2012-04-11

Triggering Relationships that Contextualize the Pathway for Student Success

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for Success Among At-Risk Hispanic Students

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

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June 2012

ABSTRACT

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America invests large amounts of money in K-12 education to develop its human capital. As such, K-12 student success is vital to the human capital development and future of America's children and adolescents. There is significant concern for the K-12 students who are predictably at risk of not graduating from high school (e.g., low-income, ethnic minority, and first generation college students) let alone qualifying for and enrolling in postsecondary education. Over the past four decades student success has primarily been explained by sociological research on status attainment as well as social capital and cultural capital. However, very little research addresses the relationship between this sociological research and motivation theory from the field of psychology. Specifically, student success research generally neglects describing how social capital and cultural capital become contextually and motivationally relevant for K-12 students. This study explored the pathway of success for students from the following backgrounds: low-income, first generation in college, active members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), Hispanic, graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 and who were admitted to Brigham Young University the same year as new freshmen. Case study methods were employed initially in phase one of the analysis using a grounded theory or emic paradigm, allowing data and patterns to emerge. In phase two of the analysis, using a post-positivist or etic paradigm data were contrasted with existing research. The findings revealed a new model that explains the conditions of student motivation. While the findings support existing research on the influences of social capital and cultural capital on student success, all students in this study experienced a triggering relationship that caused them to contextualize and assign value to various forms of capital in the past and present and leveraged them towards student success. This contextualization also served as a motivation for students to be successful and to pursue additional forms of capital to assist them on their pathway to success. The implications of this triggering relationship theory can assist parents, educators, and many others who facilitate the human capital development of children and adolescents.

Keywords: student success, human capital, social capital, cultural capital, Hispanic, LDS, triggering, relationship, mirror, and motivation

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I reflect on my life to this point there have been many individuals who have patiently and selflessly shared their time, talents and wisdom with me to help me improve my life in one way or another. I publicly acknowledge all of you at this time and thank you from the inner depths of my soul and hope to exemplify a similar approach to life as you have with me. Most importantly, I acknowledge the existence of a loving and very patient Father in heaven who has blessed me all of my days. One of the most significant ways He blessed me was through the provision of a Savior who atoned for my sins and is the Master teacher in word and deed. I thank all the prophets who selflessly testified and who continue to testify of Him that I might live a happier life now and enjoy eternal lives through making and keeping sacred covenants in His holy house. I am privileged to hold His priesthood and am honored to stand as His witness.

My Heavenly Father also blessed me to be part of a family with loving parents who selflessly, tirelessly and lovingly taught me in every imagineable way to be like the Savior. While no words would adequately describe my love and devotion to them, they are true Saints of the latter days. They provided the environment in which I could grow and develop into as well as see myself as a worthy son of God. Their diligent preparation and ongoing support sustain me every day of my life. They continue to teach me to walk in the light of His love and I will forever praise their names.

Finally, I thank my eternal companion and children, to whom I am sealed forever. No quantity or quality of words adequately profess the depth of my gratitude for your sacrifice, support, patience, correction, and encouragement. You inspire me to be a better husband and father. I look forward to our days in mortality and in the eternities. I love you!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

When considering a student's pathway to success it is important to understand the available resources and opportunities that may facilitate this success as well as how to compensate when a student does not have access or assign value to the available resources and opportunities. This chapter will briefly introduce the notion of human capital and its relationship to student success, as well as an overview of human capital development explained by the literature. This chapter will then introduce human capital development among Hispanics in the United States, among Hispanics in Utah, and among Hispanics in Utah who are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). After framing the literature on student success within the Hispanic student context, the final section will address the research question and purpose of this study.

Human Capital and its Relationship to Student Success

For the United States, investment in human capital (HC) largely resides in publicly funded K-12 education, which according to the National Center for Education Statistics (2011) was $563 billion or approximately $11,000 per student during the 2009–2010 school year. At the same time, life without a high school diploma yields a lifetime earnings deficit of $270,000 (Orfield, 2005). As the number of high school dropouts increases, the nation's tax revenues decrease, dependence on public services increases, as does crime (Levin, Belfield, Muennig, & Rouse. 2007), and the overall social cost per dropout is $209,200 (Catterall, 2011). With so much financial investment, not to mention the social, moral, and other costs linked to high school dropouts, K-12 student success is vital to America's future. *Student success* includes academic achievement; student engagement in purposeful activities; acquiring knowledge, skills and competencies; satisfaction; persistence; and attainment of educational objectives (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2007). Consequently, student success in K-12 education is also

considered HC development (Lin, 1999; Parcel & Dufur, 2001). While HC development and student success are related, the primary purpose of this study is to explore HC development among students.

Variables that Impact Student Human Capital Development

Over the past three to four decades, status attainment literature (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971) and then social capital and cultural capital literature (Coleman & Hofer, 1987; Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1997) have generally dominated the discussion on human capital development, especially among students. While the literature on status attainment, social capital and cultural capital are similar in many ways, they are unique constructs attempting to explain student success.

Status attainment. During the 1970s-1990s, status attainment literature was one of the primary approaches to explaining student human capital development. This literature included an index of interpersonal influences from significant others including parents, peers and teachers who contributed to HC development of students (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971). However, one of the limitations of this model was that it did not include the individual influences of parents, peers, teachers or others who might have contributed to the human capital development of students.

Social capital. Social capital is often associated with human capital development of students. *Social capital* is defined as the social networks and their embedded resources that can influence human capital development (Lin, 2001). Nearly all of the foundational social capital research, as it relates to student success, stems from the work of Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986). The literature also includes the specific influences of strong and weak structural and

functional ties between the family and other social networks (Coleman & Hofer, 1987; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Lin, 1999; 2001; Granovetter, 1973; 1974; Ream, 2003; Kim & Schneider, 2005) and the flow of embedded resources these ties possess (Hite & Hesterly, 2001; Uzzi, 1996; Granovetter, 1992). However, Portes (2000) claims that among the many measures of social capital there is still no one single measure agreed upon by researchers. Similarly, Dika and Singh's (2002) meta-analysis of social capital research over two decades illustrates that these differing measures of social capital dilute its explanatory power. What is more, Dika and Singh (2002) also suggest that familial social capital and its common measures do not substantively differ from the family background variables employed in the status attainment literature prior to and concurrent with Coleman's (1988) and Bourdieu's (1986) work with HC development.

Social capital research generally reveals that in disadvantaged families, parents, teachers and other school administrators are less commonly involved in specific or individual ways that empower their students to acquire the necessary information, skills and networks to be successful in school. There are some parents, teachers and administrators who take an individual interest in a student and become mentors. Most of the literature on mentoring and its influences on HC development (Rhodes, 1994; Beam, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002; DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002) limits these significant other mentoring relationships to non-parental adults (e.g., teachers, school administrators, relatives, ministers, etc.). Non-parental adult mentors who share information and other resources are clearly seen as a crucial part of the social capital that facilitates student success (Erickson, McDonald & Elder, 2009; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003).

Cultural capital. Beyond the influences of status attainment literature, and more commonly linked to social capital, is the notion of cultural capital. *Cultural capital* includes the educational credentials and experiences of others, as well as the knowledge, beliefs, values and

skills transmitted by these individuals (Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio, 1982; Teachman, 1987; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Some also discuss, in a very limited way, the interactive roles of social, cultural and human capital on educational outcomes (Marjoribanks & Kwok, 1998; Portes, 2000; Dika & Singh, 2002).

Human Capital Development Within the Hispanic Population

Research also used social capital and cultural capital to explain success in students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds that are predictably less likely to attend college, including low-income (Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996; Croninger & Lee, 2001; Lee & Bowen, 2006), first generation in college (Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995), and individuals from Hispanic backgrounds (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2004; Zhou & Bankston, 1994; Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). As an important aside, the term *Hispanic* refers to a broad group with many sub-cultures that may possess different value systems. This term is commonly used as a racial/ethnic identifier in the Census, in many higher education admissions and scholarship applications, as well as in much of the research already outlined in this study with target populations and informants who may come from one or more of these sub-cultures. The role of human capital in academic success of Hispanic students can be viewed in regard to the context in which they participate: residents of the United States, residents of Utah, and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Utah.

Residents of the United States. One of the fastest growing segments of HC in the U.S. is the Hispanic population (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007). The U.S. Census Bureau projects that by 2050 the population of Hispanics in the U.S. is expected to reach nearly 25 percent of the total (2010). Regarding the educational success of this population, the Census (2010) also reports that only about 54 percent of Hispanics ages 18 to 24 were high school

graduates and only 20 percent of them were enrolled in college. With so many of these Hispanics coming from low-income backgrounds, they could have been the first to attend college from their families. In other words, Hispanics residing in the U.S. who come from low-income backgrounds and are first generation college students are predictably at-risk when it comes to success in school and making it to college. Aside from the commonly associated moral and social burdens that are predictably placed on society because of a lack of education, consider the ramifications on the tax base alone if one out of four people residing in the U.S. does not have a high school education, especially as members of the wealthy baby boom generation born in the 1950s retire and decrease their tax contributions.

Residents of Utah. Utah is a state with a fast growing Hispanic population. Using data from the 1990 and 2000 Census, as well as the American Community Survey 2004, the Utah Office of Ethnic Affairs (UOEA) indicates that the Hispanic population in Utah jumped from 4.9 percent in 1990, to 9.0 percent in 2000, and 10.6 percent in 2004, which is a 194.4 percent increase from 1990 to 2004 (UOEA, 2010). The recent 2010 Census revealed that Hispanics accounted for 13% of the total population. This growth is twice that of the Hispanic population growth nationwide (Mendiola, 2009). The Utah State Office of Education (USOE, 2010) reports an overall Hispanic graduation rate of 72% (2,012 students) in 2007, 70% in 2008 (2,357 students), 71% (2,674 students) in 2009, and 74% (3,097) in 2010. However, when the 2009 Hispanic data are disaggregated further, there were 2,195 low-income Hispanic high school seniors (58% of the total number of Hispanics in '09) in Utah public schools but only 1,525 (69%) graduated, leaving 670 (31%) low-income Hispanics who did not graduate (USOE, 2009). According to the 2000 Census, the high school completion data in Utah appear to be a little worse than the nation. While it is not clear how many Utah Hispanics attended K-12 schools in

the U.S., 44 percent of all Hispanics (24 percent male, 20 percent female) in Utah have never graduated from high school or earned the equivalent. There is a need to identify preventative solutions before the Utah Hispanic dropout number becomes even larger as this population increases over time.

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Utah. There is a significantly large number of Hispanics who are members of the LDS Church residing in Utah, as seen in the growing number of LDS Hispanic congregations throughout the state. This population of Hispanics is not well known because the LDS Church does not track the ethnicity of its members. One report claims about 22 percent of the Hispanic population in Utah is LDS (Mason, Toney, & Cho, 2011). However, research regarding LDS Hispanic youth in Utah is not readily available, nor is it available from the Utah State Office of Education (USOE), which does not gather data on religious affiliation among K-12 students.

According to a recent 2008 Associated Press analysis, about 60 percent of the overall Utah population is LDS. The general culture in Utah is unique because it houses the headquarters for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church), a worldwide church of almost 14 million members (2009). This is important because the LDS Church doctrine, organization and programs are intended to strengthen intra- and interpersonal relationships, especially in families. Strong intra- and interpersonal relationships within families are generally conducive to student success (Pekrun, Elliot, & Maier, 2009; Ainsworth, 2002: Cheng & Starks, 2002; Ramirez, 2003). Because the majority of Utah is LDS and the Hispanic population (non-LDS and LDS) is growing rapidly, and because there is a void of available research on LDS Hispanic human capital development in Utah, there is a significant need and justification for understanding student success among this group.

Research Question and Purpose

Student success among certain groups is not well explained. The existing aspects of human capital development (i.e., status attainment, social capital, and cultural capital) have explained a fair amount of student success. However, the majority of research on status attainment, as well as social capital and cultural capital, has primarily focused on the influences of parents, teachers, and peers, but the measures are inconsistent across studies (Dika & Singh, 2002). More recently, research on mentoring by non-parental adults (as a form of social capital) emerged as a way to explain and facilitate additional understanding of student success. Specifically, when teachers mentored students with fewer educational resources, the students with fewer resources ultimately benefitted more than other students who had more resources (Erickson, et al., 2009). The research on status attainment, social capital, cultural capital, and mentoring provide a relevant context in which students are empowered to acquire HC. However, the research does not clearly identify specific motivating mechanisms that cause students, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds who might statistically be less likely to attend college, to recognize and use these aspects of human capital development to improve their pathways for success.

In light of the growing Hispanic population in Utah, with its 31percent high school dropout rate-and a 22 percent membership in the LDS church, there is a need for research that explores the educational success stories and motivating mechanisms among these of students who are low-income, LDS, first-generation college students. Consequently, this study seeks to address the following question: What are the most important elements that explain student success among students from low-income backgrounds, the first generation to graduate from college, LDS, Hispanic, graduated from a Utah high school and attended Brigham Young University as a freshman in 2009 (students with these characteristics will hereafter be referred to

as ULDSHISP college students)? By understanding the answers to this question, more can be done to help other students in similar circumstances overcome obstacles that prevent them from being successful.

The purpose of this study was to explore, document, and build theory around the process of HC development for ULDSHISP college students with a concentrated focus on the pathway of student success. Initially, the contextualization of the LDS Hispanic students in this study will be loosely framed by the commonly associated constructs found within the literature on status attainment, social capital and cultural capital. However, in light of the wide range of definitions and measures of these constructs and the need to avoid preconceived assumptions or agendas on this unexplored population, the research will focus on the emergence of themes from student reports and the development of a theoretical model by way of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). A theoretical model that explains the process of HC development for this successful group could then be employed and tested to assist other LDS Hispanic students who share similar demographic attributes in and outside of Utah and who may be on more predictable pathways of undesirable HC development, hopefully increasing the quantity and quality of success among other LDS Hispanic youth in America.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews aspects of student human capital development (status attainment, social capital, and cultural capital) and addresses the interactions between the forms of capital. It also discusses factors that influence human capital development both among Hispanic students and among members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS).

Aspects of Student Human Capital Development

Status attainment. Sociologists have long explored student success through the lens of status attainment. The Wisconsin Status Attainment Model is one of the most cited models that

addressed the influences of significant others on student success (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971). This model used an index of interpersonal influences from parents, peers, and teachers (i.e., significant others) to explain educational attainment in adolescents and young adults. Even though this model suggested minimal effects of school influences and links family of origin as an important factor in educational attainment, it did not adequately explain the specific role of these individual significant other influences. Kerckhoff (1971; 1972; 1976) used a similar index of interpersonal influences from parents and peers, but he controlled for socioeconomic status (SES) of origin and academic ability to determine if these influences affected the crystallization of educational expectations in adolescents over time. He found that the influences of SES and ability on occupational attainment were mediated through educational attainment, and he called for additional research on the individual influences of others on this crystallization process (Kerckhoff, 1976).

Forms of capital. There are three forms of capital (human, social and cultural) that provide a rich context and explanation for the individual influences that are not explained by the Wisconsin Status Attainment Model (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971) and Kerckhoff Model (1971; 1972; 1976). Pierre Bourdieu (1986) wrote *The Forms of Capital* where he distinguished between three forms of capital: economic (also referred to as human), social, and cultural. In the context of student success or attainment, a common measure of human capital development, the forms of capital most often discussed are social capital and cultural capital. As such, it is important to briefly

review each of these forms of capital and their common interactions as they pertain to student success (i.e., the student's development of human capital). The scope of these definitions is not intended to provide an exhaustive review of all research on the forms of capital, especially those outside of student success. Rather, these definitions are intended only to provide a sufficient overview of these forms of capital as they specifically pertain to student success.

   Human capital. Human capital is regularly associated with economic development (Becker, 1975). Specifically, Becker explained the positive relationship between the education and training of students and human capital development. Similarly, others define *human capital* as a person's abilities, skills, and knowledge acquired over time through formal and informal experience and education (Pil & Leana, 2009).

   At this time in American history when the public educational system experiences budget cuts and at a time of heightened K-12 educator accountability with respect to student performance on standardized tests, Americans appear to recognize the crucial role of student human capital development. *Student human capital* is often referred to as the acquisition of skills and experiences commonly measured by the years of schooling and academic achievement (Lin, 1999; Parcel & Dufur, 2001). Student HC development is generally discussed as an outcome based on the influences of social capital (Coleman, 1988; 1990; Kim & Schneider, 2005) and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Dumais & Ward, 2009) from the reports of parents (Ream & Palardy, 2008), peers (Ream & Rumberger, 2008; Goddard, 2003) and teachers (Holland, 2010), to name only a few.

   Social capital. When discussing social capital and student success, there are generally two primary schools of thought originating with Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986), respectively. Coleman (1988) focused on social control and defined *social capital* as a network

of social ties primarily connected to intact families (i.e., not broken by divorce) in which specific norms and expectations are established and transmitted by parents who facilitate student success (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999). On the other hand, Bourdieu's (1986) definition was a reaction to unequal access of social capital and a deficit of skills in relation to HC development. He claimed that student success depends on the strength of relationships and both the quantity and quality of resources (e.g., understanding of course selection for optimal success, admissions and scholarship applications, etc.) shared across these relationships. He also claimed that while these resources may be found in other institutions (i.e., groups of individuals), they may not be accessible because the institutions are not those with whom the students commonly associate.

For example, in the case of low-income families where parental networks may be resource-poor, access to information and resources that can facilitate increased student success may more likely come from brokering across educational, residential, or occupational institutions (Wuthnow, 2002). Similarly, Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2001; 2010) points out that (especially in the case of low-income ethnic minorities) an institutional agent (e.g., teacher, counselor, minister) from a higher-status network who takes time to share information and resources with a low-income student will have a much more positive influence on the low-income student than this agent would have for a middle- to upper-class student who may already have access to the information and resources.

Bourdieu (1986) emphasized access to these resources and the brokering or bridging effects that facilitate student success, which overlaps with concepts of economic sociology (see Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1982; Burt, 1992). For example, along with Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), Lin's (1982; 2001) definition of social capital was more individualistic and focused on the aspect of resources and the way they are allocated and

communicated to others. According to Lin (1982; 2001), resources are material or symbolic goods that are based on normative judgments, often positively associated with and preceding wealth, status and power (i.e., status attainment); and it is the direct and/or indirect access to and utilization of these resources that influences the lives of those receiving them.

While some question the varying definitions and the validity of social capital measures (Dika & Singh, 2002; Vryonides, 2007), at least three decades of literature exist that support some notion of social capital that facilitates student success. The common thread across these various schools of social capital thought is that there are individuals and groups, either within or outside a student's current social network, who possess pro-academic information, resources, and expectations that are communicated and ultimately facilitate student success. Both Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (2000) argued that social capital could rarely be acquired without cultural capital. In other words, cultural capital precedes social capital, which precedes the acquisition of human capital (Ream, 2005). Consequently, in order to understand this process of student success (i.e. HC development) it is important to understand the definition of cultural capital.

