I think that is right.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– senior management**

In relation to this report, it is important to note how staff in schools feel encouraged to develop a stricter school ethos due to pressures experienced by the educational market in which they operate. Hence, it is interesting to explore how *Oak High*'s stricter school ethos and *Rose Park*'s liberal but changing school ethos affect young people and staff's SSB, their access to social support networks and their attitudes to social diversity.

The following table summarises the main similarities and differences between the two participating schools:

Table 3.2: Main characteristics of participating schools

Oak High	***Rose Park***
'Strict' school ethos	'Liberal' school ethos
Values cultural diversity and appears strict in responding to expressions of racism	Values cultural diversity and appears strict in responding to expressions of racism
A new school building (PFI funded) with extensive facilities, school uniform	Old Victorian school buildings with fewer facilities, no school uniform
Fully extended school	Developing extended services
School attainment of 5 GCSEs level A*-C is 10 p.p. lower than the borough's average	School attainment of 5 GCSEs level A*-C is the same as borough's average

3.3 The research process

The research took place in both schools during the 2006/07 academic year. The quantitative part of the research took place first, with the questionnaire survey administered in the first term of the school year. In the second term the researcher familiarised himself with the schools, staff and the Year 10 students in particular and conducted face-to-face interviews with 10 professionals working for the local authority. The Spring and Summer terms were used to conduct interviews with groups of students and staff at the schools and collect and integrate information gathered by the schools into the survey. The latter was possible because students were asked to provide their real name (and an invented name) on the student-questionnaire (see below). Although the use of a mixed-methods approach requires intensive involvement of the participating schools, they generally welcomed the opportunity to provide both quantitative and qualitative information on issues they considered important and potentially useful in improving their functioning.

Based on professional ethical guidelines (BERA 2004; BSA 2004), clear ethical standards were established and agreed by the research team, funding agency, the Institute of Education, the local authority and participating schools. The researcher conducting fieldwork had to pass a CRB (Criminal Records Bureau) check. Parents, students and teachers were informed about the identity of the researchers, the goals and nature of the research and their rights in relation to confidentiality and privacy. At the same time, participants were informed of our 'duty of care', and related to this, our obligation to disclose information to particular

professionals if the well-being of a child was deemed at risk. Finally, all participants were given the opportunity to ‘opt out’ of the research at any time.

3.4 The survey of young people

The quantitative element of the research involved a self-completion questionnaire given to all students in both schools, with the aim of quantifying the extent to which young people have (access to) specific forms of social capital, in relation to their social background characteristics, socio-psychological resources and educational outcomes, including those not usually measured by schools.

The questionnaire included measures of students’ social background, including gender, ethnicity/race, age, and parents’ jobs and educational status. In addition, key socio-psychological resources, such as students’ self-esteem, self-control and self-efficacy were included, using scales validated in the international literature (GARP 2006; Tangey et al. 2004), as were measures of students’ wider outcomes, related to their stress, self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork and ‘poor’ behaviour (GARP 2006; Van Houtte et al. 2006). In relation to young people’s social capital, the questionnaire was particularly innovative in that it combined a unique set of measurement instruments that are validated in the international literature but not yet tested within the British educational research context. For instance, the questionnaire included measures of students’ SSB (Brown and Evans 2002), neighbourhood cohesion (MacMillan and Chavis 1986), attitudes to social diversity (Pascarella et al. 1996), their involvement in extra-curricular activities (GARP 2006) and their closeness with and access to support with family, friends and adults outside the family context (Zimet et al. 1988). In addition, students were asked to nominate their friends in their tutor and year group to allow for social network analysis. Hence, the study makes it possible to test the validity and reliability of quantitative measures of specific forms of social capital that are highly sophisticated and not included in existing research on social capital in the UK (Ruston and Akinrodoye 2002).

The questionnaire was administered during lesson time in *Oak High*, where all the students completed it on the same day. In *Rose Park*, students completed it during their tutor-group time, over a period of three weeks. In both schools, students and staff were briefed about this survey by the researcher personally through ‘Year-Group Assembly’ meetings and staff were given clear verbal and written instructions on how to administer the questionnaires through ‘Heads of Year’ meetings.

The response rates were high: 78% for *Oak High* and 73% for *Rose Park*. Overall, the samples seem quite representative for the entire school population (see Appendix 3.1). Although the sample from *Oak High* appears representative for gender and most of the ethnic groups, ‘white’ and younger students are somewhat over-represented in the sample at the expense of older age cohorts and ‘mixed’ and ‘other’ ethnic minorities. A similar pattern emerges for *Rose Park*, although this sample seems more representative for the different age groups (*Rose Park* was unable to provide information on the gender distribution of its school population). Older age groups are under-represented because they were not always in school

and appeared less keen on being involved. The differences between the 'white' and 'mixed/other' ethnic groups might reflect differences in responses or the coding system employed, as the school did not use the same coding system as the one employed in this report. Furthermore, the schools relied on parents' ethnic categorisation of their child, while this survey measures students' responses.

3.5 Interviews with students

The qualitative element of the research consisted principally of interviews with young people in Year 10. The interviews were semi-structured and included a series of questions that related to students' neighbourhoods, social diversity, SSB and social support. Because of the broad range of questions and the many respondents participating in interviews, it was not always possible to cover all questions in a single interview. As a result some interviews contain information on some but not all relevant issues.

Most of the young people were interviewed in groups, in order to make them feel more comfortable and to facilitate discussion of the issues. However, some young people preferred to be interviewed on their own or as a pair and these requests were accommodated. Initially, to allow for an 'extreme case analysis' (Flick 2002), groups were selected by the researcher on the basis of students' answers on questions from the survey. However, as students often seemed restrained in answering questions (see 5.1.3) we decided to invite all Year 10 students to take part, on a voluntary basis and with their friends. This approach generated higher response and richer data. To balance the sample, we informally approached young people from groups that were under-represented and invited them for interviews. Overall, 20 student-group interviews were organised, involving 53 students. While the sample represents a balanced diversity in terms of gender, ethnicity and school context, in *Oak High* we interviewed more than twice as many boys as girls and white boys make up almost 40% of our sample in *Oak High*:

Table 3.3: Gender and ethnicity of students interviewed in *Oak High*

	Boys	Girls	Total
white	10	5	15
Non-white	8	3	11
Total	18	8	26

Table 3.4: Gender and ethnicity of students interviewed in *Rose Park*

	Boys	Girls	Total
white	5	6	11
Non-white	10	6	16
Total	15	12	27

3.6 Interviews with professionals

In total, 20 members of school staff participated in a face-to-face interviews. In order to have a variety of experiences, a wide range of staff was invited for interviews, including members of the senior management team, teachers, tutors, learning and behavioural support staff and staff who work for or closely with social services. From the 20 members of staff interviewed, 11 came from *Oak High* (5 male and 6 female) and 9 from *Rose Park* (5 male and 4 female). Only 6 participants were of ethnic minority background, representing the somewhat white-dominated nature of the staff population in both schools. Interviews with staff were structured and included questions on their experiences with multi-agency working, extended services, the ECM agenda, social diversity in school, SSB and social support.

In addition, 10 professionals working for the local authority were interviewed. These professionals could be considered as key persons in their field, in particular because of their knowledge and experience in relation to extended services, multi-agency working and the ECM agenda more generally.

3.7 Supporting information

School records were collected and integrated with the school survey data to explore relationships between students' social capital, and educational and wider outcomes. Three types of student-level data were obtained from the two participating schools: social background information, educational attainment data (in the form of national Key Stage tests and teacher assessments) and information on exclusions and attendance (as indicators of students' level of engagement with school).

In relation to students' social background, school records provided information on students' ethnicity (as defined by parents), FSM, language spoken at home and age. Although information on students' Special Educational Needs (SEN) status was collected, it was omitted from the final analyses due to a large number of missing values. While students' FSM status was initially used in the analyses, it was dropped at a later stage as our social-class measure included in the school survey appeared a stronger predictor and conceptually more valid in measuring social class than students' FSM status. In this report we measured social class by asking students to describe their parents' occupations, which we later recoded

following the guidelines set by the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (see 3.9).

In relation to educational attainment, we obtained Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 3 data, which are produced by nationally standardised assessment tests. The majority of students had KS2 data whereas the KS3 data were only available for the Year 10+ students. In order to use the most up-to-date attainment information within the regression analyses, the KS2 regressions were conducted only on Year 7-9 student groups, whereas the KS3 analyses was based on Year 10+ student groups. In addition, it was possible to obtain teacher assessment data from *Oak High* (only), which reflects current achievement of students in English and Maths as evaluated by their teachers. The information is comparable across year groups and therefore this enabled the statistical analyses to utilise the data in the entire school dataset.

Finally, engagement with school was measured using the survey's measure of 'poor' behaviour, or behaviour that differs from the norm (student reported) and attendance information (teacher reported). It was decided not to use exclusion information as an indicator of student disengagement as it measures extreme cases of student disengagement rather than students' general level of engagement to school.

3.8 Analytic approach

In line with Strauss and Corbin's (Strauss and Corbin 1990) approach to Grounded Theory, the qualitative analysis adopted a particular 'coding paradigm', in which the data were analysed in a systematic way to explore issues related to social diversity, social support and SSB. The qualitative data analysis was assisted by using a word processing programme and N6 Qualitative Analysis Software (Richards 2002).

The collection and integration of school records with the survey data allowed us to explore relationships between students' social support networks, their SSB and attitudes to diversity, and their educational and wider outcomes. In line with the explorative, hypothesis-developing design of this report, the purpose of this quantitative analysis is not to test specific causal models, but to explore associations between key sets of variables to address the following research questions:

- What factors relate to our social capital dimensions?
- How do our social capital dimensions relate to each other?
- How do our social capital dimensions relate to educational and wider outcomes?
- What (if any) role does school context play in addressing the above issues?

In order to explore these research questions with our quantitative data, we use a range of variables which represent different, theoretically important characteristics. More specifically, we distinguish five sets of variables: social capital, school attended, social background characteristics, socio-psychological

resources, and educational and wider outcomes, each of which includes the following particular variables:

Table 3.5: Description of different theoretically important sets of variables included in our quantitative analysis

Social capital	School attended	Social background characteristics	Socio-psychological resources	Educational and wider outcomes
• Sense of school belonging • Attitudes to diversity • Access to support • Closeness to others • Involvement in extra-curricular activities	• *Oak High* or *Rose Park*	• Education father and mother • Job status father and mother • Gender • Age • Ethnicity/race	• Self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork • Self-esteem • Self-efficacy • Self-control	• Stress • 'Poor' behaviour • Engagement with school • English teacher assessment • Maths teacher assessment • English KS2 • Maths KS2 • English KS3 • Maths KS3

Note: 'Involvement in extra-curricular activities' is included as an additional form of social capital as it constitutes an important measure of children's size of or involvement in social relationships which can be developed through the school (e.g. extended services). However, the focus of the analyses and this report more generally remains on students' SSB, attitudes to diversity, access to support and closeness to others.

Note that throughout the report we make a distinction between 'school attended' and 'school context': the former refers to a dummy variable used in our quantitative analysis that measures students' enrolment in *Rose Park* or *Oak High*, the latter refers to the whole set of characteristics that make up the social organisation of the school (such as social composition of student population, school ethos, etc.).

The quantitative data analyses typically involved analysis of ordinary least squares (OLS) sequential regression models in which the independent variables are included in a particular order to reflect their theoretical relevance (Tabachnick and Fidell 2001). In conducting these analyses, we are interested in a range of dependent variables: all the educational and wider outcome variables, our key forms of social capital (SSB, attitudes to diversity, access to support and closeness to others) and students' self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis considers a set of different independent variables (all the social capital variables, school attended, social background characteristics) and a series of control variables (all the socio-psychological resources). The way in which these variables were measured and their descriptive statistics are summarised in the following section (see 3.9).

This shows that some variables (most of the social capital variables and students' self-concept of ability) are treated as both dependent and independent (control) variables in our sequential regression analyses. As a result, our research reports on a great number of sequential regression analyses in exploring the four research questions described above.

In doing sequential analyses, particular sets of independent variables are included in a specific order, with the set of independent variables considered theoretically most important entered first, followed by the second most important set of independent variables, etc. As a result, our models always included our independent variables in the following order of (decreasing) importance: 1) social capital, 2) school attended, 3) social background characteristics and 4) socio-psychological resources.

As this study focuses primarily on social capital and to a lesser extent on school context these variables are included first and second respectively. At the same time this study aims to explore how students' general social background characteristics relate to social capital, which explains their inclusion to this model. Finally, students' socio-psychological resources are included in the last stage of the analyses as an important set of control variables: while research has shown that such socio-psychological resources relate strongly to educational and wider outcomes (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Dika and Singh 2002), their relationship to educational and wider outcomes is not the focus of this report. By adding these important sets of variables to our regression analyses in this particular order we obtain information on the following issues:

1) How social capital (as a set of independent variables) relates to particular educational and wider outcomes, other forms of social capital and students' self-concept of ability (as the dependent variables);

2) How social capital and school attended (as sets of independent variables) relate to the dependent variables, controlling for each other;

3) How social capital, school attended and students' social background characteristics (as sets of independent variables) relate to the dependent variables, controlling for each other;

4) How social capital, school attended and students' social background characteristics (as a set of independent variables) relate to the dependent variables, controlling for each other, and students' socio-psychological resources.

To explore these research questions, we conduct two sets of sequential regression analyses. A first set involves four analyses, in which each of our key forms of social capital (SSB, attitudes to diversity, access to support and closeness to others) are treated as a dependent variable (see Appendix 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4). These four sequential regression analyses consist of four sequential steps each. In Step 1 all our main social capital variables are entered as independent variables, except for the single form of social capital that is treated as a dependent variable. Note that in these analyses, we only use our key social capital measures (SSB,

attitudes to diversity, access to support and closeness to others) as dependent variables; students' involvement in extra-curricular activities is only included as an independent variable. Furthermore, as factor analysis suggests that access to support and closeness to others are characterised by three different dimensions (support and closeness to family, friends and non-family adults, see: 3.9 and Appendix 6.3) we decided to include these different dimensions in our model as independent variables. However, in order to keep the analyses focused, overall scale scores were used for access to support and closeness to others when these forms of social capital were used as dependent variables in our model. In Step 2 school attended is added to the equation, in Step 3 students' social background characteristics, and in Step 4 students' socio-psychological resources is added:

Table 3.6: Description of different steps in OLS regression with social capital as dependent and independent variables

Step 1 Social capital	Step 2 School attended	Step 3 Social background	Step 4 Socio-psychological resources
Sense of school belonging and/or **Access to support family, friends and non-family adults** and/or **Closeness to family, friends and non-family adults** and/or **Attitudes to Diversity** and **Involvement in extra-curricular activities**	***Oak High*** or ***Rose Park***	**Gender** and **Age** and **Ethnicity/race** and **Education father and mother** and **Job status father and mother**	**Self-esteem** And **Self-efficacy** And **Self-efficacy** And **Self-concept** And **Self-control**

Note: Students' 'attitudes to diversity' and 'self-control' were only measured in Year 10 and above. To make sure that the information from the whole sample could be used as much as possible in the analysis, students' attitudes to diversity was only used in this model as a dependent variable and self-control only as a control variable in the analysis on attitudes to diversity. Finally, because students' involvement in extra-curricular activities is a dimension of social capital that is not of central importance to this report; it is only included as an independent variable in the analysis.

In a second set of sequential regression analyses, each of our nine educational and wider outcomes (see Table 3.5) and students' self-concept of ability are treated as dependent variables.

These sequential regression analyses consist of five sequential steps each: in Step 1 only one of our key social capital variables is included as an independent variable. The following key social capital variables are considered: students' SSB, their attitudes to diversity and their access to support and closeness to others. As in the previous set of sequential regressions, students' access to support of and closeness to family, friends and non-family adults were included as independent variables instead of the overall scale scores. In Step 2 the other key social capital

measures and students' involvement in extra-curricular activities are entered in the equation. In Step 3 school attended is added, in Step 4 students' social background characteristics, and in Step 5 students' socio-psychological resources is added:

Table 3.7: Description of different steps in OLS regression with social capital as independent and educational and wider outcomes as dependent variables

Step 1 One main form of social capital	Step 2 Other forms of social capital	Step 3 School attended	Step 4 Social background characteristics	Step 5 Socio-psychological resources
Sense of school belonging	**Sense of school belonging**	***Oak High* or *Rose Park***	**Gender**	**Self-esteem**
Or	And/or		And	And
Attitudes to diversity	**Access to support family, friends and non family adults**		**Age**	**Self-efficacy**
Or	And/Or		And	And
Access to support family, friends and non family adults	**Closeness to family, friends and non family adults**		**Ethnicity/race**	**Self-concept**
Or	And		And	And
Closeness to family, friends and non family adults	**Involvement in extra-curricular activities**		**Education father and mother**	**Self-control**
			And	
			Job status father and mother	
			Education father and mother	

Note: Students' 'attitudes to diversity' and 'self-control' were only measured in Year 10 and above. To make sure that the information from the whole sample could be used as much as possible in the analysis, students' attitudes to diversity was only used in this model as a main social capital variable (in the first step) and self-control only as a control variable in the analysis on attitudes to diversity.

Hence, the second series of analyses involved 40 sequential regression analyses (ten independent variables and four different models for each). As it is not feasible and necessary to present output of so many regressions in this report, we only display coefficients of the key associations (social capital and outcomes) as they change from Step 1 to Step 5 (see Tables 4.1, 5.1, 6.1 and 6.2). Therefore, coefficients of relationships between students' background, other social capital measures and psychological measures are not displayed in the results section as they are not central to the research questions addressed in this study.

3.9 Key variables for the quantitative analyses

Social capital

We employed three particular measures for our three main social capital concepts: SSB, attitudes to social diversity and students' social support networks. Sense of school belonging was measured using the 'sense of school connection scale' (Brown and Evans 2002). The scale has nine items (see Appendix 4.1) and shows strong internal reliability (Cronbach's α =0.82).

Students' attitudes to social diversity were measured using the 'attitudes to diversity and challenge scale' (Pascarella et al. 1996), which has eight items (see Appendix 5.1) and has strong internal reliability (α =0.85). This scale was only administered to students in Year 10 and above.

Students' social support was measured using two composite scales, one that measures students' access to support from others (see Appendix 6.1) and one that measures students' closeness to others (see Appendix 6.2). Each scale has 10 items and both show good internal reliability (α 'access to support' =0.78 and α 'closeness to others' =0.72). However, factor analysis suggests that we can distinguish three different dimensions of support and closeness, feeling close or having access to support from: family, friends and non-family adults (see Appendix 6.3).

Finally, students' involvement in extra-curricular activities was derived from a set of 16 questions asking about children's involvement in such activities (based on: Feinstein et al. 2006). Three different theoretical dimensions were distinguished: involvement in humanities (α =0.78), sports (α =0.73) and other extra-curricular activities (α =0.68). The composites of sports (three items) and humanities (involvement in arts or music, four items) were created by totalling all the relevant activities together. Four other activities were placed into the 'other' category: 'volunteering in community activities', 'uniformed activities' and 'involvement in youth clubs' (supervised and unsupervised). Any questions that were not related to extra-curricular activity were omitted.

School attended

School attended was treated as a dummy variable with 0. *Oak High* (N=734 or 46% of the sample) and 1. *Rose Park* (N=849 or 54% of the sample).

Social background characteristics

Information was obtained from students' gender, year born, parents' social-class (measured by recoding parents' job description, given by students, to the SOC scale, which was in turn recoded to 'high SOC', 'medium SOC', 'low SOC' and 'unknown SOC'). Students were also asked about their parents' education, which could vary from 'unknown', 'left at 16', 'left at 18' and 'went on to higher education'. Finally, five ethnic/racial categories were distinguished: 'white', 'black', 'Asian', 'mixed' and 'other'.

Socio-psychological resources

The survey analysis includes various measures of key socio-psychological resources, based on existing and validated scales (GARP 2006; Tangey et al. 2004). All scales showed moderate to high levels of reliability. Students' self-efficacy (α =.79) was measured using a five-item scale with statements like 'I can solve problems if I try' and 'It's easy for me to realise my goals'. Students self-esteem (α =.83) was measured using a three-item scale, asking students if they feel good and happy about themselves. Students' self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork was measured using six items that asked about students' interest, time-investment, perceived ability and importance related to doing schoolwork (α =.69). Finally, students' self-control, which was only administered to students from Year 10 and above, was measured using a five-item scale which included statements like 'I act without thinking' and 'I have a hard time breaking habits' (α =.75).

Educational and wider outcomes

Measures for students' prior attainment were provided by the participating schools, who offered data on students' KS2 and KS3 scores in English and Mathematics. In addition, *Rose Park* provided teacher assessment scores for English and Mathematics, which can be used as a measure of current achievement. School records also provided information on students' attendance, which was used as a proxy measure for students' engagement with school. While using students' prior achievement scores as a measure of current achievement is not ideal, it was not possible to consider standardised measures of achievement that students obtained after filling in the questionnaire. The school survey included a scale that measures students' 'poor' behaviour (α =.69), which asked about students' involvement in activities such as vandalising property, skipping classes and fighting with peers (adopted from: Van Houtte et al. 2006). Finally, students' experiences of stress was measured using a four-item scale (α =.72) which contained questions like: 'How often do you feel lonely?' and 'How often do you feel unhappy?' (adapted from: GARP 2006).

The following table summarises key descriptive statistics for all the variables employed in the statistical analysis:

Table 3.8: Summary statistics variables used in OLS regressions

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Social capital					
Sense of school belonging	1393	10	45	32.56	5.99
Attitudes to diversity	603	8	40	30.28	5.18
Closeness to others (composite)	1257	-20	20	5.25	5.88
Closeness to family	1258	-4.25	1.69	0	1
Closeness to friends	1258	-4.22	1.99	0	1
Closeness to non-family adults	1258	-2.33	3.09	0	1
Access to support (composite)	1390	-7	12	4.28	3.45
Support from family	1306	-2.95	2.35	0	1

Support from friends	1306	-3.32	2.57	0	1
Support from non-family adults	1306	-2.02	3.95	0	1
Humanities Activities	1429	1	20	6.33	3.62
Sports Activities	1437	1	15	6.97	3.66
Other Activities	1421	1	20	6.73	3.37
School attended					
1. *Rose Park*	1584	1	0	0.54	
Social background characteristics					
Year of birth (recoded)	1563	1 (11 years)	12 (20 years)	6.53	1.79
1. Female	1584	1	0	0.39	
1. Low SOC father	1180	1	0	0.15	
2. Medium SOC father	1180	1	0	0.39	
3. High SOC father	1180	1	0	0.21	
4. Unknown SOC father	1180	1	0	0.25	
1. Low SOC mother	1172	1	0	0.12	
2. Medium SOC mother	1172	1	0	0.48	
3. High SOC mother	1172	1	0	0.16	
4. Unknown SOC mother	1172	1	0	0.24	
1. Don’t know father’s education	1584	1	0	0.45	
2. Father left school at 16	1584	1	0	0.11	
3. Father left school at 18	1584	1	0	0.09	
4. Father went on to HE	1584	1	0	0.35	
1. Don’t know mother’s education	1585	1	0	0.39	
2. Mother left school at 16	1585	1	0	0.13	
3. Mother left school at 18	1585	1	0	0.12	
4. Mother went to HE	1585	1	0	0.36	
1. White British	1525	1	0	0.41	
2. Black	1525	1	0	0.19	
3. Asian	1525	1	0	0.22	
4. Mixed	1525	1	0	0.08	
5. Other	1525	1	0	0.10	
Socio-psychological resources					
Self-efficacy	1497	5.00	25.00	17.96	3.39
Self-esteem	1557	3.00	15.00	11.99	2.59
Self-concept of Ability	1531	7.00	30.00	23.03	3.46
Self-control	605	5.00	25.00	16.46	3.72
Educational and wider outcomes					
Stress	1541	4	10	15.23	3.36
‘Poor’ behaviour	1464	20	30	28.62	2.04
School attachment (attendance)	1447	29.55	100	93.12	8.44
KS2 English (prior achievement)	1180	1	5	4.05	0.71
KS2 Maths (prior achievement)	1208	1	6	4.00	0.76
KS3 English (prior achievement)	476	3	7	5.24	0.94
KS3 Maths (prior achievement)	479	2	8	5.53	1.27
Teacher current assessment English	681	0.50	55	25.07	10.25
Teacher current assessment Maths	651	0.00	54	25.2	10.13

The following four chapters report on the empirical analysis of the data. We will focus first on students' SSB (Chapter 4), followed by their attitudes to social diversity (Chapter 5), access to support and closeness to others (Chapter 6) and cross-cutting themes (Chapter 7).

4 Sense of school belonging

Sense of school belonging (SSB) can be defined as:

> *"the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in the school social environment"* (Goodenow and Grady 1994, p.80).

Such feelings of belongingness have been shown to reflect a more general, basic psychological need of 'relatedness' (Deci et al. 1991), which in turn impacts on students' educational and wider outcomes (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Osterman 2000).

Existing studies see SSB as a whole set of different, inter-related dimensions that together determine whether young people feel part of a school community. In reviewing various measurement tools, Libbey (2004) distinguishes nine different dimensions: academic engagement, belonging, discipline and fairness, likes school, student voice, extra-curricular activities, peer relations, safety and teacher support.

Our focus on SSB links closely with the government's goal to build cohesive communities (DCLG 2006; DCLG 2007; DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b), which are characterised by (DCLG 2007, p.68):

i) A common vision and sense of belonging for all communities;
ii) Diversity is appreciated and valued;
iii) People from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities;
iv) Strong and positive relationships are developed between people from different backgrounds.

This definition of 'cohesive communities' emphasises the importance of both bonding and bridging social capital; or feeling part of a larger whole and respecting and building bridges between various forms of social diversity. A sense of belonging for all communities is related to

> *"promoting different activities that bring people together to build a new shared sense of community; at another level, it is about engaging all communities in local decision-making and civic life"* (DCLG 2007, p.69).

Hence, 'sense of belonging' is realised when individuals feel part of and take part in a larger collective whole. On a school level that would mean that all students, regardless of their social background, would feel part of a larger school community ('belonging' dimension) and take an active part in the decision-making process ('student voice' dimension).

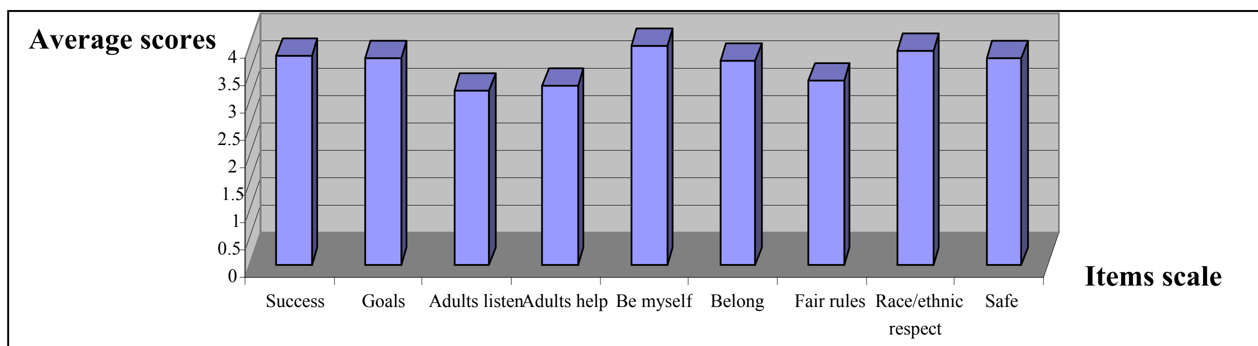
Furthermore, some of the dimensions typically associated with students' SSB overlap with particular outcomes emphasised by the government in its Every Child Matters agenda (DfES 2003). Schools are expected to create a 'safe' environment for children and stimulate children to "develop positive relationships and choose

not to bully and discriminate" (DfES 2004, p.5). Finally, under the outcome 'make a positive contribution', schools have to encourage students to "engage in decision making and support the community and environment" (DfES 2004, p.5).

In line with research in this area (Dika and Singh 2002) we consider students' SSB as a measure of social cohesion or bonding social capital, which relates directly to young people's experiences and benefits of in-group relationships, and rests upon positive micro-sociological relationships between actors and groups (bridging social capital) in a particular school context. This chapter explores how students define 'feeling part of' a school community, what factors influence young people's SSB and how such attitudes relate to educational and wider outcomes.

We measured SSB using Brown and Evans's school connection scale (Brown and Evans 2002, see: Appendix 4.1). The scale contains questions on different dimensions that are often associated with SSB, including: academic engagement, belonging, discipline and fairness, student voice, peer relationships, safety and teacher support. Responses could vary from 'never' (1) to 'almost never' (2), 'sometimes' (3), 'often' (4) and 'always' (5). On average, students in our schools responded positively to all items of the scale, which suggests that they felt, on average, strongly part of their school communities:

Graph 4.1: Students' average scores on sense of school belonging



Before exploring what factors and processes relate to the development of students' SSB, we first describe how students themselves define what it means to feel part of a school.

4.1 What does it mean to feel part of a school community?

Our qualitative interviews with young people underscore the validity of the different dimensions (Libbey 2004) often associated with feeling part of a school community. First, students feel more part of a school when the school environment is considered 'safe':

> **I**: 'Now, I was wondering, when do you feel you're a part of a school?'
> **JOE**: 'When you've got friends here. When the school is like home and if it feels like your home.'
> **I**: 'How do you mean like home? When do you feel like that?'
> **JOE**: 'Kind of feel safe at school. (**BUBBLES** agrees)'
> **(…)**

BUBBLES: 'Well, it's different (in school and in the neighbourhood). Because in school, yeah, there are gangs and I do feel more safe than I do in my neighbourhood because here you've got boundaries. You've got teachers watching you and you know they won't do anything whilst they're being watched. But in the neighbourhood, they can do whatever they want.'
Interview *Oak High* – Bubbles (white British, girl), Katie (white British, girl) and Joe (white British, boy)

This also illustrates that schools are generally considered a 'safe haven' by young people in that relationships between students in school are less likely to result in overt conflict because schools discourage such behaviour (see also 5.2.3). Furthermore, in line with how SSB has been defined and measured in previous studies, students feel part of a school community when they have friends, close ties with teachers and, more generally, when they feel accepted for who they are:

I: 'For you to belong to this school, how should the school be?'
CHARLOTTE: '(…) I think, making you feel part of it is more about having friends who you can rely on and stuff in school, teachers who kind of [you have a close bond with] and just like saying, yeah, "I do go to a school" and, you know, that's how it is. (…) Feeling accepted, I think is the word.'
I: 'And do you feel like that in school?'
CHARLOTTE: 'Most of the time. Sometimes [not] but I think that's because I might like a different type of music to other people in my class or something. So, yes, it's not always 100%, but most of the time, yeah.'
Interview *Oak High* – Charlotte (white European, girl)

Students also relate feelings of school belonging to tolerance between and fair treatment of different groups in school and the existence of supportive relationships:

I: 'And do you feel that you're part of the school?'
STEVEN: 'Yeah, sure.'
I: 'Why?'
STEVEN: 'Because it's better than other schools really, because in other schools there's more racism than in this school. This school is not really racism, just joke about people's culture.'
I: 'And other reasons why you belong to this school?'
KISS: 'When it comes down to like another school, someone else outside the school trying to do something to you, people from the school, like in your groups, will help you and stuff. Nothing's really happened to me. No one's tried to do anything to me, but I've seen it happen around. I've seen it around.'
Interview *Rose Park*– Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)

I: 'So, how should a school be like for you to feel part of the school or belong to the school?'
N7BOY: 'The teachers respect you and you respect them. And no bullying. Everyone gets along with everyone.'
Interview *Oak High*– N7 Boy (white British, boy)

In sum, our interviews suggest that feeling part of a school community means different things, including: feeling safe, feeling accepted, having friends, being supported by staff and experiencing fair treatment. This strengthens the validity of our employed measurement instrument, which includes dimensions such as belonging, fairness, peer relationships, safety and teacher support. It also illustrates the inter-related nature of social support networks and bonding and bridging social capital: students feel more part of a school community when they feel supported by staff and other students, and when they experience fair treatment of and tolerance between different social groups. These different dimensions of SSB also overlap with and further extend the ECM agenda, in particular the goals related to 'staying safe' and 'enjoying and achieving' (HMG 2003), and the government's goal to foster community cohesion through schools (DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b).

4.2 Accounting for sense of school belonging

The following sections report on both qualitative and quantitative data analysis to explore what factors and processes relate to the development of young people's SSB. The first section looks at the findings from the quantitative data analysis to explore how students' other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources relate to their sense of school belonging. The remaining sections reflect on the qualitative data analysis and investigate the importance of particular social processes situated at the peer group, school and neighbourhood level in developing students' sense of school belonging.

4.2.1 Exploring factors related to sense of school belonging

The quantitative survey data allow us to explore how particular forms of social capital (access to support of others and closeness to others and involvement in extra-curricular activities), school attended, students' social background characteristics (gender, race/ethnicity, age, and parents' level of education and job status) and key socio-psychological resources (self-efficacy, self-esteem and self-concept of ability) correlate with SSB, controlling for each other (see section 3.8 for a discussion on model selection). In our first analysis of SSB (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1) we used SSB as a dependent variable. The analysis shows that SSB associates positively with young people's social support networks, their socio-psychological resources and age, controlling for all other variables included in the model.

The first step of the analysis only looks at the relationship between students' other forms of social capital and their SSB (see Table 8.1, Model 1). Students' close relationships with friends and family and their perceived access to support from family and non-family adults relates positively to their SSB. While some of these relationships become weaker or non-significant (after controlling for the other variables in the model), the relationships between SSB and students' closeness to friends and access to support from non-family adults still remain strong and significant after controlling for all other variables in the model. Hence, the results

suggest that students' bonding social capital on a face-to-face level correlates with their SSB, or their bonding social capital in relation to a school community. This illustrates the conceptual overlap and relatedness between different forms of bonding capital, as 'bonding' on a face-to-face level between members of a group (students' relationships with friends and teachers in school) relates to their 'bonding' to the group as a whole (school community).

In a second step, school is added to the equation but, on average, membership of *Oak High* or *Rose Park* school does not seem to relate to students' SSB (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1, Model 2). This is supported by a t-test which shows that *Rose Park* and *Oak High* have similar levels of SSB (*Rose Park*: M=32.5, SD=5.90, and *Oak High*: M=32.6, SD=6.12). However, further t-tests suggest that there are small but statistically significant differences between *Rose Park* and *Oak High* in that students in *Rose Park* feel, on average, more part of the school (item 'belonging') and see the rules in school as fairer compared to their peers in *Oak High*. In contrast, students in *Oak High* indicate, on average, more support from adults in school and feel safer in school (see Appendix 4.1). While these differences are small, they might suggest subtle differences between the schools in terms of belonging, which are not captured when the schools are compared in terms of their overall scale scores. This also suggests that schools can obtain similar average levels of SSB through different channels.

In the third step students' social background characteristics are added to the equation (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1, Model 3). The only relationship that appears strong and significant is the relationship between age and SSB, with older students feeling, on average, less part of the school community than younger students. Perhaps students' relationships and life outside school become more important as they grow older, while younger students might feel a stronger need to develop close, supportive ties with staff and school.

In the final, fourth step of the analysis students' socio-psychological resources are added to the equation (see Appendix 8 Table 8.1, Model 4). While these variables are only included as 'controls', the results show that students' self-efficacy, self-esteem and self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork associate strongly and positively with students' SSB. The literature supports these findings and suggests that SSB and psychological factors influence each other: while students who feel accepted and secure are more likely to show autonomy and self-regulation, young people with healthy, positive socio-psychological resources will find it more easy to develop supportive relationships, gain respect and realise their goals in school (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Libbey 2004; Osterman 2000).

In sum, the findings of the quantitative data analysis suggest a positive relationship between students' SSB, and their close and supportive relationships with others, their socio-psychological resources and age. While school attended does not seem to relate to students' SSB, the data suggest that schools can develop similar levels of SSB through different channels. The following sections use qualitative data analysis to further elaborate on these findings and show how particular school processes can influence students' SSB. In addition, they will emphasise the inter-related nature of 'bonding' social capital at a school, peer and neighbourhood level.

4.2.2 School policies and sense of school belonging

Students think that schools can enhance their SSB. When students are asked how their school could improve young people's sense of belonging to school, they mention the importance of organising social activities that bring different groups together:

> **I**: 'And do you think the school could do more things to make young people feel more part of the school?'
> **LUCY**: 'Erm like the school do have things like, they have like International Day and stuff like that where all the different nationalities get together and they'll do things like there's a special day and they'll get like different foods from different backgrounds and like they'll maybe like put on a play or something and get like loads of people involved that probably wouldn't usually get involved with stuff.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Lucy (white British, girl), Sabrina (white British, girl) and Beth (white British, girl)**

Students in *Oak High* and *Rose Park* praised their schools for emphasising the value of cultural diversity by organising events or activities that allowed different cultural groups to emphasise and share their cultural differences. This is an important finding as it suggests that in multicultural schools organising activities that bridge differences between cultural groups will enhance students' SSB. Similarly, students valued opportunities where they could bridge differences in terms of hierarchy and build closer relationships with teachers:

> **TALULAH**: '(…) I was talking to my teacher about quitting smoking when we went to our drama trip the other day. It's just proper sitting down telling me about her experiences and stuff. And it's really nice, you know what I mean, it makes you feel like you're not just in a classroom. I'm the teacher, you're the pupil. It's like, we're equal in a way. We're both people. I have a certain amount of respect for you, but as long as you respect me back. Do you know what I mean?'
> **ABZIE**: 'Yeah, you have nice connection. If they knew you were going somewhere that night or party or something, they'll be like, "oh, did you have fun in the party?" or something. It's not all about like school like, oh, did you do your homework? They bring that personal sort of stuff into it. And you'll feel like, oh it's nice to know you care or something like, you feel like, yeah you have like a more of a bond with the teachers (…).'
> **TALULAH**: 'It feels like you're more part of the community.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**

While these bonding activities seemed to make students feel more part of their school community, students also emphasised the importance of being 'different' or having space to express their own individuality:

> **I**: 'And what do you think about the school uniform? Do you think that it brings people together? Makes them feel more part of a school?'

TALULAH: 'No. (…) I mean, grey and blue. And this isn't even in a nice grey. This is so depressing. Everyone looks so ugly in it. It just makes… it's another thing that makes you look lifeless.'
ABZIE: 'Yeah. (…) We don't like… in the days we used to have a non-school uniform, you can tell people are so much livelier.'
TALULAH : 'Everyone comes in. Everyone is so much happier.'
ABZIE: 'Happy, smiling and it kind of gives you your own individuality and like who you are sort of thing.'
TALULAH : 'Exactly. When we had a non-school-uniform day, I was happy to go to school and I don't know why. I was just really happy that day. I was in such a good mood and then I had a really good day.
Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)

While a school uniform can foster a feeling of belonging, it seems equally important to allow students space for expressing their individuality. Related to this, students feel more part of a school community when they feel that they are taken seriously or 'listened to' by their teachers and the senior management team. Students in *Oak High* were very critical of their school uniform and managed to convince the school management to introduce a new, 'nicer' uniform in the following year. Similarly, the headteacher of *Oak High* allowed the Year 10s and 11s to leave the school premises during lunch after students convinced him how this could be organised in a fair and efficient way. Such a constructive involvement of students in the decision-making process in school seemed to increase students' happiness and relatedness to school.

Students also feel more part of their school community when they have the opportunity to be engaged with a curriculum and pedagogy they like:

I: 'And do you think -- do you feel part of the school? Do you feel like you belong to the school?'
DANNY: 'Yes and no. I think I feel like part of some parts but not part of others. I feel part of the music department, I feel part of. I don't know why, I like music and I hang around there like […] instruments and the other teachers. And I feel part of like some of the people, like I know them and talk to them and everything. But there's also some parts I don't feel part of. Like I don't feel part of -- some of the people I don't like and I don't like the way that schools work, so I don't actually like the education system very much.'
I: 'And what do you mean? What is it that you don't like?'
DANNY: 'I think it would be nicer if what they taught you was more in contact of what you were good at and it wasn't so rigid and it wasn't about punishment and rewards. It was about like learning for the sake of what you really want to do when you're older.'
Interview *Rose Park*– Brown Bear (mixed-race British, boy), Herman (white British, boy), Danny (white British, boy) and Condor (white British, boy)

Related to this, some ethnic minority students praised their headteacher for encouraging them to take GCSEs in their native language. Some members of staff narrated stories of students whose engagement with school increased strongly after they became involved in subjects or tasks they really enjoyed.

Students also pointed to their physical environment as an important factor that affects their sense of belonging to school. While students in *Oak High* could benefit from a new school building with very modern equipment, some students did not necessarily perceive this as an improvement:

> **I**: 'What should the school do for students to feel that they're really part of it, that they belong to the school?'
> **ABZIE**: 'I think the old school, the old building was like, maybe it did have cracks and maybe it was…'
> **TALULAH**: 'But it gave like an atmosphere.'
> **ABZIE**: 'It gave -- it had character. Do you know what I mean? I like people with character. I like things with character. And I think the old school had a lot more character than this. This school feels like a prison. There's like gates here going all the way up like metal gates, which will probably cut his finger off when you try to climb over. And everything is just so grey. Before, it had colour in it. You can see what everyone's different characteristics in the way they dress. People felt free to just do what they want to do.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**
> -----
> **MS. BABEL**: 'I think some pupils who are used to the buildings in the smaller corridors felt it (the old school building) was a bit more personalised, had a bit more character. I think they felt when they moved in (to the new school building) initially, it was a bit characterless and impersonal. But I think now it's very much more lived-in and I think they do like to be part of it.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – teacher**

Hence, schools can develop students' SSB by personalising the school environment and making it more appealing to their students. Finally, it is also important for schools to consider their main values, expectations and the related practices and policies that make up their school ethos in developing students' SSB. Some students in *Oak High* felt alienated and demoralised because *Oak High*'s school ethos emphasised the importance of achievement and controlling of student behaviour (see 6.3.2):

> **ABZIE**: 'You can even see it in the teachers (…). They used to be that much more happier before. Now, they're just got really stressed. I mean, I've heard them all complaining about it as well. Obviously, the school and stuff. I think -- but their main priority sort of thing is just like to get us more like working hard. (…)'
> **I**: 'And less about…?'
> **TALULAH**: 'Socialising.'
> **(…)**
> **TALULAH**: 'When I used to come into school, I was happy. Maybe I used to have like a few issues of my working but that changes over time. (…) Everyone just had life in them, now it's just like everyone is like, everyone can't be bothered. Everyone is like, "oh we've got this, oh we've got this lesson", it's so boring. School is so depressing.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**
> -----

I: 'And how do you find the school in general?'
RED: 'It's all right.'
I: 'You've been here since Year 8.'
RED: 'Yeah. It's a bit kind of plastic. There's no laugh. It's all kind of superficial.'
I: 'And what do you mean like laugh…'
RED: 'Laugh, it just seems like the school doesn't have a school spirit anymore. It just seems like a business office.'
I: 'And you say anymore, it used to be different?'
RED: 'Yeah, it used to be apparently. I wasn't here then but my friends tell my classmates in Year 7 and there used to be the old building and there's no uniform and there's more kind of laugh about the kids.'
I: 'And what is it now about?'
RED: 'This is about what grades they get. I know that is one of the important things about school but there's other things as well. School is not just about grades (…).'
Interview *Oak High* – Red (white British, boy)

These students seemed less orientated to achievement compared to their peers and describe their school's change over time as mixed; while on the one hand they are proud that their school has increased its status in the borough, they also feel that the emphasis on achievement and the controlling of student behaviour dehumanises the school. The interviews with school staff also illustrate that *Oak High* has shifted its focus over time from a 'pastoral' or 'caring' school to one that much more emphasises 'achievement' and 'behaviour' (see 3.2).

This signifies a fundamental dilemma in that schools have to focus on achievement and behaviour, and on the other hand pay attention to the social and emotional needs of young people. In this respect, schools have been criticised for developing a culture of 'individualism and competition', rather than one of 'community and collaboration'. Often underlying such a view on schooling is the belief that achievement and mastery are more important than the sense of belonging; that belonging is not a precondition for engagement, but a reward for compliance and achievement, and that personal and emotional needs of students are met at home or in social relationships outside the classroom (Kunc 1992).

However, considering the benefits related to the development of young people's SSB (see below), the challenge faced by schools is to encourage a culture of achievement, without losing the importance of community building and students' social and emotional needs, as the latter foster students' SSB, which in turn develops their 'psychological resources' and related educational outcomes (Osterman 2000, see also below).

In sum, the qualitative data analysis suggests that schools can influence young people's SSB by: i) organising activities that celebrate students' social differences and related identities, ii) organising activities that bring students and staff closer to each other, iii) allowing students to express their own individuality and have a 'voice' in the decision-making process, iv) considering students' interests in developing the curriculum and pedagogy, v) personalising the school by making the school environment appealing to young people, vi) focusing not only on

achievement, but also enjoyment as the pressure to achieve can affect the well-being of both staff and students.

4.2.3 Students' strategies to become part of school

While students identify various strategies through which a school can help to develop a sense of community, feeling part of a community is largely influenced by students feeling 'respected' by their teachers and, most importantly, other students.

Hence of particular importance to students is their perceived membership of a particular social group in school. Usually these groups were defined as 'friends' or similar like-minded people who seem to help in developing and maintaining a positive identity and, related to this, acceptance or respect. However, respect and, related to this, popularity are not necessarily given in school and students have to navigate their way and make strategic decisions to become popular or develop respect and acceptance from a group of students. Although students in both schools distinguished different groups of students, *Rose Park* and *Oak High* were different in that students in *Rose Park* seemed to differentiate themselves more according to sub-cultural ties, while students in *Oak High* appeared more divided according to their academic orientation:

> **KISS**: 'In school people are divided up by clothes. The people who wear more street clothes all hang in one group. Then the people who wear more like skateboarding clothes, grungy, whatever are in one group. And then Goths are in another group. That's what I realised.'
> **STEVEN**: 'I agree with that.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)**
> -----
> **SARAN**: 'In our year we have little sections, like there's the black people there with the odd white person and then the Asians and then the white people, the grungies, because they're stereotyped into little groups and they would hang around in little groups.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Adnan (Asian, boy), Saran (Asian, girl), Bob (Asian, boy)**
> -----
> **CHARLOTTE**: 'You have the popular crowd and the rule breakers other people here that normally get quite bad grades and you've got like the clever people who don't speak to them. And you've got people in between, who kind of talk to them but aren't really placed to the popular people, but they do work, but not as quite … they're half popular… even though they are clever and they DO do their work, they're not putting a hand up every five seconds. […] So, they are clever, they just don't show it.'
> **I**: 'And where would you put yourself?'
> **CHARLOTTE**: 'In the people who put their hand up every five seconds.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Charlotte (white European, girl)**

Charlotte also acknowledges (see 4.1) that 'feeling part of' a social group in *Oak High* also depends on the kind of music she likes. However, in general these two

schools were different in terms of the kind of peer groups that were formed, something that can be explained by the absence of a school uniform in *Rose Park*. In both schools young people who appeared less school-orientated seemed to be given higher status and popularity. In such a climate, more pro-school-orientated students had sometimes devised particular strategies to become ‘accepted’ by the popular groups:

> **HITMAN**: ‘I wasn't so popular and I was more clever. I was very unconfident but as I gained more confidence, then that's -- they don't really have a problem with you being clever. They just have a problem with you being so locked out, segregated, or just not involving yourself in anything. So, then when you've got rid of that factor, they don't really mind you. And so, in answer to your question, people who are more academic, they feel left out. Because there are people who say “you're a boffin, you're clever”, whatever and that's it, you're a geek. Then, when they said it to me, because they know it won’t hurt me or because I can be fun at times and I can be clever at other times, they just know, all right, he's just being a bit clever. Other times, I'll be fun and I don’t do as much work. So, since they know that I have the capability to be both fun and think, then they can get along with me. If they knew you're just clever, then they can't really get along with you.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Hitman (Asian, boy) and Abdi (Asian, boy)**

In line with the quantitative findings, receiving respect or becoming part of a community requires a set of inter-personal skills, such as confidence in self and in interacting with others, and taking initiative in realising goals and socialising with others. In both schools, more pro-school-orientated students sometimes decreased their level of involvement in schoolwork and/or spent more time socialising with other students in order to increase their chances of gaining acceptance into a particular popular social group. At the same time, more pro-school-orientated peers were not alienated or punished in either schools, and sometimes these students formed groups by themselves or obtained respect from popular students by helping them with their schoolwork, even if this kind of support appeared almost an expectation:

> **CHARLOTTE**: 'But like I'm expected to help them (popular people) with their work. I'm not expected to be their friend. I'm expected to do their work. Or there's a girl that I did my … we did those … me and my two friends did some work with this girl and it was English. And basically, we did all the work and it was course work. And we got an A in it, but she didn't do anything towards it at all. But she got an A as well, because we let her in our group.'
> **I**: 'And does she show some recognition or some appreciation of your work?'
> **CHARLOTTE**: 'Yeah. She's like I am glad that I am with you because you're clever.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Charlotte (white European, girl)**

These extracts illustrate the importance of ‘agency’ or students’ ability to negotiate respect and acceptance in particular contexts. These findings also suggest that ‘respect’ and acceptance more generally are continually negotiated in a school context and impact on young people’s SSB. As a result, practitioners need to consider the kind of sub-cultures (and related expectations) that are

predominant in their school, and most importantly identify at an early stage the kind of students or groups that do not fit these expectations and students with poor social skills.

4.2.4 Respect and neighbourhood context

Respect is not only developed and maintained within the school context as people can gain respect through their 'reputation' or relationships outside the school:

> **I**: 'Right and how do you become popular in this school and in the streets? What do you have to do?'
> **ABZIE**: 'I don't think you sort of become popular just within the school. Like some people were already popular before they're even in school.'
> **I**: 'And they bring that back in the school?'
> **ABZIE**: 'Yeah. They're like they're known outside the school and some people who are older will know them because they know them outside of school.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**

Of particular importance in gaining respect in inner-city areas marked with sometimes violent relationships seems the ability to be 'tough' or to 'stand up for yourself' (see 6.3.4 for a discussion on how students cope with living in violent areas). In particular, boys and students who experience and know how to cope with the violence and insecurity on the street emphasised the importance of showing that you 'cannot be messed with':

> **I**: 'Is there -- is respect in the street important?'
> **STEVEN**: 'If you don't have respect, you're getting nowhere. You have to be noticed around the area.'
> **KISS**: 'People nowadays try to get noticed by [other] people. Then from that, they hope they can get -- their name can go out in the street.'
> **I**: 'And how do you protect your own respect?'
> **KISS**: 'Well, you stay cool with everyone. If someone tries to fight you, you don't really back down from them. I've seen someone in our year…'
> **STEVEN**: 'I know who he's talking about. He had no respect. He then hang around with the cool people in our year. He started to hang around with them, he got a respect, but he lost the fight and he didn't do nothing about it.'
> **KISS**: 'He didn't even fight back. The boy just started punching him.'
> **STEVEN**: 'People cuss him to toughen him up, but he doesn't cuss back. He doesn't do anything. And they found out that he's nothing really. So, then he lost the respect. So, there was a time that I lost my respect and people started to cuss me and I just say nothing. But then people say "why don't you stand up for yourself?". Now, I just stand up for myself, really.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)**
> -----
> **I**: 'Is it important to be tough?'
> **ALL**: 'Yeah.'
> **EVO**: 'I think it is important to be tough because if you're not tough, people take advantage of you. Like in the school, if [somebody] wants to fight, you just throw this expression, you don't want to get messed with.'

> **DARNELL**: 'If not physically, mentally as well, you have to show that you're not scared. Mentally, you have to be strong enough. Like make sure that people don't push you around and you put your feet down, tell them: “Don't push me around!” and they get the idea.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Darnell (black African, boy), Evo (Asian, boy), Spit-J (black African, boy) and Rif (Asian, boy)**

Although ‘being tough’, or showing a willingness to use violence when faced with threats to personal safety, functions as a shell that protects its wearer from violence on the street, it has to be managed according to its context as people can not only lack toughness but also be ‘too tough’ (see also 5.2.3):

> **I**: 'Don't you have to be tougher on the streets?'
> **SPIT-J**: 'There's a consequence of being tough and not being tough at the same time. If you're not being tough, then people will, probably, try robbing you and they'll think you're a little girl and you won’t be able to do anything but if you're too tough, then obviously you're messing around like you're causing trouble for yourself. It's a bit complicated.'
> **I**: 'Yeah, it's a fine balance.'
> **SPIT-J**: 'In certain situations you need to know when to be tough and when not to be tough. So, it's like if people approach you and they will try to move to you, you know they've got weapon, you don't fight back. You don't do nothing. You just give your stuff -- and if someone tried to be nice, like one person, [then] fight back and just don't let him take it. It's fair one-on-one, isn't it? So four versus one you're just going to get knocked out straight. So, just give them your stuff.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Darnell (black African, boy), Evo (Asian, boy), Spit-J (black African, boy) and Rif (Asian, boy)**

While the development and maintenance of such social fronts seem to relate to young people’s experiences of life in particular neighbourhoods, they influence how young people can obtain respect in school:

> **I**: 'Now, we've talked about neighbourhoods, how is it in the school? How do you get respect in school?'
> **HERMAN**: 'If you wear a hood and you wear a tracksuit. And you act like you have anti-social problems then you have respect.'
> **CONDOR**: 'You have to be quite aggressive. You have to be seen to be aggressive and to be kind of masculine to get people to respect you. You can't sort of show any femininity or else people will be, “oh you're gay!” and won't like you. They won't respect you.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– Brown Bear (mixed-race British, boy) and Herman (white British, boy), Danny (white British, boy) and Condor (white British, boy)**

The young people participating in this interview are perceived by their peers as ‘grungy’ people, a sub-cultural group that is associated with a liking of (hard) rock or metal music, having long hair, and the use of marijuana (which is contested by these students). The grungy boys seemed critical of and intimidated by what they call the ‘chavs’ and ‘Townies’ in their school, or students associated with a more

street-orientated sub-culture. The grungy boys live in areas perceived as 'safe' or 'peaceful' and were not involved in gangs and they avoided interactions with such groups.