Cultural capital. Another aspect of Bourdieu's (1986) response to unequal access of resources and skills that facilitate HC development is the importance of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1973; 1977) described *cultural capital* as the way an individual comes to know about resources. Resources may be ascribed, such as gender or race; prescribed, through inheritance, religion or some other individual; or acquired, as is the case with education (Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981). Humans act toward resources based on their attributed meanings. Resource attribution is a continuous process and a product of social interaction (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934). Two environments in which social interactions help define these attributed meanings are

education and religion. Educational capital and religious capital are considered subcategories of

cultural capital and also make significant contributions to student success.

     Educational capital. Educational capital is sometimes known as school capital (Parcel &

Dufur, 2001; Hoffman & Dufur, 2008) or the connection between parents and schools that

facilitates academic achievement. It is also known as *academic capital* (Bourdieu, 1984) or the

collective effects of cultural transmission between the family and the school and often depends

more heavily on the class of origin and the amount of overall cultural capital possessed by the

family. Other research suggests that educational capital includes variables descriptive of both

cultural and social capital like a school's expectations of its students, extra programs that help

facilitate student success, and smaller class sizes (Howard, McLaughlin, & Vacha, 1996). The

distinction is that whether or not a student is aware of a school's expectations or programs

(cultural capital) may depend on an institutional agent's transmission of this information (social

capital).

     Religious capital. For decades research has cited positive influences of religion on

educational (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Jeynes, 2002) and

behavioral outcomes like reduced involvement in substance abuse (Bahr & Hawks, 1993;

Brownfield & Sorenson, 1991) and sexual behavior in teens (Holman & Harding, 1996; Miller &

Olson, 1988). Jeynes (2009) points out that the predominant emphasis of religious capital

research is on the impact of religious schools (Jeynes, 1999, 2003a, 2003b; Sanders & Herting,

2000; Shoknaii, Olson, & Youssef, 1997; Steward & Jo, 1998; Greeley, 1982; Greeley,

McCready, & McCourt, 1976) more than the impact of personal religious commitment (e.g.,

church attendance, scripture reading, etc.) on academic and behavioral outcomes (Cochran, 1992,

1993; Jeynes, 1999, 2003a, 2003b; Johnson, Larson, Jang, & Li, 2000).

Iannoccone (1990, p. 299) describes *religious capital* as "the skills and experience specific to one's religion including religious knowledge, familiarity with church ritual and doctrine, and friendships with fellow worshippers." While this definition may reflect a close alignment with social capital (i.e. a member of a social network and embedded resources), Stark and Finke (2000) distinguish religious capital in a way that suggests there is an attachment to and mastery of a given religious culture. Attachment to and mastery of a religious culture may come through study of religious texts. Jeynes (2009) found that students with high levels of Bible literacy also experienced higher levels of academic achievement and school behavior across race and gender. He suggested that the work ethic and self-discipline required for maintaining Bible literacy transfers over to the work ethic and self-discipline that facilitates student success. In summary and for the purposes of this study, religious capital includes the influences of the religion, attendance at religious schools and congregational meetings and activities, those who work and serve therein, the religious principles taught, and personal religious commitment to those principles.

Interactions between types of capital. Given that the presence of cultural capital is foundational for students to gain access to social capital, which leads to human capital or student success (Ream, 2005), the process can be argued to be linear. Yet, several potential interactions may exist between these three forms of capital. The following sections provide brief, yet additional descriptions of mostly positive relationships and a few negative relationships between these three forms of capital to help contextualize the pathway towards student success.

Cultural capital and social capital. Since the ways people come to know about resources and opportunities (i.e. cultural capital) is associated with the access to and understanding of social networks and the resources these networks possess (i.e. social capital), it

is important to understand the interactions between cultural and social capital. People tend to interact more often with individuals who are most like themselves (Lin, 2001). For example, those of high SES backgrounds and their commonly associated resources generally interact more frequently with others of a similar background. The same is generally true of those from low SES backgrounds. As individuals interact, either directly or indirectly, they may become aware of and access resources and opportunities through others (i.e. social capital). There may also be a negative relationship when a student's social capital increases (e.g., access to a knowledgeable student or teacher), yet the student unknowingly receives incorrect information conveyed, either purposefully or even well-intended, from another peer (White, 2009) or teacher (Koehler & Mishra, 2009). Those who possess high cultural capital may be more likely to facilitate access to social capital development and usage. Whether there is a strong or a weak tie (Granovetter, 1973) or "friend of friend" (Boissevain, 1974) relationship, it is the cultural capital that a student possesses to know how to approach, access and maximize this social capital.

As noted above, cultural capital is often subdivided into educational and religious capital. In the context of educational capital, parents and students have access to social capital, whether they know it or not. For example, high school guidance counselors may possess resources about college entrance exams, applications and scholarships information, but parents may not know this. Consequently, it may be a lack of cultural capital that prevents the recognition of social capital, let alone access to it. Even when access to social capital is high, the level of cultural capital moderates a student's ability to recognize, pursue, and/or receive the social capital.

Some schools may have low educational capital due to apathetic or negative teachers or administrators who make negative assumptions about student ability or because class sizes are too large and teachers do not have the time to share information that will help guide students to

resources embedded in other individuals or groups (Lee & Burkham, 2003; Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2004; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000). For example, the parents of a student or the student himself may not have sufficient educational capital to know that a guidance counselor can provide resources to help the student be successful in school or even that there are available resources embedded in other social networks, at or away from the school, that could facilitate student success. Even if the guidance counselors reach out to share their embedded resources with the student, without sufficient cultural capital, the student may not receive or know what the resources are, why they are helpful, or even know how or have the motivation to use them.

As another subcategory of cultural capital, religious capital appears to play a moderating role on social capital. Specifically, despite low aspirations or expectations of a school or not knowing how an educational system works in general, if students possess strong religious capital this capital may overcome an existing low form of cultural capital and facilitate meaningful social capital connections (Muller & Ellison, 2001). Many people with religious capital have an underlying, religiously-based, personal motivation and/or conviction to be better and to reach out to initiate and access the social capital of others, quite possibly within the same congregation (Greeley, 1997; Iannaccone, 1990). In other words, despite low educational capital, religious capital may facilitate access to social capital. How a student or his/her parents come to know something, whether through educational or religious contexts, is important when it comes to social capital. If a student or parent possesses strong cultural capital, their understanding and ability to navigate and access social capital is increased (Bourdieu, 1986; Dika & Singh, 2002). However, a parent may choose to not share this strong cultural capital with others in a congregation, even when it is religiously based, because he does not want his child to compete

for scarce resources, causing decreased access to social capital for the other student (Wissner-Gross, 2008).

   Social capital and human capital. Kerckhoff (1972) indicated that the words, actions, goals, and lifestyles of those with whom we most often interact, including friends, coworkers, neighbors or fellow members of the same church, become the foundation and reference points that influence our decisions, including educational aspirations and eventual academic attainment (i.e. human capital). Whether social capital is called *parental involvement* at home (Perna & Titus, 2005), *parental aspirations* (Prado, 2008), *parental expectations* (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998), *teacher influence* (Dika & Singh, 2002) or *mentoring* (Erickson, McDonald & Elder, 2009), social capital repeatedly shows a positive relationship with student HC development as measured by educational achievement (Schmid, 2001) and educational attainment (Garcia & Bayer, 2005).

   At times, some forms of social capital may have a negative influence that takes away capital or inhibits its usage. For example, parents having no educational aspirations for their students (Nurmi, 2004) or nagging them about finishing homework or doing well in school (DeBaryshe, Patterson, & Capaldi, 1993), can sometimes lead to a destructive student reaction and decreased HC development. Similarly, negative teacher (Nieto, 2002) or peer influences (Walker, 2006) can also serve as damaging influences on HC development. However, it may also be true that students may be successful academically despite the negative teacher (Hallinan, 2008), parent (Bong, 2008) or peer influences (Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada, & Xiong, 2008).

   As noted, the acquisition of skills and years of schooling are two measures of HC development (Lin, 1999; Parcel & Dufur, 2001). While in some cases, human capital can build

social capital (Maak, 2007) and cultural capital, (Callaghan & Colton, 2008), the pathway toward student success generally includes human capital as the dependent variable. For example, a parent who has earned a high level of education and/or income (i.e. human capital) more often associates with others of the same background (i.e. social capital; Lin, 2001) and has learned by experience the role and utility of social networks, their embedded resources (e.g., guidance counselors may possess college admissions and scholarship materials), and how to use their human capital to leverage (i.e. cultural capital) the social capital of others (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010). However, in some cases, Hispanic parents may have high levels of human capital in their country of origin, but when arriving to the U.S., their human capital is of little influence and cannot be leveraged to influence cultural or social capital on behalf of their students (Zhou et al., 2008).

Cultural capital and human capital. Cultural capital may directly influence human capital without the mediating influences of social capital (Dunt, Hage, & Kelaher, 2010). For example, students moving to a new school have minimal to no understanding of how to be successful in school and do not have a social network, or at least an ability to recognize the available social capital, which may directly impact this student's success. Those with increased levels of educational and/or religious capital may expand the understanding and navigability of the educational system to increase human capital. However, based on previous discussion, the negative forces on so many of the students from disadvantaged backgrounds are so great and the level of cultural capital is predictably lower, leading to lower levels of HC (Lee & Bowen, 2006). For example, those with low levels of cultural capital tend to have low educational aspirations because they often do not know what educational opportunities are available and/or do not know how to access and qualify for them (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). However,

there are some students who, despite their low-income or otherwise disadvantaged circumstances, are able to successfully navigate and find success in school (Nicholas, Stepick, & Stepick, 2008).

Similarly, one's own attainment suggests a certain type and frequency of experiences. At times there are exceptions when human capital impacts cultural capital. For example, with the possible exception of inherited HC (Jurajda & Terrell, 2009), the greater the HC development, the greater the cultural capital (Lee & Bowen, 2006) because the individual passes through personal experience with the acquisition of knowledge, skills and competencies that will empower him with a personal understanding of how to navigate success towards HC for his own children and others. While it is possible that an individual could inherit HC (Jurajda & Terrell, 2009) and not go through much of the experience that most have on the pathway to HC development, the mere possession of it broadens understanding of how to navigate the world, including how one maintains or builds upon HC (Vryonides, 2007). For example, those who have performed well in high school, attended and graduated from one or more degree programs in college, and earned a job that brings satisfaction and a valued salary to meet monetary needs, may have a greater advantage than those who did not go through a similar experience. People who have these experiences during their pursuit of HC acquire the cultural capital on their journey. In other words, cultural capital often increases through life experiences (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011), which may then facilitate human capital development.

This existing research on the interactions of these three types of capital will serve as a reference point when analyzing the data from this study to determine the greatest influences on the HC development of the participants in this study. While much of the existing research on HC development above presents positive interactions between cultural, social and human capital, this

research consistently suggests a linear relationship in which cultural capital influences the amount and quality of social capital, which influences the amount and quality of human capital (Ream, 2005).

Factors That Influence Human Capital Development Among Hispanics

Given the theoretical framework of status attainment literature and the forms and interactions of capital, the discussion now shifts to the context of human capital development among Hispanics. The following sections discuss current Hispanic demographics in the United States generally and Utah specifically, sociopolitical and sociocultural elements relevant to human capital development for Hispanics, the effects of socioeconomic status, and the consequences of poor human capital development among Hispanics.

Demographic. We live at a time of converging demographics and economic uncertainty wherein the human capital development of Hispanics is increasingly important. This section addresses the demographic landscape in the United States and in Utah and how these demographic influences affect human capital development among Hispanics.

In the United States. During the 1950s there were 16 workers paying taxes into the system for every retiree receiving benefits. Now, as those who were born during this time (i.e. baby boom generation) are retiring or passing away, there are now only two workers paying taxes per retiree receiving benefits (Tanner, 2005). Those who are retiring not only reduce the amount of money paid into the tax base, but they also significantly increase the amount of money paid out of the system, leaving a heightened tax burden on the workers who remain. What about those who are replacing the baby boomer generation?

According to a 2006 press release from the Census, the Hispanic population in the U.S. contributed 35 percent of the nation's population growth from 1995 to 2000 and will contribute

an additional 44 percent from 2000 to 2020 and 62 percent from 2020 to 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). Given that one in four children under the age of five are Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) and the same ratio are not graduating from high school (Garcia, 2001), then the future of America's HC development should be a significant source of concern for all tax payers. Lower educational levels generally lead to lower paying jobs, which yield a decrease in the number of taxes paid to replenish the existing tax base. In addition to the decreased tax contribution by this quickly growing demographic, there will be additional social and financial burdens brought on by crime and other deviant behaviors commonly associated with those who have dropped out of school (Lochner & Moretti, 2004).

It is difficult to know the exact nature of this demographic challenge because many of the Hispanics who currently reside in the United States are undocumented. Due to the current political and legal climate, many of these individuals do not qualify for many of the available resources that facilitate HC development (e.g., scholarships, federal financial aid, employment). However, while the exact number of undocumented residents is not known, there are many, possibly the majority of Hispanics, who reside in the United States and who are permanent residents (PR), U.S. citizens, or have children who are, and can qualify for the aforementioned resources to develop HC. For example, the Pew Hispanic Center claims that 73 percent of the children of undocumented Hispanic parents were born in the U.S. and are citizens (Passel, 2009).

Based on the converging demographics of retiring baby boomers and of Hispanics dropping out of high school in the U.S. (Garcia, 2001), there is a magnified need for those who possess human capital, social capital and cultural capital, regardless of race or ethnicity, to assist with the HC development of Hispanic students residing in the U.S. These Hispanic students may

need to be empowered to acquire the skills and education necessary for the jobs that will allow them to increase their financial and other meaningful contributions to society.

　　　In Utah.　One of the states with the largest Hispanic population growth since 1990 is Utah (Mason, Toney, & Cho, 2011).　The 2010 Census revealed that Hispanics accounted for 13% of the total Utah population and during 2000–2010 there was a 78% increase in Hispanic population growth.　Much of the population growth in Utah is attributed to immigration, due in large part to high labor demand within a booming (until recently) and currently stable Utah economy (de Lancer Julnes & Johnson, 2011), as well as a high fertility rate of 3.5 percent among Utah Hispanic women, compared to a national average of 2.7 percent among Hispanics (Perlich, 2007). This means that the children of Hispanics immigrating to Utah, as well as those being born in the state, will continue to populate the schools throughout the state.

　　　As of 2004, the Utah State Office of Education (USOE) reports that 11.5 percent of the students enrolled in Utah's public schools are Hispanic.　Similarly, the USOE states that between 2000 and 2005, there was a 48 percent increase in Hispanic student enrollment in K-12 schools while only a 2 percent increase among white non-Hispanics. Yet, the USOE also reports that only about 6 percent of the high school graduates in 2004 were Hispanic while 22.6 percent of all the students who dropped out during the same year came from the same ethnic background. More recently, the USOE reported that in 2008 and 2009 the Hispanic student population in K-12 was over 14 percent of the total K-12 population and in 2010, it was 15 percent.　In 2009, the USOE reported that of the 2,195 low-income Hispanic seniors in Utah high schools, only 1,525 (69%) graduated, leaving 670 (31%) who did not graduate.　This pattern is likely a significant source of concern for K-12 educators and the communities that receive these students, especially

in the context of Hispanic HC development and the future contributions of these non-completers in society.

      Sociopolitical and sociocultural. Unfortunately for so many of the Hispanic students residing in the U.S., the sociopolitical and sociocultural influences of the American society make it incredibly difficult, even for those who are legal residents or American-born, to learn and be successful within the educational system (Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002). Hispanic students generally drop out of high school at two to three times the rate of white students (Garcia, 2001; Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009; Ream & Rumberger, 2008). Garcia goes on to explain that foreign-born Hispanics age 16–24 are twice as likely to not have completed high school than first- or second-generation American-born Hispanics. Similarly, 83 percent (almost twice the national average) of Hispanics aged 16–24 who report knowing English "not very well" were identified as dropouts whereas only 17 percent of Hispanics of the same age who reported knowing English "very well" were identified as dropouts (Garcia, 2001). More recently, the National Center for Education Statistics (2010) reported that in the U.S., 19.9% of Hispanic males and 16.7% Hispanic females ages 16–24 dropped out of high school while only 5.4% of White males and 4.2% of White females dropped out of high school. So why is success among Hispanic students significantly less than their White counterparts?

      Sociocultural and sociopolitical perspectives require the assumption that social relationships and political issues are at the heart of teaching and learning. In the context of this research, teaching and learning lead to HC development, and learning "emerges from the social, cultural, and political spaces in which it takes place, and through the interactions and relationships that occur between learners and teachers" (Nieto, 2002, p. 5). Similarly, Vygotsky (1986) posited that it is impossible to separate learning from the context in which it takes place,

and from comprehending the ways culture and society influence and are influenced by learning. Part of the problem exists in the schools with the institutional agents (i.e. teachers, administrators, and staff within the schools) who commonly choose not to develop relationships with many of the Hispanic students because of the negative stereotypes, feelings, and/or expectations they hold toward Hispanics (Watkins & Melde, 2010; Gonzalez, 2009; Marx, 2008; Ryabov & Van Hook, 2007; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2004; Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000).

In addition, many low-income and uneducated Hispanic residents and U.S. citizens are regularly labeled and stereotyped as illegal immigrants by school administrators and teachers, which often carries a negative stigma of low achievement (McKown & Strambler, 2009; Crosnoe, 2005; Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2004; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000). Consequently, these students are often not encouraged or expected by school teachers and administrators to perform well, let alone continue their education beyond high school (Kuperminc, Darnell, & Alvarez-Jimenez, 2008; Garcia, Jensen, & Cuellar 2006; Crosnoe, 2005; Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth, & Thomas, 1999; Ramirez, 2003; Slaughter-Defoe & Carlson, 1996; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Based on many cultural stereotypes, many capable and intelligent Hispanic students, some of whom speak Spanish and others who do not, are often grouped (by the assumed negative stereotypical ability) with underachieving Hispanics (Lleras & Rangel, 2009; Ogbu, 1994). Underlying these policies are assumptions about the nature of learning, the capabilities of students from different social groups, and the inherent values (or lack thereof) of languages outside of the dominant one (Nieto, 2002).

Another part of the sociocultural and sociopolitical problem is that one of the primary institutional objectives of American education is to "Americanize" or assimilate the students

(Tillman, Guo, & Harris, 2006; Crosnoe & Lopez-Gonzalez, 2005; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, &

Haller, 2005; Elam, 1972; Garcia, 1994; Garcia, 2001; Gonzalez, 1990). Yet, in an attempt to

assimilate Hispanics into American culture, this often means the elimination of linguistic and

cultural differences of many Hispanic cultures that may be viewed as undesirable by the White

majority (Perez & Lee, 2008; Koval, 2006; Garcia, 1999; Garcia, 2001; Trueba, 1999).

Moreover, quite often there is a discrepancy between an adolescent's (student's) perception of

and desire for U.S. acculturation and that of their parents, especially among second-generation

Hispanics (Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2008), who may want to retain more of the native culture,

creating potential risk factors that might be a challenge to HC development (Unger, Ritt-Olsen,

Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2009). On a broader cultural level, some Hispanics may be

criticized by their own cultural community for taking on too many American practices and by

Americans for retaining too many Hispanic (culture of origin) practices (Schwartz, Montgomery

& Briones, 2006).

     English literacy. English literacy is also a major underlying concern of many public

policy issues, especially as it pertains to HC development in schools (Garcia, 2001). Language is

often perceived as a means to political, economic, and social power and status. In 1974 the U.S.

Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* held that students with limited English proficiency

must be provided with language support. What does this support look like? How can Hispanic

or any other limited-English proficient students be expected to participate in class when they do

not have the basic English skills to understand the teacher who is teaching in English, especially

at a time when financial resources in public education are already so reduced to afford this

language support? The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981)

outlined three guidelines for a program to be appropriate for language minority students:

1. The underlying theory must be based on a sound educational theory.

2. The program must be "reasonably calculated to implement effectively" the chosen

   theory.

3. The program must produce results in a reasonable time. In other words, the schools

   must assess the effectiveness of the language programs.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the vast majority of these language programs were

not producing the anticipated results (Garcia, 2001). Since then, research on this controversial

topic reports mixed results, some favoring English language immersion (Silverman, 2007) and

others revealing the benefits of bilingual education (Pacheco, 2010; Janzen, 2008; Rolstad,

Mahoney, & Glass, 2005).

Based on Hispanic population growth in the U.S., language and other obstacles that may

prevent HC development may not go away any time soon. At the end of the 21st century, from

1985–1995, there was an estimated increase of almost one million immigrants in grades K-12,

which was approximately 5.5 percent of the public school student population in the U.S.

(Rumbaut & Cornelius, 1995). Over 79 percent of these students were native Spanish speakers

(Goldenberg, 1996). While there is no way to determine the exact figures, according to a *USA*

Today article that cited U.S. Census 2000 data (Yen, 2009), in 2000 Hispanics made up an

estimated one fifth of all K-12 students and roughly one out of every four kindergartners was

Hispanic. The 2010 Census revealed that between 2000 and 2010 the Hispanic population

increased 43% nationwide, equating to one out of every six Americans, and accounted for 23%

of the total population of children under the age of 17.

Given the significant increase in Hispanic school-aged children to the U.S., state

educational linguistic policies may isolate Hispanic students and their parents. For example, on

June 2, 1998, 61% of voters in California passed an English-only ("English for the Children")

initiative that restricted the use of any language other than English as part of the education to

non-English speaking children (Garcia, 2001). Of course, the State provided an exception where

20 or more parents at each grade level at each school must annually request a waiver and go to

the school to negotiate the waiver in person (Garcia, 2001). However, because over 79 percent

of these Californian students were native Spanish speakers (Goldenberg, 1996), most of their

non-English proficient parents would likely not possess the cultural capital to negotiate the

waiver, let alone have the time to actually go to the school to take care of this accommodation.

Parental aspirations. Some Hispanic parents who are born outside of the U.S. have

lower educational aspirations for their children than American-born Hispanic parents, even after

controlling for class background (Kao & Rutherford, 2007; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Shellard,

2003). Regardless of their birthplace, many Hispanics residing in the U.S. share common

sociocultural and sociopolitical challenges that often prevent them from taking full advantage of

and succeeding within the American educational system (Lopez, 2005; Yosso, 2005). Especially

in the case of low-income, uneducated or undereducated Hispanic parents, and where the

students are first generation college students, even though many of the parents know their

children need an education, many are unfamiliar with the American school system, the

institutional expectations, or the necessary cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997; Bourdieu &

Passeron, 1977) to help their children gain academic achievement (Eamon, 2005).

What is more, many of these parents speak limited or no English, may have never

attended college in or outside of the U.S., and/or work long hours just to meet basic living needs,

preventing them from being available to become fully involved in their children's education. In

some cases, the Hispanic students feel a strong obligation to support the family (e.g., work,

watch children), which may limit their academic achievement (Sy & Romero, 2008; Oettinger, 1999).

Due to the Hispanic population explosion during the last 30 years, we are now seeing many of the children of these immigrants who are born American face a difficult challenge between trying to fit in with their American peers while still maintaining a sense of their ethnic identity in their families (Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales-Backen, 2008; Zhou, 1997). We know that peers can strongly influence youth toward the norms and values of the group (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2010; Coleman, 1963; Eckert, 1989; Larkin, 1979; Ueda, 1987), including proacademic peer influences (LeCroy & Krysik, 2008) as well as the negative peer influences that Hispanics face as a result of academic success or "acting white" (Sohn, 2010; Fryer, 2006; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986). In fact, peers seem to have an increasingly dominating influence on those less accepted by the mainstream. Ethnic minority students often group (e.g. sit) together at predominantly Caucasian schools (Gurung & Prieto, 2009; Carter, 2007). This may be problematic for some parents when the youth, many of whom speak primarily English with their peers at school, may not want to speak Spanish at home, causing feelings of alienation in the home, potentially leading them away from core value and belief systems (Matute-Bianchi, 2008), which according to Coleman (1988) is the primary source of social capital.

Identity. Identity is an important sociopolitical and sociocultural factor that can impact student success. Identity is constructed and reconstructed by individuals as they negotiate and navigate their social networks and contexts (Garcia, 2001). An individual's identity and attitude about self depends largely on the attitudes and perceptions of their adult caregivers (Garcia, 2001) and the repeated influences of significant individuals (i.e., social capital). Identity and

attitude about self in an educational context can be challenging, especially for Hispanic students. When a student is identified as a low achiever and assigned to a remedial class, the likelihood of enrolling or being enrolled in additional remedial classes in the future automatically increases (Garcia, 2001). As a result, this may cause a negative self-perception of ability and reduced motivation levels. Kohl (1994, p. 16) appropriately describes this issue by stating, "to agree to learn from a stranger who does not respect your integrity causes a major loss of self." Also, Hispanic students enrolled in remedial classes may find themselves in proximity with others who possess low social capital and cultural capital who are more often disruptive, unmotivated, and immediately begin to negatively influence the student through peer persuasion and pressure (Garcia, 2001). Being Hispanic is not a risk factor by itself. But when Hispanics are treated adversely in or outside of the classroom because of their ethnicity, it may become a risk factor (Montgomery & Rossi, 1994).

Institutional agents. Research posits that low-income Hispanic students must rely on institutional agents within the educational institution who possess the cultural and social capital and can serve as a broker to or access their own resource-rich social networks and use their power and position to help these students succeed (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; 2001; 2004; 2010; Martina, 2005). Diaz and Flores (2001) refer to these brokers as sociocultural mediators, accepting and validating the cultural symbols from all students. While social class affects one's choice to apply to a four-year school, this relationship is mediated by the students' social and socioeconomic situation, which are shaped by social capital (i.e. their relationships with significant others) (McDonough, 1997).

First-generation college students from low SES families (many of whom are Hispanic) generally may not be able to rely on the cultural capital of parents to prepare them for or provide

them with information related to post-secondary enrollment (McDonough, 1997). These

students need teachers, counselors or others to intervene (Ramirez, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 2004;

Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000). Yet there seems to be a

tremendous lack of trust and rapport between Hispanic students and their teachers and counselors

at school (Cavazos, Johnson, & Sparrow, 2010; Marx, 2008; Garcia, 2001). More appropriately

described, "Learning is performance achieved through assistance" (Garcia, 2001), but receiving

and benefiting from assistance suggests there is trust. Yet many of these Hispanic, low-income,

(could be) first-generation college students do not likely experience this trust.

According to Garcia (2001), academic achievement and, ultimately, HC development are

a result of many factors including many learned and acquired characteristics over time, such as

individual intelligence, talent, and motivation. However, personal choice is also a very real part

of success or failure in school and life in general. When adolescents make choices about their

future and educational plans, it is often based on the availability of opportunities and supportive

institutional agents (i.e. social capital), in and outside of the home, who possess and

communicate the cultural capital and assist with the possible pathways to high school graduation

and higher education (Garcia, 2001).

Influences from significant others often make this personal choice to persist and

demonstrate resiliency in school a reality for the Hispanic student population. Specifically,

research suggests that the amount and quality of academic interaction time spent between the

student and the teacher are two of the most significant factors that increase Hispanic student

persistence and resiliency in elementary school (Waxman, Padrón, Shin, & Rivera, 2008). In

middle school, the parents, teachers and friend support are all associated with similar Hispanic

student resiliency and satisfaction at school (Woolley, Kol, & Bowen, 2009). Early high school

research reveals that teachers' academic support is the most salient predictor of grade point average and overall academic satisfaction among Hispanic students from intact families (Plunkett, Henry, Houltberg, Sands, & Abarca-Mortensen, 2008). Other high school research indicates that school (i.e., teacher) discrimination against Hispanic students influences student motivation and resilience (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, Bámaca, & Zeiders, 2009) including high school grades and number of absences (Benner & Graham, 2011).

Similar to the middle school research, others indicate the value of supportive parents, friends and participation in school activities when it comes to Hispanic high school student resilience (Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2009). Overall, based on McMillan and Reed's (1994) concept of resiliency, five primary factors of resiliency among Hispanic students have been found to facilitate student success (Cavazos, Johnson, Fielding, Cavazos, Castro, & Vela, 2010):

- High educational goals
- Support and encouragement from parents
- Intrinsic motivation
- Internal locus of control
- High self-efficacy

In so many ways and as described above, low-income, first generation Hispanic students often do not know about or even understand these characteristics due to a lack of social capital and cultural capital development.

Residential mobility. Another sociocultural factor among low-income Hispanics that may threaten persistence, resiliency, and ultimately success in school is residential mobility. Residential mobility is common among many low-income families regardless of ethnicity

(Hartman, 2002; Swanson & Schneider, 1999). When students are highly mobile they may experience problems of social adjustment and have a higher incidence of absenteeism and becoming a high school dropout (Rumberger & Larson, 1998), which is especially true for Hispanics (Ream, 2003).

    Socioeconomic status. Another important variable that impacts student success is related to socioeconomic status (SES). For example, a large percentage of Hispanic students are found among the economically disadvantaged (Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2008), and many ethnic minority children living in low SES conditions have access to fewer positive social capital opportunities like formal learning opportunities, fewer resources, increased health challenges, increased incidences of developmental delays, and many other obstacles that negatively affect their development (Kumanyika & Grier, 2006; Malecki & Demaray, 2006; Garcia, 1999). Beyond the challenges above, truancy during middle school has become a significant problem for many Hispanic students and when asked why, they indicate the influence of friends, work schedules, health issues, a lack of motivation, and a lack of student-teacher engagement (Rodriguez & Conchas, 2009; Robinson, 2009; Rumberger & Larson, 1998).

    One of the topics related to socioeconomic status is the choice to attend college. Up until recently, most literature on underachievement and high school dropout rates focused very little on understanding the choice to attend college (Garcia, 2001). Garcia (2001) also posits that few academically prepared Hispanics actually apply for admission to four-year institutions or even take the proper entrance exams. For those who take the appropriate entrance exams, most students from low SES families and who are first generation college students perform worse than their higher SES peers (Niu & Tienda, 2010; Miller, 1995; Crouse & Trusheim, 1988). Quite often the Hispanic first generation college students must rely exclusively on others to even

navigate the process of college admissions and scholarship applications (Perez & McDonough, 2008). Also, low-income Hispanic students generally have lower achievement levels (Garcia & Jensen, 2006) and are historically underrepresented at four-year institutions than students with higher achievement and generally persist less while in college (Goldrick-Rab, 2006). While SES is strongly related to student success, it is through ability, educational aspirations, and the influences of significant others (e.g., parental and teacher involvement in school and homework, connecting students with resources— social capital and cultural capital) that these students have generally succeeded academically, graduate from high school, attend post-secondary education and gain employment (Kim & Schneider, 2005; Garcia, 2001; Kao & Tienda, 1998).

Consequences of poor human capital development. One or more of the aforementioned obstacles often make it difficult for these Hispanic students to succeed and for their parents to provide the information and resources to empower their children to be academically successful in K-12 education, let alone lead them to higher education. As a natural consequence, Hispanic students have a persistently high dropout rate from K-12 schools (Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009; Ream & Rumberger, 2008; Ramirez, 2003; Ramirez & Cruz, 2002; Velez, 1989) and similarly, about two in five Hispanics in the U.S. have not graduated from high school (Fry, 2010; Ramirez & de la Cruz, 2002). According to the 2000 Census, the data in Utah appear to be a little worse. For example, 44 percent of all Hispanics (24 percent male, 20 percent female) in Utah have never graduated from high school or earned the equivalent.

LDS Influences on Human Capital Development

Another likely influence on HC development among LDS students, regardless of ethnic background, is the LDS Church and its associated influences (Cornwall, Heaton, & Young,

2001). The following five sections discuss specific ways the LDS Church may influence human capital development:

1. Doctrinal

2. Ecclesiastical

3. Organizational

4. Programmatic

5. Educational

These sections include very broad descriptions of LDS influences on HC development as well as some of the possible influences that may be unique to Hispanic members of the LDS Church.

Doctrinal. In the LDS Church the family is the central influencing unit, and strengthening the family is fundamental to its purpose. In fact, one of the fundamental tenets of the LDS Church is that families should build themselves "on principles of faith, prayer, repentance, forgiveness, respect, love, compassion, work, and wholesome recreational activities" ("The Family: A Proclamation to the World," 1995, hereafter referred to as The Proclamation). LDS members are also counseled to avoid premarital and extramarital sexual relations, as well as harmful and addictive substances such as alcohol, tobacco, illegal drugs, abuse of prescribed drugs, coffee, tea, and other harmful substances (Doctrine and Covenants 89:1-21) that typically limit HC development.

According to The Proclamation (1995), in the ideal LDS family, principles that support HC development are taught through daily living and activities including regular individual and family scripture study, prayer, service, and family time together, with the focus on becoming more like Jesus Christ in word and deed. The responsibility to raise children and teach these principles rests primarily on the parents. Specifically, "Parents have a sacred duty to rear their

children in love and righteousness, to provide for their physical and spiritual needs, to teach them to love and serve one another, to observe the commandments of God and to be law-abiding citizens wherever they live" ("The Proclamation" 1995). The *Church Handbook 2: Administering the Church* (2010) clearly articulates how the Church as a whole, along with its individual organizations, supports parents in these responsibilities. In short, LDS members, including the youth, are encouraged to live a very high standard of excellence in every aspect of life (Tingey, 2004) and believe that learning is an eternal principle as each individual strives for perfection and eternal life (Eyring, 2009), while balancing all other aspects of their lives (Top, 2005).

Ecclesiastical. The LDS Church is ecclesiastical in nature. The local congregations are operated by their members who almost always serve in one or more functional roles as very committed volunteers. One of the challenges for many LDS parents beyond their normal work and life responsibilities may be that they are committed to fulfilling their unpaid church responsibilities that may vary in time commitments (Cornwall, Heaton, & Young, 2001). Like many non-LDS Hispanic parents who struggle finding the time, cultural capital, or resources to act as a positive and meaningful influence on their children's educational attainment (Ramirez, 2003; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994), LDS Hispanic parents may face increased challenges as a result of their high levels of service to others. Consequently, many LDS Hispanic parents may rely on people at school, within the community, or even within the organizations of the Church to act as the needed positive influences for their children to succeed in school and obtain a postsecondary education.

Organizational. The LDS Church is organized into congregations to accomplish its purposes. According to the official website of the LDS Church (http://lds.org), under Gospel

Topics and Church Administration, we learn that the LDS Church exists to "support and strengthen families and individuals in their efforts to live the gospel" (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2011). The site further describes how it develops HC among families and individuals through its organizations. The following two sections explain the general congregational organization as well as some of the unique aspects of Hispanic congregations.

   General congregations. First, the LDS Church is organized into congregations of members who are grouped by neighborhoods and city boundaries, depending on the number of members residing in a given geographic area. Congregations with at least two member families may be part of a "branch" while larger congregations are generally called a "ward." Branches and wards generally pertain to a larger supporting unit known as a "stake." In the U.S., each stake generally consists of five to twelve wards. Each stake generally has volunteer leaders comprised of members who live in the corresponding geographic boundaries of the branches and wards. These stake leaders support the other volunteer leaders and members who serve in the branches and wards within the stake boundaries.

   The branch and ward leaders primarily serve to support all families that live within their geographic area, including active and less-active members of the LDS Church, and also those who are not members of the faith. Each branch has a lay ministry consisting of a president and two supporting counselors; the three are referred to as the branch presidency and they are responsible for the entire membership and volunteer service organizations within the geographic branch boundaries. Similarly organized with a lay ministry, each ward ideally has a bishop and two supporting counselors, referred to as a bishopric, who share a similar role as the branch presidency, and are responsible for the welfare of all individuals residing within the ward

boundaries. Each ward and branch also provides individual organizations or social networks for children (18 months–11 years), youth (ages 12–17), women (ages 18+), and men (ages 18+) to provide opportunities for individual and family HC development on a very broad level in the form of classes, activities, interviews, etc.

    Hispanic congregations. Most of the branches and wards across the United States are English-speaking, even where some Hispanic families attend and who may have limited English proficiency. However, the LDS Hispanic population in the U.S. is growing (Embry, 1997) and there has been an increase from 200 to 493 LDS Spanish-speaking units created between 1990 and 2004 in various locations throughout the U.S. (Otterstrom, 2008). Since 2004, there appears to be no available documentation of the number of newly formed Spanish branches and wards in Utah. However, in 2009 at a Spanish-speaking training held at Utah Valley University, there were 32 Utah Spanish-speaking units represented (Askar, 2009), which suggests that there are a significant number of Utah-based Spanish-speaking units. While not all Spanish-speaking LDS attend Spanish-speaking branches or wards, the creation of these congregations in Utah illustrates that the number of Hispanics in Utah includes a large number of LDS and provides additional support for this study.

    About 22 percent of the Hispanic population in Utah is LDS (Mason, Toney, & Cho, 2011). There are several possible influences that may contribute to this LDS Hispanic population in Utah. One factor that may contribute is the Church's emphasis on missionary work and the number of Hispanics who recently joined the LDS Church while living in Utah. Another influence may be that there is a large number of Hispanics who are already LDS and moving to Utah to live among a larger LDS population and for increased educational and employment opportunities. Consequently, many LDS Hispanics living outside the U.S., similar to Hispanics

of other religious backgrounds, may make significant sacrifices to immigrate to America and to Utah so they and their children can be close to the LDS Church and/or access the abundant and globally recognized educational and employment opportunities that are not available to them in their countries of origin.

Another group of LDS Hispanics not yet mentioned includes those who identify themselves as Hispanic even when both parents are not. In other words, many LDS enter into biracial marriages. For example, many youth come from homes in which one parent is Caucasian and one is Hispanic. Some youth who find themselves in a family with biracial parents attend an English-speaking LDS congregation while others attend a Spanish-speaking unit. A similar wide range of SES, human, social capital and cultural capital levels exist among LDS biracial parents and these students may face similar challenges as those from homogenously racial parents.

The creation of these Spanish-speaking congregations within the Church has allowed many LDS members to preserve some of their cultural heritage within the LDS context (Embry, 1997). While there are many cultural similarities among LDS Hispanics there are also many differences including language and other traditions, which are generally true of all Hispanics (Nieto, 2000). Despite the many cultural differences, the inclusive nature of the worldwide LDS Church and the doctrinal premise (i.e. *The Proclamation*) that all are sons or daughters of God, theoretically transcends these differences and intends on uniting people from all backgrounds. While no formalized research in this area has been found, based on personal observations, one of the major challenges among LDS Hispanic members attending Spanish-speaking branches and wards is that social and cultural barriers seem to be emerging between parents and youth.