This shows that 'respect' and, related to this, 'popularity' are not only a function of what happens inside the school, but also relate to the broader social context in which young people interact, in particular their neighbourhoods. For young people, especially boys and street-wise kids, being respected in school and feeling part of its community, depends to some extent on their ability to show confident and strong 'fronts', which involves a willingness to use violence in certain situations as this influences their status and protection in and, especially, outside the school (Anderson 1990; Anderson 1999).

Schools have to consider the insecurities faced by many young people who live in violent neighbourhoods and the demands such a social context puts on how young people present themselves in relation to others. While the school context can offer a safe haven where competition over status is regulated in a way that is accepted by students, school staff have to consider the often conflicting expectations of the street and the school and the difficulties young people experience in developing and maintaining positive identities in both social contexts. Rather than condemning particular protective strategies related to the use of body-language, speech and dress (like 'hoodies'), it is important that schools recognise both the motivations for adopting such strategies and explain the potential problems attached to such strategies and the importance of 'switching codes' in different context (such as school and work).

While schools can help to develop a school community, this does not mean that all students can be made similar or that a school ethos can be developed in a vacuum. Schools can foster young people's sense of school community by showing interest in and developing an understanding of the many identities and experiences young people bring into their school. This will increase the chances that such young people will feel understood and, as a result, accepted by or part of the school community and the values it represents.

In sum, the qualitative and quantitative data show that school context matters: while schools can, on average, have similar levels of SSB (and, as a result, student membership of a school does not seem to make a difference), schools can develop a sense of community through different channels, emphasising different dimensions of SSB. Furthermore, both the qualitative and quantitative data suggest that different forms of bonding capital, situated at different levels of analysis (face-to-face relationships with adults and friends in school, and feeling part of a school community) relate to and overlap with each other. However, in violent inner-city areas, young people might develop particular 'tough' social fronts and violent strategies to protect their social status and gain social acceptance and safety in their area. Such strategies and social fronts can be at odds with what schools consider as appropriate behaviour. Hence, in such contexts, young people might experience a conflict between school and street expectations and related feelings of belonging. The quantitative data also suggested strong, positive relationships between students' SSB and their socio-psychological resources, including their self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork. This finding is

somewhat supported by our qualitative data analysis, which seems to suggest that receiving respect from peers and/or becoming part of a community requires a set of inter-personal skills, such as confidence in self and in interacting with others, and taking initiative in realising goals and socialising with others. The following section will use the quantitative dataset to further explore how SSB (now used in the analysis as an independent variable) relates to educational and wider outcomes.

4.3 Sense of school belonging and educational and wider outcomes

The integration of the school survey data with school records allows us to explore associations between key sets of variables. More specifically, we explore associations between students' SSB (as an independent variable) and educational and wider outcomes (as a set of dependent variables). The latter includes: students' prior and current educational achievement, attendance (as a measure of 'engagement to school'), 'poor' behaviour, self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork and stress. To conduct a more rigorous test of the relationship between SSB and educational and wider outcomes, the analysis controls for the effect of the following variables: social capital, school attended, students' social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see 3.8 and 3.9).

The analysis (see Table 4.1) shows that students' SSB relates positively with wider outcomes but not with their prior and current educational achievement. Initially, students who feel strongly part of a school community show lower levels of stress and 'poor' behaviour and higher levels of school engagement (attendance) and self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork (see Table 4.1, Model 1). While the relationships between SSB and students' 'poor' behaviour and engagement to school disappear or become non-significant after controlling for other characteristics, students with high levels of SSB still show high levels of self-concept of ability and low levels of stress, controlling for all other variables in our model (see Table 4.1, models 5).

These findings can be interpreted in two ways. First, it is possible that feeling more part of a school community reduces students' stress and increases their perceived ability in doing schoolwork (which refers to their perceived effort, importance, ability and engagement in doing schoolwork). This would support existing research which concludes that students' experiences of acceptance are associated with a greater interest in and enjoyment of school, classwork and teachers, a greater commitment to work, higher expectations of success and lower levels of anxiety (Osterman 2000). Second, it is possible that students with lower levels of stress and/or positive perceptions of their ability in doing schoolwork will feel more part of a school community. Research also supports this finding, as young people with healthy, positive socio-psychological resources will find it more easy to develop supportive relationships, gain respect and realise their goals in school (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Libbey 2004; Osterman 2000).

Table 4.1: Sense of school belonging and educational and wider outcomes

	Affective outcomes as dependent variables							
	Self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork		Low levels of stress		Low levels of 'poor' behaviour		Engagement with school (attendance)	
	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	14.686	11.339	10.336	9.959	26.390	25.087	88.254	75.668
SSB	.378***	.259***	.268***	.179***	.201***	.074	.106***	-.015

	Attainment outcomes as dependent variables											
	English teacher assessment		Maths teacher assessment		KS2 English		KS2 Maths		KS3 English		KS3 Maths	
	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	31.301	44.377	31.221	35.120	4.041	3.644	3.846	3.256	4.973	3.140	5.024	2.439
SSB	-.077	-.001	-.073	-.065	.030	-.079	.061	-.020	.071	.040	.091	-.007

Note 1: This table shows the relationship between SSB and educational and wider outcomes, controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see 3.8 and 3.9). Two coefficients are given for each outcome: the effect of SSB without controlling for any other characteristics (Model 1) and the effect of SSB controlling for all other variables in the model (Model 5). English and Maths Teacher Assessments were only collected from *Oak High*. As a result these analyses only involved four steps (as school attended was taken out of the analysis).
Note 2: Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant. Asterisks (*) = p<.05, (**) = p<.01 and (***) p<.001.
Note 3: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N = 1,585.

More generally, these studies suggest that young people's attachment to a school community does not appear to influence their educational outcomes directly, but equips them with 'inner resources', as they see themselves to be more competent and autonomous and have higher levels of intrinsic motivation. At the same time, students equipped with such positive socio-psychological resources are more likely to develop positive relationships with others in school and, as a result, feel more part of their school community. While students with a strong attachment to school show a strong sense of identity, they also appear more willing to conform to and adopt established values and norms (Osterman 2000).

In sum, our findings show that students' SSB relates positively to healthy socio-psychological resources, in particular their self-concept of ability. Research in this area suggests that these healthy socio-psychological resources help to develop students' educational outcomes. As a result, schools can expect to benefit from investing in the development of students' SSB and their socio-psychological resources, as they relate positively to each other and because students' socio-psychological resources have a positive impact on their educational attainment.

4.4 Summary of findings

- Students feel part of a school community when they and other students are safe, accepted, supported and treated fairly by both staff and students.

- Schools can influence young people's SSB by:
    - Organising activities that celebrate students' social differences and related identities;
    - Organising activities that bring students and staff closer to each other;
    - Allowing students to express their own individuality and have a 'voice' in the decision-making process in school;
    - Considering students' interests in developing the curriculum and pedagogy;
    - Personalising the school by making the school environment appealing to young people;
    - Focusing not only on achievement, but also enjoyment as the pressure to achieve can affect the well-being of both staff and students.

- Students can negotiate belonging in school by adapting to the requirements of particular sub-cultural groups in school.

- Schools can develop a sense of community through different channels, emphasising different dimensions of SSB. Therefore, schools can be similar, on average, in terms of how much their students feel part of a school community but have very different school cultures and employ different mechanisms to develop such feelings (for example, emphasising structure and safety, or freedom and individual responsibility).

- In violent inner-city areas, young people might develop particular 'tough' social fronts and violent strategies to protect their social status and gain social

acceptance and safety in their area. Such strategies and social fronts can be at odds with what schools consider as appropriate behaviour.

- Students who feel more part of the school community have higher levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability and lower levels of stress. Existing research suggests that these findings can be explained in different ways: students with positive socio-psychological resources and low levels of stress are more able to build supportive, positive relationships with others; and feeling part of a group helps young people develop such positive socio-psychological resources and reduce stress.

- While students' socio-psychological resources can be considered valuable outcomes by themselves, research suggests that they have a positive impact on students' educational outcomes.

5 Attitudes to social diversity

This chapter explores what factors influence young people's attitudes to social diversity and how such attitudes relate to educational and wider outcomes. Students' attitudes to social diversity can be considered as an important form of bridging social capital, as they relate directly to young people's attitudes to relationships between groups they feel part of (in-groups) and groups they don't feel part of (out-groups). The more positive or tolerant young people appear to be to social diversity, the more likely they will be able to bridge differences between social groups (including racial/ethnic, religious, gender and social-class groups) and overcome or prevent inter-group conflicts.

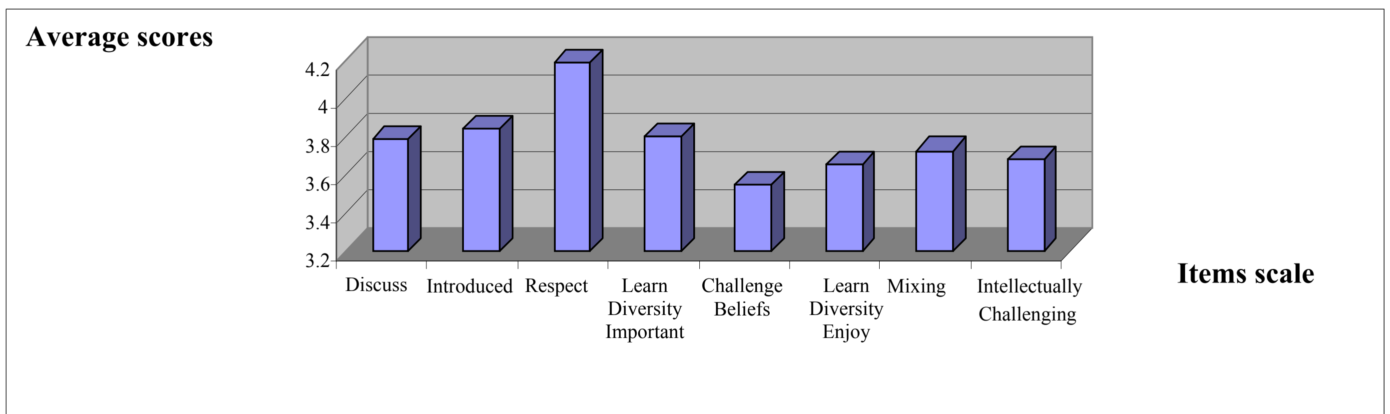
As described in the previous chapter (see Chapter 4), the focus on the development of bridging social capital and its relationship to educational and wider outcomes links very well with the government's increased interest in developing community cohesion, both as a desirable goal and a means to foster the well-being and economic development of citizens (DCLG 2006; DCLG 2007; DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b; DfES 2003; DfES 2004). Related to this, from September 2007 onwards schools in England have a duty to promote community cohesion. This means that schools will have to ensure that

> *"our children and young people are educated about the diverse make up of British society and in particular its diversity in terms of socio-economic backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities, religions and beliefs*", which can help to support *"all students to achieve their potential and bringing different groups of people closer together"* (Schools Minister Jim Knight in: DCSF 2007b).

The focus of this research on two schools in a particular London borough allows for an investigation of attitudes to diversity in a social context where such issues can be expected to be of special importance, and in contexts (schools) that are traditionally considered as primary sites for government intervention.

We measured young people's attitudes to diversity by using Pascarella et al.'s 'attitudes to diversity and challenge scale' (ODC scale), which contained eight items and was administered only to students from Year 10 and above (see 3.9). In general, students from Years 10 to 12 responded positively to all questions from the ODC scale (Pascarella et al. 1996, see: Appendix 5.1). Responses could vary from 'strongly disagree' (1) to 'neutral' (3) and 'strongly agree' (5). On average, students in both schools seemed to express more positive attitudes to all items in the social diversity and challenge scale:

Graph 5.1: Students' average openness to diversity and challenge



The only difference is that students appear more open to diversity in relation to social and cultural groups and less open to diversity in 'values', 'opinion' and 'beliefs'. This also illustrates an important observation in that this scale measures young people's attitudes to diversity in a very general sense, so students' responses to questions from the ODC scale are likely to reflect general, more superficial, attitudes rather than deeply held convictions. In contrast, the qualitative analysis below will suggest the importance of the kind of diversity discussed, and the sensitive nature of social diversity and intolerance in interpreting young people's responses to general statements in relation to diversity.

Before exploring what factors and processes relate to the development of young people's attitudes to diversity it is important to investigate how students' attitudes to diversity change according to the kind of diversity discussed, the nature of the questions and the context of interviewing. The following sections use data from the student interviews to explore the conceptual complexity underlying the concept of social diversity and its implications for practitioners.

5.1 Conceptual issues

The qualitative interviews show that students' attitudes to diversity are complex and that students are neither in favour of nor against diversity per se. On the contrary, their attitudes to one kind of diversity are different from their attitudes to other kinds of diversity. Their ideas of what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour were often inconsistent and contested, and they expressed their views in an environment of acute awareness of what was politically correct and what should and should not be said.

5.1.1 Not all differences are the same

While students were able to agree to generalised statements about the importance of diversity, qualitative interviews show that students did not think that all forms of difference are similar, with some forms of diversity perceived as more threatening than others.

In particular, students appeared to have much more negative views on diversity in terms of sexual orientation compared to ethnic or racial diversity. This is illustrated by the widespread use of the word 'gay' as an adjective that signifies anything 'annoying':

> **SABRINA**: 'But I'd be lying if I said I'd never ever used the word gay because I have and…(…) it puts me in a bad position but there has been times when I've tried to describe something and the only word that has come to my head is "Urr, that's so gay!". And that actually shocks me, I'm like can't I use a different word to describe…'
> **ALL**: '[…] because you're used to saying gay, it just pops out'
> **LUCY**: 'And gay means like so annoying'
> **SABRINA**: 'And I can never think of anything else to describe it and it's so annoying, you just feel…'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Lucy (white British, girl), Sabrina (white British, girl) and Beth (white British, girl)**
> -----
> **KISS**: '(Gay), that's the most cuss that goes around the school. They say like, if someone just says: "We have to go to the bus stop" and the other guys says: "I don't have to go to other bus stop", they just say: "you're gay, stop being like that!".'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)**

Furthermore, the way in which students with 'deviant' sexual orientations or identities appear to be received in school suggests a rather hostile reaction from at least part of the school community:

> **STEVEN**: 'I know a couple of gay people in the year above us. I'm not giving names, but especially one of them that actually says that they're gay, the way he acts and he gets bullied a lot.'
> **I**: 'Really? Like what?'
> **STEVEN**: 'Gets thrown papers, getting called name a lot. And he don't really mind. He's okay with it.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)**
> -----
> **I**: 'And how do the students here deal with gay people?'
> **TALULAH**: 'That one, I must say, is really bad.'
> **ABZIE**: 'Really bad.'
> (…)
> **TALULAH**: 'I must say that in one student who is upfront about it (his perception of being a 'pre-op transsexual'). He is pretty upfront and he likes to sort of flaunt himself as what he wants. And at first, I mean, it was a huge issue because everyone would throw things at him. Everyone would -- I don't know, somebody would run up to him and just punch him and say you're fucking gay man, and then at the end of the day, he'd just ended up doing what he wanted more.'
> **ABZIE**: 'No, it's like they've tried so much to attack him and it's like when they realised that he just doesn't care, he [inaudible] which I think he has done the right thing.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**

Important to note is that in both schools students suggest that peers with ‘deviant’ sexual orientations or identities have to go through and accept an initial ordeal of abuse before they become ‘accepted’ by their peers. The observation that most students and teachers interviewed considered homophobia a much more widespread problem than racism further suggests that in *Rose Park* and *Oak High* sexual orientation appears a much more problematic form of diversity than race/ethnicity.

5.1.2 Defining intolerance

Differences between students in their experiences of and attitudes and responses to intolerance can in part be explained by their apparent disagreement over when somebody can be considered intolerant, and related to this, sexist, homophobic or racist:

> **I**: 'So when is somebody racist?'
> **JULIAN**: 'When is somebody racist? When you go up to someone and go, “you're a Paki!” or “you're a nigger!” or “you're a honky!”. That's the only way you can be racist. Or like he can go --'
> **MYSTICAL**: 'Not really. You can say somebody's racist in a way that why are you here? Go back to your country, no one wants you here.'
> **JULIAN**: 'That's not racist.'
> **MYSTICAL**: 'It is. (**IGGY** agrees)'
> **JULIAN**: 'Go back to your country, that's not racist. That's --'
> **MYSTICAL**: 'You can be racist in many ways.'
> **JULIAN**: 'I'm white and he's white, I can go up to him, go back to your country.'
> **IGGY**: 'That is racist. No one wants you here, that's racist.'
> **JULIAN**: 'No one wants you here, because --'
> **IGGY**: 'It is like refugees then that's racist.'
> **JULIAN**: 'It's not racism. It's not racism. I know if it's racism.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Iggy (white Croatian, boy), Julian (white Albanian, boy), Razor (white Polish, boy) and Mystical (white Albanian, boy)**

While students did not always agree on what constitutes racism (and homophobia and sexism), they seemed to define behaviour as racist only when such behaviour was considered intentionally racist. An example that illustrates this concerns students’ employment of ‘racist jokes’. Students perceived the use of ‘racist jokes’ as a common practice between students, often employed as a means to break the routine of teaching (Walker and Goodson 1977):

> **BROWN BEAR**: 'There is this guy in our class. He's from Jamaica. And he will always say something stupid. And then some other black people from Africa will all just say, “oh, go back to Jamaica!” or something like that. It's usually very funny. '
> **DANNY**: 'I think they're trying -- it's because it’s a really boring lesson. It's geography, so they try and make jokes. And I suppose, the joke, they don't really believe that and they think it's funny because it's like stereotyping, but

it's not serious. It's really like they don't really mean it. I guess it's just like a joke.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Brown Bear (mixed-race British, boy) and Herman (white British, boy), Danny (white British, boy) and Condor (white British, boy)

Although students claim to make and receive racist jokes, they do not necessarily perceive such behaviour as racist, especially when the accusations made through such jokes are not 'intended', 'serious', 'believed', or 'held deep'. However, sometimes students (like researchers) find it difficult to evaluate intentions of behaviour as some forms of behaviour appear ambiguous or difficult to interpret as either racism or not. As a result, conflicts can emerge between students over the alleged intentional (or racist) status of jokes, and boundaries of what is considered acceptable are continuously negotiated and challenged:

KISS: 'They joke around mostly with Somalians.'
I: 'And how do they do that? Can you give me an example?'
KISS: 'Basically, the Somalians have a genetic way of big foreheads, so people would always say something about their forehead or something.'
STEVEN: 'Or their smell and stuff like that.'
KISS: 'And they're skinny.'
I: 'And how do they respond then, the Somalians?'
KISS: 'They just like have a joke back at them. Usually -- like everyday, we have things that most of the time where people just start taking the mick where other people come from, but it's only a joke.'
STEVEN: '[They] find that as a joke, but if they're taking it too far, we'll just stop. But they have to say something, because if they just don't say anything and just let it go and keep it in, that's when the situation gets bad. But if they say, 'all right, stop it now' or 'the joke's over' and stuff like that. That's when we stop.'
I: 'And can you give an example of joke or where it gets too far?'
STEVEN: 'I remember my friend said to someone "your family has one piece of rice and you have to eat from that". Bringing people's family up, that would just take it too far. Because you don't know the person's mum or dad do or is dead and they just cuss them as a joke. But, we don't use mums anymore, family. We just use countries, religion. Mostly countries.'
I: 'And people do that as a joke?'
STEVEN: 'They do it to me, I find that as a joke. If they take it too far, I just said to them, "all right, stop now". And they just stop.'
Interview *Rose Park*– Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)

Students' considerations of actors' intentions in defining behaviour as racist runs against more recent definitions of (institutional) racism, which define racism in terms of its outcomes, irrespective of the intentions of actors involved (Macpherson 1999). The ambiguous intentions of some forms of behaviour can also help to explain why students sometimes differ in experiencing racism or intolerance more generally: while some students evaluate behaviour, such as racist jokes, as racist in intent, others can define such behaviour as innocent ('merely jokes').

As a result, these findings cast doubt on the usefulness of defining a racist incident as "*any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person*" (HO 2000, p.1), which was one of the major implications of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* on British social policy (Macpherson 1999). Such definitions rely on interpretation of events, which is necessarily subjective, and can result in situations where similar incidents have attached different meanings. Instead it could be more accurate to talk about 'claims of racism' and specific 'forms of racism' related to specific definitions of racism (See also Stevens 2008). However, this does not mean that definitions of racism can only comprise 'overt' or 'crude' forms of racism. Such definitions of racism can include notions of subtle, unintentional and institutional racism (Dovidio and Gaertner 1986; Gillborn 2002).

5.1.3 Attitudes to diversity and politically correct responses

The qualitative interviews suggest that students have a strong awareness of the politically correct answers to questions related to social diversity and intolerance. Students employed various strategies not to be considered intolerant to social diversity, especially in relation to claims that could be interpreted as racist. For example, sometimes negative views on ethnic minorities were preceded by a denial of such implications ('I am not racist, but…') or a displacement of its source and related responsibility ('I am not saying that, but'). Some students also admitted to 'checking' the possible acceptance of their comments or viewpoints with friends prior to expressing them to others, or expressing 'racist comments' to a more backstage arena where they are less likely to be punished:

> **I**: 'Do you experience that people say you are racist or you say racist things or --'
> **MYSTICAL**: 'No. I don't know. (…). Of course, you're going to say stuff about other people. You don't like -- you don't say it in public you just keep (it) to yourself. You don't want to say it to them. (…). What I mean is like, you can't -- obviously, you can't go up to someone, "you, white boy or you Paki" or something like that, but like, you're going to say that when they walk away "fucking Paki" or like that and they wouldn't hear it or anything, but like you know, you know that you're a little bit racist. But if they hear it, they're going to make a BIG deal out of it and then all the other people of the same culture are going to come up to you so that you're going to have to keep it in next time.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Iggy (white Croatian, boy), Julian (white Albanian, boy), Razor (white Polish, boy) and Mystical (white Albanian, boy)**

While concerns about the politically correct nature of such answers seemed much stronger amongst white students (see 5.2.2), they suggest that the sensitive nature of intolerance to diversity can have an impact on how students respond to such questions.

At the same time, the qualitative interviews show that students' answers to such questions also depend on the interview context and the nature of the questions. Students seemed more likely to express politically correct answers to general

questions, such as those included in the 'Openness to Diversity and Challenge Scale' (ODC scale, see: Appendix 5.1), and less positive views to social diversity in discussing specific scenarios related to diversity (e.g. questions on preferred partner choice). Compare, for example, the responses of Adnan, an Asian Muslim boy from *Rose Park,* on two questions that focus on diversity in terms of sexual orientation:

> **I**: 'What is your opinion? How do gay people get treated in the school?'
> **ADNAN**: 'I think, gay people -- I don't think like people should actually care if they're gay, because actually it's their decision. If they don't like females and they like men and what taste they have, it's actually their decision. (…). I don't think you should actually look at them in a dirty way or like talk about it when they're walking past.'
> (…)
> **I**: 'And what would you do if your son comes home with a boyfriend?'
> (…)
> **ADNAN**: '(…). So, that's why I would actually leave them two (his hypothetical son and male friend) together and see what's going on. If I see something wrong, if I see something which is not normal and some gay connection is going on, then I would actually charge and I would step up to my son and say: "what is all this!?" And I'll tell them the problems that it's causing and if he still don't agree, if he still wants to […] then he can just get out of my house. Because I don't want no gay person and I don't want my son growing up here with no kids and no family and just having sexual relations with another man, do I?'
> **I**: '(And what) if your daughter comes home with a girl?'
> **ADNAN**: 'If my daughter comes home -- same situation, because I don't want that thing to happen. And if she still don't agree with me, then she take -- she can pack her bag and she can leave. Her mother is not a lesbian so why should she be a lesbian.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Adnan (Asian, boy), Saran (Asian, girl), Bob (Asian, boy)**

Students were initially selected to participate in student-group interviews on the basis of their responses to the ODC scale. However, as students appeared uncomfortable and restrained in answering or discussing issues related to diversity in such groups, we decided to allow students to form their own groups for interviewing, regardless of their answer patterns on the survey questions. This resulted in richer data and often stronger expressions of less positive attitudes to social diversity.

All this suggests that in researching and discussing issues related to intolerance (such as racism, homophobia and sexism), researchers and practitioners need to consider the politically sensitive nature of such phenomena and should be careful in interpreting answers on general statements and in contexts where particular expressions are likely to be punished.

5.2 Accounting for attitudes to social diversity

The following sections explore what factors and processes relate to the development of young people's attitudes to diversity. The first section looks at the findings from the quantitative data analysis to explore how students' forms of social capital, school attended, social background and socio-psychological resources relate to their attitudes to diversity. In addition, some of the findings that emerge from the quantitative data analysis in this section are further supported and elaborated on by the qualitative data analysis of student interviews. The remaining sections reflect further on the qualitative data analysis to investigate how students' attitudes to diversity are influenced by processes that are situated at the school, neighbourhood and international political level.

5.2.1 Exploring factors related to attitudes to social diversity

The quantitative survey data allow us to explore how particular forms of social capital (SSB, access to support from and closeness to others, and involvement in extra-curricular activities), school attended, students' social background characteristics (gender, race/ethnicity, age, parents educational and employment status) and key socio-psychological resources (self-efficacy, self-control, self-esteem and self-concept of ability) correlate with attitudes to social diversity, controlling for each other (see 3.8). The results (see Appendix 8.2) suggest that, controlling for all characteristics included in our model, black students, students from higher socio-economic backgrounds and students with a positive perception of their ability to do schoolwork have, on average, more positive attitudes to diversity.