These observed social and cultural barriers are consistent with research for non-LDS Hispanics, especially with the second and third generation immigrants (Alba, Logan, Lutz & Stults, 2002) whose children are surrounded by English and American customs while at school and with friends, yet at home and within their community the youth are often expected to speak Spanish and retain some of the traditional customs. In some cases the youth may not learn either Spanish or English very well leading to educational barriers as well as a type of alienation from their parents because of these linguistic challenges. It is not quite clear to what extent LDS Hispanic youth who attend these Spanish-speaking congregations face the same negative cultural barriers as their non-LDS counterparts and/or how these barriers might outweigh the positive influences that come through the principles, doctrines and support of the LDS Church in general.

Programmatic. The programs of the LDS Church exist to promote HC development among families. Section 3.4 of *Handbook 2* specifies that one of the specific responsibilities of Church leaders is the welfare and development of the youth. The branch presidencies and bishoprics call upon other active adult members of their congregations to live the behavioral and moral standards as outlined above under the doctrinal influences and serve in specific roles as advisors and teachers to support the parents as they try to do the same for themselves and for their children to help all children and youth to become leaders of faith, service, and excellence (see *Handbook 2*, section 1.22).

Some of the ways these adult leaders provide leadership, service, and faith-promoting experiences for the youth are through youth-planned and youth-led weekly recreational and faith-promoting activities, teaching lessons on Sundays, holding week-long or 1-2 day overnight activities, and planning and conducting meetings (see *Handbook 2*, sections 8 and 10). This requires a relationship between the leaders and youth and a significant time in trusting mentoring

relationships. Beyond the branch and ward leaders who work closely with the youth, each stake assigns adult leaders who specifically support and train the branch and ward leaders and provide periodic large social, recreational, service, and faith-promoting activities throughout each year for all the youth who live within the boundaries of the stake (see *Handbook 2*, sections 8 and 10).

In other words, because of the outlined LDS Church organization, LDS youth in general, and specifically in the context of this research, LDS Hispanic youth may have weekly and sometimes daily access and exposure to cultural and social capital within the LDS Church that build and support HC development outside and inside the home and school. This may equate to mostly positive strengthening influences outside of the home and can develop strong and mostly positive relationships with peers and adults who share common beliefs in activities like Mutual (*Handbook 2*, section 8.13.1) and Scouting (*Handbook 2*, section 8.13.4), and who work together towards positive uplifting goals as found programs like Personal Progress (*Handbook 2*, section 10.7) and Duty to God (*Handbook 2*, section 8.12).

The availability of the ideal social capital and cultural capital within the LDS Church may suggest that LDS youth have an advantage in HC development over their non-LDS counterparts. While this may be true in theory, LDS parents, leaders, and peers must still choose to apply and live the principles espoused and take the time to support the children and youth in these efforts. Similar to their non-LDS counterparts, LDS students who come from various SES levels are also limited by their own levels of human, social and cultural capital and their own motivation to leverage these forms of capital to benefit others within their realm of influence. Again, no formal research is available in this area to help contextualize the reality of HC development for LDS Hispanics, which supports the need for this research.

Educational.   One of the major tenets of the LDS faith is for the members and specifically the youth to obtain as much education as possible, both secular and spiritual (*The Basic Principles of Welfare and Self-Reliance*, 2009; *For the Strength of Youth: Fulfilling Our Duty to God*, 2001). In other words, HC development is a standard that members strive to live and preach on a daily basis. President Gordon B. Hinckley, the recently deceased prophet of the LDS Church, regularly gave the following counsel to the youth regarding education:

> You need all the education you can get. Sacrifice a car; sacrifice anything that is needed to be sacrificed to qualify yourselves to do the work of the world….You have a mandate from the Lord to educate your minds and your hearts and your hands…. He wants you to train your minds and hands to become an influence for good as you go forward with your lives….There can be no doubt, none whatever, that education pays. Do not short-circuit your lives. If you do so, you will pay for it over and over and over again. (Hinckley, 2001)

Given that one of the purposes of the young men's organization is to "Obtain as much education as possible" (*Handbook 2*, section 8.1.3) and that one of the values of the young women's organization is "Knowledge" (*Handbook 2*, section 10.1.2), Church activities for youth may revolve around learning and the pursuit of lifelong learning (i.e. HC development), both in the secular and spiritual domains. Based on this educational emphasis, the LDS Church supports several educational programs and institutions in which students can receive concurrent secular and religious education at the K-12 level and in higher education.

Programs and institutions in K-12. Besides the peer and adult support and influences in the home and from LDS members and leaders within the branches, wards, and stakes, there are several academic programs sponsored by local or larger congregations that offer services to

improve literacy, English, math, and the list goes on. These programs often strive to meet the needs of children and parents at the same time. For example, while parents may be attending a class to learn English, children are being tutored in one of their academic subjects from school.

An example of one of the educational institutions that influences LDS students ages 14-18 is a religious educational opportunity known as Seminary (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 'Education,' 2011). According to the LDS Church's website, Seminary is a class for high school-aged youth to study the scriptures each weekday during the school year. Quite often these classes are held in either a church building or some other building specifically constructed for Seminary classes, and physically adjacent to the school, or held in the home of one of the members of the Church who has been asked to teach the class. In Utah, because of the predominant LDS population enrolled in public junior high and high schools, the LDS Church justifies constructing Seminary buildings immediately adjacent to the school and the students often attend their Seminary class in a release-time setting where students are released during one period of junior high and high school during the day to attend.

Seminary provides yet another venue for high school-aged youth to interact socially and study the scriptures under the supervision and training of an assigned adult instructor (in release-time seminary settings the vast majority of the instructors go through a rigorous training and application process to qualify for this paid teaching opportunity). For the youth who do not attend release-time seminary, it may be held early in the morning before school begins and at times, depending on the geographic location of the class in relation to the residence of each student, is done in a home-school or independent study format (Church News and Events, 2010). It is not uncommon for youth living in less densely-populated LDS areas, especially outside of Utah, to travel a significant distance in order to attend. Youth often sacrifice sleep (Cook, 2010)

or take zero-hour academic classes in order to attend released-time seminary and maintain involvement in extracurricular activities (Stones, 2006), but they grow and develop under these daily doctrinal influences during the school year. They also have many regular opportunities and a positive environment in which to develop strong peer and adult relationships and receive significant support and encouragement in and outside of the home, to perform well in school, and continue their education beyond high school (Stones, 2006). In addition, Seminary provides a source of capital for entrance into LDS Church colleges (i.e. BYU, BYU-Idaho, BYU-Hawaii and LDS Business College).

   Programs and institutions in higher education. Beyond the educational programs and institutions that exist to bless the lives of students enrolled in K-12, the LDS Church also invests a significant amount of resources in the secular and spiritual education of those in higher education. For example, the LDS Church owns and operates four colleges and universities in the United States, two of which are located in Utah (Brigham Young University and LDS Business College). The other two are located in Idaho (BYU Idaho) and Hawaii (BYU Hawaii). Each of these schools has long traditions of academic and spiritual excellence. In addition to these regionally accredited academic institutions, a large percentage of other colleges and universities not affiliated with the LDS Church have formalized religion classes held at an adjacent building to the college or university to provide ongoing religious educational opportunities for those attending institutions of higher education. The LDS Church clearly promotes and provides opportunities for its members to develop human capital.

   In summary, LDS youth ideally are held to a high moral standard with high expectations for excellence in all they do (Eyring, 2009; Tingey, 2004). They have weekly and sometimes daily contact with a large network of significant individuals in and outside the home who serve

as positive influences and who promote ongoing secular and spiritual education (*Handbook 2*).

These individuals may come from varying levels of SES and possess varying levels of cultural

and social capital. Regardless of race or ethnicity, in the event an LDS youth moves to another

location he/she generally inherits a similar caring and supportive network of individuals within

the outlined context of a branch or ward. Changing neighborhoods is often difficult for youth

and adults alike (Flippen, 2001). Yet for LDS members, given the Church's organization and

connection with its members throughout the world, the transition and connection with other LDS

may likely be smoother and more seamless. Flippen (2001) might refer to these LDS peers and

adults who welcome, integrate, and train the new members as 'institutional actors' who serve as

a transition mechanism to establish an immediate social network of positive influences for youth

and adults to be successful in school and in life.

Despite the emphasis on individual and family HC development, the supportive

congregational organization and the available social capital and cultural capital to build HC

among the members, and the role of education in the LDS Church, LDS students may still

struggle, repeat grade levels and/or have very low academic performance. The emphasis on the

family and the principles taught in the LDS Church provide a unique and relatively unexplored

social capital and cultural capital framework that is intended to lead to HC development.

However, very little formal academic research is available that describes these influences or the

process of HC development (Cornwall, Heaton, & Young, 2001). In the context of this research,

even though the LDS Hispanic youth in this study come from low SES backgrounds and are first

generation college students and were successful making it to college, it would appear that based

on the number of low-income Hispanics who do not graduate from high school in Utah, many of

these dropouts are possibly LDS. The focus of this study is to help reveal a theoretical model

that will inform the parents, LDS leaders, advisors and teachers of LDS Hispanic youth to facilitate and increase their HC development.

Chapter 3: Methods

This study explores the pathway of student success among low-income, first generation college, Latter-day Saint (LDS), Hispanic, new freshmen students who graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 and who were admitted to BYU the same year. These students were asked to recall the most significant influences as far back as they could remember, especially those that impacted their success in secondary school and their admission to BYU. Case study methods were employed initially in phase one of analysis, using a grounded theory or emic paradigm which allowed data and patterns to emerge, while in phase two of the analysis, a post-positivist or etic paradigm was used where data were contrasted with existing research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Gough & Scott, 2000; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Yin, 2003).

The purpose of this approach was to describe the findings using thick descriptions (Schein, 1987) to support the identification of common themes and patterns across and within cases (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Gibbs, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to explain the pathway of student success among these LDS Hispanic students. Trustworthiness was established using a model adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1985) where trustworthiness is described as truth value through credibility, applicability through transferability, consistency through dependability, and neutrality through confirmability (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). In the following section, trustworthiness is described in the context of the research design, data collection and data analysis.

Research Design

Because the influences on students who are admitted to and enrolling in college are dynamic, rich descriptions from the social interactions might be missed using conventional quantitative approaches (Blumer, 1978). Moreover, several of the national data sets (High School and Beyond, 1980 and 1982; National Educational Longitudinal Study, 1988; Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1998) commonly used to analyze the social capital of students in K-12 education were not originally designed to measure social capital and there is uncertainty as to their adequacy (Dika & Singh, 2002). Dika and Singh (2002) specifically identified problems with the inconsistent conceptualization of social capital (Morrow, 1999; Portes, 1998, 2000). They claimed that sources of social capital were confused with the benefits derived from it and that social capital was seen as a catch-all for the effects of sociability, confusing the interaction of race, class and gender. They also recognized that the social capital framework described, as opposed to explained, effects of inequality on educational outcomes, looking past the role of power and domination and their ties to and between institutional agents, macro forces, and discriminatory patterns found within institutions. Along with conceptualization issues, often come measurement concerns, especially with construct validity, due to the large number of latent variables inherent in measures of social capital. In addition, Dika and Singh (2002) also identified concerns with typical analyses from these data sets. Specifically, they claimed that most studies used regression-based analyses with a couple of them using Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM).

While these types of analyses are not problematic, Stanton-Salazar (2001) posited that quantitative surveys and analyses are imprecise measures of social capital, embeddedness, and social support. Also, Strauss (1959) suggested that the understanding of self, which is fundamental for this study as students reflect on their lives, requires a reflective knowledge of its

construction over time, including the influences of significant others. Regarding the historical

qualitative studies on social capital, Dika and Singh (2002) noticed that three of the five

employed predetermined themes, which allows researchers to find what they are looking for and

be less open to other emergent themes. This is also important because the current definitions

prescribed by existing research may limit understanding of social capital and its influences on

HC development. Consequently, the phase one emic approach (Gough & Scott, 2000) to data

analysis revealed a richer description, which explained the relationships and influences that

affected LDS Hispanic youth to attend college, than the phase two etic approach which relied on

contrasting conceptualizations of existing theories.

Sampling

Case selection was based on theoretical sampling (Erlandson et al., 1993; Yin, 2003),

which suggests the researcher needs to be theoretically sensitive to the population, the criteria

used to select the sample, and the sample itself (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The next four sections

describe the population from which the sample was taken, the sampling criteria, and the students

who were included and excluded from this study.

Population. The population of students in this study consisted of permanent residents

and U.S. citizens with low socioeconomic backgrounds. Additional background criteria included

the following: LDS membership, Hispanic ethnicity, first-generation college freshmen status,

graduation from a Utah high school in 2009, and application for admission as a freshman for the

2009–2010 academic year at Brigham Young University. Specifically, the population included

students who applied only for the Summer or Fall enrollments of 2009 because the BYU

Admissions Office admits freshmen for Summer and Fall 2009 at the same time.

In order to provide further context for this population it is important to articulate the

broader admission population. BYU is funded and supported by the worldwide LDS Church

representing students from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and 120 countries ("BYU Demographics," 2011). Given this fact and that in 2010, according to the BYU Admissions page (2011), about 38 percent or over 4,200 freshmen students were denied admission, it may be said that there is great demand across the globe to be admitted as a student to BYU. For the purposes of this research, admission to BYU will be the primary measure of HC. (For a full commentary on and review of BYU Admissions policies and results between 2007–2010, including the supports that BYU has in place for students with diverse backgrounds, see Appendix A.)

Selection criteria and procedures. Samples were selected based on certain criteria and procedures. All of the students selected needed to be permanent residents and citizens of the U.S. Additionally, all students needed to be from low socioeconomic backgrounds, meaning students who on the admissions application identified their parental income level as either "$25,000–$49,999" or "less than $25,000." While inclusion of the financial information on the admissions application was optional, in many cases most students who completed this portion of the application also submitted the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) and qualified for Pell Grant, as verified during the interview. However, it is possible that some students may have been excluded as they may have selected an erroneously high parental income in this section on the admissions application. It is also possible that the participants in this study may have unknowingly reported an inaccurately low income on the admissions application, while in reality they may not have qualified for a Pell Grant. However, in the case of each student in this study, prior to the interview each student reported receiving a Pell Grant.

To be selected, students had to be LDS members, meaning baptized and active members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. "Active" means that in order to be admitted and retain enrollment at BYU, each student must receive an ongoing ecclesiastical endorsement.

A large part of this endorsement explicitly requires that LDS members regularly attend weekly religious meetings and adhere to living the Church's espoused moral and ethical standards, as well as BYU's Honor Code (2011). As BYU students and their ecclesiastical leaders sign the endorsement, this agreement also implicitly suggests fulfillment of regular service responsibilities in and outside of the Church.

Hispanic students needed to self-identify their ethnicity upon applying to BYU. On the application students were required to select a primary ethnicity with which they identify themselves. All students in this study needed to identify their primary ethnicity as Hispanic/Latino.

To be selected, the participants also had to be first-generation college students identified from the admissions application by looking at the highest level of formal education for each parent. If neither parent earned a four-year degree, the student would be identified as a first-generation college student and included in the sample. However, it is possible students may not have understood this question to include all the education parents received (including international), not just the education received in the U.S. When completing the admissions application, it is also possible that students elected not to include parental level of education, may not have known the correct information, or may have reported the information inaccurately.

While the sample for this study needed to be identified by their responses on the admissions application, these criteria were also verified in person during the interviews. In all cases, the students were accurately identified as permanent residents or U.S. citizens, low-income, LDS, first-generation college students, Hispanic, and graduates from a Utah high school in 2009.

Selected participants. This study focused on the 2009–2010 academic year and the entire census of low-income, LDS Hispanic, first-generation college student applicants who graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 and were admitted to BYU. For the Summer term and Fall semester 2009 admissions entries, there were 23 people who met these selection criteria who applied. Only eight were admitted (35%). One of the eight was not available to be interviewed because he was serving an LDS mission, though some of his attribute data was made available by his mother via email (additional details about the eight admitted students are found in Appendix B).

While no contrasting data are presented here, it is interesting to note that these percentages are almost the exact opposite of the previous year's applicants using the same definitions for sampling criteria: for the 2008–2009 academic year, BYU reported that there were 27 ULDSHISP students who applied to BYU; 17 were admitted (63%) and 10 were denied admission (37%).

Excluded individuals. There were 15 ULDSHISP students (65%) in the population that were not admitted to BYU, and thus were not included in the study. (Two of the individuals did not even finish the application process.) While the stories of the 13 students who were not admitted to BYU and the two who did not complete the application are interesting, their information does not address the research question of this study. However, their attributes, acquired via email (see Appendix O), may provide a contextual contrast with the attribute data of the eight students who were admitted and around whom this study revolves. As noted above, one of the students who met all of the sampling criteria was currently serving an LDS mission and was excluded from the study.

Interview Process

        This section explains the preparation for data collection, including information on pilot interviews to test the instrument, the preparation to invite and secure appointments with the participants in the study, and the protocol during the interviews. These data collection procedures were used to increase credibility, dependability, consistency, reproducibility and confirmability (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

        Pilot testing. Prior to the official interviews, in order to increase credibility, dependability, and confirmability, the outline interview schedule (see Appendix J) and a list of potential questions that might be asked (see Appendix K) were piloted by interviewing two low-income, LDS, Hispanic, first-generation college students who met the criteria but were not admitted to BYU. In order to minimize leading the informants, the outline interview schedule included broad topics of information about which questions might be asked, in addition to other questions that may emerge. The primary purpose of the categories was to begin to stimulate thought within the informant when sent prior to and in preparation for the actual interview, in which questions were open-ended and not prescribed, relying on the informant responses to shape the nature of each subsequent question.

        During the pilot interviews, even though the questions were not prescribed and the interviews did not include the same questions, it was determined that the nature of the open-ended questioning and content of the questions were appropriate and understandable, which increased credibility of the type of interview questions that might be asked through persistent observation and feedback from the pilot informants (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). By using a reflexive journal in this process of receiving feedback from multiple pilot informants, these strategies were included to increase consistency and reproducibility, and therefore dependability (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Ultimately, these pilot interviews increased confirmability of the final instrument and data because the questions asked were more reflective of the population context than a consequence of researcher biases (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Preparation for actual interviews. Once all of the low-income, LDS, Hispanic, first-generation college student freshmen from Utah were identified by BYU Student Academic and Advisement Services, an email invitation was sent to each student (see Appendix I) using the current email address listed with the University. As explained in the invitation, if students did not respond within two days they received a phone call and an invitation to participate. After confirming each student's willingness to participate, interview appointments were made with a specific time and location, most of which occurred on the BYU campus, while two were conducted at an LDS chapel, and one in the home of the student.

Ten days prior to the interviews, each informant received a list of the research categories (see Appendix J) and the consent form to review (see Appendix M) and sign immediately prior to the interview after any necessary discussion. Each informant was given the opportunity to review the research categories. One week prior to the interview, each informant received a follow up email (see Appendix L) to confirm the date, time and location of the interview and was asked if there were any questions. If the scheduled interview time was not confirmed within three days of the scheduled interview time, the informant received a phone call to confirm the interview.

Interview procedure. At the time of the interview, the researcher served as the interviewer and managed the digital recorder, took notes, wrote down observations, and made sure the informants sufficiently responded to and covered the research categories. At the beginning of the interview, each informant was presented again with the research categories

(Appendix K) to determine if the informants had any questions prior to beginning the interviews. Each interview was digitally recorded and the interviewer made notations of any visible body language or other perceived behavior during the interview. Each interview was transcribed immediately by the interviewer and returned to the informant to review, check the responses for accuracy and clarify any unclear or ambiguous information, which increased credibility because informants were able to verify and confirm that their responses were accurate and representative (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994). After reviewing the transcriptions and topics discussed, in all but one case (Student 5), the researcher sent an additional list of clarifying questions to each informant that were responded to via email (see end of each interview found in appendices N-T). The interview for Student 5 was conducted last and did not include any additional clarifying questions.

Data Analysis

The data analysis passed through two phases: the primary emic phase and the secondary etic phase (Gough & Scott, 2000). The emic phase allows for the emergence of themes and patterns to avoid limiting biases from existing research. The etic phase compared the data from the emic phase with existing constructs already outlined in the literature.

Phase one: Emic. The emic phase began with the open coding of all interview transcripts to identify a wide variety of ideas. Open coding was followed by axial coding to identify relationships among ideas, categories and subcategories. The last part of the emic phase was selective coding in which the underlying themes, patterns and question emerged.

Open coding. The interview transcriptions and the notes from the researcher's reflexive journals were entered into NVivo 8, and the researcher began open coding by reading each document and making note of various themes, ideas, questions and thoughts as they emerged emically (Gibbs, 2002). After reading line by line and establishing the first round of categories,

the researcher went back through each transcription multiple times looking for additional

categories in words and phrases, in sentences and paragraphs, and in each document for an

overall view and explanation of what was taking place (Gibbs, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Axial coding. After open coding, additional exploration of each transcription by way of

axial coding revealed relationships between categories, and additional subcategories were

created by looking at intervening conditions, actions and interactions, and ultimately emerging

themes and patterns (Gibbs, 2002, Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The threshold criteria used during

the open coding process, when emergent themes were established, and during axial coding, when

patterns emerged within and across cases (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Huberman & Miles, 1994;

Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yin, 2003), was a 100% categorical saturation (Strauss & Corbin,

1998) and theoretical saturation across all cases (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Selective coding. Next came the selective coding process in which a specific underlying

question emerged that appeared to include the fields of sociology and psychology, which are

commonly not included together when discussing HC development: What triggered these

students to acknowledge the importance of cultural and social capital and the motivation for HC

development? The researcher reviewed each case through the lens of grounded theory

development, where the findings were clarified and tested back against the data, including

negative cases (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The results included the

creation of tables, figures, models, and categorization to describe the data (Erlandson et al.,

1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

Phase two: Etic. After the primary emic analysis, a secondary etic data analysis was

conducted comparing the findings within and across cases with existing constructs (i.e. cultural

capital, social capital, human capital, etc.) as previously defined in the literature review. The

primary question addressed in this analysis was whether or not the linear process of cultural

capital > social capital > human capital held true with this data set. In order to determine this,

the researcher explored each of these forms of capital within and across cases to determine

alignment with and/or contradiction of the existing literature with the data from this study. Also,

this secondary analysis was intended to serve as a more recent qualitative study that might

confirm or refute some of Dika and Singh's (2002) concerns that prescribed constructs and

measures of social capital may limit understanding of HC development. This was addressed in a

brief comparative analysis of the emic and etic findings.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents summaries for the seven cases in this study. The summaries are

followed by a description of the attribute data. The attribute data are followed by both an emic

and etic analysis of the findings.

Seven Case Study Summaries

This section provides a case study summary for each of the seven students interviewed in

this study. In all seven cases there was a triggering relationship followed by subsequent

influences. The significance of the subsequent influences was determined by the frequency with

which the themes appeared within and across cases. For example, teachers, counselors, the LDS

Church, peers, extracurricular activities, and extended family were all mentioned multiple times

across cases. In five cases the initial triggering relationship occurred early and incrementally in

the student's life and in the other two cases it caused a radical trajectory change when the

students were in ninth grade.

Student 1 (S1). S1 described being part of a relatively happy and intact family growing

up in Texas with an older autistic sister and three younger sisters where activity in the LDS

Church was a big part of their lives. Her father was Mexican and her mother was Caucasian. He

worked two or three jobs so they could afford minimal necessities, but she would rarely see him.

He passed away when she was nine which, as one might suspect, completely turned their lives

upside down. Her mother specifically had a very difficult time:

> At the beginning, she just wasn't there emotionally, I guess, because she was overtaken with
> grief. She got a lot of anxiety attacks going out of the house, so she was not very functional.
> So I had to do a lot of stuff then. But later on she, after we moved here (Utah), she tried to
> find a new job and couldn't. That's when she realized she needed to go back to school and
> get some kind of thing.

Activity in the Church became less important (". . . I kind of actually stopped liking and

wanting to go to Church . . .") and her mother decided to move to Utah to be closer to her

parents. Her mother decided to go back to school and work leaving S1 with the responsibility to

take care of her older autistic sister, three younger sisters, cook, clean and take care of all the

other household responsibilities. In her own words S1 described her childhood:

> I never really had a normal childhood. I don't know. People who are nine are being able to go
> over to friends' houses and play, but I was always watching my sisters. I didn't really have
> any friends growing up because I was always at home. I couldn't go anywhere because I was
> in charge and I was supposed to make sure that everybody did everything. My little sisters
> didn't want to listen to me because I wasn't the mom.

In general, S1 did not have anybody at home or elsewhere in her life who cared:

> I couldn't really tell a lot of times if she really cared . . . my mom didn't ever thank me or
> anything for helping and stuff, so I kind of really didn't want to keep that relationship as
> close as it should have been.
> Well, I didn't really have any friends including at Church, so that kind of made me not want
> to go even more.

Then S1 met a friend in orchestra at middle school who became the triggering relationship:

> Then, I had my friend I met her in middle school in orchestra and she was just really nice and
> she didn't really like push the gospel, like shove it down my throat, like some people do. She
> kind of eased me into it. That was what I needed. She's just been a really good friend. She's

just really trustworthy and loyal and has been there for me when a lot of other people haven't. She kind of got me to see that trials are hard and you can't always see the good that comes out of them. But there is something you needed from that that will help you later on.

This friend introduced S1 to other peers who provided a positive relational context for her as well as the motivation to go to Church and be successful in school:

She had a group of friends, like five or so, and they kind of, she introduced me to all of them. I never really had friends before then. She also helped me socially. I guess they helped me feel like I was wanted by somebody, which was really nice. They were just really good friends. They're all really good and awesome and strong in the Church, so that was good too. Mostly just seeing the grades that they got made me want to do better in school. I kind of put that off when everything else was piling up. Just my friends getting better grades helped me. Because my mom didn't really care about grades. She didn't ever really, you know some parents get really mad when you get low grades, my mom didn't really care.
That made me see that I needed to kind of get into college before I would have to raise a family because I saw what it was doing and I didn't want that to happen to my family. I decided that I would get a degree before I started a family so I could have something to go back to, if I ever needed to.

Once S1 experienced this triggering relationship it contextualized and made significant many of the subsequent influences in her life, which served as a motivational lens as she reflected on the past and looked forward to the future. For example, after her triggering relationship she said she recognized her aunt and uncle in Texas who "have been here at BYU and they're all really smart and I look up to them . . . ." As a junior in high school she had a good experience with her AP Psychology who instilled confidence in her and "he went to BYU and talked a lot about his experiences at BYU." Later her junior year an ecclesiastical leader who "was the one who kind of pushed me into even looking into college" handed her an application for BYU's SOAR program. During the summer after her junior year she attended SOAR where she reported, "After attending the SOAR program however, my eyes were opened and I was helped a lot in finding financial aid and scholarships. This made me start to think that

college could be a possibility after all." SOAR also became a cultural stimulus from then on that created an additional form of motivation. ("One of my motivations for success stemmed from stereotypes of my racial identity. . . . I want to break the stereotype. I want to make something of myself. I want to help other people."). Then during her senior year in high school she had a Seminary teacher who not only talked about her experience as a student at BYU, but also recommended her and made sure S1 completed a scholarship application, which she was awarded (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 2 (S2). S2 was born in Florida to Hispanic parents when his mother was 17. His sister was born about 15 months later. His parents were both less active members of the LDS Church. When S2 was five his parents divorced and he moved with his mother and sister to California. Despite the divorce, S2 remained in contact with his birth father mostly over the phone a few times each year. S2 lived in California for seven years and he remembers his mother as a business woman while he and his sister took care of each other most of the day and night. They remained less active in the Church until they moved to Utah (Davis County). "I think when we moved to Utah probably was the turning point where we kind of became more active in the Church . . . that's where we started becoming more involved in the Church, especially when my mom remarried."

Despite the divorce and second marriage, the triggering relationship for S2 began early on and remained with his mother:

> I think I've always had a close bond with her just because she was a single mom and she was kind of like the sole parent I had. Me and my sister always had a close bond with her. She's always been really open with us and she communicates with us. She explains things to us and she's supportive of us. She kind of pushes us to become better and do the things that are good. I think just as I've gotten older, our bond has gotten stronger. We have such a strong relationship I feel like I can talk to her about anything.

and with his sister:

> We're so close with each other. I think my love for her grew so much more when and I was able to create such a stronger bond with her just because I had so much more time with her. We've kind of been through the same experiences together.

It was these two relationships with his mother and sister that began early in his life and became stronger with time that contextualized his past and motivated him for the future. For example, from an early age he was able to understand that his grandparents didn't have opportunities like he has. He talked about how "they have encouraged me and talked to me about setting goals and kind of helping me to see what is important for me to succeed . . . they've had a big impact on my life." Similarly, while he was growing up he noticed many within his culture who were less fortunate and did not have the opportunities. After his move to Utah he recognized that the teachers "really cared more about the students" and "helping the students to succeed." After his mom remarried in Utah, his step-father and mother had the same goals he was "really supportive of the things me and my sister do" and would "help me and my sister set what we want, set standards." Because of his activity in the LDS Church while in Utah he said it helped him with "what I wanted in a family to how I viewed the family and how I viewed education and what I wanted from education to the way I perceived others around me and the way I treated them; treating them in a better way and helping them out. Every aspect of my life it helped me to set higher goals." Also, since he was in high school he had the opportunity to interact closely with an uncle attending BYU. "Being able to see how he's been doing here at BYU and like how he's enjoyed it and how his education has opened his mind to more knowledge and the knowledge that he's gained has him more happy and has kept his thoughts more focused and things like that. It kind of influenced me to come here." From the beginning, the triggering relationship with his mother at an early age created a mature context for and ability

to leverage the subsequent influences throughout his life (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 3 (S3). S3 is from Weber County and moved four times within the city, mostly due to their financial situation. "I didn't really make close friends at school just because I moved so much. So my family had to be my friends." She is the only student in this study with an older sibling (one year older) eligible to qualify for and attend college. Her father, who attended BYU only one semester, suffers from significant physical and mental health challenges and is unable to work. Throughout her childhood and adolescence, her mother worked two and three jobs never having attended college but to take a class or two. As a family they were never really active in the LDS Church. Despite this, they were always very close. In fact, in the case of S3, despite their financial and health challenges, the triggering relationship was with her parents and sister:

> So we're really close and they've always been supportive even though they aren't always active, they've always been supportive of everything my sister and I have done.

> I feel like I can tell my mom and my dad anything. My mom, like I said, worked a lot. But she was always there. It didn't seem like she wasn't there, even though she worked a lot. I've learned so much. That's probably one of the trials I'm most grateful for, in a way, because I've learned to communicate with a lot of people, even though I guess it's hard to communicate with someone with a mental illness. But I've learned the importance of communication and also gained a stronger relationship with my dad because of it, and I guess the tolerance and understanding of people.

> My sister and I are really close. We're just a year apart in age. So she's my best friend.

In fact, when asked the most significant influences on her she said,

> My parents and my sister first because they love me and they helped me to love myself and then want the best for myself and to continually grow and then to come here because I think I can get the best education at BYU.

Similar to S2, despite the financial, health and moving issues, S3 had an early contextualization of why things were important through the triggering relationships of her parents and sister. She

claimed to have always been interested in doing well in school, particularly during middle school

and high school:

> All throughout junior high I got really good grades and I felt so good when I got good grades, and in high school I did too, and I wanted to get a head start in college and I also wanted to take classes that challenged me. I was really interested in English and I felt when I took honors classes I did a lot better with classes that challenged me.

S3 spent a lot of time each week visiting her Chilean grandparents who came to Utah for

the LDS Church and better opportunities for their children and grandchildren. S3 said "they

always just had hope in their children and their grandchildren that they would get a good

education . . . ." Her father's parents ". . . both graduated from BYU . . . and they've always

talked about it and how great it is. My dad's parents have always stressed education too."

Spending regular time with her grandparents growing up were a constant reinforcement and

influence subsequent to the triggering relationship with her parents. Some might argue that the

LDS Church might have been the triggering relationship in many, if not all of these cases. Yet,

especially in the case of S3, the LDS Church didn't become important until she was 12. Her

parents were not active in the LDS Church, but other members would stop by and take them to

church and weekly activities. As she became further involved in the Church she said "I got so

excited about the gospel and wanted it to be a part of every second of my life so BYU seemed

like the perfect place." Also while in high school she had many other concurrent influences that

impacted her. She said her teachers "loved what they did. They would give me a lot of

complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." Her counselor "really

influenced me a lot. She was really helpful. She gave me a lot of scholarship forms and I filled

out a lot of those." She also had a theater teacher/director who "was a big influence on me too. I

respected her a lot just because she had so much passion for what she did and she was very good

at it. My theater teacher graduated from BYU and she liked it." While in theater, S3 shares an additional experience that helped her contextualize her life. She said,

> Because I moved around a lot I never really had a lot of close friends through elementary
> and junior high. . . . once I got into high school and got more involved in theater, then I
> made really close friendships . . . I learned a lot about myself and I learned more about
> relationships and about people.

Her Seminary teachers also had a similar influence like her high school teachers in that they "would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." Similar to S2 who had a Hispanic mother and Caucasian stepfather, with S3 there was a mixed cultural parental influence, a Chilean mother and a Caucasian father. In both cases, the early triggering relationship with parents created the goal-oriented and educational context for all the other subsequent influences (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 4 (S4). S4 was born in Las Vegas, Nevada in an active, LDS home. Similar to Students 2 and 3, S4 had a Mexican father and Caucasian mother and was the oldest of three children. Her father was a police officer in Las Vegas and then they moved to Washington state, where he continued as a police officer. Her mother cleaned houses in both locations. Similar to Students 1 and 2 who moved to Utah, when S4 was 11 years old they moved to Utah where her father started his own business and her mother was a substitute teacher. Similar to Students 2 and 3, S4 also experienced an early contextualization because of the triggering relationship with her parents. She describes the individual and collective influences of her parents:

> We've always been really close . . . My relationship with my dad is great. We're really, really
> good friends. He has taught us how to persevere and he, for example, he takes what he's
> good at and he started his business from scratch and he's come so far and it's awesome for us
> kids to see that. It's a lot of hard work. He had to do some jobs he didn't like so that he could
> get money to do it. We learned a lot about work ethic and dedication and determination and
> also he's always helping others and so we've learned that, as far as service goes. And he's

very close to God too and he's very strong in the gospel. With all those components together we've learned that you have to have a balance. He relies on God a lot and that's why his business will do well. We learned to put those together. So he's really helped and he's also a great leader. That's probably the biggest thing he's contributed to me, I think. His example of you do what you know is right and you don't need to be like anyone else and I've learned a lot of that from him.

I am best friends with my mom. I love her so much. We are just like best friends when we're together. I tell her everything. When it's a girl and a girl you're going to say a little more, of course. I tell her everything. We love spending time together. She is the key example in our family of straight service . . . she is really approachable and really involved in our lives. She wants to be. Not in a nosy or annoying way. She really inserts herself in our lives and really takes an interest and is always asking us about what we're doing and our friends and boys and school and stuff. And then you know that we always come to talk to her about anything because she's interested and she likes it. She gets excited.
Both sides are really objective and I think that's a key to a really good relationship .We're both open to what the other person is saying.

We have them as parents and where we can see their relationship and how it should be, because my mom didn't have that and my dad's parents, they were good parents, but they didn't see the love between their parents, really. And you know they work really hard to give us and to help us out with college and to really encourage us to continue our education and so I don't want to throw all of that away and everything I've learned from both sides and not go to school and not continue and not look for a good relationship.

As a result of the early trigger, like Students 2 and 3, S4 was able to contextualize life's opportunities as she interacted with her grandparents. Of her grandparents and their humble beginnings and sacrifices they made, she said, "My grandparents picked fruit. That gives me motivation to prove that stereotype wrong. I guess it's really easy to see what not going to school does because a lot of Mexicans don't go to school, that don't continue their education." Many on her father's side also encouraged her to attend BYU ("both my grandparents had gone there . . . . My aunt had gone there and my parents had gone to Ricks, but it's kind of like a branch, since it's BYU-Idaho now. So they were all like, 'BYU is really good.' I'd say they were really

influential"). Like Students 1 and 2, S4 moved to Utah and said, "We've always been really

close, especially since we've moved to Utah."

Her family was always active in the LDS Church and she said of her relationship with

God, "I've learned that He cares about what you care about. If you are going to put in the effort

and you're going to be obedient then He's going to help you a ton." In addition, similar to

Students 2 and 3, who referenced the Church's emphasis on education, she said "The prophets

have always have encouraged us to get an education." As she became involved in extracurricular

activities she said, "Teachers, my parents, have told us. Counselors. I guess it was always

encouraged in my high school. I guess I was just told, but it made sense to me because it made

sense that colleges were looking for you to be involved in the school, involved in the

community." Similar to the other students in this study, S4 also refers to the influences of

college-bound peers ("it's always nice to have a support system when you have other friends

doing all of that stuff with you and getting ready for college") and she specifically mentions the

influences of older peers who were already studying at BYU ("I had a couple of older friends

that were coming here and they were saying they loved it. That made me more excited to come

and to apply"). She already knew she wanted to be teacher so she spent much time with her

teachers who would often tell her that they needed to continue their education.

"For me, I really listened to my teachers because I wanted to be one and I really liked them,

so I always listened to them . . . we were friends and I was close to them and I would talk to

them. They knew that I wanted to be a teacher. I would ask them, "What do I need to do?"

They would tell me."

She had a similar experience with her Seminary teachers ("They were really encouraging,

especially since our religion is encouraging of getting an education and stuff. They taught about

how to always continue and do that and try your best") that provided another aligning influence

with her foundational context that was established in her relationship with her parents at an early

age. As with Students 2 and 3 who experienced early triggering relationships with parents, S4

used her triggering relationship as a foundational context for the subsequent influences that

facilitated her success (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 5 (S5). S5 is the only participant in this study who was not a member of the

LDS Church while in high school, nor had its regular influences throughout his life. However,

he was baptized in June, 2009 shortly after his high school graduation and after he had been

accepted to BYU. S5 is now the only member of the LDS Church in his family. He was born in

Weber County to parents who were both born in Mexico and are Catholic. He has three younger

brothers and a younger sister. His father was hardly every home as he worked for the railroad

and would be gone for several weeks and months at a time. His mother stayed at home and he

describes his relationship with them and his role as the oldest son:

> My dad was always gone. My mom is really the one who kind of taught us everything
> because my dad was just never home. I was always mad at the beginning that he was never
> home. As soon as I got older I started seeing that it was the only thing it could have worked
> with all of us and him not having any real school education.