The first step of the analysis (see Appendix 8.2, Model 1) only considers the relationship between students' (other) forms of social capital (as independent variables) and their attitudes to diversity (dependent variable). The analysis shows that those students who feel more part of a school community and those students who are more involved in humanities (activities such as 'music' and 'drama') are more likely to be positive towards social diversity. However, these relationships lose their strength after controlling for students' social background and their socio-psychological resources (see Model 3 and 4). This suggests that the relationship between students' bridging and bonding social capital is explained largely by the observation (see Chapter 7) that students from particular backgrounds (white and lower socio-economic status) and/or with particular socio-psychological resources are more likely to have bonding and bridging capital.

In a second step (see Appendix 8.2, Model 2), school attended is included in the model but there does not appear to be a relationship between students' membership of one of our two schools and their attitudes to diversity. A simple t-test supports this finding as there appear to be no differences between *Oak High* (M=29.83, SD=5.48) and *Rose Park* (M=30.53, SD=4.99; t(601)= -1.6, p=.11) in terms of students' attitudes to social diversity. However, there are small, statistically significant differences between the schools in that students in *Rose Park* feel, on average, more positive to being introduced to and discussing different ideas or opinions and enjoy more subjects that are intellectually

challenging compared to students in *Oak High*. While these differences can be explained by the more ‘liberal’ school ethos and higher middle-class intake in *Rose Park* (see 3.2), these differences are small and *Rose Park* do not differ significantly from each other when their total scale scores are compared. Hence, schools can show similar overall levels of attitudes to diversity (as they do to SSB), but achieve such attitudes through different channels, which might reflect differences between schools in terms of their culture and related organisation or curriculum and pedagogy. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis (see 5.2.2) below will show that school context, in particular its social mix, is important in developing young people’s attitudes to diversity.

In the third step of the analysis (see Appendix 8.2, Model 3) students’ social background characteristics are added to the equation. The results suggest an effect of ethnicity/race, social-class and gender on students’ attitudes to social diversity. First, Asian and especially black students are more open to diversity compared to white students, a relationship that remains large and significant only for black students after controlling for students’ socio-psychological resources (Model 4). Furthermore, students with parents who went on to higher education have more positive attitudes to diversity compared to students whose parents left education at 16, a relationship that remains significant after controlling for students’ socio-psychological resources (Model 4). Finally, girls appear more positive about social diversity than boys, but this relationship is small and not significant.

While these findings underline the importance of students’ social background characteristics in explaining their attitudes to diversity, they also highlight the importance of students’ socio-psychological resources, how such resources are distributed between different social groups and how they relate to students’ attitudes to diversity. While Chapter 7 will show that students from white and lower socio-economic backgrounds have, on average, lower levels of socio-psychological resources, the final model here (Model 4) shows that students with a positive self-concept of ability show more positive attitudes to social diversity.

This is an important finding as it suggests that white students’ more negative attitudes to diversity might, in part, relate to their lack of socio-psychological resources. This suggests that in developing (white) students’ self-concept of ability schools can help to develop more positive attitudes to diversity.

The qualitative interviews tend to support the relationships between social class, gender and ethnicity, and attitudes to social diversity. For example, in line with the quantitative analysis, some of the most negative attitudes to diversity were expressed by a group of white British, working-class boys. While some of their negative attitudes to ethnic/racial minorities seem to be informed by their relationships with ethnic minorities in their neighbourhood (see 5.2.3), they also held on to very negative views of people with ‘deviant’ sexual identities:

> **I**: 'Now, you talked about sexism, you talk about racism, I mean, there're some gay people in the school and I was wondering how do they get treated?'
> **LEWIS**: 'They get treated wrongly, because if they were to be feminine, then they could be feminine. But some people might take it the wrong way because

they might think you're gay because they act like they are gay, but personally, I don't like them. I hate them. I won't mention no names --'
I: 'I know. Jason probably (everybody laughs).'
LEWIS: 'No one likes him he's just too feminine.'
I: 'And does he get a lot of stick?'
JOE: 'Yeah. [Inaudible] he should be [inaudible]'
LEWIS: 'If he was born a boy he should be a boy.'
I: 'And he tries to be different.'
LEWIS: 'Yeah.'
JOE: 'Basically, he is not proud that he is a boy so basically he's sexist. He's not proud of what he is, so he wants to change so, he's trying to say, boys are bad. So, he wants to be like a girl.'
I: 'And do you think he gets some stick?'
JOE: '[I don't want to be rude or anything, but in] my opinion, I think he deserves the stick that he gets.'
I: 'What do you think of that, Borat?'
BORAT: 'Just like -- I don't know what I think, mixed, he wants to be like that but he should be what God's made him, but still --'
Interview *Oak High* – Lewis (white British, boy), Borat (white British, boy) and Joe (white British, boy)

However, at the same time complex interactions between students' gender, social-class and ethnicity make it difficult to untangle their independent effects. For example, working-class notions of masculinity and religious beliefs, related to Christianity (see extract above) or Islam, seem to relate to negative views of 'deviant' sexual identities:

ADNAN: 'But you should know to be gay is a very big thing in Islam, if you're Muslim and another person is Muslim, I don't think they should be together because they don't know what consequence is going to happen.'
I: 'So, it's a religious thing as well?'
ADNAN: 'Yeah. It's a very bad sin to be gay, to have pleasure with another man who is the same sex as you, because God gave you another sex so you can have pleasure and you can have kids with the other one.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Adnan (Asian, boy), Saran (Asian, girl), Bob (Asian, boy)

Hence, researchers, policy-makers and practitioners should consider the complex interactions between gender, social class, ethnicity and neighbourhood in understanding differences between young people's attitudes to social diversity. This means that focusing policy or particular initiatives on students from working-class background, boys or particular ethnic groups will probably be less effective than a cross-cutting approach that recognises the full complexity of these issues.

While part of the qualitative data analysis seems to support and strengthen the findings from the school survey analysis, the following sections further analyse the qualitative interviews to explore the importance of particular school contexts, and processes situated at the neighbourhood and larger international political level in developing young people's attitudes to diversity.

5.2.2 School context and attitudes to social diversity

In line with the quantitative analysis, the qualitative interviews do not suggest strong differences between the two schools in terms of attitudes to racial/ethnic diversity. However, in both schools the social mix seems to have an influence on the development of attitudes to social diversity. Both *Oak High* and *Rose Park* are multicultural schools and this seems to affect how young people perceive racial/ethnic diversity:

> **I**: 'And in this school, you have like very different cultures and backgrounds and races and -- how do they get on? Do you think --?'
> **ABZIE**: 'Really, really well, I think.'
> **TALULAH**: 'Really well. This is (name borough). This is London we're talking about. There are so many different cultures in London and you just -- you've grown up with different -- do you know what I mean? I've grown up with Caribbean kids. I've grown up with Asian kids, like I'm Iranian myself. And it's like I've got different mixes in me. So, I just accept people for the way that they are. I don't think people will concentrate much on -- he's this, he's that.'
> **ABZIE**: 'Obviously, you notice things, it's just not like we're all the same sort of thing, but I think that's better in bringing like, it's just more interesting and you learn things of them as well. Like England, about their culture or they can't do certain things or they do certain things and stuff. It makes you feel a part of that as well.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)**

Supporting somewhat the 'contact-hypothesis', these girls from ethnic minority backgrounds feel that the multicultural nature of their school and wider environment helps to develop positive views on racial/ethnic diversity. Although white students also seemed to establish a link between the mixed nature of the school and people's attitudes to diversity, they appeared much more aware of the symbolic value of expressing racial/ethnic intolerance in such a mixed context:

> **I**: 'And how is it in school? Do you feel that they're … I mean, because this is quite a mixed school as well. You see different cultures, different religions. How do the kids get on with each other?'
> **BUBBLES**: 'Well, it's actually quite hard, because if you say the wrong thing, you're classed as like a racist or something and then nearly the whole school's after you. I don't know who it was, but someone said something in Year 7 and then she was classed as a racist, so everyone was after her. (…) You say one wrong thing and it doesn't matter what it can be, you'd be chased basically.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Bubbles (white British, girl), Katie (white British, girl) and Joe (white British, boy)**
> **-----**
> **CHARLOTTE**: 'I don't think it's humanly possible to be racist in this school, because generally, it's just impossible, because you would have been found out on the first day.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Charlotte (white European, girl)**

White students seem to have an increased sensitivity and carefulness in expressing messages that could be interpreted as racism, which relates to their awareness of the importance of offering politically correct answers to questions on tolerance of racial/ethnic diversity (see above). Of importance is that these students do not necessarily mention how schools punish the expression of such messages, but the policing and punishing role of ethnic minority students themselves. While students in both schools argued that expressions of racism were taken very seriously by the school staff, in both schools students narrated stories of students who were ‘chased’ and ‘beaten up’ by groups of ethnic minority students after expressing racist views or insults. Hence, it seems that the fear of ‘repercussions’ from (other) ethnic minority groups in response to alleged incidents of racism functioned as a powerful deterrent to expressions of racism.

While the relatively large ethnic/racial mix in both schools might improve young people’s attitudes to such diversity or at least help to prevent expressions of racism, the perceived lack of diversity in terms of sexual orientation was often cited as justification for why homophobia is not or should not be an important issue in school:

> **I**: 'What do you think about it? Should the school encourage young people (to be more tolerant towards gay people)?'
> **HITMAN**: 'Not really. Because there's not a lot of gay people. There are probably about two or three and that if you want to talk to them, you should just [inaudible] but most people wouldn't like to.'
> **ABDI**: 'I think there's a lot more problems in the school than just trying to tolerate gay people. There's a lot to do. You know, kids do go off the rails and people take drugs and all of that.'
> **HITMAN**: 'So, then I don't really see the point in trying to make the whole school tolerate one gay person. I mean, what they can do is probably give them support (…)'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Hitman (Asian, boy) and Abdi (Asian, boy)**

‘Gay’ people were often considered as isolated cases, sometimes mentioned alongside ‘some weirdos’ or ‘disabled people’ in school. Some students found it more appropriate not to raise awareness of homophobia because they were afraid that this would ‘make’ some students gay or draw attention to an issue they considered a private ‘problem’. Like Hitman above, many students did not feel that the school should dedicate much attention to homophobia as they perceived this a problem only few encounter while racism would impact on many students in school. Similarly, teachers appeared to punish expressions of racism much more than homophobia, because of its possible consequences on the social relationships between groups in school:

> **I**: 'So, what would the school do, for example, to go back to racism, when they are confronted with claims of racism?'
> **GERRARD**: 'They treat it seriously. It is -- I don't think -- Possibly why we don't see it is because it is a diverse school, they deal with it very seriously. If there's a serious incident of racism, there would be exclusions. And I think they have to be that because if it becomes a situation, it could lead to divisions and I think that's possibly one of the reasons why it doesn't happen is that it is

treated seriously. And I think that they – it is something the school does treat seriously and appropriately […]'
I: 'And what if there's a claim of homophobia?'
GERRARD: 'I have never known of a claim. I think you could say it's endemic of society that it isn't treated as seriously. That if, and I think teachers would say -- if they heard a child call another child a nigger, they would deal with it instantly and he would go […] If they heard the child calling another child, "stop being a gay" or "you're such a gay", they'd probably brush it off. And I think it's -- I think that's, unfortunately, that is the situation. It shouldn't be so, but it is.'
Interview *Oak High* - teacher

Hence, the extent to which tolerance to diversity is considered important seems to depend on the perceived importance of particular kinds of diversity for the social groups in their context, which means that in multicultural schools racism is considered much more an issue than homophobia. This extract also suggests limits in staff's ability to 'change students' and the power that students have over school policies, in that many teachers considered it almost impossible to tackle homophobia as it was perceived as an almost 'endemic' problem. While the previous extract was taken from a teacher in *Oak High*, the following extract from a student interview in *Rose Park* further confirms these findings:

I: 'And if there would be a kind of a blatant case of overt racism, how would the school deal with that?'
DANNY: 'I don't know. I reckon it would probably result in something serious. Like kind of permanent exclusion […]'
I: 'They would take it serious.'
[All agree]
DANNY: 'They would. I mean, the school is like such a -- there's so many different backgrounds and they can't really afford to not take it seriously. Because there's so many people being offended by whoever's being racist, so they have to.'
I: 'And now, you talked about homophobia before. So, how does the school respond to homophobia? Do they respond in the same way?'
DANNY: 'I don't know. Because it's such a common insult. If they see anyone, "you're gay, you're gay". And it's such a common insult, that they can't really exclude people and say, okay, that would mean there's like about 10, 20 people left in the school. I mean, there's lots of homophobia in the school and the teachers -- if there's anything that's facing homophobic if someone is actually being mean to someone if they think they're gay or whatever. They'll all usually -- they will probably be like punished, but it's probably not as much as they will be if it was racism.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Brown Bear (mixed-race British, boy) and Herman (white British, boy), Danny (white British, boy) and Condor (white British, boy)

This suggests that teachers and education administrators should consider the situation of social groups that constitute small minorities within their context as potentially extra vulnerable to intolerance.

5.2.3 Neighbourhood context and attitudes to social diversity

Social diversity does not only manifest itself in schools; and young people develop particular attitudes that relate to some extent to their experiences of social diversity outside the immediate school context. This section explores how social diversity is experienced by young people in their neighbourhood contexts, how it differs from their school context and impacts on their attitudes and behaviour to social diversity. A strong feeling that surfaced from the student-interviews is that a school constitutes a 'safe haven', where notions of race/ethnicity and diversity more generally are less likely to result in situations of overt conflict or hostility:

> **I**: 'And how are the relationships then between, let's say, Bengali, Pakistani and white people?'
> **JULIAN**: 'In school, it's all good. But like outside the school, it's like when they get in a gang, everyone will just hate each other.'
> **IGGY**: 'They're all hated. White people, black people, Muslim people, Somalians, they are all against each other.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Iggy (white Croatian, boy), Julian (white Albanian, boy), Razor (white Polish, boy) and Mystical (white Albanian, boy)**
> -----
> **I**: 'So, do you think it (race/ethnicity) is more important in your neighbourhood than it is in school?'
> **LEWIS**: 'In neighbourhood and in school is quite different, because in my neighbourhood sometimes could be really serious that they can call you 'stupid Muslim' and all that and when it comes down to it, they [inaudible] 20 or 30 of them come into the area and they start fights for being racist. But when in school, it's just -- people just joke around. And some people just take it seriously and they'll all get outside --'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Lewis (white British, boy), Borat (white British, boy) and Joe (white British, boy)**

These extracts suggest that schools do not only reduce overt conflicts between social groups because of their policing role in preventing and punishing conflicts, it also seems that the very meaning of race/ethnicity changes according to the context. While challenges to race/ethnic identities between students seem to be taken less seriously in a school context, they can become much more significant in specific out-of-school contexts.

Of particular importance in developing negative relationships with, and attitudes to, different racial/ethnic groups is the context of gang violence, in which groups of a particular racial/ethnic composition compete over scarce resources in a neighbourhood. Those students who perceived their neighbourhood as a battlefield between various ethnic/racial gangs held the most negative perceptions of in-out group relationships (see 6.3.4 for a discussion on how students cope with living in violent areas). Explore, for example, how the four Eastern European boys quoted below perceived the relationships between different racial/ethnic groups in their area:

I: 'You say gangs. Are these gangs like different for ethnic groups?'
MYSTICAL: 'Yeah. (DSP) and (CSP) they are the Bangoolis (sic), innit. And there's [name area] that's a mixture of the black and whites, and (name area), is just the whites.'
I: 'What does DSP mean?'
MYSTICAL: 'Well, it's meant to be Drama Street Posse but we just call it "Drama Street Paki's" (others laugh).'
I: 'Okay. And CSP?'
MYSTICAL: 'They're called Crew Street Posse. We call them "Crew Street Paki's".'
I: 'And they're mostly Pakistani people who are in that gang?'
MYSTICAL: 'Bangoolis -- yeah, basically, it's just them, yeah.'
JULIAN: 'I don't know what's going on, but like before, it used to be like black and white gangs, innit? Where there are only black or only white gangs, but now, I don't know where these Asians come in, like Bangoolis, they just come out of nowhere.'
IGGY: 'Like it's the Asian invasion.'
JULIAN: 'Yeah, exactly, Asian invasion.'
MYSTICAL: 'No, they just [inaudible] they like, they rule everywhere. They rule the estate. It is like they think they can power everyone else (others agree).'
RAZOR: 'Some Paki, some Paki [I don't know from where] they try to take [name area] They try to overtake it so they take [it, so they OWN it] but they didn't get to take it. [Some other boys came, but…]'
Interview *Oak High* – Iggy (white Croatian, boy), Julian (white Albanian, boy), Razor (white Polish, boy) and Mystical (white Albanian, boy)

Some of the most negative attitudes to ethnic minorities were expressed by a group of white British working-class boys who not only perceived their neighbourhood as an area where different racial/ethnic groups compete over space and power, but who considered themselves (and their 'own' ethnic in-group) as threatened by the presence and activities of particular ethnic minority groups:

JOE: 'I'm not a racist or anything, but the FIRST thing is I don't really like black and I don't really like Muslims either. So --'
I: 'You don't have good experiences with them?'
JOE: 'No. So, basically, if I came in to the door -- basically, I won't get a chance to even say anything to my mum or dad.'
I: 'And why don't you like blacks and Muslims? Have you had experiences with them?'
JOE: 'Because with the Muslims, they just start SO much trouble. No, I like -- I do like blacks, but not a lot. I like some, basically. I don't like the ones that wear the trousers having their bum hanging out --'
I: 'It's kind of --'
JOE: 'Yeah, like you should wear your clothes properly like how you get it so I think I don't like that at all.'
I: 'And Muslims?'
JOE: 'Some Muslims smell as well (others laugh).'
LEWIS: 'They smell really bad! It's like, you are walking in the street, and there's four or five of them, but there's the smell they carry is just nauseating.'

(…)
LEWIS: 'There's (name of street), [inaudible] there's all different gangs. There's like four, five, maybe six different gangs.'
JOE: 'The black people and the white people pair up together to fight the Muslims, so the black people and the white people are on the same team. Because all together, it's better. There're so many of them. There are so many Muslims. There are so many.'
I: 'What is it that you don't like about them?'
JOE: 'They kind of take over, basically. They think they're the best.'
LEWIS: 'It's not their estate. They don't live on the estate so they can't and they try to rule the estate like they own the place. I think they just go back the way they come from, don't come back.'
JOE: 'I play for [name football team] and it was against (name other team), that's like a Muslim area, and because everyone on our team's like white, it kind of [one of the guys said] "England is shit", so I said, I'm not having this, yeah. I said, "if you don't like England, why are you here?", they are like, "you're all racist!". I said, "how can I be racist when you are calling England rubbish?!", they're like, "England's shit. This country's shit.", I'm thinking, if you don't like it, why are you here?'
Interview *Oak High* – Lewis (white British, boy), Borat (white British, boy) and Joe (white British, boy)

It is important to note that Joe's relatively more favourable perception of 'black' minorities compared to 'Muslim' youth overlaps with the higher degree of threat he seems to experience from 'Muslim' youth. The use of such discourses of 'invasion' suggests that (perceived) competition between racial/ethnic groups over scarce resources in a neighbourhood context feeds into the development of attitudes to diversity. The student interviews also suggest that teenagers from a working-class background are more likely to report that they are either involved in gang cultures or live in areas where gang violence is more likely to occur. This might in part explain why working-class students show, on average, less favourable attitudes to social diversity.

Equally important seems the observation that descriptions of gang involvement or gang relationships almost only emerged from interviews with boys. None of the girls interviewed seemed to be part of a gang and their knowledge of what kind of gangs operate in their areas appeared more limited. Two girls, who seemed quite 'street-wise' compared to their female peers, suggest that girls are less likely to be caught up in gang violence than boys. They explain this by pointing to the perceived physical differences between girls and boys, and related to this, notions of masculinity and femininity, which construct girls as more passive bystanders, who are less likely to be perceived as a threat to the status of a gang:

TALULAH: 'It's like -- once when my brother was getting jacked by Somalian bullies. I knew a few of them and also for the girls, they'll just be coming up to the block, yeah, "you're right" [inaudible] And like for boys, it's like, "give me all of your stuff etc". (…). But don't get me wrong, boys do approach girls and take stuff, but it's not even that bad for me.'
(…)

ABZIE: 'I think it's more like, obviously it's more likely for a girl to try and jack a girl, because, obviously, it's kind of harder for them [inaudible] same as with boys, they would try it more on boys. It's more sort of a competition thing, like, oh look, he looks like he thinks he's big or someone's walking down the street and…'
Interview *Oak High* – Abzie (Kosovan, girl) and Talulah (Iranian, girl)

While this does not rule out the involvement of girls in gangs, the perceived gender differences might to some extent explain why boys appeared more likely to hold on to negative attitudes to social diversity or perceptions of inter-group relationships than girls.

Furthermore, boys' more negative attitudes to gay people, in particular amongst more street-orientated boys, often called 'Townies' by their peers, can in part be explained by their perceived necessity to present and maintain an image of 'toughness' and 'strength' in facing challenges to their personal safety on the street:

I: 'So, what if you see a group or gang coming to you, what do you do? Do you look at them? Do you stare at them?'
JULIAN: 'Well, you wouldn't stare at them because that will mean like you're a little bit -- you know what I mean?'
I: 'No.'
JULIAN: 'They're going to get their own idea. They either going to get two ideas, either you're gay or like you're just looking for a fight. But like you're going to have to look at them, just look like a little flash and just turn your head back because you don't want to give out that you're SCARED of them or something because if they're sure that you're scared of them, then they might come and rob you.'
Interview *Oak High* – Iggy (white Croatian, boy), Julian (white Albanian, boy), Razor (white Polish, boy) and Mystical (white Albanian, boy)

This example illustrates the subtle rules of interaction young people employ in the street to protect themselves from getting into trouble, and the importance of developing a social front that is 'tough enough' to discourage personal challenges but not 'too tough' in threatening other people's status on the street (see also 4.2.4). Being 'gay' on the street can constitute a sign of personal weakness and a challenge to other males, who might feel that their heterosexual identity is being challenged. The latter relates to our observation that being 'gay' constitutes a contagious, spoiled identity that threatens the validity of young boys' masculine identities and related social status:

SPIT-J: 'For me, I ain't got nothing against gays. They can be gay. They can do the tutu or whatever they want, but I'm just going to stay out of their way. And that's all I'm saying. And when they walk through the corridor, I'm on this other side. When they try to talk to you, I walk away.'
EVO: 'If they try and talk to me, I'll say hello back, right? If they want to talk to me, I'll be like, no, please, I don't want to talk to you.'
I: 'Why not?'

EVO: 'Your popularity will come down; your status can go down. People would start spreading rumours about you.'
Interview *Oak High* – Darnell (black African, boy), Evo (Asian, boy), Spit-J (black African, boy) and Rif (Asian, boy)

Hence, it is perhaps not so surprising that Townies appeared least tolerant of gay people. The implication is that while relationships between different social groups might appear harmonious, or at least not polarised within the school context, a different, more hostile relationship might develop outside the school. The data seem to suggest that young people's attitudes to social diversity can be influenced by such out-of-school relationships. Hence, while schools might have a controlling effect on (overt) inter-group relationships in school; it seems important that they consider the importance of out-of-school interactions in developing positive attitudes to social diversity.

5.2.4 International political context and attitudes to social diversity

The data show that increasing cultural and economic globalisation, technological developments, communication and international political relations are important in understanding the development of racist attitudes and intolerance more generally.

The analysis of the qualitative interviews suggests that students construct ethnic identities and stereotypes of themselves and others through their knowledge and interpretation of international political events. The following interview extracts from two Muslim boys in *Rose Park* illustrate how an international political context informs the inter- and intra-group relationships of these boys:

I: 'You say any culture would do for your son, right? What if your son comes home with a Jewish girl, would that be the same?'
STEVEN: 'Actually, I will mind. I'm not trying to be racist, but Muslim and Jews, they got conflict with each other. I'm not trying to be racist or anything. I don't want to say anything because I don't want to get in trouble or anything.'
I: 'But you don't get into trouble. This is a confidential interview.'
STEVEN: 'If my boy comes with a Jewish woman, I would mind that actually.'
KISS: 'I don't trust Jewish people really. I think that they're kind of sneaky, that they go behind people's back to make money and stuff.'
STEVEN: 'Some Jewish people, yes. The rabbis, I don't mind them. But like, the one with the little hats, […].'

STEVEN: 'They (Sunnis) try to cuss the Shi'ites or something like that. So, I cuss the Sunnis back. And they call you, "you're not a proper Muslim". They just try [to boy off] how we pray and stuff like that.'
(…)
KISS: 'But it's mostly [not serious]. It's only talking.'
STEVEN: 'Yeah. They talk. We joke around. There's only one person that takes it too far, and when he takes it, everyone just goes quiet. They don't

really get involved. But I don't -- because I'm not afraid of that guy. I just stand up to him and say and look at -- I just [talk] him off as well.'
I: 'And what do you mean he goes too far? What is he saying then?'
STEVEN: 'He goes like, "you Shi'ites or you guys pray on rocks, you guys pray like Jews" and stuff like that. And they go, "you guys do the other suicide bombers". But that's not true actually. Not the suicide bombers. No Shi'ites don't do that.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)

Hence, in tackling and understanding the development of intolerance, staff in schools should consider the importance of such international political events and the mass media. This requires knowledge not only of relationships between the dominant in-group and different minority groups, but also of the complex relationships between different ethnic minority groups.

These extracts also illustrate the sensitive nature of messages that can be interpreted as racism and how boundaries of acceptable racist humour are continuously challenged and re-constructed between young people. Although racist jokes are generally accepted, the accusations made through such messages seem more likely to be considered as intentional or serious when they are expressed by someone who is perceived as a member of a 'hostile' out-group:

On my way to the deputy headteacher I found a Muslim boy from Year 10 sulking on a chair outside the headteacher's office. When I asked him what happened, he told me that he beat up another student who made fun of his tribe in Afghanistan. When I asked him why he beat him up, he told me that the other student came from a rival tribe from Afghanistan and that he was insulting him.
Field-notes *Oak High* – May 2007

In line with these findings, many students seemed to make a distinction between racist jokes involving friends and a context in which they interacted with people they did not feel very close to. While in the former context racist jokes were more likely to be perceived as 'jokes', in the latter context students seemed more likely to take them 'seriously' or define them as racist. These findings also support the construction of a wider research agenda to include (in a British context) racism and discrimination towards Irish and other 'white' ethnic categories (such as 'Scottish' people in England), Euro-racism, Islamophobia and the stereotyping and treatment of new migrants, illegal immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Brah et al. 1999; Mac an Ghaill 1999; Mac an Ghaill 2002; McIntosh et al. 2004) and racism between different ethnic minority groups.