> I was pretty much the man of the house. I had to go through all the bills, read everything, tell
> my mom what she had to pay, cut the grass, and do a bunch of housework and all that.
> I remember translating for my parents and I still always do. It hasn't changed anything
> because they haven't really learned anything. They can at least understand now, but they
> haven't learned English.

> Pretty much look after your brothers and sisters. Help your mom with everything, because
> my dad was always gone. So I had to do everything else my mom couldn't do. She was
> always looking out after us.

When asked about his parents' educational desires for him he said, "None." In fact, he goes on to describe his own early school aspirations:

> All throughout elementary school and middle school, I had no aspirations to go to college. I just didn't want to go. As soon as I got into high school, things just started clicking. That's when I said I want to go to college.

While he claims to have a good relationship with his parents, unlike Students 2-4 and like S1, the unique triggering relationship that caused him to reflect on his life and motivate him to be successful in school and go to college was found outside of the home. Initially in the interview he did not recognize what it was that caused things to 'click' in high school. However, towards the end of the interview he had an 'a-ha' moment in which he came to the realization that it was his experience with a college counselor:

> It was ETS (Educational Talent Search) actually that started making things click. We had an advisor change for our high school. We had Ammon and then we had Ang. Ammon was a big reason why. He started exposing us. He was going to college then and he would talk about what he did in college that day and what he did in his classes, or whatever. It was him. It was ETS. That was in ninth grade. He spent time at our school. He literally was like a teacher because he spent so much time there. He asked if we needed anything. He'd make these wonderful presentations about school and all that. He'd just teach us a bunch of things that we really liked and enjoyed. He taught us about college and how fun it is. About the work. He'd help us with a bunch of applications. He helped me for scholarship applications. Even for HOSA, even though he wasn't my advisor, he helped me make my cover letter and my job resume. He helped me with everything I needed.

Like S1, S5's triggering relationship came while he was in ninth grade and stimulated a significant change of perspective and decision-making. He talked about the cultural influences that surrounded him and almost caused him to drop out of school prior to his triggering relationship ("Most kids are really poor and live in poverty and they need to help their parents out in some way, so the culture is work, work, work and they don't pay close attention to their

education"). However, subsequent to his experience with the counselor he began to realize that "I don't want to suffer like my dad. I want to provide a better living than I had. A better living for my family in the future. I want to prove to other students that you can be whatever you want." Another influence that added to his newfound perspective was that his father sent money for his uncle to go to college in Mexico. Shortly after his uncle graduated, S4 said, "My uncle became mayor and that's pretty much what inspired me. That's pretty much what got me going. Everybody else in my family that's tried to go to college has eventually dropped out within the first year. Most of them have not even graduated from high school." Even though his uncle lived in Mexico and doesn't have much interaction with him, his uncle was the only family member who completed a college degree and was living a lifestyle that S4 wanted.

While in high school he began to have experiences with extracurricular activities and supportive teachers that expanded his educational horizons even further. For example, S5 became involved in Health Occupations Students of America and started doing this subsequent to his triggering relationship. As a result he said, "They kind of helped expose me to all the different careers I could have in the medical field or even just college. Some just exposed me to college." Because of his interests in health occupations he quickly became friends with his science teachers (there were three teachers and they're all science teachers, human anatomy and physiology"). About these three teachers and their influences on him attending college he said, "I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted. They said, 'You could do whatever you want.'"

He also became a student body officer his senior year talked about the contrasting LDS and non-LDS peer relationships and the influences they had on him ("seeing and comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in

them. The words they used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me. They supported me more than my non-LDS friends"). He also talked about seeing and interacting with other LDS members who were supportive and lived lifestyles that seemed appealing in contrast to those with which he was most familiar in his own family setting.

Similar to S1, because of his newfound context acquired through a triggering relationship in the ninth grade, the influences he saw and experiences he had throughout high school were placed in a context that motivated him to do and be better. Of his interest in BYU he said, "I wanted to go to BYU . . . because I wanted to learn more about the LDS religion and that would be the best place for me to learn more." Both S1 and S5 had little motivation or aspirations to do well in school or pursue college. However, as soon as they experienced their triggering relationship, it was as if they had been living lives with blinders that had been removed and could now see a world of increased opportunities, possibly similar to the opportunities viewed by Students 2-4 at a much earlier age. In all cases, it would appear that the influences subsequent to the triggering relationships serve to add clarity to and expand their horizons (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 6 (S6). S6 was born in California to a Caucasian father and a Puerto Rican mother. When S6 was an infant her father was in a terrible accident while they were visiting Utah. This accident prevented him from working, so her mother worked while he stayed home. Because most of his doctors were in Utah and because her Puerto Rican grandparents lived in Utah, when S6 was three they moved to Utah. Shortly after moving to Utah her parents opened their own copy business in Utah County. Because her parents owned their own business and only had one child they would bring her to work with them after school. In fact, S6 describes,

> I would go to school, and then after school I would go there with them. Yeah. And that was interesting because I, like, felt different than all the other kids, cause, like, all the other kids would, like, go home and, like, play with their friends, and I, like, would go to work with my parents. But I think that made me, like, closer with them because I got to spend a lot more time with them . . . I've always been really close with my parents and--especially because I was an only child for ten years.

In the case of S6 she describes her relationship with her mother,

> . . . me and my mom are like, really, really close. Like, I tell her everything. And, I think especially because I was, like, the only kid so, like, I had all the attention.

and her parents in general,

> And, like, we just, like, talk. And, like, that's just like how my family is--like, we just, like to talk to each other. And that's, like, especially how my parents are.

Even when her parents adopted her younger brother when she was ten, her relationship remained close with her parents. However, she also talked about how she's "really close" with her brother "even though we're like, a very big age difference, we're really close." Her parents were her triggering relationship that helped contextualize her life experiences and motivated her for the future.

Similar to Students 2-4 throughout their lives and to S1 and S5 after their triggering relationship, the level of motivation became more of an intrinsic influence. S6 described her motivation:

> I kind of just motivated myself, really. I mean sometimes I needed a push from my parents, but most of the time I just wanted to get good grades. It's not like I would beat myself up if I got a bad grade. I just said, OK, I'll do better next time. I don't know. I think because it wasn't BYU, like a lot of my friends would say they need to get good grades to go to BYU. I think it was just . . . there were always those kids in high school that were like, "I failed this test and it's so funny." I never thought it was funny. I said, "No, I want good grades. I want A's." I think because it made my parents proud that I was a good student, because my parents weren't good students in high school either.

Other familial influences that appear to have provided clarity and breadth to her horizon were her grandmother (" . . . my grandma worked at BYU for 17 years in the Library. She was always

telling me to go to BYU. I went with her sometimes to work and she would take me to the Library") and two of her aunts (" . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like, 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' It made me excited because I thought it was cool").

Similar to S3, even though grades and school mattered, activity in the LDS Church was really not a priority until S6 was twelve years old and entered the LDS Young Women's organization and adult leaders within this organization reached out to her ("I had this one leader that would, like, always just, like, call me and just like, 'How are you?' or, like, if I wasn't at church, she would call me like 'Are you doing ok? Missed you at church'). In the case of S3, only she and her sister started attending church. S6 and her family started attending together periodically. Then, doctors informed her family that her mother had a brain tumor and as a family they became more seriously engaged in church activity ('Okay, it's, like, time to, like, get our lives on track.' That's when it really, like, turned around. She really wanted to do good with, like, scripture reading and going to church and praying and everything."). As a result of the tumor S6 changed her perspective on life even more ("It just made me not take things for granted anymore because I think a lot of people take their parents for granted and everything they do for them. I had to do everything. I had to take care of my little brother, clean the house, make dinner sometimes, and stuff).

After a couple years the problems with her mother's brain tumor were stabilized and S6 was in high school. Similar to all the other students except S5, Seminary became important and was influential in her life ("I had one really good seminary teacher that was, like, way awesome and, I think, helped me a lot"). Similar to S5, she joined the Health Occupations Students of America club and later became president (I think having that much responsibility helps you

because I had to plan things and organize things and set up things and be in charge of people. I think that was helpful"). Peers also became more important and encouraging. One of her friends had done the Mountainland Applied Technology College Medical Assisting Degree while concurrently enrolled in high school and encouraged S6 to do it too, which she did. This required significant effort, balancing of time and persistence, but she did it at the recommendation of her good friend. Now, all of her close friends are attending different colleges mostly in Utah. As with Students 2-4, S6 had a context for academic success and aspirations for the future from an early age because of her close, triggering relationship with her parents. As this relationship got stronger and as she experienced other life circumstances and influences throughout her life, her perspectives and focus became more clear (see Appendix C for complete quotes).

Student 7 (S7). With S7, his Peruvian father and Mexican mother, his biological parents, never got married and as soon as he was born, his father left. S7 spent most of his life with his mother who got married to another man from Mexico when S7 was eleven years old. Since then she has had five other children with her husband, his stepfather ("I usually refer to my mom and my stepdad as my parents"). Meanwhile, his biological father got married and has four kids of his own. Both sets of parents lived in the Salt Lake area much of his life. From age seven to fourteen S7 lived in Mexico with his mother and stepfather, part of the time in their own home and part of the time with his grandparents. While his parents remained in Mexico for a time when he was only fourteen, he moved by himself to the U.S. to live with his uncle and aunt in the Salt Lake area. He lived with them for a brief time and then lived with different families. At age 17 he was living on his own and paying rent. "She (mom) sent money and stuff and I think paid the bills. I always had a job so it wasn't too hard, per se." After moving in and out of

different housing arrangements with different families, he found his biological father and moved

in with him and his stepmother. Although, when he moved in with his father they agreed he

would remain in his current high school because he had joined the cheer squad and didn't want

to change schools again ("I don't think I ever stayed in a school more than three years in a row").

He was rarely home because of school and work. His mother and stepfather moved back to the

Salt Lake area in December of 2008, shortly before his high school graduation in May '09, and

he moved back in with them.

Despite all the moving, interruptions and inconsistencies in his life, his primary triggering

relationship was with his mother. He describes his relationship in the following way:

> My mom's always been responsible and she's always cared about us. . . My mom basically
> raised me on her own, usually with the help of my grandparents. She pushed me in every way
> and motivated me and still helped me pay for stuff even when I was on my own.

S7 recognizes his mother's family as "smart" and that none of his parents were able to get an

education. Based on his constant moving and his relationship and circumstances with his mother

he was able to contextualize the subsequent interactions with other significant influences and

contributed to his independence and success.

> My goals were always mixed with making money to do better than my parents, and spreading
> empathy from moving so much . . .

> I just did well on my own. I can't remember if they ever told me to do my homework or stop
> playing video games or watching TV. But I always did well enough. I just did well in school.
> I thought it was easy. I figured why not. I don't think any need or psychological issues to
> rebel. Considering that I had already lived on my own and paying bills on my own and
> working to pay rent, not really living with authority, not that I did anything bad. Just
> customary to make my own decisions. I never really had a curfew, but I never would be
> stupid and do whatever.

Despite his independence and autonomy, life wasn't necessarily perfect for him and he

admittedly lacked motivation to go beyond what naturally came easy for him (i.e. doing well in

school). He still needed some additional guidance and intervening influences. Yet, with the foundational context provided by his initial relationship with his mother he was able to recognize the positive nature of other intervening influences. For example, his grandfather taught him from the age of five and taught him frequently. In fact, S7 said, "Really after my grandpa helped me learn so much at an early age, my family didn't really help me do my homework per se. I don't think there was much need of enforcement of doing well in school. I just did well on my own." He constantly experienced a change of households and even when he lived with family, he lived a rather independent lifestyle ("I just did well on my own"). It wasn't until high school that he gained strong peer relationships. One source was from cheer squad ("the best sense of family I got during high school, or second best, was cheer squad") and the other was from his girlfriend ("she still encouraged me to finish everything and was very supportive"). He didn't have much time for a social life because he was always working or doing cheer squad ("basically all my nights were either working or on cheer squad. I didn't really have much of a social life").

While in high school, S7's LDS bishop helped him in multiple ways, including constant encouragement to continue his education ("My bishop. He did promote a sense of education. He was there for us, so I guess if anything, he kept me fed during high school").While in high school he also had good teachers, one in particular that stood out ("one of the best teachers I ever had was in 10th grade and she just cared about us so much"). He also had a supportive counselor who helped connect him with opportunities that would help him be successful in school and with applying for college.

He was also constantly watching his cousins who were attending some of the top schools in Mexico ("In Mexico they're going to the best schools out there for med school or for business") and other cousins who attended BYU and encouraged him to attend ("my other two

cousins are graduating with majors in business or economics and I think one of them is going for

an MBA. My cousins encouraged it because of how good it is"). One of the cousins who

attended BYU also encouraged S7 to apply for and attend SOAR. He said, "My mom said I

should do it. My mom basically forced me to do it. Because of my cousin more than anything. It

was really nice. Basically I really wasn't interested in going to BYU at all. That put some interest

in me." He went on to describe an additional awakening he had while at SOAR with respect to

his living the LDS standards and the desire to apply for and attend BYU ("if I ever have issues

this would be the only place I would have hope. Because if I went to any other college the

environment would have destroyed me").

When asked about his primary motivations for success he said, "Maybe at first because it

was what I was good at, but later it was because I realized it was the best path I could go

through." Up to that point his life had been about him and his independence. After attending

SOAR and experiencing BYU he was also able to contextualize the difference between attending

college in general and attending BYU:

> When you make it to college you can gain a purpose, a career, a life calling. When you make it to BYU, you commit to something higher and something different. You commit to helping the world, not just yourself, at least that's what I expect.

Similar to students 2-4 and 6, while he was motivated initially by his parental relationship, in his

case the subsequent experiences with and influences from grandparents, cousins, cheer squad,

bishop, peers and SOAR combined to provide sufficient motivation to make it to BYU. Even

though S7 lived a much more independent lifestyle than the other students, the context for doing

well and seeking better educational and life opportunities was initiated by his relationship with

his mother and was expanded and reinforced by subsequent influences and experiences (see

Appendix C for complete quotes).

Attribute Data

BYU provided the list of students who met the population criteria, both admitted and non-admitted students. Between 2007-2010, the ethnically aggregated new freshmen admission rate was 69% (see Table 2). In the 2010 academic year, this average dropped slightly to 62%. Of the 21 students who completed the application in this study, only eight (38%) were admitted, which is 30% lower than the aggregated admissions average for 2009. The attribute data were collected in a pre-interview survey (see Appendix N) sent to each participant via email and then immediately prior to the interview, the interviewer reviewed and confirmed the responses. One of the eight admitted students (i.e. Student 8) immediately deferred admission and left for an LDS mission and was not available for verbal or written comment. However, his mother responded to an email and provided some attribute data that is included.

There were four males and four females between 18 and 19 years old. While all of the participants in this study were first generation college students, not surprisingly, none of them were first generation residents in the U.S. Four of the participants were second generation residents in the U.S. while the other four were third generation. In five of the seven cases, the parents with whom the students lived were of mixed ethnic background (i.e. one Hispanic and one Caucasian) whereas in the other two cases both parents were Hispanic. In one case, only Spanish was spoken in the home while in five of the cases, only English was spoken. In two cases, both Spanish and English were spoken in the home. Interestingly, the primary language of seven students was English and in the other case, his primary language was both Spanish and English.

Only two participants lived in their country of origin for a brief time while five had no experience outside of the U.S. and one had only visited grandparents outside of the U.S. Consistent with the literature on residential mobility, five of the students changed household

residencies between one and three times while growing up and the other three students changes residencies between four and eight times. One of telling attributes in this study is that seven out of the eight students were the oldest child in the family (in one case, the participant had an older sister with severe autism, so the participant was considered the oldest in terms of being qualified for postsecondary education). In the other case, the participant's sister was only one year older and had recently gone through the college admissions and scholarship process. In other words, outside of this one case, none of the parents or students had any firsthand experience of children or siblings having gone through the transition from high school to college.

All of the participants had friends attending college, which suggests the importance of peer influences as they relate to college enrollment. When it came to BYU, only two of the students had planned or hoped to attend BYU. The others did not plan on attending, either because they had no desire, did not think they would be admitted, or both. At the time of the interviews, all were members of the LDS Church. During the summer after high school graduation, one of the participants was baptized as the only LDS member in his family. This participant was the only one in this study who did not participate in four years of LDS Seminary, which is one of the BYU admissions categories. Another of the admissions categories is related to females receiving the LDS Personal Progress recognition and males receiving either the LDS Duty to God and/or Boy Scouts of America Eagle. In this study, all four females had earned their Personal Progress and only two of the males had earned either the Duty to God or Eagle.

Academically, all students in this study had taken between one and six Advanced Placement (AP) courses. In three cases, the students took one fewer AP exams than the classes in which they enrolled because they did not perform well in those courses. All but two of the students enrolled in concurrent college courses while in high school. Only two of the students in

this study had heard about BYU's SOAR program and attended the summer after their junior year in high school. Table 3 includes additional academic attributes of the eight admitted students, including location of high school, as well as self-reported ACT and GPA information. All of the descriptive attribute categories enhance credibility of the data (Erlandson et al., 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Because only some information was available for Student 8 and he was not available for interview, the focus of this study is directed to Students 1-7.

Phase One: Emic Analysis Findings

Themes. Phase one of the analysis allowed for the emergence of the most important elements that explain student success among students who are low-income, first generation college, LDS, Hispanic, graduated from a Utah high school and were admitted to BYU as freshmen in 2009. During open coding, a host of influential themes emerged, most of which aligned with common definitions of cultural and social capital, and appeared in all cases, while other influences appeared in only a few cases. There were three themes present in all cases and revolved around relationships, personal decisions, and moments of contextualization or what could be described as "a-ha" moments for the students. The following sections present these three themes along with the evidence to support them, and Appendix D provides a summary of the cultural and social capital influences present among these cases.

Relationships. Based on the attributes of the seven cases, one of the most significant relationships that emerged during opening coding was the relationship between the student and the parents. As indicated, four cases had intact parents (i.e. intact marriage/no divorce), two cases of remarriage, and one whose mother was a widow. The comment from S4 ("We've always been really close") is reflective of the three cases with positive influences by intact parents at an early age (Students 3, 4 and 6). This comment is also reflective of Students 2 and 7 who, even though they experienced a time of non-intact parents and later their mothers

remarried, the strong relationship was primarily maintained with their biological mothers ("Me and her have a strong relationship with each other so we're kind of like the best of friends, like nothing can tear us apart." – S2 and "My mom's always been responsible and she's always cared about us." – S7). However, the students also felt supported by their step-fathers ("But he's really supportive of the things me and my sister do." – S2 and "My step-dad, he really just helped my family got off their feet." –S7).

On the other hand, S1 and S5 experienced some unique negative influences from their parents. S1 had a great relationship with her intact parents until age nine when her father unexpectedly passed away. This created significant burdens on the family that changed the relationship between the student and her widow mother ("I couldn't really tell a lot of times if she really cared"). Similarly, S5 had intact parents, but his father was regularly out of town for weeks at a time and to this day he said, "I never really see my dad." S5 describes the relationship with both of his parents when he said, "My parents never called me dumb directly. I don't know if they thought about it. They just didn't believe in me that I could do it." The parent-child cohesion or lack of cohesion of Coleman's (1988) social capital appeared to be an important element among the relationships.

In addition to the positive and negative cohesion between parents and students, these students also experienced various influences as a result of their relationships with grandparents, siblings, extended family, peers, teachers and counselors at school, LDS Seminary teachers, and members of the LDS Church. In some instances, there were positive and negative influences from these relationships that served as cultural capital, both educational and religious. The following are only a few examples:

Sister: "She is always pushing me to be better. We're always helping each other." (S3)

Grandfather: "And it was my grandpa who I think started teaching me math and reading since I was five. Since then, all throughout grade school it was easy to do. And my grandma, I'm pretty sure, she's told me herself that I was her favorite grandson." (S7)

Aunts: " . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' They just told me it was a good school . . . . It made me excited because I thought it was cool." (S6)

Teachers: I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted. They said, 'You could do whatever you want.' (S5)

Cultural influences: It played a role in that I was setting an example in a way for some of the people who were part of my culture that didn't get to receive the same things that I did." (S2)

Peers: I took his class just because all of the other students said it was a good class and psychology was interesting, so I took that. (S1)

Seminary Teachers: "I always loved my seminary teachers. They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." (S3)

LDS Prophets: The prophets have always have encouraged us to get an education, like President Hinckley did so much. 'Be smart.'" (S4)

In other instances, there were positive and negative influences that served as a form of social capital that provided a sense of cohesion or the lack thereof:

Grandmother: "And my grandma, I'm pretty sure, she's told me herself that I was her favorite grandson." (S7)

Peers: I didn't really have any friends growing up because I was always at home. . . . I

didn't really have any friends including at Church, so that kind of made me not want to

go even more. (S1)

Extended Family: "I was in a couple classes with some of my cousins. They just didn't

care. They just didn't care about school. They were just there to fill up the seat because

their parents made them go. They just don't want to go to college." (S5)

Personal decisions. At different points in the chronological events recalled by each

student there were moments where the student made certain decisions that may or may not have

been influenced by cultural or social capital. These decisions are important because through

these decisions, the students were given significant opportunities to recognize and be influenced

by additional cultural and social capital influences. While the personal decisions of all the

students are important, this was especially more evident for the two students who did not have

cohesive parent-child relationships (i.e. S1 and S5).

For example, S1 did not have any friends at school or at church and had a very abusive

relationship with her mother from the time of her father's death until the ninth grade. Even

though she expressed how little time she had because of her responsibilities at home, for some

unexplained reason she made the decision to enroll in the school orchestra. Up to this point

grades really didn't matter to her (". . . my mom didn't really care about grades. She didn't ever

really, you know some parents get really mad when you get low grades, my mom didn't really

care."). As a result of this personal decision to join orchestra, she met a new friend who became

an instigator or broker to other relationships and opportunities ("She's just been a really good

friend. She's just really trustworthy and loyal and has been there for me when a lot of other

people haven't."). This friend earned good grades, had college aspirations, peers with similar

accomplishments and aspirations, and was an active member of the LDS Church, facilitating a reconnection with the LDS Church. From this chronological point, the decisions made and other influences experienced by S1 were definitely impacted by this initial relationship with her friend from orchestra (e.g. "She kind of got me to see that trials are hard and you can't always see the good that comes out of them. She had a group of friends, like five or so, and they kind of, she introduced me to all of them. I never really had friends before then.")

Similarly, S5 had a limited relationship with his father and a non-supportive relationship when it came to educational success ("My parents never called me dumb directly. I don't know if they thought about it. They just didn't believe in me that I could do it."). As indicated, most of his extended family living close to him were not modeling or encouraging educational success. He specifically said, "All throughout elementary school and middle school, I had no aspirations to go to college. I just didn't want to go. As soon as I got into high school, things just started clicking." For some unexplained reason he participated in a club during ninth grade (i.e. Educational Talent Search or ETS) that took the students on trips to a local college. During this experience he met a college student who was a counselor in this program. In this particular case, the counselor was not even assigned to S5, yet this counselor took an interest in him. In fact, towards the end of the interview with S5, he came to the realization himself that this is what made things 'click' and caused him to drastically change his path to success and recognize other influences ("You know what? It was ETS actually that started making things click. He started exposing us. He was going to college then and he would talk about what he did in college that day and what he did in his classes or whatever. It was him. It was ETS.")

Contextualization of influences. As suggested above with the personal decisions and initial outcomes with S1 and S5, the third theme that emerged in all cases was that there is a

cohesive relationship that causes the student to contextualize the importance of grades, success and going to college. In the case of S1 and S5, there was a period of time without a cohesive relationship and during this time, low grades and very little motivation for success or attending college. However, as soon as these two students experienced cohesive relationships during ninth grade it was as if their schemas changed and there was now a motivation to get good grades ("Just my friends getting better grades helped me. Because my mom didn't really care about grades." - S1 and S5, after his cohesive relationship, "I had a 4.0 throughout high school and I got an A- my last semester of my senior year. I always got good grades, took AP classes, and was involved with everything you can possibly be involved in at school."). After the cohesive relationships and as part of this contextualization these students were enabled to recognize and act on the positive and negative cultural and social capital influences that facilitated their success and contributed to their motivation.

> The overall school environment. It depends. It was very good. The teachers are all willing to help you. They were all willing to help you. They would push kids to get better grades, but it was mostly to get a really good education and everything you could possibly get out of high school, you had to be the one that wanted to ask questions and stay after school and learn. – S5

In the case of S5, his motivation for and ability to utilize the cultural and social capital influences seemed a little greater than they were for S1. While S1 had increased motivation to earn good grades, affording college was not really conceivable until some cultural capital influences intervened and upon which she was motivated to act. While in eleventh grade an ecclesiastical leader asked about her aspirations for college and gave her an application to attend a multicultural program at BYU called SOAR ("I figured he really cared because he took the

time to get that stuff and bring it to me. So I filled out the application and everything and sent

that in."). Among the comments she made about SOAR, S1 said, "They had that financial

workshop. That really helped me. Other workshops that they did, explaining how the fact that

you don't have the best grades isn't the major thing that they look at, that they look at everything

all together. That made me want to apply and at least see if I could get in."

In addition to SOAR, she had a seminary teacher who helped her earn a scholarship. Of

this Seminary teacher she said, "I did get another scholarship that my seminary teacher actually

recommended me for. She gave me the application and everything and she was really

encouraging as well and telling me that I should apply." While there was an initial

contextualization and motivation for good grades for S1 and S5 while in ninth grade, the

contextualization and tapping of the subsequent cultural and social capital influences also

contributed to their motivation and actual acquisition of grades and experiences that would

qualify these students for admission to BYU.

In the other five cases, this cohesive relationship was with parents and happened early in

the lives of these students. In the context of these relationships, the motivation for grades,

success and college were always present. For example, in the case of S2, his mother "really

stressed the importance of good grades and community service and all the things that would help

build our character and also just help us to succeed and to help benefit our community and those

around us too." Similarly, he saw how his father was unhappy, "So I think for me I was kind of

motivated to become, it wanted me to be become better and wanted me to reach higher goals and

not have to follow the path I guess he followed." S3 said, "I feel like I've always felt it was

really important. I can't remember when or how I started thinking it was important. All

throughout junior high I got really good grades and I felt so good when I got good grades, and in

high school I did too, and I wanted to get a head start in college and I also wanted to take classes that challenged me." S4 had parents who also stressed the importance of goals and success. She said, ". . . I just knew what I think is common knowledge- get good grades, be a good kid, be involved, work hard, and things will turn out how they're supposed to."

These five students always had aspirations to attend college because they knew it would lead to a better life and it was reinforced by the words and actions of their parents who taught them.

"Going to college was kind of what we needed to help us succeed. It was going to help us have a career and things like that in life." – S2

"I always felt like they [parents] encouraged education a lot and from a really young age I thought it was important. I don't really know why. But education has always been a top priority. I was always getting good grades so I could learn, but also so I could get into a good college and so that I could have a better future." – S3

". . . they work really hard to give us and to help us out with college and to really encourage us to continue our education and so I don't want to throw all of that away and everything I've learned from both sides and not go to school and not continue . . ." – S4

". . . my mom would always tell me, like, how her parents would always say, like, it's important to get a good job but, like, now, since things have changed it's, like, more important to get a college education and, like, a good job, because the college education will lead to a good job." – S6

"Always was told and expected to go to college, never a doubt in my mind." – S7

In addition to the influences of parents, these five students recognized and were influenced by many other cultural and social capital influences throughout their time in K-12 education.

"The LDS Church stresses education and it teaches that education is important in life so that we can help build our own character and it helps us become better people as ourselves and helps us to succeed in our lives." – S2

"There's a lot of motivation for academic achievement at least the people I was with. I don't know if it was because I was surrounded by people in my AP classes, but it felt like there was a lot of emphasis placed on achievement and learning." – S3

"Teachers, my parents, have told us. Counselors. I guess it was always encouraged in my high school. I guess I was just told, but it made sense to me because it made sense that colleges were looking for you to be involved in the school, involved in the community. Like holding leadership positions and that kind of experience." – S4

"My grandma because my grandma worked at BYU for 17 years in the Library. She was always telling me to go to BYU. Yeah, like two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.'" – S6

". . . probably helped when my cousins graduated from BYU . . . " – S7

The examples above are intended to only briefly represent a wide range of examples that represent the predominant themes that contributed to the success of these students. While the three predominant themes found in all seven cases dealt with the three themes of relationships, personal decisions and contextualization, on a broad level there were many influences that contributed to the success of the students in this study, the majority of which align with common definitions of cultural and social capital and are summarized in Appendix D, including the indicators, definitions, examples and thresholds.

In two of the cases, students had attended the BYU SOAR program and were significantly influenced by participating (S1: After attending the SOAR program however, my

eyes were opened and . . . . This made me start to think that college could be a possibility after all." S7: Basically I really wasn't interested in going to BYU at all. That put some interest in me. . . . I told myself, 'you know if I ever have issues this would be the only place I would have hope'). Appendix E summarizes the emergent relational themes, with some supporting representative case evidence, both positive and negative, for these themes and the total percentage of cases represented by the data.

Patterns. After a theme-by-theme and theme-by-attribute analysis, two clear patterns emerged (i.e., abrupt and gradual contextualization). Specifically, triggering relationships appeared to provide a context in which students were able to assign value to and be motivated to act on available cultural and social capital influences in their lives. This contextualization process was different for the students who had cohesive relationships with at least one parent than it was for those who did not. These patterns wherein the student's ability to contextualize and feel motivated to utilize cultural and social capital influences are summarized in Figure 2, both of which meet a 100% threshold.
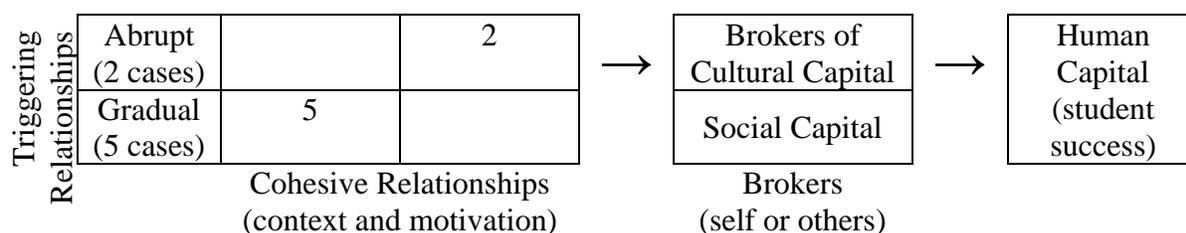
Figure 1. Abrupt vs. Gradual Contextualization Model

In the first or *Abrupt* part of the model (two cases), there was a triggering relationship that caused an abrupt contextualization of previous and current positive and negative influences of cultural and social capital, and the motivation to pursue a more success-oriented personal

schema. As noted, S1 and S5 did not have cohesive relationships with their parents. In the case of S1, there may have been a cohesive relationship while her father was still alive, but this all changed after his death when she was ten years of age. Appendix F charts the progressive flow of the abrupt contextualization model for S1 and S5, which for both of these students, occurred in the ninth grade. Keep in mind that prior to the triggering relationship, both of these students were doing poorly in school and had no aspiration or hope for college. However, once the abrupt trigger happened, the student was able to contextualize life and become motivated to be successful.

In the other or *Gradual* part of the model (five cases) there were two patterns that emerged (i.e. the nature of the relationship and the encouragement by that relationship to pursue college). First, there was a loving, trusting, very close relationship between at least one parent and the student. Second, the same cohesive relationship also encouraged the student to pursue college in the future. This early two-part triggering relationship with parents early in life caused a gradual contextualization for and development of a personal schema wherein the student was capable of contextualizing and feeling motivated to act on positive and negative influences of cultural and social capital throughout life, ultimately leading to success. Unlike Coleman (1988), not all five cases came from intact families. Two out of the five had mothers who remarried, yet in both instances, the step-fathers were supportive along with the mothers and provided a supplement to the existing mother-child cohesive relationship. In all five cases, the data clearly reveal that with an early cohesive relationship and the ongoing encouragement from at least one parent to pursue a college education, the student has a much clearer perspective of success and is much more motivated to identify, seek out and utilize available cultural and social capital

influences to facilitate success throughout life. Appendix G summarizes some evidence that supports this part of the model.

Within these patterns, five of the students (1-4 and 6) came from family circumstances where the predominant parental figures were mixed, one was Caucasian and the other was Hispanic. Five of the students (1-2, 4, and 6-7) all moved to Utah whereas the other two lived their entire lives in the state. In the case of the five students, they claimed that their quality of life improved as a result of the move to Utah. All of the students talked about the positive influences of the LDS members, organizations, doctrine and emphasis on their educational success. All students in this study had trusted immediate and/or extended family members or friends who had attended, graduated from, or loved BYU and encouraged these students to attend. In all but one case (S5), all of the parents encouraged success in school and continuing education beyond high school, even though the parents weren't necessarily in a position to directly help or point their children to the right people to receive the appropriate help. In the case of Students 2, 4 and 6, the parents proactively reached out to other people and resources to help their children become successful and more qualified for postsecondary educational opportunities.

Underlying all of the influences, the findings illustrated a common pattern represented across 100% of the cases to support a grounded theory. The grounded theory was that even though all seven students had different experiences growing up with a wide range of family circumstances, positive and negative influences and relationships, it was the contextualizing power of the triggering relationships (early in life for Students 2-4, 6 and 7 and during ninth grade for S1 and S5) of love, trust and care, and the accompanying encouragement to be successful in school, that provided a context for subsequent influences to make sense of and be

leveraged towards student success in school and admission to BYU. In other words, while school success was not solely based on these triggering relationships, these initial relationships created the context and ability for these students to recognize positive and negative decisions, influences and experiences from the past and present, which served as empowering motivations to be successful in school and engaged in those things that would qualify them for postsecondary educational opportunities. This theory provides a substantive theoretical response to the research question of this study. It explains that the most important element for student success among these low-income, first generation college students who are LDS, Hispanic, graduated from a Utah high school and attended Brigham Young University as a freshman in 2009 was a triggering relationship of trust, love and care accompanied by the promotion of student success that facilitated the contextualization of subsequent life experiences and served as a motivation for success.

Phase Two: Etic Analysis Findings

The second phase of analysis briefly identified alignment with and/or contradiction of the existing literature (as outlined in the literature review) and identified in this section as etic categories, with the themes and patterns that emerged from phase one. The secondary analysis also considered alignment between this data and the linear process of cultural capital on social capital and social capital on human capital. Also, the secondary analysis briefly sought to confirm or refute some of Dika and Singh's (2002) concerns that prescribed constructs and measures of social capital may limit understanding of HC development.

Therefore, the following sections briefly outline the etic categories (status attainment, cultural capital and social capital) and their alignment with or contradiction of previous research in light of the data in this study. Then, the data from this study were compared with the linear model of HC development already presented, exploring both positive and negative cases found

within the data from this study. Finally, Dika and Singh's (2002) concerns may have been confirmed with this data set in that some of the themes that emerged from phase one of analysis may not have emerged had there been a prescribed list of themes that would have been tested and analyzed.

      Status attainment. The Wisconsin Status Attainment Model used an index of interpersonal influences from parents, peers, and teachers (i.e., significant others), to explain educational attainment in adolescents and young adults (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971). While no theme specifically emerged in phase one of analysis that included a combined construct of parents, peers and teachers, it was clear that all three groups of people were influential towards student success:

      Parents: "that was always their thing: you have to go to college. So, they, like, always encouraged me to go. Because they never went to college. And my mom would always tell me . . . the college education will lead to a good job." (S6)

      Peers: "So it's always nice to have a support system when you have other friends doing all of that stuff with you and getting ready for college." (S4)

      Teachers: "They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." (S3)

      The criteria for this category are a minimum of 5 out of 7 (71%). As noted in Appendix D, 100% of the cases included parental influences on student success, 71% positive and 29% negative. Also in Appendix D, 71% of the cases in this study included positive influences of peers while 86% of the cases presented positive influences from teachers. This suggests that

with this data, and as noted by Kerckhoff's (1976) recommendation, there was a need for future studies to explore the individual influences from parents, peers and teachers on student success.

Forms of capital. As noted, there are three forms of capital (i.e. human, social and cultural) that generally provide a rich context and explanation for the individual influences that are not explained by the Wisconsin Status Attainment Model (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972; Porter, 1976; Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970; Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Spencer, 1976; Woelful & Haller, 1971) and Kerckhoff Model (1971; 1972; 1976). The following sections reveal the findings from this study as they aligned with existing constructs in the literature as they pertain to human capital development and student success.

Cultural capital. Regarding cultural capital, because the students in this study were all low-income, first generation college students, prior to the data collection and etic analysis it was anticipated that the parents would not possess the necessary cultural capital to directly help their students be successful in high school. Similarly, it was also anticipated that the parents would not possess the necessary cultural capital to help their students prepare the admissions and financial applications for college. Because this study focused on a religious group of students, in this etic analysis it was also anticipated that the amount of religious capital would be very high.

For this study there were three primary and relevant etic categories of cultural capital: 1) the familiarity with and understanding of the school system that facilitated success in school (for the purposes of this etic analysis, this will be called educational capital), 2) the familiarity with and understanding that facilitated access to and completion of admissions and scholarship requirements (for the purposes of this etic analysis, this will be called college-related capital), including the ACT, and 3) the familiarity with, understanding of and willingness to actively participate in and abide by the religious culture and doctrine (i.e. religious capital). The

following paragraphs include only some of the references to these three types of cultural capital

and their influences on the students in this study.