In sum, the qualitative and quantitative data analysis above suggests that students' social background is important in understanding their attitudes to social diversity, with black students, girls, non-religious students and students from highly educated backgrounds showing more positive attitudes to social diversity. However, students' attitudes to diversity change according to the kind of diversity discussed and the school context. Intolerance to diversity in terms of sexual orientation seems much more problematic than racism, especially in schools that are perceived as very diverse in terms of culture but not in terms of sexual

orientation. In addition, students consider schools as 'safe havens', where relationships between social groups are less likely to develop into conflicts. However, at the same time they consider 'political correctness' in responding to diversity, which constrains open dialogue and expression of feelings and opinions. Furthermore, students' competitive relationships with particular 'out-groups' in their neighbourhoods seem to foster more negative views of such groups. Finally, students' perceptions of international political events and historical processes seem to impact on their perception, of themselves as members of a particular in-group and their attitudes to particular out-groups.

The following section will use the quantitative data set to further explore how young people's attitudes to diversity (now as an independent variable) associate with educational and wider outcomes (as dependent variables) and vice versa.

5.3 Attitudes to social diversity and educational and wider outcomes

A critical question is whether students' positive attitudes to diversity are associated with higher educational and wider outcomes. Using analysis of the school survey data and school records (see 3.8) we explore associations between attitudes to diversity and educational and wider outcomes (prior and current educational achievement, attendance, 'poor' behaviour, self-concept of ability and stress), controlling for key social capital variables, school attended, students' social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see Table 5.1).

The analyses (see Table 5.1, Models 4 and 5) show that students' attitudes to diversity are not related to any past or current measures of educational achievement or wider outcomes considered, except for students' self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork. Although the strength of this relationship is halved after controlling for school attended, and students' social background and socio-psychological resources, students with positive attitudes to diversity have significantly higher levels of self-concept of ability, controlling for all characteristics included in our model.

While students with more positive attitudes to diversity show higher levels of current achievement in English (as assessed by teachers in *Oak High* only), this relationship becomes much weaker and non-significant after controlling for the other variables in our model.

The relationship between students' attitudes to diversity and self-concept of ability can be explained by the specific way in which attitudes to diversity are measured. The ODC scale (Pascarella et al. 1996) not only measures young people's attitudes to different social groups, but also their openness to different ideas, values and opinions. It is likely that students who respond positively to the ODC scale items will demonstrate an interest and curiosity in experiencing different and new ideas and opinions. Such a disposition might foster an interest in learning more generally and hence result in a higher self-concept of ability. However, at the same time students with a positive self-concept of ability might be more curious and open to different ideas and opinions, which might in turn develop

more positive attitudes to diversity. This is an important finding, as a school's agenda to develop positive attitudes to diversity can overlap with a broader agenda in which schools stimulate young people to be more curious and interested in different opinions, values and ideas. The latter seems to relate to young people's self-concept of ability, which in turn relates positively to educational outcomes (Brookover et al. 1964; Gerardi 2005; Guay et al. 2003).

Table 5.1: Attitudes to social diversity and educational and wider outcomes

	Affective outcomes as dependent variables							
	Self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork		Low levels of stress		Low levels of 'poor' behaviour		Engagement with school	
	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	16.306	7.547	15.468	7.974	28.501	25.497	89.474	52.715
Social Diversity	.318***	.155***	-.031	-.035	.044	-.088	.033	.034

	Attainment outcomes as dependent variables							
	English teacher assessment		Maths teacher assessment		KS3 English		KS3 Maths	
	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	31.032	32.696	31.010	12.054	4.462	3.043	5.089	-.027
Social Diversity	.136	.077	.048	-.185	.168**	.072	.073	-.027

Note 1: This table shows the relationship between students' attitudes to diversity and educational and wider outcomes, controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see 3.8 and 3.9). Two coefficients are given for each outcome: the effect of attitudes to diversity without controlling for any other characteristics (Model 1) and the effect of attitudes to diversity controlling for all other variables in the model (Model 5). English and Maths Teacher Assessments were only collected from *Oak High*. As a result these analyses only involved four steps (as school attended was taken out of the analysis).
Note 2: Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant. Asterisks (*) = p<.05, (**) = p<.01 and (***) p<.001.
Note 3: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N =604.

5.4 Summary of findings

- Students' social background is important in understanding their attitudes to social diversity:

    - Asian, and in particular, black students show more positive attitudes to diversity than white students;
    - Girls tend to show more positive attitudes to diversity than boys;
    - Non-religious students show more positive attitudes to diversity than students who consider themselves Christian or Muslim;
    - Students from highly educated backgrounds show more positive attitudes to social diversity than students from lower educational backgrounds.

- Students' attitudes to diversity change according to the kind of diversity discussed and the school context:

    - Intolerance to diversity in terms of sexual orientation seems much more problematic than racism, especially in schools that are perceived as very diverse in terms of culture but not in terms of sexual orientation;
    - Students consider schools as 'safe havens', where relationships between social groups are less likely to develop into conflicts. However, at the same time they consider 'political correctness' in responding to diversity, which constrains open dialogue and expression of feelings and opinions.

- Students' neighbourhood context matters as competitive relationships (over space or 'control' in an area) with particular 'out-groups' in young people's neighbourhoods seem to foster more negative views of such groups.

- Students' perceptions of international political events and historical processes seem to impact on their perception of themselves as members of a particular in-group and their attitudes to particular out-groups.

- Young people's attitudes to diversity relate to their self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork, which refers to students' perceived importance, effort and ability in doing schoolwork. Other research suggests that students' positive self-concept of ability improves their educational outcomes. This suggests that a school's agenda to develop positive attitudes to diversity can overlap with a broader agenda in which schools stimulate young people to be more curious and interested in different opinions, values and ideas.

6 Students' social support networks

The last two chapters focused on bonding and bridging social capital, or relationships between an individual and particular in-groups or out-groups. This chapter explores young people's social support networks, which relate more to relationships between individuals than groups of people.

In particular, this chapter focuses on two characteristics of young people's social support networks: their perceived access to social support from significant others (family, friends, adults outside the family) and their perceived closeness to such actors (see Chapter 3). More specifically, this chapter explores: 1) how much access young people have to social support and how close their relationships are with significant others, 2) issues related to the conceptualisation of social support, 3) how students' social background characteristics, their socio-psychological resources and a specific school and neighbourhood context relate to their access to social support and the closeness of their relationships with others and, 4) how young people's access to social support and closeness to others relate to educational and wider outcomes.

This chapter mainly relies on analysis of quantitative data from the school survey and school records and qualitative interviews with staff and students.

6.1 Young people's access to support and closeness to others

The school survey included two scales that measure specific characteristics of young people's social support networks (see Appendix 6.1 and 6.2). The first scale measures students' perceived access to social support: "When you have a problem, how often can you depend on the following people to help you out or give you advice?" The second scale measures students' perceived closeness to potential sources of support: "Do you feel you are very close to the following people?" Students were asked to evaluate both questions in relation to the following ten actors:

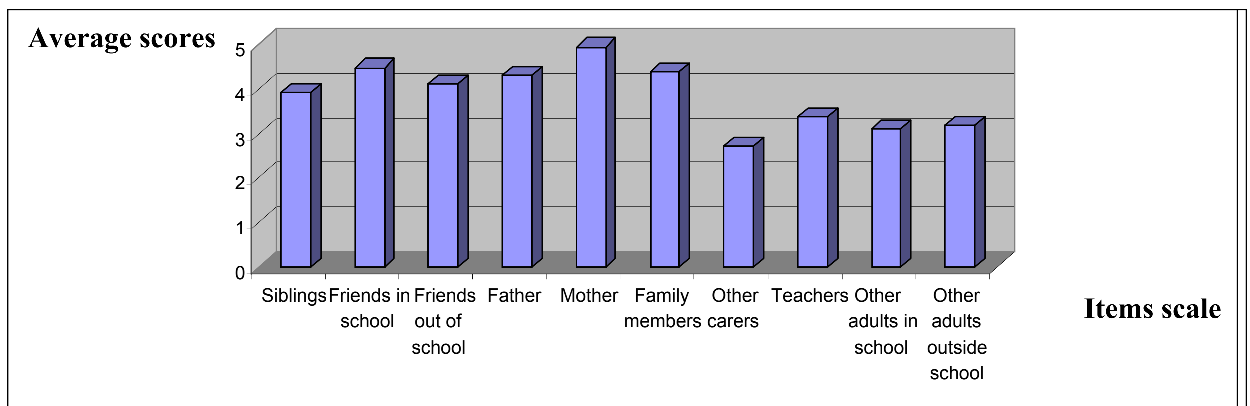
- Brothers/sisters
- Friends who go to your school
- Friends who go to a different school
- Father
- Mother
- Other family members
- Other carer(s)
- Teachers
- Other adults in school
- Other adults outside the school (who are not part of your family)

We employ students' composite or total scale-scores in exploring their responses to these questions and the kind of factors associated with students' social support. While a Factor and Discriminate Analysis suggests that it is useful to differentiate different dimensions within these scales (in particular support from: a) family, b) non-family adults and c) friends, see: Appendix 6.3), to simplify the interpretation

of our findings the following analysis will employ students' overall scale-scores, which have strong internal reliability (see 3.9). However, at the end of this chapter, in exploring how social capital relates to educational and wider outcomes, we employ a more sophisticated analysis and distinguish different dimensions of social support.

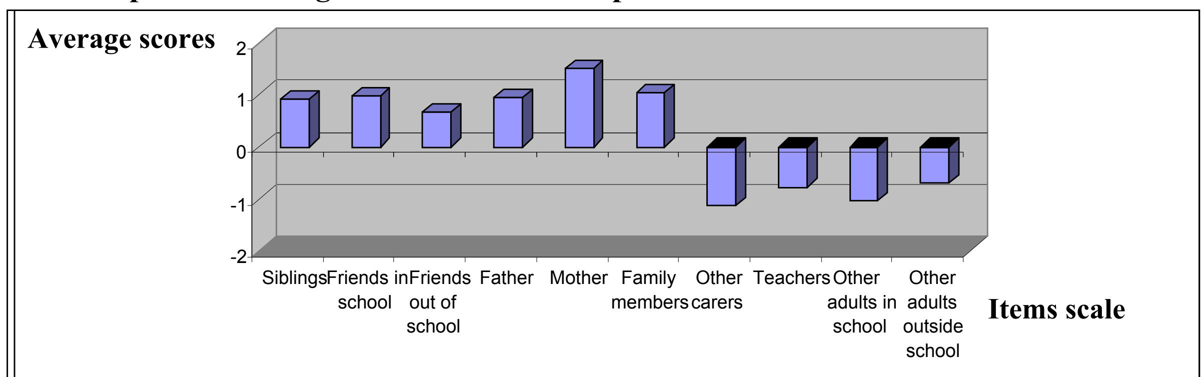
Students were asked to assess their perceived access to social support on a five-point scale: never (1), almost never (2), sometimes (3), almost always (4) and always (5). Mean values closer to four indicate a more favourable response, in that students tended to report very strong access to support. The data analysis suggests that, on average, students seem to perceive high levels of access to support (see also Appendix 6.1) and, perhaps not so surprisingly, seem to observe more access to support in relation to family members and friends than with other adults outside the family (which includes school staff):

Graph 6.1: Average scores of students' perceived access to social support



Interestingly, the data show that in terms of access to support, young people's friends are as important as their families. This suggests the importance of young people's peer groups in obtaining support. Students were asked to assess their perceived closeness to potential support networks on a six-point scale: I don't have such a person (-3), not close at all (-2), not close (-1), neutral (0), close (1) and very close (2):

Graph 6.2: Average scores of students' perceived closeness to others



In line with the findings above, students appeared to feel much closer to friends and family members, in particular their mother, compared to other adults outside the family. Both graphs also illustrate the importance of students' school, as young people seem more likely to gain access to support from friends in school and feel closer to such friends compared to their friends outside school. Before exploring what factors and processes relate to the development of young people's access to social support and closeness to others, we first want to explore some of the conceptual issues that underpin any analysis on social support.

6.2 Conceptualising social support

Social support lies at the very heart of how social capital is conceptualised, as it refers to networks through which people can acquire particular valuable resources. However, analysing social support is not a straightforward issue, as people can differ in terms of their need and use of social support. Furthermore, the characteristics of supportive networks can differ according to their level of access or restrictions, the kinds of support or resources that can be accessed, the distribution of power (hierarchical or equal), the quality of the relationship (close or distant) or the locus of demand (requested or imposed). Before exploring the various factors that seem to relate to students' social support networks, and how these relate to educational and wider outcomes, it is important to illustrate some of these conceptual complexities and show that social support is not just about 'getting' or 'giving' resources.

One interesting issue that emerged from the interviews is that students who appear to have small support networks can differ in terms of how much support they need and offer. Consider, for example, the following interview, involving two friends who were both selected because, according to their responses in the questionnaire, they were amongst the bottom 15% in terms of perceived access to social support. When the questions turn to their perceived educational support from their family, it appears that these students lack extensive networks of family support:

> **I:** 'And sisters? Do you have sisters or …?'
> **BUBBLES:** 'My brothers and sis … or my brothers don't really help me. My sister helps me with my Maths, but that's about it.'
> **I:** 'And your parents, do they help you with your schoolwork?'
> **BUBBLES:** 'Depends, what kind of schoolwork it is, because my mum is dyslexic and my dad, well, he's like also […] outside. Yeah, he's normally stays in his room so I don't really bother him.'
> **I:** 'And your parents, do they help you with your schoolwork?'
> **KATIE:** 'Yeah, sometimes, if they know how to do it. If they know what that is, they'll help me.'
> **I:** 'Do they know or is it different than what …'
> **KATIE:** 'Yeah, they do. She knows most of the time.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Bubbles (white British, girl), Katie (white British, girl) and Joe (white British, boy)**

Katie suggests later in the interview that she does not have any brothers or sisters to help her with schoolwork and her parents' educational support seems to be

limited (like Bubbles) in terms of ability to help and restricted to her mother's support. However, while both girls seem to share a lack of access to extensive family support networks, they appear different in terms of how much support from others they need and offer:

> **I:** 'You know, when you go to them (parents) for advice, what do you usually ask? What kind of advice?'
> **BUBBLES:** 'I go to my parents and my friends, sometimes teachers. Normally about general problems, about school, and outside of school, bullying and general stuff.'
> **I:** 'And you?'
> **KATIE:** 'I would want to go to my mum or Bubbles for like, say I've got a test or something or anything.'
> **BUBBLES:** 'With schoolwork, I try to work it out myself. I'd hardly gone to any teachers. Sometimes, I ask my parents, but I would normally try to work it out myself.'
> **I:** 'And you?'
> **KATIE:** 'I normally ask the teacher that actually teaches me that subject. So, they can help me.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Bubbles (white British, girl), Katie (white British, girl) and Joe (white British, boy)**

While Bubbles seems independent in dealing with problems related to schoolwork and does not seem to involve her parents or teachers much, Katie actively seeks support from her teachers and parents and her friend Bubbles. Furthermore, Bubbles seems a source of support to young people, not only for schoolwork, but especially emotional support:

> **I:** 'Are there particular things that you feel that people ask for your advice or help?'
> (…)
> **I:** 'Really, nobody asks you anything? And why is that?'
> **KATIE:** 'Because I can't give good advice. […] have to ask. I can't give it.'
> **BUBBLES:** 'People would be able to come to me with their problems actually. I'm really good at solving problems. General problems, not usually about schoolwork, but about problems at home and problems in school, just stuff like that.'
> **I:** 'And people come to you as people from school?'
> **BUBBLES:** 'People from school, yeah. Mostly my friends, they just come to me with anything. Ask me and my advice and then I'll tell them.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – Bubbles (white British, girl), Katie (white British, girl) and Joe (white British, boy)**

While both students seem to have limited access to support, they are very different in terms of their need for support and their perceived ability to offer other students support.

This section illustrates some of the complexity that is inherent in studying and developing social support. In relation to schools, these extracts suggest that

schools should use and further develop the rich supportive networks that students themselves build between each other (for instance, through peer mentoring).

6.3 Accounting for young people's social support networks

The following sections explore what factors and processes relate to the development of young people's social support networks. A first section looks at the findings from the quantitative data analysis to explore how students' forms of social capital, school attended, social background and socio-psychological resources relate to their perceived closeness to others and access to support from others. In addition, analysis of qualitative data is used to support some of the findings that emerge from the quantitative data analysis in this section. The remaining sections rely on the analysis of qualitative student and staff interviews to investigate how students' support networks are influenced by processes that are situated at the school and neighbourhood level.

6.3.1 Exploring factors associated with young people's access to support and closeness to others

The quantitative survey data allow us to explore how students' school attended, particular forms of social capital (involvement in extra-curricular activities, SSB and closeness to or access to support from family, friends and non-family adults), their social background characteristics (gender, race/ethnicity, age, parental educational and job status) and key socio-psychological resources (self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-concept of ability) associate with perceived access and closeness to support networks (see 3.8 and 3.9).

The analysis (see Appendix 8, Tables 8.3 and 8.4) shows that the students' access and closeness to support networks associate positively both with each other, with young people's SSB, their involvement in extra-curricular activities and their socio-psychological resources, controlling for student background and school attended as well as other key variables included in the model. In addition, we find that girls have more access to support than boys, and that students in *Oak High* have more access to support than their peers in *Rose Park*.

In the first step of the analysis, students' overall levels of perceived support and closeness to others are the dependent variables and only other forms of social capital (involvement in extra-curricular activities, SSB and students' closeness to or access to support from family, friends and non-family adults) are entered in the equation (see Appendix 8, Model 1 in Tables 8.3 and 8.4). The results show that students' access to support and closeness to others are strongly related to each other and to students' SSB, even after controlling for all variables included in the model (see Model 4). In addition, the data suggest a small positive relationship between students' involvement in extra-curricular activities and their access to support and closeness to others: students who are more involved in 'other' activities (such as youth clubs and uniformed activities, see: 3.9) appear to have more access to support and feel closer to others than those who are not involved in such activities, even after controlling for all other variables in the model. These

results again suggest a close relationship between different forms of bonding social capital, in that close and supportive feelings between particular actors within a group reinforce each other and relate to closer feelings between actors and their larger group or community (school).

School attended is included in the analysis in the second step and the results suggest that students in *Oak High* have, on average, more access to support than their peers in *Rose Park*, independent of all other variables included in the model (see Appendix 8.4, Model 4). This finding is further illustrated by a simple t-test, which shows that students in *Oak High* have, on average, more access to social support than their peers in *Rose Park* (*Rose Park*: M=18.40, SD=7.72, *Oak High*: M=20.53, SD=8.17; $t(1306)=4.812$, p=.000). This school difference overlaps with students' responses to the SSB scale, which indicated that students in *Oak High* feel more supported by staff in school than their peers in *Rose Park* (see 4.2.1). These findings suggest important differences between *Oak High* and *Rose Park* in terms of students' perceived access to social support. The section on 'school context' below (see 6.3.2.) will further investigate these observed differences. In terms of students' closeness to others, the data suggest that in both schools students feel, on average, equally close to others.

More specific differences emerge between the two schools when we compare the average scores for *Rose Park* and *Oak High* on all individual items of our 'support of others' and 'closeness to others' scales (see Appendix 6.1 and 6.2). The results suggest that students in *Oak High* feel closer to family and have more access to support from family, while students in *Rose Park* feel, on average, closer to friends inside school and perceive more supportive relationships with friends inside school.

These relationships can perhaps be explained by differences between our schools in terms of school culture and social composition. Students in *Rose Park* experience more freedom and feel less pressured to achieve compared to their peers in *Oak High* (see 3.2) and therefore might have more opportunities to develop and prioritise close and supportive relationships with peers in school. Furthermore, in line with their stronger emphasis on achievement, staff in *Oak High* might direct more support to students than staff in *Rose Park*. These findings and their relationship to school culture will be further explored below (see 6.3.2). Finally, the closer and more supportive relationships between students and their families in *Oak High* might relate to the higher intake of lower social-class students in *Oak High*, as the latter have, on average, more bonding social capital but less bridging social capital (Ball et al. 1996, see also Chapter 5).

In the third step of the analysis students' social background characteristics are entered in the equation (see Appendix 8, Table 8.3 and 8.4, Models 3). The results show that girls have, on average, more access to social support than boys. This relationship persists even after controlling for students' social background, socio-psychological resources, school attended and other forms of social capital. The qualitative data seem to support the relationship between students' gender and their perceived access to social support, as notions of masculinity appeared to restrict boys' efforts to 'ask for help':

I: 'You don't go to people in school (for help when you have personal problems)?'
KISS: 'No.'
I: 'Friends?'
KISS: 'No. It's not like old days. If I go with my friends, they don't really care really.'
STEVEN: 'They'll more likely -- make a joke of you.'
KISS: 'Yeah, they're more likely to take a joke of you.'
STEVEN: 'Because my mum lives in Ireland. She's coming back soon, but I have to go over to visit her or something and my dad -- me and my dad had an argument and I told my friend, well, he start laughing at me.'
I: 'Do you think that it's more easy for girls to talk about things with their friends than it is for boys?'
KISS: 'Yeah, because girls always are more understanding. They won't laugh. I think if a girl tells another girl, they have to be really good friends, because if you just go tell a girl, the girl will go around like, oh yeah, this girl done this, this, that.'
STEVEN: 'If a guy says it, they'll laugh at you because they're saying that you're gay, you should not be upset. [you shouldn't really give in]'
Interview *Rose Park* – Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)

In the final step of the analysis students' socio-psychological resources are included in the model (Model 4). The results show a strong positive relationship between students' socio-psychological resources and their perceived access to support and closeness to others. While students with a positive view on their ability to do schoolwork show closer relationships with others and more access to support, students with high levels of self-esteem seem to feel closer to others. These relationships can be explained in two ways, as students with strong positive socio-psychological resources might find it easier to obtain access to support and develop close relationships with others, and/or that such social relationships have a positive impact on young people's self-esteem and self-concept of ability.

This section suggests that young people's membership of a particular school, their gender, their socio-psychological resources and other forms of (school) bonding capital relate to their access to support from and closeness to others. The following sections further analyse the qualitative interviews to explore the importance of particular school contexts and processes situated at the neighbourhood level in developing young people's access to support.

6.3.2 School cultures and social support

As described earlier, *Rose Park* seems to have a more 'liberal' school ethos, where behaviour of students and, to a lesser extent, staff is less regulated, policed and punished compared to *Oak High* (see 3.2). The quantitative analysis shows that students in *Oak High* have, on average, more access to support compared to their peers in *Rose Park*. Both seem to be related: while students in *Rose Park* had to request support, students in *Oak High* seemed to be given social support.

Consider, for example, the accounts of the following two students, who are both unique informants in that they moved from *Oak High* to *Rose Park* and therefore can compare the two school cultures. In separate interviews they both describe *Rose Park* as a school where support is not imposed but made available by staff to students on request. In contrast, in line with the stricter school ethos in *Oak High*, staff appeared more likely to impose support on students, regardless of students' own desires to receive such support:

> **I**: 'Let's talk about two different kinds of support. For example, let's say, you need academic support. You need some explanation for something, a subject or a course that you have to do. How would you do that in *Oak High*?'
> **EDDY**: 'They would just give it to you.'
> **I**: 'They'll just give it to you.'
> **EDDY**: 'But, here you'll have to ask.'
> **I**: 'Really?'
> **EDDY**: 'Yeah.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Eddy (mixed-race British, boy)**
> -----
> **RED**: '(…) In *Oak High* it is not always potential. Cos me [they say I am good] so that's why they push me, but even kids who are not as articulate or naughty they will push them or try to keep them in lessons; if you like set out, there will be like five staff in school to look after them and put them in D7 or internal referral unit or back to their lesson with work to do'
> **I**: 'Do you think you as a student you get more support in *Oak High* than in *Rose Park*, or is it the same?'
> **RED**: 'It's probably the same, but in *Rose Park* you have to ASK for support, there they TELL you they will give you support; I can't explain it very well…'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Red (white British, boy)**

It is important to note that students did not find one system necessarily better than the other. In reflecting on both types of support, Eddy actually believes that the stricter system typical of *Oak High* is better for him, even if he did not seem to like the limited freedom he experienced in *Oak High*:

> **I**: 'And you say they're stricter (in *Oak High*). So, you think that's important?'
> **EDDY**: 'Yeah. When it comes to learning like course work and stuff.'
> **I**: 'So, they're chasing you more in *Oak High* and you think, in one end, you don't like but on the other hand, you think it's important.'
> **EDDY**: 'Yeah.'
> **I**: 'They don't do that enough here.'
> **EDDY**: 'No.'
> **Interview *Rose Park* – Eddy (mixed-race British, boy)**

In contrast to Eddy, Herman seems to enjoy a system where he is given more responsibility and freedom in relation to his involvement in schoolwork, and even he believes that some people might actually respond negatively to being 'pushed':

> **HERMAN**: 'I think it's quite up to us. If you want help, then they will give it, but it's not like some private schools… or they GIVE us [support]. They don't

make you work as hard as you can. I mean, if you want to do well, you can do really well in this school, definitely.'
I: 'And do you think it's a good system?'
HERMAN: 'I think that's quite good. I think it sort of helps people. Those that do want to learn, but don't want to be pushed very hard, some people sort of have an adverse reaction to being pushed.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Brown Bear (mixed-race British, boy) and Herman (white British, boy), Danny (white British, boy) and Condor (white British, boy)

Hence, the data suggest that one support system does not fit all; but rather that different types of students require a different kind of approach regarding access and use of support. At the same time, while a school ethos might inhibit the use of particular kinds of support, it can facilitate the use of other kinds of support. While *Rose Park*'s liberal school ethos seems to generate or direct less academic support to students, it seems that the less bureaucratic or regulated organisation of support at *Rose Park* and the more informal atmosphere and interactions between staff and students lowers the threshold for some students to access support in relation to socio-emotional problems:

I: 'What about emotional support? For example, imagine you have a personal problem and you would like to talk about it, would you find it easier to do that here or easier in *Oak High*?'
EDDY: 'Here.'
I: 'Why?'
EDDY: 'Because the teachers are more easy-going with it. In *Oak High* teachers will make it into like a proper like serious… like if I went to Mr [name teacher in *Rose Park*], he would speak to me like it's just normal. He wouldn't make it like a proper big thing. Let's say I had a problem with someone, he wouldn't -- first of all, he wouldn't write a statement and all that straightaway. Like he would see if I wanted anything to happen about it; ways I could sort it out.'
Interview *Rose Park* – Eddy (mixed-race British, boy)

Hence, the extent to which students access and use social support seems to be influenced by the school ethos, but such influences are not straightforward and can both facilitate and restrict how students make use of support and will affect different students differently. This means that schools have to develop support systems that are flexible so that they can accommodate different types of students. In relation to a 'strict' school like *Oak High* it seems that less bureaucracy and more informal or closer relationships between support staff and students might increase young people's access to socio-emotional support. In relation to a 'liberal' school like *Rose Park* it seems that a more pro-active support system could increase the educational outcomes of students who might otherwise not request such support and/or might lack strong positive educational aspirations and expectations.

6.3.3 Supporting students and pressures to achieve

In line with previous research (Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Youdell 2004), the data suggest that academic support in school is, at least in part, directed primarily to those students who are most likely to benefit from such support in reaching five GCSEs level A*-C, the national benchmark of achievement. Gillborn and Youdell describe this as a process of educational 'triage', in which schools assess students and decide where to direct their resources for maximum impact: this is similar to the triage model of medical assessment.

The interviews with staff suggest that both schools practise some form of 'educational triage' in school to boost the number of students reaching the GCSEs benchmark, although not necessarily that such decisions were made across all departments, or as school-wide policies.

> **I**: 'Do you think that particular groups of kids get more support in order to improve these kind of outcomes… I'm probably talking more now about academic support?'
> **MS ARBEOLA**: 'Yeah I guess the ones, what they're aiming for now are the D/C ones to get kids up to C grade.'
> **I**: 'So how do they do that?'
> **MS ARBEOLA**: 'They tried streaming here, last year, I think they've now gone back, so for GCSEs they had a top English group and they had very, very good English results but they had a very top group that had a very experienced GCSE teacher and they were really pushed. So I guess it's those that you carry on pushing, the middle ones you nudge up and then the ones at the bottom you just let coast, or send out. Unfortunately you only have to walk round the corridors to see it's the same kids all the time.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– teacher**
> -----
> **I**: 'And what about kids that are on the verge of getting five GCSEs but they're not there? Do they make distinction in giving support?'
> **MS CROUCH**: 'Yeah, I think there are levels of support. I think the ones that you know are going to get you five GCSEs or more I think there's a lot of extra support put in, rightly so. And those who are kind of like on the fringes, they might be Ds and they could be brought up to Cs through extra lessons and one-to-one support and so on; they get that. The ones who are not going to make it, they're going to get Ds and Es. They're off the roll before exams come. They're the ones who get least support or they're put into pastoral support groups. You know, behaviour management or they might get off site and so on. They're the ones who get the least support from within school, because they've got nothing to gain from them. They're not going to add any value. But the ones who are just outside this five GCSEs or the D, the C grades, they'll definitely be bumped up. And those who are going to be high flyers will get more support.'
> **I**: 'And why doesn't the school keep them in?'
> **MS CROUCH**: 'Well, because they're not good for their stats, are they?
> **Interview *Oak High*– teacher**

In addition to giving 'borderline' students extra academic support, some teachers referred to practices where students were sent on work experience, or put 'off-roll' or not included in examinations, in the hope that this would result in higher output. Note that while some staff claimed that only the 'lowest achieving' were given less academic support, some staff also claimed that the highest-achieving groups were given less support because they were expected to reach the target by themselves.

However, as Ms Arbeola indicated, sometimes such policies were changed. Some teachers argued that such policies were counterproductive as they affected the motivation of students enrolled in the lowest streams. At the same time the data suggest that support was made available to all students, regardless of students' expected outcomes, as both schools appeared to have very strong support systems in place (observed by the researcher and praised by Ofsted) that offered academic support to all students:

> **I**: '(…). And then there's a group, because of various reasons, that you can be fairly sure that they probably won't get their GCSE pass grades. How is support directed to these three different groups (in terms of expected achievement)?'
> **MS PENNANT**: 'I would say that a lot of the interventions such as mentoring, Headway, Learning Support and EMA (Educational Maintenance Allowances) – a lot of their resources are targeted to that third group you described of quite needy individuals whereas a lot of our academic targeting goes to the other two groups. So, in particular at GCSE, there's I think about £15,000 of money spent on extra-curricular academic programmes. So, for example, Mr. (name of teacher) runs it, so all this year for Year 11 there have been extra classes paid for after school in every single subject and on Saturdays and in the Easter holidays and at half term. And anybody can go to them but they are obviously used more by students who are interested in academic achievement. And actually they support all three groups in a sense because all those students who are unable to revise, don't have the skills at home/support at home, they can come to those sessions and a lot of them do come to those sessions because that's an ordered structured environment where they've got adult support to help them achieve. But there's a lot of other activities after school all the time which meet any of the needs of any of those groups. You know, in the library there's staff helping with homework, there's lots of clubs after school.
> **Interview *Oak High*– teacher**

This extract suggests that students might access academic support themselves and that differences between students' received support are not always due to conscious decisions from schools to focus support on particular groups. In addition, this extract suggests that different groups of students might receive different kinds of support: with the less academic students seemingly receiving more social, emotional support and the more school-orientated students more academic support.

However, our interviews with staff suggest that 'educational triage' was practised, at least to some extent, in the participating schools, as part of a more general

approach to 'raise standards' or, more accurately, raise the profile of the school in the league tables. As schools are directly evaluated against their success in realising such output, schools feel inclined to devise particular strategies to boost outcomes. While teachers in both schools felt that the ECM agenda was important, both for the school and the Ofsted inspection, they still felt that Ofsted expected them first and foremost to 'raise standards':

> **MS MACHERANO**: 'It's almost like maybe there is… right the kids that we think right we don't have to do much with them because they're gonna get their grades anyway and there's the kids at the bottom that we can do something with but they're never gonna get fantastic grades at this stage. And then there's those ones in the middle that you think right we can do something with this lot. Sounds a bit mercenary, doesn't it, but I think that's how it is.
> **I**: But yeah school has resources and has to divide them.'
> **MS MACHERANO**: 'And we're gonna get judged on league tables. So the whole thing about the ECM agenda, you're gonna get, through Ofsted, they're gonna look for evidence that you're doing it but if you're not doing it all, all that it's gonna say in the report is that you need to improve this, you need to improve that. They're never gonna fail you for not doing it all whereas they are gonna fail you if your results are appalling.'
> **Interview *Oak High* – teacher**

Staff not only described how academic support was divided unequally between students on the basis of their expected achievement, they also described how staff sometimes helped students finish coursework, decided to register for particular exam boards that were deemed 'more easy' and encouraged students to take GCSEs in their native language; all as a means to raise the percentage of students with five GCSEs level A*-C.

All this suggests that staff in these schools feel that raising educational outcomes is still considered a more important work objective than realising other valued goals, related to students' happiness, well-being, and community cohesion. While not perhaps surprising, this nevertheless raises issues in relation to the implementation and monitoring of ECM. Performative pressures exert a strong influence on the allocation of supportive resources within schools. If schools are expected to develop young people's wider outcomes (such as happiness, well-being and social cohesion), in addition to their academic achievement, performance measures and inspection regimes will also need to reflect these broader priorities in sufficient measure.

6.3.4 Social support on the street

Having support on the streets is vital for protecting your personal safety. Many young people interviewed seemed to live in what they called 'rough' areas, characterised by gang violence, crime and drug use. Establishing connections appeared key for young people to move around freely and feel safe in their neighbourhoods. Compare, for example, how these two girls experience living in particular rough neighbourhoods:

I: 'How's your neighbourhood?'
TANYA: 'It's split in three blocks. There's one block of Asians and one block of Irish and white people and then [black] sometimes it's loud and a bit rowdy because most of the kids that come to *Oak High* live near me and it's busy sometimes. But, sometimes it's quiet and stuff. And it's safe.'
I: 'Yeah? You feel safe… ish?'
TANYA: 'It's because we know everyone. There are gangs around there, but some of them live near us and we know them as neighbours so they wouldn't really do anything to us. But if someone else was walking down the street, it would be a bit dangerous for them.'
Interview *Oak High* – Birgul (Asian, girl), Tanya (white British, girl), Hannah (Asian, girl), May (white British, girl) and Jordi (white European, boy)

CHARLOTTE: 'Every night you'd have a fire but every night, it was just normal (…). And around the corner, there'd be drug dealers. It wasn't actually safe for me to go home after 5:30, so I would not be allowed out.'
I: 'And how do you manage when you lived in such a neighbourhood?'
CHARLOTTE: 'You have your escapes. Like, before, I used to go on holiday all the time, just to escape. My mum's a teacher, so we both finish school. We both have the same holidays, so we just go.'
Interview *Oak High* – Charlotte (white European, girl)

While Tanya lived in her neighbourhood for a long time and knew many different people, Charlotte lived only for a very brief period in her neighbourhood with her mother. Charlotte and her mother never felt safe in their area and eventually moved to another neighbourhood. Hence, while many students preferred to go out on the streets only when they were accompanied by one or preferably a group of friends, 'knowing people' or establishing loose but positive relationships with people in the area appeared to protect people from becoming targets for violence. Some students even preferred living in a neighbourhood they considered exceptionally violent over starting life in a new neighbourhood where they did not know anybody and, as a result, felt less secure.

However, while loose relationships appeared beneficial in developing social protection, young people often felt that it was important not to get 'too close' to people or 'too involved' as this might get you into trouble:

I: 'First, I would like to talk a bit about your neighbourhoods. What is your neighbourhood like?'
RED: 'It's like kind of rough.'
I: 'And what do you mean with that?'
RED: 'Like stabbing, shootings, gangs etc.'
I: 'How do you feel in your neighbourhood?'
RED: 'I know people. If I didn't know anyone, then I will always feel kind of scared.'
I: 'So, that's important? That you know people?'
RED: 'Yeah. That I'm part of it. I am involved... So, that no one can do anything to me.'
Interview *Rose Park*– Red (white British, boy)

This shows that sometimes ‘loose relationships’ can be equally, or even more, beneficial than close relationships (Portes 1998), as the latter, especially in the context of violent neighbourhoods and gang culture, can instil particular expectations or obligations that can jeopardise young people’s personal safety.

However, ‘knowing people’ does not only protect people from being targeted by violence, it can also function as a source of ‘back up’ or support in defending yourself against threats to your personal safety or status on the street:

> **I**: 'Let's say you are on the street and there's a guy, it's quite a public place and you are with your friends and there's another group of people coming. And one of the guys insults you.'
> **STEVEN**: 'If you are walking around and they say something like, to YOU, obviously if you're with your friends, you feel more brave, more… you just turn around.'
> **KISS**: 'It depends if your friends are on it, though, if they are into fighting.'
> **STEVEN**: 'If you have friends that aren't going to fight. Then you just don't take it. Just walk on. But if you know that your friends are going to help you, you're going to tell them “what'd you say!?”, or something like that.'
> **Interview *Rose Park*– Kiss (Asian, boy) and Steven (Asian, boy)**

These young men rely on their friends’ support in responding to threats to their social status. However, students often mentioned incidents where they could rely on such support from groups of people they did not even know personally. For example, the following two students discuss the support they receive from unknown ‘boys in school’ in particular situations:

> **DARNELL**: 'If a boy from another school comes up, the school, most likely -- the boys in this school will go together and back you even if they don't know you.’
> **EVO**: ‘People back you because (…). If they are in a fight, yeah, everyone, mostly everyone of their friends would help them out, because it's just that respect thing because they obviously helped you before so you got to help them, that’s it.’
> **Interview *Oak High* – Darnell (black African, boy), Evo (Asian, boy), Spit-J (black African, boy) and Rif (Asian, boy)**

Students often narrated similar stories in which a group of students, usually boys, from another, rival school waited outside the school gates to harass a student (see also 4.1). In response to this, many boys from different year groups teamed up and chased the ‘intruders’. Similarly, students from particular ethnic groups (see 5.1.3) or areas in the street could count on support from a large group of often ‘anonymous’ people to counter or challenge threats. However, such support is not necessarily altruistic. First, the person receiving such support is expected to return the favour in a similar situation, as illustrated in the extract above. Second, such ‘anonymous’ support is usually given to people who are perceived as members of the same group (school, area, gang, ethnicity…). Hence, it is likely that young people can count on such support when a threat to their personal safety is

perceived as a threat to the safety or status of a social group which they are considered part of.

These sections show that young people living in rough neighbourhoods often have to, and know how to negotiate difficult relationships to gain support and as a result feel safe in their area. On the one hand, this means that areas that might look very dangerous or violent from the outside might actually be perceived as '(rough) safe havens' by the young people living in those areas. On the other hand, young people have to be warned against, and given support to counter, the dangers of getting 'too involved' in street life in pursuing protection, acceptance and social status. At the same time, the analysis suggests that not all young people feel safe in their 'rough' neighbourhood, in particular students who were 'new' or knew very few people in their neighbourhood.

This analysis also suggests that bringing young people together in areas and developing a sense of joined membership or community will help in making them feel safer and develop relationships of reciprocity. As young people can develop supportive and protective communities even in dangerous areas, and often prefer staying in such areas instead of starting again in an area where they do not know anyone, it seems important to use these supportive relationships positively in maintaining and building safer communities.

In sum, our analysis of qualitative and quantitative data suggests that schools matter in developing supportive ties to students. A school ethos that is more strict and focused on achievement seems to generate more academic support for students, while a more liberal school ethos appears to facilitate access to social, emotional support and encourage the development of closer ties between students in school. Furthermore, staff in both schools felt pressured to raise the public profile of the school in the league tables, and in response appeared to implement 'educational triage' to some extent in providing support for their students. Young people also develop supportive ties in their neighbourhood and can feel safe in areas considered violent and 'rough', especially when they manage to build loose, positive relationships with the people in their neighbourhood. Finally, boys appeared less likely to access support than girls, and students with positive socio-psychological resources (self-concept of ability and self-esteem) seemed to have more supportive networks.

The latter finding suggests a close relationship between social support and students' wider outcomes. The following section will rely on analysis of our school survey data to explore how students' perceived access to support and closeness to others (as independent variables) relate to educational and wider outcomes.

6.4 Social support and educational and wider outcomes

The integration of the school survey data with school records allows us to explore associations between key sets of variables, controlling for each other (see 3.8). More specifically, we explore associations between students' perceived access to support from and closeness to others and educational and wider outcomes (prior

and current educational achievement, attendance, ‘poor’ behaviour, self-concept of ability and stress), controlling for key social capital variables, school attended, students’ social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources. In this section we will make a distinction between support from ‘family’, ‘friends’ and ‘non-family adults’ (see Appendix 6.3).

The results suggest that students with more access to support have lower educational and wider outcomes, while students with closer relationships to others have higher educational and wider outcomes. Furthermore, young people’s supportive or close relationships with family seem more important in relation to their educational and wider outcomes than their relationships with friends which, in turn, relate more to outcomes than students’ relationships with other, non-family adults.

More specifically (see Table 6.2 Models 4 and 5), students with more access to support from family report lower levels of engagement with school, lower levels of current achievement in English and Maths (as assessed by teachers in *Oak High* only) and lower levels of prior achievement in KS3 English and Maths. Similarly, students who report higher levels of support from friends appear more involved in ‘poor’ behaviour and have lower prior achievement results in KS3 Maths. Finally, students with more access to support from non-family adults report lower levels of current achievement in English (as assessed by teachers in *Oak High* only) and lower levels of prior achievement in Maths (KS3). The only positive relationship between access to support and outcomes relates to students’ self-concept of ability, as students with more support from family seem to have a higher self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork. All these relationships persist, even after controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources.

These relationships can be explained in different ways. First, it is possible that there is a selection effect, in that students with lower educational outcomes might be more likely to seek support from people in their environment, especially from their parents and adults not related to the family. Second, the observation that students with a lot of support from friends are also more likely to behave poorly could be explained by the observation that in our two schools, more ‘poorly’ behaved students seemed more likely to form larger social groups of friends. Finally, the positive relationship between access to support from family and students’ self-concept of ability could be explained in two ways: students who consider schoolwork important, perceive themselves as able and invest a lot of time doing it (which all relates to their self-concept of ability) could seek more support from their parents; and/or such support might increase such students’ self-concept of ability. All this illustrates that relationships between students’ social support and their educational and wider outcomes are complex.

In contrast (see Table 6.1 Models 4 and 5), students’ close relationships with others (as a measure of bonding social capital) tend to relate to positive educational and wider outcomes: students with close relationships with family have lower levels of stress and are more engaged with school. Furthermore, students with close friendships show higher levels of prior achievement in English (KS2 and KS3). However, there is one negative relationship between students’

closeness to others and outcomes, as students who feel closer to their family also tended to have lower prior achievement in English (KS2). These relationships persist even after controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources.

These findings could be interpreted in different ways. In line with research on SSB, they suggest that bonding social capital, here measured on a face-to-face level, helps students in developing positive educational and wider outcomes, in particular through its positive relationship with socio-psychological resources. A previous section (see 6.3.1) tends to support this by showing that students' 'closeness to others' relates positively to their self-esteem and self-concept of ability.

Table 6.1: Perceived closeness of relationships with others and educational and wider outcomes

	Affective outcomes as dependent variables							
	Self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork		Low levels of stress		Low levels of 'poor' behaviour		Engagement with school (attendance)	
	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	23.176	11.339	15.194	9.959	28.691	25.087	93.166	75.668
Closeness to Non-family adults	.182***	.013	-.036	-.023	.146***	.059	.032	.023
Closeness to Family	.200***	.031	.264*	.091*	.079*	.013	.106*	.102*
Closeness to Friends	.070*	-.012	.039	.025	-.062	-.031	-.042	-.076

	Attainment outcomes as dependent variables											
	English Teacher Assessment		Maths Teacher Assessment		KS2 English		KS2 Maths		KS3 English		KS3 Maths	
	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	27.486	44.377	27.625	35.1 20	4.186	3.644	4.104	3.256	5.276	3.140	5.615	2.439
Closeness to Non-family adults	-.095	.088	-.137**	.006	-.050	-.012	-.076	-.057	-.051	.010	-.055	.034
Closeness to Family	-.047	.050	-.048	.030	-.093*	-.123*	-.007	-.024	- .176***	-.070	-.102	.019
Closeness to Friends	.142***	.070	.106*	.075	.230***	.206***	.120**	.080	.182***	.137*	.047	.045

Note 1: This table shows the relationship between students' closeness to others (family, friends and non-family adults) and educational and wider outcomes, controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see 3.8 and 3.9). Two coefficients are given for each outcome: the effect of closeness without controlling for any other characteristics (Model 1) and the effect of closeness controlling for all other variables in the model (Model 5). English and Maths Teacher Assessments were only collected from *Oak High*. As a result these analyses only involved four steps (as school attended was taken out of the analysis).
Note 2: Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant. Asterisks (*) = p<.05, (**) = p<.01 and (***) p<.001.
Note 3: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N = 1,585.

Table 6.2: Perceived access to support from others and educational and wider outcomes

	Affective outcomes as dependent variables							
	Self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork		Low levels of stress		Low levels of 'poor' behaviour		Engagement with school (attendance)	
	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	23.219	11.339	15.226	9.959	28.700	25.087	93.196	75.668
Network Advice: Family	.219***	.126*	.215*	.022	.090***	.040	.011	**-.137*** **
Network Advice: Non family adults	.223***	.072	-.051	-.102	.167***	.074	.039	-.052
Network Advice: Friends	.067*	-.034	.024	.017	-.063*	-.080*	-.015	.009

	Attainment outcomes as dependent variables											
	English Teacher Assessment		Maths Teacher Assessment		KS2 English		KS2 Maths		KS3 English		KS3 Maths	
	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 4	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5	Model 1	Model 5
Constant	27.626	44.377	27.674	35.120	4.185	3.644	4.110	3.256	3.140	5.267	5.582	2.439
Network Advice: Family	-.115*	-.101*	-.126*	-.116*	-.077	-.011	-.063	-.117	-.154***	-.214*	-.174***	-.149*
Network Advice: Non family adults	-.232***	-.166***	-.200***	-.101	-.057	-.027	-.065	-.036	-.123	-.061	-.091	**-.176** **
Network Advice: Friends	.110*	.031	.069	.012	.155	-.003	.075	.048	-.072*	.122	-.004	**-.153***

Note 1: This table shows the relationship between students' access to support (from family, friends and non-family adults) and educational and wider outcomes, controlling for other forms of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see 3.8 and 3.9). Two coefficients are given for each outcome: the effect of access to support without controlling for any other characteristics (Model 1) and the effect of access to support controlling for all other variables in the model (Model 5). English and Maths Teacher Assessments were only collected from *Oak High*. As a result these analyses only involved four steps (as school attended was taken out of the analysis).
Note 2: Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant. Asterisks (*) = p<.05, (**) = p<.01 and (***) p<.001.
Note 3: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N = 1,585.

6.5 Summary of findings

- In general, students report high levels of access to support from different sources, including mother, father, siblings, other family members, friends inside and outside school and staff in schools.

- Students' access to support and closeness of relationships with others is greater in relation to family and friends in school than to friends outside school and adults outside the family.

- Girls appear to have more access to support than boys, which can be explained by the observation that notions of masculinity prevent boys from asking for or offering socio-emotional support.

- School context matters. School ethos ('liberal' versus 'strict') seems to influence students' access to support: while a strict school ethos seems to generate more academic support for students, a more liberal school ethos seems to facilitate access to socio-emotional support and close and supportive relationships between students.

- In response to pressures to 'raise standards' and, related to this, increase the standing of the school in the public league tables, schools sometimes seem to apply a form of 'educational triage' in which support is primarily directed to those students who will benefit from such support in obtaining five GCSEs level A*-C, the national benchmark of achievement.

- Violent neighbourhoods can be relatively safe for young people when they manage to establish loose but positive relationships with each other in their area.

- In pursuing safety, social status and support in violent inner-city areas, young people might become increasingly involved in gang culture and the crime and violence associated with this.

- Young people's supportive or close relationships with family seem more important in relation to their educational and wider outcomes than their relationships with friends. Students' relationships with friends in turn relate more to outcomes than students' relationships with other, non-family adults.

- Close relationships with significant others tend to correlate with positive educational and wider outcomes:

    - Students with close relationships with family have lower levels of stress and are more engaged with school;
    - Students with close friendships tend to have higher English KS2 and KS3 scores.

- Access to support tends to correlate with negative outcomes, which might be explained by selection effects, as students who are underachieving, less engaged in school and more involved in 'poor' behaviour might seek more support in their social environment.

    - Students with more access to support from family report lower levels of engagement with school, lower levels of English and Maths (as assessed by teachers in *Oak High* only) and have lower KS3 English and Maths results;
    - Students who report higher levels of support from friends appear more involved in 'poor' behaviour and have lower KS3 Maths results;
    - Students with more access to support from non-family adults report lower levels of English (as assessed by teachers in *Oak High* only) and KS3 Maths results.

7 Relationships between aspects of social capital

This section brings together and expands on our analysis of relationships between social capital, social background characteristics, socio-psychological resources and school contexts. While the previous three chapters focused on our three dimensions of social capital separately, the following sections explore:

1. How our three dimensions of social capital interrelate;
2. The relationship between social capital and socio-psychological resources;
3. The kind of children that lack social capital and socio-psychological resources;
4. The importance of a school context in accounting for differences in young people's social capital;

In so doing this chapter builds on previous WBL research by exploring the contextual development of and relationships between people's skills, beliefs, competencies and social networks which take a mediating role between education and wider outcomes (Feinstein 2007). We address these questions by summarising some of the main findings from the previous three chapters and by conducting further quantitative analysis on our school survey dataset. In line with the explorative nature of the research design that underpins this study, these analyses are not intended to test hypotheses but to explore associations between particular measures of students' social capital, socio-psychological resources, social background characteristics and school context.

The first section explores correlations between our different measures of social capital (SSB, attitudes to social diversity, closeness to others and access to support from others). In addition, it compares average levels of these measures of social capital for different social-class, gender and ethnicity groups. The second section explores correlations between measures of students' social capital (SSB, attitudes to social diversity, closeness to others and access to support from others) and their socio-psychological resources (self-esteem, self-concept of ability, self-control and self-efficacy). Furthermore, this section will compare average levels of socio-psychological resources for different social-class, gender and ethnicity groups. The final section in this chapter focuses on school context and compares the average levels of measures of social capital (SSB, attitudes to social diversity, closeness to others and access to support from others) for *Oak High* and *Rose Park* and brings together the main findings from the previous three chapters on the importance of a school context in developing students' social capital. In addition, it explores differences between our two schools in average levels of our social capital measures for different social-class, gender and ethnicity groups.

7.1 Relationships between different dimensions of social capital

Previous WBL research suggests a relationship between education and wider outcomes (such as cohesion and equality) through various mediating factors, including students' beliefs and social relationships with others. This section explores how different measures of social capital correlate, including students' close and supportive relationships with others, their beliefs or attitudes about social diversity and their SSB. In addition, this section explores the average levels of these measures of social capital for different social-class, gender and ethnicity groups in our two schools. Table 7.1 shows that our different measures of social capital correlate positively with each other:

Table 7.1: Correlations between main social capital variables

		School belonging	Social diversity	Close to others	Access to support
School belonging	R	1			
	N				
Social diversity	R	**.255(**)**	1		
	N	572			
Close to others	R	**.380(**)**	**.226(**)**	1	
	N	1161	501		
Access to support	R	**.401(**)**	**.128(**)**	**.658(**)**	1
	N	1206	515	1171	

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In particular, measures of students' perceived access to support, closeness to others and SSB correlate strongly. The sequential regression analyses from the previous chapters show that the relationships between students' access to support, closeness to others and SSB are significant and large even after controlling for students' social background characteristics, socio-psychological resources and school attended. In contrast (and perhaps in part due to the smaller sample size used in these analyses), correlations between students' attitudes to diversity and our other measures of social capital are weaker and become non-significant after controlling for the other variables included in our models (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1, 8.2. 8.3 and 8.4).

In sum, these findings suggest that different measures of social capital included in this report relate closely to each other. In particular, students' close and supportive face-to-face relationships with others and their SSB are closely related to each other. This should perhaps not surprise us as students' supportive and close relationships with others in a particular group develop their sense of belonging to that group and, as a result, are considered as important dimensions of instruments used to measure people's sense of belonging to that group (see Chapter 4).

These relationships in Table 7.1 persist, even if the analysis is conducted separately for students' social class, ethnicity/race and gender. The only exception concerns the relationships between students' attitudes to social diversity and their access to support, which often becomes non-significant when conducted for particular social groups.

While this suggests that students' social background characteristics do not interact with the relationship between our different social capital measures, this does not mean that all forms of social capital are distributed equally between different social groups. The following table summarises the average levels of our social capital measures for different social groups:

Table 7.2: Average levels of social capital for different social groups

Social Capital	SSB	Attitudes to diversity	Access to support	Closeness to others
Social Groups				
SES				
Father left school at 16	**31.6**	**28.4**	18.8	4.9
Father went on to HE	**33.1**	**31.6**	19.6	5.5
Gender				
Boy	32.7	29.9	*19.1*	5.3
Girl	32.4	30.7	*19.7*	5.2
Ethnicity				
White	32.1	**29.4**	19.2	5.0
Black	33.1	**31.7**	19.6	5.0
Asian	33.2	30.9	20.6	6.1

Notes: This table compares the average levels of our social capital measures between different social groups: students from a highly educated background are compared to students from a lower educated background; boys are compared to girls and white students are compared to black and Asian students. Hence, for the analysis on ethnicity only the white category is compared to the black and Asian category. Differences between averages printed in **bold** are significant at the .05 and in *italics* at the .10 level.

The findings from an analysis of variance (ANOVA) between our measures of social capital and students' social background characteristics suggest that white boys from lower SES backgrounds have, on average, lower levels of social capital as measured in our study. Students' SES relates positively with their attitudes to diversity and their SSB: students with high SES are, on average, more positive towards social diversity than their peers from lower SES backgrounds. This relationship remains significant, even after controlling for other measures of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see Appendix 8, Table 8.2). While the ANOVA analysis shows that students from higher SES backgrounds have, on average, a higher sense of belonging to a school community than students from lower SES backgrounds, this relationship does not remain significant after controlling for the other measures included in the model (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1).

There appear to be very few differences between ethnic and gender groups in terms of their average levels of our social capital measures. However, white students appear, on average, more negative towards social diversity than black students, and girls report, on average, more access to support than boys. These relationships persist, even after controlling for other measures of social capital, school attended, students' social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see Appendix 8, Table 8.2 and 8.4).

In sum, the data suggest that in our two schools social capital dimensions constitute closely related but not evenly distributed resources. In particular, white boys from lower SES backgrounds appear to have lower levels of social (school) bridging capital, as measured in our study. We will see that these relationships vary according to school context (see 7.3).

7.2 The importance of socio-psychological resources

Previous WBL research has emphasised the importance of students' beliefs, social relationships and socio-emotional resources as factors that mediate the relationship between education and wider outcomes (Feinstein 2007). This section explores correlations between such mediating factors, including students' socio-psychological resources (self-esteem, self-concept of ability, self-control and self-efficacy) and social capital (students' close and supportive social relationships with others, their SSB and their attitudes to diversity. In addition, this section explores the average levels of students' socio-psychological resources for different social-class, gender and ethnicity groups.

In exploring correlations between students' socio-psychological resources and social capital we consider the following measures of social capital: students' SSB, their attitudes to diversity and their perceived access to support and closeness to others, including closeness to and support from family, non-family adults and friends (see Appendix 6.3). Table 7.3 shows strong correlations between our measures of social capital and students' socio-psychological resources:

Table 7.3: Correlations between main social capital variables and socio-psychological resources

		School belonging	Social diversity	Close to others	Access support	Access support family	Access support NFA	Access support friends	Close to family	Close to NFA	Close to friends
Self esteem	R	**.362(**)**	.043	**.258(**)**	**.219(**)**	**.241(**)**	**.065(*)**	.032	**.276(**)**	**.069(*)**	**.057(*)**
	N	1385	597	1250	1296	1296	1296	1296	1250	1250	1250
Self-concept of ability	R	**.432(**)**	**.287(**)**	**.282(**)**	**.289(**)**	**.221(**)**	**.188(**)**	**.059(*)**	**.199(**)**	**.124(**)**	.053
	N	1365	589	1233	1278	1278	1278	1278	1233	1233	1233
Self control	R	**.263(**)**	.066	**.209(**)**	**.122(**)**	**.096(*)**	**.198(**)**	**-.147(**)**	**.170(**)**	**.181(**)**	**-.093(*)**
	N	565	575	493	505	505	505	505	493	493	493
Self-efficacy	R	**.376(**)**	**.248(**)**	**.177(**)**	**.180(**)**	**.103(**)**	**.076(**)**	**.146(**)**	**.124(**)**	**.059(*)**	**.143(**)**
	N	1351	591	1212	1256	1256	1256	1256	1212	1212	1212

Notes: NFA = 'Non Family Adults', ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Almost all our measures of social capital and students' socio-psychological resources correlate positively. The only exception is students' perceived self-control, which correlates negatively with students' perceived access to support from and closeness to friends. Perhaps students who show less self-control take more initiative in establishing close and supportive relationships with peers. Of all our socio-psychological measures, the strongest correlations appear between students' self-concept of ability and our social capital dimensions. Of all our social capital measures, students' SSB relates most strongly to students' socio-psychological resources. While all our measures of social capital correlate with students' socio-psychological resources, students' attitudes to diversity show the weakest correlations. Overall, this suggests a close relationship between students' skills, competencies, beliefs and social relationships, which mediate the relationship between education and wider outcomes.

The previous chapters reported on sequential regression analysis in which each of our key social capital measures (SSB, attitudes to diversity and students' overall access to support and closeness to others) was treated as an independent variable. Controlling for other measures of social capital, school attended, social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources, the analyses show

that students': i) self-efficacy associates positively with their SSB, ii) self-esteem associates positively with their SSB and their closeness to others and iii) self-concept of ability associates positively with all social capital dimensions (SSB, attitudes to diversity, closeness to others and access to support) (see Appendix 8, Table 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4).

In sum, the data analysis suggests that, in our two schools, measures of social capital and students' socio-psychological resources relate positively to each other. This is particularly the case for students' SSB and their closeness to others, two measures of 'bonding social capital'. Hence, the analysis suggests that close relationships with significant others and with the school as a whole relate to students' positive socio-psychological resources. This can be explained in different ways: it is possible that close relationships with others help young people develop such positive socio-psychological resources, and/or that having such resources helps young people develop closer ties with others and their school more generally.

Perhaps the most important finding for our schools is the consistent, positive relationship between our measures of social capital and students' self-concept of ability, which relates to students' perceived ability, mastery, interest, importance and time investment in doing schoolwork (see also 3.9). While this cross-sectional analysis does not allow us to test causality of relationships, it suggests a close relationship between our measures of social capital and a socio-psychological attribute that is strongly and positively related to students' educational achievement (Brookover et al. 1964; Gerardi 2005; Guay et al. 2003). This suggests that students with a high concept of ability in doing schoolwork either develop social capital more easily, and/or that having particular forms of social capital helps in the development of students' self-concept of ability, and related to this their educational achievement.

The data seem to suggest that the socio-psychological resources that young people possess can be an important factor in explaining differences in the distribution of social capital between groups. Although we find that certain socio-economic/ethnic groups score more highly on social capital measures than others, social background itself does not explain this. Rather, it appears that these students also have strong socio-psychological resources which are associated with strong social capital.

Considering the importance of such socio-psychological resources for the development of young people, it is important to explore how such resources are distributed amongst students. The following table presents the average scores in socio-psychological resources for different social groups:

Table 7.4: Average levels of socio-psychological resources for different social groups

Socio-psychological resources / Social Groups	Self-concept	Self-esteem	Self-efficacy	Self-control
SES				
Father left school at 16	**21.7**	**11.2**	**17.5**	15.8
Father went on to HE	**23.7**	**12.2**	**18.5**	16.6
Gender				
Boy	22.9	**12.4**	**18.2**	16.6
Girl	23.1	**11.3**	**17.6**	16.3
Ethnicity				
White	**22.4**	**11.7**	17.7	**16.2**
Black	**23.4**	**12.6**	18.3	16.9
Asian	**23.8**	11.9	17.9	**17.3**

Notes: This table compares the average levels of our socio-psychological resources between different social groups: students from a highly educated background are compared to students from a lower educated background; boys are compared to girls, and white students are compared to black and Asian students. Hence, for the analysis on ethnicity only the white category is compared to the black and Asian category. Differences between averages printed in **bold** are significant at the .05 level.

The analysis suggests that in our two schools, white students have, on average, lower self-esteem, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability than ethnic minority students, in particular compared to black students. Furthermore, students from higher SES backgrounds show, on average, higher levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability. Finally, girls have lower levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy than boys.

In sum, while the analysis of our social capital measures suggest that in our two schools white boys from lower SES backgrounds have lower levels of social capital, this analysis suggests that white girls from lower SES backgrounds have, on average, lower levels of socio-psychological resources.

7.3 The importance of school context

This section explores how a school context (*Oak High* and *Rose Park*) relates to students' development of social capital. We explore the importance of school context in developing social capital in three ways: first, we compare our schools in terms of their average levels of social capital as measured in our school survey. The findings of this analysis are linked to the sequential regression analyses carried out in the previous three chapters. Second, we will summarise the main findings of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis conducted in the last three chapters to summarise the importance of a particular school context in developing young people's social capital. Third, we will explore how school attended influences the relationship between students' social background characteristics and our measures of social capital.

In exploring the average differences between our two schools in terms of our measures of social capital we consider the following measures of social capital: students' SSB, their attitudes to diversity and their perceived access to support and closeness to others, including closeness to and support from family, non-family adults and friends (see Appendix 6.3):

Table 7.5: Average differences between *Oak High* and *Rose Park* in terms of students' social capital

Social capital	School	N	Mean	Sig.
Social diversity	*Oak High*	214	29.8	
	Rose Park	390	30.5	.128
Sense of school belonging	*Oak High*	635	32.6	
	Rose Park	759	32.5	.690
Access to support others	***Oak High***	601	20.5	
	Rose Park	705	18.4	**.000**
Close to others	***Oak High***	558	5.7	
	Rose Park	700	4.9	**.013**
Access to support family	***Oak High***	601	.15	
	Rose Park	705	-.13	**.000**
Access to support non-family adults	***Oak High***	601	.10	
	Rose Park	705	-.10	**.001**
Access to support friends	*Oak High*	601	.00	
	Rose Park	705	.04	.105
Close to non-family adults	***Oak High***	558	.10	
	Rose Park	700	-.08	**.001**
Close to family	***Oak High***	558	.07	
	Rose Park	700	-.06	**.022**
Close to friends	*Oak High*	558	-.05	
	Rose Park	700	.04	.130

Note: Sig. in **bold** = significant at the p<.05 level.

Table 7.5 shows that while, on average, *Rose Park* and *Oak High* have similar levels of SSB and attitudes to diversity, students in *Oak High* appear to have closer relationships and more access to support than their peers in *Rose Park*. While average differences between the schools in terms of access to support remain after controlling for other characteristics, the differences in students' closeness to others becomes non-significant (see Appendix 8, Table 8.3 and 8.4).

Although schools can show, on average, levels of social capital that are not very and/or not significantly different, the qualitative and quantitative data-analysis in the three previous chapters highlights the importance of young people's school context in developing social capital.

While *Oak High* and *Rose Park* did not differ significantly in terms of their average levels of SSB, students in *Rose Park* answered the SSB scale item related to 'belonging' more positively and felt that the school rules were fairer compared to their peers in *Oak High*. Conversely, students in *Oak High* felt 'safer' and more 'supported by adults' in school compared to the students from *Rose Park* (see 4.2.1). It seems that the stricter school ethos in *Oak High*, perhaps related to the higher working-class intake, generates a safer and more supportive environment than *Rose Park*, while the more liberal school ethos of *Rose Park* seems to generate a stronger sense of belonging and fairness of treatment amongst its students compared to *Oak High*. This suggests that schools can develop similarly cohesive communities through different channels.

Furthermore, similar average levels of social capital at a school level can conceal subtle differences between schools. For instance, on average, students in *Rose Park* enjoyed 'being introduced to different ideas and opinions' and 'discussing

different ideas and opinions' more than their peers in *Oak High*. However, the average differences in these items were not large enough to show average differences between the schools in terms of students' attitudes to diversity (see 5.2.1). If not caused by random variation, these differences can perhaps be explained by the more middle-class intake of *Rose Park* and its liberal school ethos, and suggest subtle, important differences between schools that are not captured by comparing averages on composite scale scores.

Finally, our analysis showed average differences between our two schools in terms of students' measured access to support; differences that remain significant even after controlling for all other measures of social capital, students' social background characteristics and socio-psychological resources (see Appendix 8, Table 8.4). In relation to students' measured access to social support, our analysis suggests that the stricter school ethos typical of *Oak High* offers students more access to support compared to the liberal school ethos in *Rose Park* (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). In relation to students' attitudes to diversity we have shown how the social mix of a school can impact on young people's attitudes to diversity (see 5.2.2). Finally, in relation to SSB, the analysis suggests a series of interventions that schools can apply in order to increase young people's SSB (see 4.2.2).

However, the importance of students' school context in developing their social capital is also illustrated by exploring how the school a student attends influences the relationship between students' social background characteristics and their levels of measured social capital:

Table 7.6: Average levels of social capital for different social groups in two schools

Social Capital	**SSB**		**Attitudes to diversity**		**Access to support**		**Closeness to others**	
Schools	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*
Social Groups								
SES								
Low	31.2	31.9	**26.3**	**29.6**	19.0	18.7	4.9	4.9
High	33.6	32.7	31.4	31.6	**22.2**	**18.6**	**6.9**	**4.7**
Gender								
Boy	**33.1**	**32.3**	29.7	30.1	20.4	17.8	5.9	4.7
Girl	**31.7**	**32.8**	29.9	30.1	20.7	19.1	5.5	5.1
Ethnicity								
white	31.9	32.4	**27.8**	**30.4**	19.9	18.4	5.2	4.9
black	32.9	33.4	32.1	31.5	20.9	18.5	**5.8**	**4.3**
Asian	**33.6**	**32.7**	31.4	30.6	21.3	19.9	6.4	5.7

Notes: This table compares the average levels of our social capital measures between *Oak High* and *Rose Park* for particular social groups. Hence, all social categories are compared between schools, not within schools. For example, in relation to SSB we compare girls in *Oak High* with girls in *Rose Park*, etc. Low SES = father left school at 16; High SES = father went on to HE. Differences between averages printed in **bold** are significant at the .05 level.

Of importance in this table are the differences between our two schools in terms of average levels of measured social capital for particular social groups. A clear pattern emerges in that differences in our measurements of social capital between high and low SES groups are much larger in *Oak High* than in *Rose Park*, where lower and higher social classes have similar levels of social capital or levels that are not very different. This observation counts for all dimensions of social capital: SSB, attitudes to diversity, access to support and closeness to others. This means that the observed relationships between SES and social capital can be mainly explained by the inclusion of *Oak High* in our sample.

In relation to ethnicity the data suggest that the differences between white and black students in terms of their average attitudes to diversity are much larger in *Oak High* than in *Rose Park*. Although there does not appear to be a relationship between SSB and ethnicity, Asian students seem to feel much more part of the school community in *Oak High* than their Asian peers in *Rose Park*.

A number of mechanisms may explain these differences. First, the school composition, in terms of ethnicity and race, might explain why certain ethnic and social-class groups show different levels of social capital in our two schools. *Oak High* has a more homogenous Asian student population (see 3.2) compared to *Rose Park*, which might help to explain why Asian students in *Oak High* feel more part of their school community than their peers in *Rose Park*.

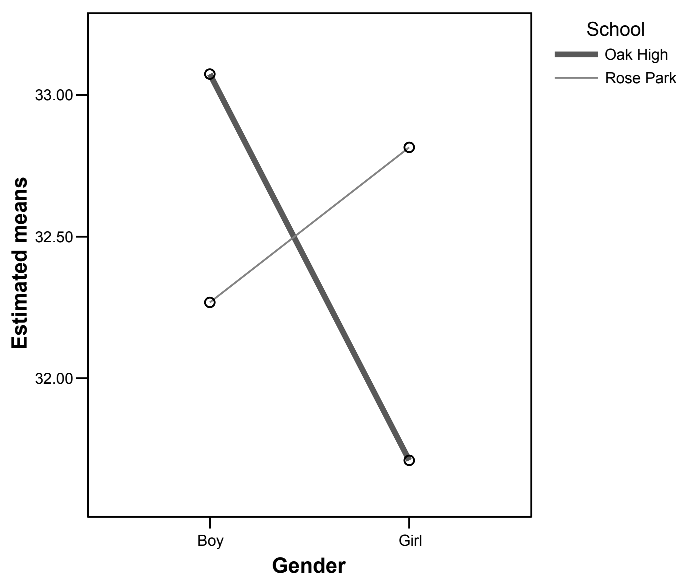
Furthermore, the more diverse nature of *Rose Park*, in terms of ethnicity and especially the higher intake of students from higher SES background, might make students from lower SES backgrounds in *Rose Park* more positive about social diversity. In other words, a higher SES and more ethnically mixed school might develop a more tolerant culture to diversity. This is supported by the observation that while the higher SES groups in *Rose Park* and *Oak High* do not differ in terms of their attitudes to diversity, the lower SES groups in *Rose Park* are, on average, more positive about social diversity than their peers in *Oak High*.

A second possible explanation is that social groups, in particular higher SES groups, devise different strategies in different school contexts to develop social capital. Our data seem to support this. The differences between the two schools in terms of the relationship between support and SES are not due to differences between the lower SES groups in the two schools. Instead, the higher SES groups in *Oak High* seem to have much more access to support and develop closer relationships with others than their peers in *Rose Park*. It is possible that in lower SES schools, parents and children from higher SES backgrounds will develop closer and more supportive relationships to compensate for their perceived lack of support or closeness to peers and/or staff in school. Similarly, in lower SES schools, students from higher SES backgrounds might seek more support from staff in school. These differences are supported by further analysis, as the main differences in terms of access to support between the high SES groups in our two schools relate to their relationships with family (M *Oak High*=0.29, SD=0.90 and M *Rose Park*=-0.11, SD=0.97) and other adults outside the family (M *Oak High*=0.25, SD=1.03 and M *Rose Park*=-0.16, SD=0.92), which includes school staff but not to their relationships with friends (M *Oak High*=-0.017, SD=0.98 and M *Rose Park*=0.037, SD=0.97). Similar findings emerge when the analysis focuses on students' closeness to others.

A third explanation for these differences is that schools could employ different strategies for different social groups. The findings above could suggest that the more 'strict' school climate in *Oak High* might generate more support for students from higher SES backgrounds than for students from lower SES backgrounds. However, it is likely that such processes are not consciously implemented by *Oak High*, but that students and their parents from higher SES backgrounds take more advantage of the available support (see also Ms. Pennant extract in 6.3.3). This means that a strict school policy does not necessarily result in more support for everybody and that schools have to devise mechanisms to ensure that students from lower SES groups take advantage of the support on offer. Furthermore, these different explanations might interact to account for the perceived differences between these two schools in terms of social groups' access to social capital.

Finally, the data suggest an interesting and strong interaction effect of school context on the relationship between gender and SSB. There does not appear to be a relationship between gender and SSB when the two school samples are analysed together: boys in *Oak High* feel more part of the school community than girls, while girls in *Rose Park* feel more part of their school community than boys. Perhaps this can be explained by the different gender-composition of the student population in both schools (*Oak High*: 66% boys, *Rose Park*: 54% boys). Further, more representative research could test if equally mixed or single-sex schools are more or less likely to generate differences between girls' and boys' SSB.

In sum, our findings build on previous WBL research by showing the importance of particular social contexts (such as schools) in developing young people's skills, competencies, beliefs and social relationships, which mediate the relationship between education and wider outcomes (Feinstein 2007).



7.4 Summary of findings

- Different forms of social capital associate strongly with each other, in particular students' SSB, and their access to support and closeness to others.

- Social capital relates strongly to students' socio-psychological resources, in particular their self-concept of ability in doing schoolwork, which in turn relates positively to educational outcomes.

- White students from lower SES backgrounds in these diverse urban schools emerge as the least advantaged group in terms of social capital and socio-psychological resources:

    - White girls from lower SES backgrounds have, on average, lower levels of socio-psychological resources;
    - White boys from lower SES backgrounds have, on average, lower levels of social capital.

- The relationship between students' social background and social capital changes according to school context:

- In the more liberal school, differences between SES groups in terms of access to social capital are less extreme;
- Boys and girls appear to feel more part of a school community in which there is a larger proportion of students of their gender.

- School context matters, as the school's social composition, ethos and policies impact on students' development of social capital.

- Schools can obtain similar levels of social capital through very different channels.

8 Conclusions and implications

This report set out to examine three principal questions: how young people develop particular forms of social capital in different learning contexts; how these forms of capital interact; and how they relate to educational and wider outcomes. We focused on three specific forms of social capital: students' SSB (bonding social capital), attitudes to diversity (bridging social capital) and social support networks. These are particularly salient to two current policy concerns: Every Child Matters and Community Cohesion (DCLG 2006; DCLG 2007; DCSF 2007a; DCSF 2007b; HMG 2003).

In the increasingly diverse UK context, the development of positive and supportive attitudes among young people to social diversity is of paramount importance. Similarly, understanding the value of school belonging and the ways in which young people are able to access social support has implications, not just for the learning process itself but for the ways in which young people may overcome disadvantage and develop as active citizens. Understanding the school context and the ways in which particular school contexts affect young people's willingness to engage with school and other social groups and seek support has wide-reaching implications both for the individuals and society at large.

In the preceding chapters, we have reported on each of these forms of capital separately. In this final chapter, we bring these separate analyses together to address our research questions and to identify implications for policy and practice.

8.1 The development of young people's social capital

It is evident from our data that students' individual characteristics and socio-economic background are important in the development of social capital. Girls tend to have more access to support and show more positive attitudes to diversity than boys. Asian and, in particular, black students show more positive attitudes to diversity than white students. Students from highly educated backgrounds show more positive attitudes to social diversity than students from lower education backgrounds. However, in this report we have focused on the role of different learning contexts rather than on individual, family or household characteristics.

A first key finding is that school contexts do matter. Although our two schools showed average levels of social capital that were not very different, it is clear from our qualitative data that both the composition of schools and the specific things that schools do can influence the development of young people's social capital.

Composition appears particularly important in relation to social diversity. The schools in this study were highly ethnically diverse and, on average, students tended to hold positive attitudes to social diversity. This would not necessarily be the case in less diverse schools. It is interesting to note that in both schools gay people were perceived as a small minority, and students seemed much less positive to diversity in terms of sexual orientation. The finding that homophobia is a considerable problem in two schools that are strongly positive to cultural diversity begs the question of how gay people are perceived and treated in schools where positive attitudes to diversity are less emphasised. On the other hand, very diverse environments create different challenges. In these diverse schools, students were well aware of 'political correctness' in responding to diversity, which constrained open dialogue and expression of feelings and opinions. Composition also seemed to affect school belonging. Both boys and girls appeared

to feel more part of the school community where there were more students of their own gender.

The actions that schools took were important across all the dimensions of social capital and illustrate the inter-relationships between social capital dimensions. Students felt more part of a school community when they felt safe, accepted and supported, and when they were being treated fairly by staff and students. Students regarded both schools as ‘safe havens’, where intolerance was not permitted and where differences between groups were not allowed to turn into violence. However, schools could achieve this in different ways, an important point to which we return later, and different students could experience their interventions differently. The schools in this study offered social and academic support in different ways; one, proactively and in a structured way; one, more informally and responsively. The former seemed to generate more academic support; the latter, more socio-emotional support and close and supportive relationships between students. Notably, in the more liberal school it appeared that differences between SES groups in social capital were less marked than in the school with the stricter ethos, while attainment data suggest the reverse picture. Attainment differences between groups were smaller in the less liberal school. In both schools it appeared that academic support could at times be directed primarily to those capable of reaching five GCSEs at A*-C. Schools are not islands, and their support structures will inevitably be influenced by external regimes and performative pressures.

Neighbourhood contexts also emerged as an important influence and one which schools need to be aware of and take into account. For many young people in Inner London, home neighbourhoods have elements of violence, crime and drug use. Competition over space and control between different racial/ethnic groups in the local area may foster negative views of particular racial/ethnic groups, which can be transported into the school, even though they may not be so openly expressed there. International political processes could have the same effect, as for instance expressed in attitudes of Muslim students to Jewish people. Furthermore, in pursuit of social survival on the street, or in protecting their safety and gaining respect on the street, students can adopt tough social fronts and violent strategies that are at odds with what is expected in school.

8.2 Interactions between different forms of social capital

The findings show that different forms of social capital associate strongly with each other. In other words, students who have one form of social capital also tend to have another. These interactions need to be recognised in approaches which support students who are lacking social capital across several dimensions. Importantly too, all forms of social capital were related to students’ socio-psychological resources, especially their self-concept of ability. This term refers to students’ perceived ability, interest and effort in doing schoolwork. It relates strongly with educational achievement.

Looking at the dimensions of social capital together and in relation to students’ socio-psychological resources, we found that white boys from lower SES backgrounds had the lowest levels of social capital while white girls had the lowest levels of socio-psychological resources. These are important findings which suggest the need to find ways to support the development of social capital among white, working-class students, particularly males.

8.3 Relationships between social capital and educational and wider outcomes

This study was not designed to test or explore *causal* effects of social capital on educational outcomes, partly because the students had not yet completed KS 4 and partly because their social capital is only being captured at one moment in time, which may or may not relate to their test performance months later, and which may or may not have been affected by prior attainment.

However, the data do suggest relationships between social capital and outcomes. In general, levels of social capital are strongly associated with students' socio-psychological resources, particularly their self-concept of ability. Previous research indicates that this measure is positively related to beneficial educational outcomes. In no case is it entirely clear what explains the associations between social capital and other outcomes. For example, students who feel more part of the school community have higher levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy and self-concept of ability and lower levels of stress than other students, which may mean that students with positive socio-psychological resources and low levels of stress are more able to build supportive, positive relationships with others, or that feeling part of a group helps young people develop such positive socio-psychological resources and reduce stress. Access to support tends to be correlated with lower prior attainment and lower engagement with school, which is probably explained by selection effects: struggling students seek and gain support. One particularly interesting finding is that close relationships with significant others seem to correlate with lower levels of stress and more engagement with school, suggesting that social support and support for families may well enhance students' learning experiences.

8.4 Implications for policy and practice

These findings speak to policy and practice in four principal ways.

First, they emphasise that schools can have an important role in developing social capital for young people and that this is likely to be beneficial to students' socio-psychological resources and to educational outcomes. By the same token, enhancing students' self-concept of ability by rewarding success and positive relationships and identities is likely to aid students in developing beneficial networks and attitudes. We identified a number of key points for practice, relating to the different forms of social capital:

Sense of school belonging

Schools can develop a sense of community through different channels (such as curriculum, pedagogy, activities and school building), focusing on different goals. In particular, schools can develop a school community, focusing on students' safety, individual expression, support, fair treatment and voice, by:

- Organising activities that celebrate students' social differences and related identities;
- Organising activities that bring students and staff closer to each other;
- Allowing students to express their own individuality and have a 'voice' in the decision-making process in school;

- Considering students' interests in developing the curriculum and pedagogy;
- Personalising the school by making the school environment appealing to young people;
- Focusing not only on achievement, but also enjoyment as the pressure to achieve can affect the well-being of both staff and students.

Attitudes to social diversity

- The need to focus not only on the 'obvious' or visible kinds of diversity but pay special attention to smaller social groups, such as sexual minorities.
- The need to provide and implement clear policies and related punishments consistently and equally in dealing with different kinds of tolerance, but at the same time, perhaps through the citizenship curriculum, to create contexts in which the motivations behind particular intolerant views are discussed in an open and unconstrained fashion.

Social support

- The need for schools to know the strengths and limitations of their specific school cultures in providing social support to students:
    - While 'liberal' school cultures might increase students' self-referral for socio-emotional support, disaffected students might be less likely to request academic support;
    - While 'strict' school cultures might help students progress academically, they might restrain students from self-referral for social support, in particular in relation to personal issues.
- The need for flexible support systems that meet the needs of different children. For instance, schools might develop an open-door system which encourages self-referral for informal support between mentors/tutors and students and at the same time develop rigorous systems through which need for support is detected and the support is then directed to those in need.
- The value of engaging more young people in extra-curricular activities related to sports and arts as this relates to the development of educational and wider outcomes.
    - The need to find systems that address boys' reluctance to access support, in particular in relation to socio-emotional problems.

The study also underscored other research findings demonstrating the impact of performative pressures on school culture, ethos and social relationships and the way in which they deliver support. If building social capital is to be seen as important, particularly for more vulnerable groups, there will need to be a stronger emphasis on evaluating schools on their success in realising wider benefits, related to students' happiness, social integration, safety and well-being, as well as to GCSE outputs.

Furthermore, the findings show that social capital is not evenly distributed. Echoing concerns about white working-class attainment, they emphasise the importance for schools of finding ways to engage lower SES white groups who appear to have less social capital and socio-psychological resources.

In addition, they underscore the importance of neighbourhood context and of family support. There are things that schools can do to address these outside factors. For example:

- The local citizenship curriculum can be tailored to acknowledge the wider context that shapes intolerance, in particular the neighbourhood and international political processes and media representations;
- Through extended services, schools can promote activities that build collaborative inter-group relationships between different social groups; and create closer relationships between staff, students, their parents and families.

On the other hand, it is important to recognise that schools cannot do everything. There are important influences on young people's social capital which are ultimately not within schools' influence.

Finally, in all these respects our findings demonstrate some of the possibilities and challenges for schools in implementing their new community cohesion duty. Developing community cohesion in schools cannot be seen in isolation from developing school belonging, improving students' access to social support and enhancing their engagement and self-esteem. Nor can it be seen in isolation from school markets and admissions systems that determine the ethnic and gender composition of schools relative to their neighbourhoods. Community cohesion is more than a new additional duty for schools. It must be embedded in the core activities and values of schools and of the education system.

APPENDIX 3.1:

Distribution of students in schools and school samples – gender, race/ethnicity and year group

	Rose Park School	*Rose Park* Sample	*Oak High* School	*Oak High* Sample
Gender				
Female	n.a.	46.6	34.2	33.6
Male	n.a.	53.4	65.8	66.4
Race/Ethnicity				
Black	17.4	18.0	21.3	20.1
Asian	14.9	19.6	19.3	21.0
White	26.1	39.4	31.2	41.6
Mixed	15.1	8.0	5.2	8.3
Other	8.5	15.1	18.3	9.0
Year Group				
7	18.0	21.7	16.8	25.1
8	17.3	13.6	16.3	22.7
9	17.2	17.1	14.3	20.7
10	17.1	15.3	14.8	18.1
11	17.1	15.7	14.2	13.4
12	13.3	10.7	16.5	n.a.
13	n.a.	6.0	7.1	n.a.

Note: n.a. = not available

Appendix 4.1:

Sense of school connection scale (Brown and Evans 2002)

Item	Statement	Statistic	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*	Overall
1	**I can be a success at this school.**	N =	706	818	1524
		Mean =	3.79	3.79	3.79
		s.d. =	.922	.878	.898
2	**I can reach my goals through this school.**	N =	706	817	1523
		Mean =	3.76	3.70	3.73
		s.d. =	.914	.905	.909
3	**Adults at this school listen to pupils' worries.**	N =	697	809	1506
		Mean =	3.17	3.15	3.16
		s.d. =	1.109	1.000	1.104
4	**Adults in this school do something about pupils' worries.**	N =	694	805	1499
		Mean =	**3.33**	**3.14**	3.23
		s.d. =	1.134	1.144	1.143
5	**I can be myself at school.**	N =	696	810	1506
		Mean =	3.96	4.00	3.98
		s.d. =	1.114	1.065	1.088
6	**I feel like I belong at this school.**	N =	692	804	1496
		Mean =	**3.62**	**3.74**	3.69
		s.d. =	1.138	1.107	1.122
7	**The rules at my school are fair.**	N =	692	799	1491
		Mean =	***3.30***	***3.40***	3.35
		s.d. =	1.162	1.033	1.095
8	**Students of all racial and ethnic groups are respected at my school.**	N =	680	805	1485
		Mean =	3.90	3.86	3.88
		s.d. =	1.015	1.044	1.031
9	**I feel safe at my school.**	N =	701	808	1509
		Mean =	**3.86**	**3.69**	3.76
		s.d. =	1.046	1.067	1.060

Note: The means for all items are compared between *Oak High* and *Rose Park*. The means printed in **bold** signify items for which the means are significantly different between our two schools at the $p<.05$ level. Means printed in ***bold and italic*** signify items for which the means are significantly different between our two schools at the $p<.10$ level.

Appendix 5.1:

Openness to diversity and challenge scale (Pascarella et al. 1996)

Item	Statement	Statistic	*Oak High*	*Rose Park*	Overall
1	**I enjoy having discussions with people whose ideas and opinions are different from my own.**	N =	224	400	624
		Mean =	**3.66**	**3.86**	3.79
		s.d. =	.924	.873	.896
2	**The important thing about secondary school is that you are introduced to different ideas and opinions.**	N =	224	401	625
		Mean =	**3.73**	**3.91**	3.84
		s.d. =	.821	.834	.833
3	**Secondary schools should encourage students to respect people whose background (race, social-class, sexual orientation) is different from their own.**	N =	222	400	622
		Mean =	**4.09**	**4.24**	4.19
		s.d. =	.947	.917	.930
4	**Learning about people from different cultures should be a very important part of education in secondary school.**	N =	223	400	623
		Mean =	3.83	3.78	3.80
		s.d. =	1.015	.979	.992
5	**I enjoy classes that challenge my beliefs and opinions.**	N =	220	397	617
		Mean =	3.50	3.58	3.55
		s.d. =	1.053	.933	.977
6	**I enjoy classes where I learn something about different cultures and ways of living.**	N =	220	396	616
		Mean =	***3.74***	***3.60***	3.65
		s.d. =	.928	.943	.939
7	**Secondary schools should encourage students to have contact with other students whose background (race, social-class, sexual orientation) is different from their own.**	N =	224	399	623
		Mean =	3.69	3.75	3.73
		s.d. =	.928	.909	.916
8	**I enjoy subjects that are intellectually challenging.**	N =	224	398	622
		Mean =	**3.53**	**3.76**	3.68
		s.d. =	.932	.949	.949

Note: The means for all items are compared between *Oak High* and *Rose Park*. The means printed in **bold** signify items for which the means are significantly different between our two schools at the $p<.05$ level. Means printed in ***bold and italic*** signify items for which the means are almost significantly different between our two schools at the $p<.10$ level.

Appendix 6.1:

Access to support from others scale

Items	When you have a problem, how often can you depend on the following people to help you out or give you advice?	School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	Brothers/sisters	*Oak High*	686	**4.05**	1.545
		Rose Park	784	**3.80**	1.588
		Total	1470	3.92	1.573
2	Friends inside school	*Oak High*	686	**4.40**	1.162
		Rose Park	785	**4.54**	1.110
		Total	1471	4.48	1137
3	Friends outside school	*Oak High*	679	4.16	1.349
		Rose Park	781	4.07	1.341
		Total	1460	4.11	1.345
4	Father	*Oak High*	673	**4.43**	1.678
		Rose Park	776	**4.21**	1.605
		Total	1449	4.31	1.624
5	Mother	*Oak High*	681	**5.05**	1.289
		Rose Park	783	**4.84**	1.279
		Total	1464	4.94	1.288
6	Other family members	*Oak High*	677	**4.65**	1.347
		Rose Park	780	**4.16**	1.425
		Total	1457	4.39	1.410
7	Other carers	*Oak High*	666	**3.03**	1.895
		Rose Park	762	**2.43**	1.686
		Total	1428	2.71	1.811
8	Teachers	*Oak High*	674	**3.46**	1.358
		Rose Park	779	**3.32**	1.249
		Total	1453	3.38	1.302
9	Adults in school	*Oak High*	665	**3.23**	1.298
		Rose Park	764	**2.96**	1.274
		Total	1429	3.09	1.292
10	Other adults outside the school and family	*Oak High*	676	**3.29**	1.503
		Rose Park	777	**3.06**	1.436
		Total	1453	3.17	1.472

Note: The means for all items are compared between *Oak High* and *Rose Park*. The means printed in **bold** signify items for which the means are significantly different between our two schools at the p<.05 level.

Appendix 6.2:

Closeness to others scale

Items	Do you feel very close to the following people?	School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	Brothers/sisters	*Oak High*	672	**5.00**	1.426
		Rose Park	790	**4.82**	1.606
		Total	1462	4.91	1.528
2	Friends inside school	*Oak High*	663	**4.89**	1.016
		Rose Park	784	**5.03**	.980
		Total	1447	4.96	.998
3	Friends outside school	*Oak High*	654	4.67	1.284
		Rose Park	782	4.66	1.275
		Total	1436	4.66	1.279
4	Father	*Oak High*	666	4.99	1.542
		Rose Park	777	4.92	1.499
		Total	1443	4.95	1.519
5	Mother	*Oak High*	673	**5.57**	.946
		Rose Park	787	**5.46**	1.007
		Total	1460	5.51	.981
6	Other family members	*Oak High*	661	**5.13**	1.166
		Rose Park	776	**4.95**	1.223
		Total	1437	5.04	1.200
7	Other carers	*Oak High*	650	**3.16**	1.954
		Rose Park	760	**2.61**	1.847
		Total	1410	2.86	1.916
8	Teachers	*Oak High*	664	3.26	1.238
		Rose Park	776	3.19	1.136
		Total	1440	3.22	1.184
9	Adults in school	*Oak High*	657	**3.07**	1.253
		Rose Park	766	**2.85**	1.180
		Total	1423	2.95	1.219
10	Other adults outside the school and family	*Oak High*	668	**3.39**	1.472
		Rose Park	776	**3.20**	1.473
		Total	1444	3.29	1.475

Note: The means for all items are compared between *Oak High* and *Rose Park*. The means printed in **bold** signify items for which the means are significantly different between our two schools at the $p<.05$ level.

Appendix 6.3:

Factors underlying social support

Principal component analysis (PCA) and factor analysis (FA) are exploratory, multivariate ‘data-reduction’ techniques used in studying the covariance (or correlation) structure of measurements of particular characteristics. A principal component analysis (using varimax rotation) was conducted on the social support items (‘access to support’ and ‘closeness to others’). In order to verify the underlying dimensions of the items in these two scales, both scales were treated as different entities and analysed separately.

A principal component analysis explores the correlations between the items in a scale using the correlation matrices to identify the possible latent components of the data. In total, three components were extracted for the ‘closeness to others’ scale (COS) and three items for the ‘access to support’ scale (ASS). The components extracted within each analysis were identical, so that ‘friends’, ‘non-family adults’ and ‘family’ all loaded on separate factors. In addition, we wanted to explore whether school context was associated with the underlying dimensions of this construct. The analyses (see Tables A.6.3.2 and A.6.3.4) indicated that the two schools were very similar in the way these two types of support were viewed.

Discriminant validity and multicollinearity

The mean correlation of one scale with another scale measuring a multidimensional constructs indicates the degree of discriminant validity. The lower the individual scales correlate amongst each other the less they measure the same dimension or construct. Discriminant validity was calculated for the three COS scales for the overall sample as well as individually for both schools. The results indicate that there is high discriminant validity of the three dimensions (or sources) of support identified within the ASS scale as the items barely correlate with one another (see Tables A.6.3.2 and A.6.3.4).

Principal components regression

We were also concerned with the high correlation both within and between the ‘closeness to others’ scale-scores and the ‘access to support from others’ scale-scores. The relationship between the two composites was strong and positive prior to transforming the data ($r=.658$, $p>=.001$). However, the transformation of the overall scale score into three separate measures (six in total) helped deal with multicollinearity problems as it reduced the strong correlations, in particular within each measure and between each COS and ASS. Therefore, a principle components regression technique was employed to deal with the problem of multicollinearity. In addition, this technique also allowed us to tap into what types of dimensions of COS and ASS were associated with achievement and wider outcomes in each school. Indeed, the analyses indicated that there were discrepancies within COS and ASS and that achievement and wider outcomes are not always associated with all three dimensions (or sources) of support. Furthermore, we wanted to explore whether school context was associated with the underlying dimensions of this construct. The analyses indicated that the schools were very similar in the way these two types of support were viewed,

hence the decision to use these separate measures of support for the core set regressions which explored how social capital associates with educational and wider outcomes. The analyses which explored what relates to social capital as a dependent variable used the composite scores, as we were only interested in exploring what relates to social support as a complete measure.

Table A.6.3.1: PCA – Closeness to others

	Whole dataset		
	Non-family adults	**Family**	**Friends**
close to brothers/sisters	-.007	**.565**	.167
close to friends inside school	.107	.191	**.764**
close to friends outside school	.072	.077	**.846**
close to father	.088	**.726**	-.056
close to mother	.086	**.766**	.088
close to other family members	.276	**.673**	.175
close to other carers	**.590**	.209	-.043
close to teachers	**.841**	.090	.083
close to other adults in school	**.886**	.054	.089
close to other adults outside the school (not family)	**.592**	.019	.396

Table A.6.3.2: Testing discriminant validity of the three perceived 'closeness to others' constructs

	Oak High		***Rose Park***	
	Family	**Non-family adults**	**Family**	**Non-family adults**
Factor1 Close to non-family adults				
Factor2 Close to family	.054		-.052	
Factor3 Close to friends	.006	.050	-.002	-.033

Table A.6.3.3: PCA – Access to support

	Whole dataset		
	Family	Non-family adults	Friends
network – advice brothers/sisters	**.512**	.073	.260
network – advice friends inside school	.094	.134	**.802**
network – advice friends outside school	.175	.059	**.839**
network – advice father	**.793**	.184	-.007
network – advice mother	**.808**	.140	.099
network – advice other family members	**.723**	.298	.166
network – advice other carers	.409	**.540**	.047
network – advice teachers	.208	**.843**	.057
network – advice other adults in school	.137	**.891**	.072
network - advice other adults outside the school (not family)	.122	**.577**	.412

Table A.6.3.4: Testing discriminant validity of the three 'access to support' constructs

	Oak High		*Rose Park*	
	Family	Non-family adults	Family	Non-family adults
Factor1 – Family				
Factor2 – Non-family adults	.030		-.051	
Factor3 – Friends	.002	.011	.010	-.002

Appendix 8

Step-wise regression output

Table 8.1: Summary OLS regression SSB as dependent variable

Notes: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N = approx 1,394. Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant (p>0.05). Asterisks (*), (**),(***) indicate significant at .05, .01 and .001 level, respectively. Categories for comparison: School (*Oak High*) Gender (Male); Ethnicity (white); Father SES (Low); Mother SES (Low); Fathers' education (Left at 16); and Mothers' education (left at 16).

	Other	-.033
	Self-efficacy	.164***
	Self-esteem	.232***
	Self-concept	.222***
Model	**Dependent variable: SSB**	**Stand. Coefficients**
		Beta
Model 1	(Constant)	
	Network Close: Non family adults	.063
	Network Close: Family	.120***
	Network Close: Friends	.141***
	Network Advice: Family	.123***
	Network Advice: Non family adults	.317***
	Network Advice: Friends	.043
	Humanities activities	.037
	Sports activities	.096**
	Other activities	-.047
Model 2	**(Constant)**	
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.065
	Network Close: Family	.120***
	Network Close: Friends	.139***
	Network Advice: Family	.129***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.318
	Network Advice: Friends	.042
	Humanities activities	.031
	Sports activities	.101***
	other activities	-.042
	Rose Park	.052
Model 3	**(Constant)**	
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.070
	Network Close: Family	.085*
	Network Close: Friends	.139***
	Network Advice: Family	.123***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.295***
	Network Advice: Friends	.054
	Humanities activities	.027
	Sports activities	.070*
	Other activities	-.031
	Rose Park	.058
	Year born	.107***
	Female	-.007
	Medium father SES	-.007
	High father SES	-.009
	Unknown father SES	-.097
	Medium mother SES	-.044
	High mother SES	.005
	Unknown mother SES	-.100
	Father left education at 18	.030
	Father left education at 21	.052
	Father education unknown	.009
	Mother left education at 18	-.001
	Mother left education at 21	-.004
	Mother education unknown	.062
	black	.081**
	Asian	.041
	mixed	.029
	Other	.015
Model 4	**(Constant)**	
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.051
	Network Close: Family	.021
	Network Close: Friends	.104***
	Network Advice: Family	.056
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.240***
	Network Advice: Friends	.013
	Humanities activities	-.043
	Sports activities	.033
	Other activities	.001
	Rose Park	.033
	Year born	.098***
	Female	.064
	Medium father SES	-.003
	High father SES	-.026
	Unknown father SES	-.086
	Medium mother SES	-.062
	High mother SES	-.009
	Unknown mother SES	-.080
	Father left education at 18	-.019
	Father left education at 21	-.001
	Father education unknown	-.041
	Mother left education at 18	-.012
	Mother left education at 21	-.033
	Mother education unknown	.071
	Black	.015
	Asian	-.018
	Mixed	.006

Table 8.2: Summary OLS regression attitudes to diversity as dependent variable

Notes: Dependent Variable: Social Diversity total scale score. Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N =604. Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant (p>0.05). Asterisks (*), (**),(***) indicate significant at .05, .01 and .001 level, respectively. Categories for comparison: School (Oak High) Gender (Male); Ethnicity (white); Father SES (Low); Mother SES (Low); Fathers' education (Left at 16); and Mothers' education (left at 16).

Model	Dependent variable: social diversity	Stand. Coefficients
		Beta
Model 1	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.191****
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.051
	Network Close: Family	.042
	Network Close: Friends	.096
	Network Advice: Family	.010
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.040
	Network Advice: Friends	.060
	Humanities activities	.104*
	Sports activities	-.039
	Other activities	-.062
Model 2	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.187***
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.053
	Network Close: Family	.045
	Network Close: Friends	.095
	Network Advice: Family	.013
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.036
	Network Advice: Friends	.057
	Humanities activities	.099
	Sports activities	-.031
	Other activities	-.059
	Rose Park	.039
Model 3	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.127*
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.089
	Network Close: Family	.044
	Network Close: Friends	.062
	Network Advice: Family	.019
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.028
	Network Advice: Friends	.032
	Humanities activities	.058
	Sports activities	.031
	Other activities	-.042
	Rose Park	-.044
	Year born	-.062
	Female	.086
	Medium father SES	.159
	High father SES	.114
	Unknown father SES	.089
	Medium mother SES	.122
	High mother SES	.106
	Unknown mother SES	-.063
	Father left education at 18	.033
	Father left education at 21	.176*
	Father education unknown	.109
	Mother left education at 18	.048
	Mother left education at 21	.077
	Mother education unknown	-.044
	Black	.179***
	Asian	.141**
	Mixed	.013
	Other	.054
Model 4	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.080
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.095
	Network Close: Family	.063
	Network Close: Friends	.067
	Network Advice: Family	.002
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.025
	Network Advice: Friends	.023
	Humanities activities	.042
	Sports activities	-.002
	Other activities	-.032
	Rose Park	-.065
	Year born	-.073
	Female	.058
	Medium father SES	.135
	High father SES	.099
	Unknown father SES	.062
	Medium mother SES	.118
	High mother SES	.096
	Unknown mother SES	-.033
	Father left education at 18	.030
	Father left education at 21	.170*
	Father education unknown	.115
	Mother left education at 18	.051
	Mother left education at 21	.071
	Mother education unknown	-.015
	Black	.150**
	Asian	.080
	Mixed	.003
	Other	.030
	Self-efficacy	.086
	Self-esteem	-.076
	Self-concept	.173**
	Self control	-.039

Table 8.3: Summary OLS regression closeness to others as dependent variable

Notes: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N approx.=1,585 Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant (p>0.05) Notes: Asterisks (*), (**),(***) indicate significant at .05, .01 & .001 level, respectively. Categories for comparison: School (Oak High) Gender (Female); Ethnicity (white); Father SES (Low); Mother SES (Low); Fathers' education (Left at 16); and Mothers' education (left at 16).

Model	Dependent variable: closeness to others composite	Stand. Coefficients
		Beta
Model 1	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.138***
	Network Advice: Family	.388***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.350***
	Network Advice: Friends	.275***
	Humanities activities	.061*
	Sports activities	.053*
	Other activities	.058*
Model 2	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.137***
	Network Advice: Family	.389***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.350***
	Network Advice: Friends	.275***
	Humanities activities	.060*
	Sports activities	.054*
	Other activities	.058*
	Rose Park	.003
Model 3	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.132***
	Network Advice: Family	.385***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.347***
	Network Advice: Friends	.277***
	Humanities activities	.066*
	Sports activities	.067*
	Other activities	.057*
	Rose Park	-.005
	year born	.003
	Female	-.003
	Medium father SES	.031
	High father SES	.008
	Unknown father SES	.024
	Medium mother SES	.058
	High mother SES	-.003
	Unknown mother SES	.006
	Father left education at 18	-.027
	Father left education at 21	-.003
	Father education unknown	-.060
	Mother left education at 18	.050
	Mother left education at 21	.029
	Mother education unknown	.054
	black	-.001
	Asian	.061*
	mixed	-.009
	Other	.020
Model 4	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.091**
	Network Advice: Family	.368***
	Network Advice: Non-family adults	.349***
	Network Advice: Friends	.277***
	Humanities activities	.059*
	Sports activities	.057*
	Other activities	.057*
	Rose Park	-.004
	year born	.007
	Female	.011
	Medium father SES	.035
	High father SES	.007
	Unknown father SES	.027
	Medium mother SES	.054
	High mother SES	-.004
	Unknown mother SES	.006
	Father left education at 18	-.038
	Father left education at 21	-.012
	Father education unknown	-.068
	Mother left education at 18	.042
	Mother left education at 21	.023
	Mother education unknown	.049
	Black	-.010
	Asian	.049
	Mixed	-.011
	Other	.011
	Self-efficacy	-.029
	Self-esteem	.083**
	Self-concept	.058*

Table 8.4: Summary OLS regression access to support as dependent variable

Notes: Source: Primary Data from *Oak High* and *Rose Park* 2007. Student N approx.=1,585 Results are indicated by standardised beta coefficients. n/a= no data available. ns= not statistically significant (p>0.05) Notes: Asterisks (*), (**),(***) indicate significant at .05, .01 & .001 level, respectively. Categories for comparison: School (Oak High) Gender (Female); Ethnicity (white); Father SES (Low); Mother SES (Low); Fathers' education (Left at 16); and Mothers' education (left at 16).

Model	Dependent variable: Access to support (composite measure)	Stand. Coefficients
		Beta
Model 1	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.173***
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.414***
	Network Close: Family	.400***
	Network Close: Friends	.177***
	Humanities activities	-.002
	Sports activities	.005
	Other activities	.061*
Model 2	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.175***
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.411***
	Network Close: Family	.396***
	Network Close: Friends	.180***
	Humanities activities	.004
	Sports activities	-.001
	Other activities	.056*
	Rose Park	-.053*
Model 3	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.170***
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.402***
	Network Close: Family	.402***
	Network Close: Friends	.153***
	Humanities activities	-.018
	Sports activities	.045
	Other activities	.060*
	Rose Park	-.051*
	Year born	.049
	Female	.110***
	Medium father SES	.044
	High father SES	.017
	Unknown father SES	.006
	Medium mother SES	.007
	High mother SES	.042
	Unknown mother SES	.070
	Father left education at 18	-.013
	Father left education at 21	-.001
	Father education unknown	.042
	Mother left education at 18	-.027
	Mother left education at 21	-.005
	Mother education unknown	-.054
	Black	-.025
	Asian	.006
	Mixed	-.011
	Other	-.041
Model 4	(Constant)	
	School Belonging	.136***
	Network Close: Non-family adults	.399***
	Network Close: Family	.393***
	Network Close: Friends	.152***
	Humanities activities	-.033
	Sports activities	.041
	Other activities	.068*
	Rose Park	-.053*
	Year born	.049
	Female	.109***
	Medium father SES	.042
	High father SES	.012
	Unknown father SES	.003
	Medium mother SES	.003
	High mother SES	.041
	Unknown mother SES	.074
	Father left education at 18	-.018
	Father left education at 21	-.010
	Father education unknown	.036
	Mother left education at 18	-.026
	Mother left education at 21	-.010
	Mother education unknown	-.048
	Black	-.030
	Asian	-.006
	Mixed	-.013
	Other	-.049*
	Self-efficacy	.026
	Self-esteem	-.004
	Self-concept	.069*

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The Development and Impact of Young People's Social Capital in Secondary Schools

Social capital, broadly understood as social networks and norms of trust and reciprocity, has become an important notion in many areas of British social policy over the last ten years. It is seen as a desirable characteristic of communities and societies (underpinning community and social cohesion and mitigating crime and social dislocation) and as a valuable asset for individuals, enabling access through social networks to employment, skills, health and other benefits.

This study relies on qualitative and quantitative data analysis to identify the factors and social processes that contribute to the development of young people's social capital in two multicultural, inner-city secondary schools in London. In addition, it explores how young people's social capital relates to educational and wider outcomes. This project focuses on three different forms of social capital: students' sense of school belonging (bonding social capital), their attitudes to diversity (bridging social capital) and social support networks.

An embedded-context approach is employed in researching these questions, looking at factors and processes situated at different levels of analysis, including peer-group relationships and school and neighbourhood processes and characteristics.

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