Educational capital. Educational capital includes the connection between parents and

schools that facilitates academic achievement (Parcel & Dufur, 2001; Hoffman & Dufur, 2008)

and when a student is/not aware of a school's expectations or programs (Howard, McLaughlin,

& Vacha, 1996). Even though there are multiple aspects to this definition, the criteria for this

category were at least 5 out of 7 participants (71%). Only Students 2 and 4 made references to

their parents facilitating a connection with teachers to improve academic achievement:

> She would go to the schools or she would call the schools or she would have me call and
> ask for information that I could use if they had any tutoring going on or knew of any
> tutors that would help or me and her would email my teachers and ask if they were able
> to help me or any tutoring that they knew about. (S2)
> They would, like, try and help with homework and stuff. And, like, they would get me
> tutors if I was struggling. (S6)

Some of the students would know to ask their teachers and counselors for help:

> "I started to get to know all the teachers" (S5)
> I asked my teacher just from my mood in class that I might take something that I might
> like, so she told me about accounting and finance. This was the concurrent enrollment
> classes taken in high school. You would get college credit at the time you graduate. (S7)

All of the students recognized the educational expectations, programs and/or environment

of the school and this educational capital helped contribute to their success:

> A lot of the schools offered more programs that were helpful to students and the people
> were actively involved. The teachers were more open-minded and they seemed more
> available and they seemed like they had more of a heart and like they really cared more
> about the students were going through and helping the students to succeed so just the
> environment everyone seemed willing to help. (S2)

> My school counselor helped me a lot with the ACT process. I took it three times in order
> to have a chance to improve my score. I understood its importance simply because my
> teachers stressed it. My counselor also helped me a lot with the scholarship process. She
> gave me a different scholarship application almost weekly and suggested some great

> websites. I kept my eyes open for any and all opportunities and applied for everything I found. (S3)

> I guess it was always encouraged in my high school. I guess I was just told, but it made sense to me because it made sense that colleges were looking for you to be involved in the school, involved in the community. (S4)

> The overall school environment . . . It was very good. The teachers are all willing to help you. . . They would push kids to get better grades, but it was mostly to get a really good education and everything you could possibly get out of high school. (S5)

However, without the emic analysis and understanding the contextualizing role of the triggering relationship, the etic analysis did not reveal the underlying motivation for students to utilize educational capital to bring about success as described in the above quotes.

College-related capital. For the purposes of this study, this category is defined as the familiarity with and understanding that facilitates access to and completion of admissions and scholarship requirements. The criterion for this category was 100% representativeness. There is much evidence to support the availability of college-related capital in the lives of all these students:

> I guess Brother Kohl, the one who gave me the SOAR application, would probably be first. Just because he was the one who kind of pushed me into even looking into college. (S1)

> They had that financial workshop. That really helped me. Other workshops that they did, explaining how the fact that you don't have the best grades isn't the major thing that they look at, that they look at everything all together. That made me want to apply and at least see if I could get in. (S1)

> I did get another scholarship that my seminary teacher actually recommended me for. (S1)

> The application process for colleges and things like that, I was able to get help from school. They introduced us to that whole thing. How we were going to apply for college and things like that. In our senior years. The counselors and the teachers they introduced us to the application process and they showed us what we were supposed to do to apply for colleges. And my mom didn't know exactly how that went and so the school was probably the thing that helped me to see what I needed to do to turn in my information and things like that. (S2)

I talked to my counselor and she really influenced me a lot. She was really helpful. She gave me a lot of scholarship forms and I filled out a lot of those. But most of it was just me going to the BYU website and reading about it and finding out (S3)

My school counselor helped me a lot with the ACT process. I took it three times in order to have a chance to improve my score. I understood its importance simply because my teachers stressed it. My counselor also helped me a lot with the scholarship process. She gave me a different scholarship application almost weekly and suggested some great websites. (S3)

Counselors would come into classes and talk to us about things with scholarships and talk to us about getting involved and what to put on our applications and stuff like that. . . Teachers would tell us a lot. I had an English teacher and she was very adamant with teaching us about job resumes and college applications and scholarship applications . . . (S4)

I was told, I think my grandma told us, but I'd also heard it was easier to get into the summer because it's a lot less applicants and a lot less people. And plus, you can kind of get used to it. Once you get there in the summer you can stay. It's not like you have to reapply for the fall. I think that helped a lot. (S4)

My parents taught me about setting goals, and I was also taught in school about what colleges were looking for. But really I just knew what I think is common knowledge- get good grades, be a good kid, be involved, work hard, and things will turn out how they're supposed to. (S4)

The ETS people helped me fill out the applications and everything. It was Ang who was my ETS advisor and he helped me fill out the application and everything. (S5)

They [parents] would, like, try and help with homework and stuff. And, like, they would get me tutors if I was struggling, like for my ACT. They got me tutors for that to help raise it and they were always just making sure that I did my homework and stuff. (S6)

I guess I was living on my own and my cousin just happened to tell me about it (SOAR) from an email or a call. My mom said I should do it. My mom basically forced me to do it. Because of my cousin more than anything. (S7)

Similar to educational capital, while the presence of this college-related capital had the potential to and actually help these students be successful and qualified for postsecondary educational opportunities, the etic analysis did not reveal the underlying motivation or desire to act on this available capital. Without the context of the triggering relationships outlined in the

emic analysis, the underlying motivation to utilize this form of capital is unclear. In all cases,

regardless of whether educational and college-related cultural capital were facilitated by school

staff and parents, the students still needed to demonstrate the motivation and desire to be

successful in high school and to want to submit admissions and scholarship applications.

 Religious capital. Stark and Finke (2000) distinguished religious capital in a way that

suggests there is an attachment to and mastery of a given religious culture. This will serve as

one of the categories with a criteria of 71%. Jeynes (2009) talks about two definitions of

religious capital that facilitate student success: 1) The discipline required to study the scriptures

and the academic success that often comes as a result of scripture study, and 2) The influence of

religious schools on student success.

 While both may be relevant outside of this study, the criteria for this category was 71%

and the first element of Jeynes' theory was only addressed specifically by two students (3 and 4).

For the purposes of this study, Jeynes' second definition was used and the term religious schools

will be defined as LDS Seminary and all but one student attended (S5) while in high school.

While it is unclear, the two categories within this construct of religious capital (i.e. mastery of

religious culture and attending LDS Seminary) may have complemented one another. Therefore,

evidence that included both definitions above were included to illustrate this unclear, yet overall

connection between the religious, learning, and overall happiness of the students in this study:

> I think it was evident that I lived my religious beliefs during high school by the people I chose to hang out with, the way I dressed, and the way I acted. I was not a bad kid and I went to Seminary. I even came to the early morning seminary activities. Seminary helped me a lot throughout school. It helped me be able to maintain a level of spirituality that I think is very important to learning. (S1)

> I was involved in Seminary. I also made sure that I lived my religious values in school. I would frequently talk to my friends about gospel related topics. I also invited nonmember friends to religious activities. Without Seminary I would have really slacked in my personal

scripture study and my testimony wouldn't have been able to grow do to the lack of scriptural study. (S2)

The Book of Mormon. Just reading it helps me in my daily life. I didn't know a lot about it when I did start activity. I had never had experience reading it all the way through and once I did that was like the biggest turning point to my testimony and the point of my true conversion when I read the Book of Mormon. I got so excited about the gospel and wanted it to be a part of every second of my life so BYU seemed like the perfect place because of the environment and the atmosphere of the Spirit here all the time. (S3)

My family was active in church, in callings, etc. We had family prayer and scripture study (not all the time, but often). We spent time together and loved (still do of course) the relationships we had. We listened and obeyed the prophets and loved to listen to conference. We were a happy family, which is all the evidence needed. (S4)

I think just like, by reading the scriptures every day, like, you have it in your mind. And, like, it just helps you to have, like the right perspective. And Seminary is always helpful because when you read, it, like, teaches you how to, like, understand the scriptures better. And Young Women's lessons are good because they just, they keep you on track with things. (S6)

We went to church every Sunday and during my youth, I went to youth every time I could. . . . religion plays an important part. If it weren't for that, being all Mormons, I'm pretty sure we'd be a lot more irresponsible . . . [and Seminary] helped me understand the gospel sooo much more than before. (S7, brackets added)

However, as with educational and college-related capital, religious capital only became contextually important and influential towards student success when in the presence of a triggering relationship, as defined in the emic analysis. This is especially and more easily discernible in the cases of S1 and S5, who experienced their triggering relationship during ninth grade and have contrasting perspectives both pre- and post-triggering relationship. In the case of S5 ("All throughout elementary school and middle school, I had no aspirations to go to college"), who did not attend Seminary because he was not LDS during high school, after his triggering relationship and the newly and contextually important LDS influences, S5 began to recognize the importance of religious capital on his happiness and success after his triggering relationship:

The thing that helped me convert was seeing and comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in them. The words they

used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me. (S5)

In the case of S1, when her father passed away she said, "I kind of actually stopped liking and wanting to go to Church and stuff. It just wasn't important to me at the time. So that kind of let me into things that I shouldn't have done." She goes on to describe the transition into her triggering relationship:

Well, I didn't really have any friends including at Church, so that kind of made me not want to go even more. Then, I had my friend I met her in middle school in orchestra and she was just really nice and she didn't really like push the gospel, like shove it down my throat, like some people do. She kind of eased me into it. That was what I needed.

After the triggering relationship, note the difference in her choice to access religious capital and its apparent impact on success:

I think it was evident that I lived my religious beliefs during high school by the people I chose to hang out with, the way I dressed, and the way I acted. I was not a bad kid and I went to Seminary. I even came to the early morning seminary activities. Seminary helped me a lot throughout school. It helped me be able to maintain a level of spirituality that I think is very important to learning. (S1)

Social capital. Coleman (1988) suggests that intact families are a significant source of social capital that lead to student success. However, intact families did not necessarily explain the student success in this study. In four out of the seven cases (Students 3-6) in this study, there were intact families. In two other cases (Students 1-2) there were single mothers and in the last case there were stepparents (S7). In all but one case, the student was the oldest and first child to go through high school and the college admissions process. In all but one case (S5), parents were supportive and verbally encouraged their children to attend college, as noted in the following:

"My mom hoped that I would continue on and get more education." (S1)

"Going to college was kind of what we needed to help us succeed. . . She showed us that that was what was important in life." (S2)

"My mom places a lot of importance on education. She doesn't care where I go or what I do but definitely encourages higher education." (S3)

"They definitely encouraged me from day one to go to college after high school." (S4)

"She encouraged me to go and was helpful along the way in everything. Then probably my dad for the same reasons." (S6)

"I always was told and expected to go to college. There was never a doubt in my mind." (S7)

In the one case of non-supportive parents, the student became a convert to the LDS Church one month after he graduated from high school and is the only LDS member in his family. The parents actually discouraged him from attending college. Specifically, S5 said, "At the beginning they really didn't support me going to college because they thought college is kind of a waste of time. . . They think I should be working and making money right away instead of just wasting money . . . ." While Students 3-6 had intact families, for the students who came from non-intact families the data did not necessarily explain how social capital was transmitted and how this affected the ultimate motivation and decision making of each student to act on what was or was not being transmitted from the parents. Even in the cases without intact families these students were able to find ways to be motivated and successful that are not included in Coleman's definition.

Another tenet of Coleman's (1988) definition of social capital includes the transmission of beliefs and values from parents to children. This definition could be confused with some of the traditional definitions on religious capital already outlined above. In this study, all students incorporated a wide range of values and beliefs that were transmitted by parents at different points in their lives, including the religiously-based value of education, that were either

communicated from parents or that the parents put their children in the proper circumstances to

receive the values and beliefs through worship, classes, or other religious contexts.

> My family attended church every week. We attended all the meetings including those held in the week such as Young Women activities. We were very active in church and we did our best to live the way we should. (S1)

> "I think when we [mom and sister] moved to Utah probably was the turning point where we kind of became more active in the Church . . . that's where we started becoming more involved in the Church, especially when my mom remarried." (S2)

> I created a lot of things and made a lot of things for projects and I just loved it. I made a hope chest with my mom and I wrote a poem book and I did art and a lot of other things and I just loved creating things. I just loved it. (S3)

> They [parents] were really encouraging, especially since our religion is encouraging of getting an education and stuff. They taught about how to always continue and do that and try your best. (S4)

> Religion was a big part. Being Catholics for us. My parents would make me do all these things like get baptized, my first communion, and all this other stuff. It was a really big part. My parents just always influenced that heavily on us. (S5)

> After her mom was diagnosed with a brain tumor: "'Okay, it's, like, time to, like, get our lives on track.' That's when it really, like, turned around. She really wanted to do good with, like, scripture reading and going to church and praying and everything." (S6)

> We [with parents] went to church every Sunday and during my youth, I went to youth every time I could. (S7)

From the above and other quotes, it is clear that religiosity and the beliefs and values

transmitted by virtue of religion play a significant role in all cases. However, in each case,

regardless of whether it is labeled as Coleman's 'transmission of beliefs and values' or the

definition of skills and beliefs transmitted through religious capital, the actual student

recognition that the belief and/or value is important and acts as a source of motivation for student

success is found in the context of the triggering relationship.

Linear human capital development framework. Both Bourdieu (1986) and Portes

(2000) argued that social capital can rarely be acquired without cultural capital. Therefore,

cultural capital facilitates social capital, which precedes the acquisition of human capital (Ream, 2005). Based on the etic categories and associated data found across all cases in this analysis, it appears that educational, college-related cultural capital, and religious capital all facilitated social capital and that social capital, at least the transmission of beliefs and values (especially with respect to education), preceded HC development. In the case of S5, while parents transmitted beliefs and values of the Catholic faith ("My parents would make me do all these things like get baptized, my first communion, and all this other stuff. It was a really big part") during most of his life, after the triggering relationship in ninth grade he began to see the transmission of LDS values through non-parental adults and peers that seemed to motivate him to be better ("comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in them. The words they used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me"). After both phases of analysis, the data in this study suggested a possible shift in focus from any specific linear relationship, while still relevant, to that of the triggering relationships that provided a contextualization of the past and present, as well as the assignment of value and motivation for the student to access these three forms of capital.

Dika and Singh's proposition on social capital. In Dika and Singh's (2002) meta-analysis of social capital research, one of the concerns they expressed with respect to the historical qualitative studies on social capital was that the research commonly employed prescribed constructs and measures of social capital that may limit the understanding of HC development. While prescribed themes certainly have their place in research, in this study, especially after contrasting the etic and emic analyses, if this research would have employed an

approach with prescribed themes for cultural and social capital, it is highly possible that the triggering relationship model would not have emerged from the data.

In summary, this secondary etic analysis provided a helpful contrast with the primary emic analysis and ultimately reinforced the important explanatory power of emergent themes and patterns. Up until this point, cultural and social capital have served as effective explanatory variables when trying to understand student success and HC development. However, the findings from this research provide additional insight and clarification to the process that causes students to understand, assign value to, and become motivated by cultural, social and human capital influences. It is one thing to acknowledge the legitimate influences of these three forms of capital, but now there appears to be a triggering relationship that causes these forms of capital to become meaningful and motivational in the eyes of students, at least among these low-income, first generation college students who are LDS, Hispanic, graduated from a Utah high school and attended Brigham Young University as freshmen in 2009.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This final chapter discusses the theoretical and practical implications of the findings from the previous chapter. The sections on implications are followed by limitations on this research and areas of future research. The last section is a conclusion and an implicit invitation for the reader to act.

Theoretical Implications

The etic results reiterated much of what has been found in previous research regarding social capital and cultural capital and their influences on student success. That is, social capital and cultural capital lead students to be successful in school. However, the emic analysis revealed a phenomenon that is not explained by traditional sociological theory and carries significant implications. Some sociological research generally discusses the important positive

relationship between parents, teachers and peers and student behavior and achievement (Woolley, Kol, & Bowen, 2009; Loukas, Suzuki, & Horton, 2006; Woolley & Bowen, 2007) and specifically mentions increased motivation among Hispanic students when these supportive relationships are present (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2006; Alfaro, et al., 2009). Some psychological research explains the decision process that generates the behavior that makes up social capital (Goette & Huffman, 2007), the association between parental and teacher acceptance, psychological adjustment and academic achievement (Rohner, 2010), and some motivational factors of peer influences (Barry & Wentzel, 2006).

However, the research does not appear to clearly explain the internal process and experience or how these supportive relationships evoke motivation among Hispanic students. In other words, while social theories are helpful with explaining student success and even identifying a superficial relationship between significant other influences and motivation, they appear insufficient to explain the underlying process that motivates a student's choice for success in school and subsequent aspirations and actions towards postsecondary education. Until motivation theory is added to the sociological equation, there seems to be little context or explanation for why students assign motivational value to cultural, social and human capital. Attempts to explain student success commonly do not cross disciplines, which is why the findings in this research are so crucial to understanding student success.

Among the many motivation theories, Alderfer's (1960; 1972) ERG theory of motivation provides a well-aligned context for this study. Specifically, Alderfer expanded on Maslow's hierarchy of needs by suggesting that there are three core groups of needs: existence (E), relatedness (R), and growth (G). Existence needs combined Maslow's physiological and safety needs like food and shelter, none of which were lacking in the lives of the students in this study.

Relatedness needs combined the interpersonal love and esteem, a desire to interact with others in a safe and trusting environment, which was central to this study. Growth needs combined the notion of self-esteem gained through achievement and an overall self-actualization. With growth needs, Alderfer specifically identifies an individual's intrinsic desire for personal development. Similar to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, ERG theory follows a satisfaction-progression process claiming that as existence needs are satisfied, relatedness needs become more important, but focusing on one need at a time will not necessarily motivate. However, unlike Maslow's hierarchy, ERG theory also allows for a frustration-regression process which suggests that if a higher need goes unfulfilled, the individual may regress into a lower level need that is easier to satisfy. A common example given is that of an employee who is not given sufficient growth opportunities and as a result regresses toward relatedness needs, focusing on the safe and social environment with coworkers.

While this study identifies all three of the ERG needs, student motivation for growth needs was contingent upon foundational relatedness needs. Unlike ERG theory that claims individuals should not focus on one group of needs over another, this study suggests that relatedness is crucial in order for the students in this study to feel a natural and intrinsic motivation towards growth needs and without relatedness, these students did not feel a desire or even see a context for growth needs that align with student success. Based on the ERG theory and the findings of this study, the role of relatedness can help explain the cohesive relationship experienced by the participants in this study. From a social-cognitive perspective, the notion of relatedness helps students learn the ". . . beliefs, orientations, and values needed to function effectively in academic environments" (Martin & Dowson, 2009, p. 329). In fact, cultural and

social capital may be further explained through the lens of relatedness as it can cause an individual to internalize the beliefs and values of significant others (Wenzel, 1999).

In other words, when students have high-quality and cohesive (Coleman, 1988) relationships with significant others who transmit certain religious, educational or other beliefs and values, the students are more likely to internalize these same beliefs and values. As a result of relatedness, this internalization process increases motivation for success and actualization of human capital development (Martin & Dowson, 2009). In the context of this study, it is relatedness (Coleman's cohesive relationship) that triggers a motivational context for and recognition of cultural and social capital influences that lead to student success (i.e. self-actualization and growth). In summary, the findings of this study suggest that relatedness (i.e. triggering relationship) is a stimulus that helps students acknowledge and contextualize the information and resources embedded in and that flow from significant positive and negative experiences and relationships from the past and present, and that serve as the basis and motivation for human capital development (i.e. growth needs) looking forward.

Consider the use of a metaphor to explain these implications further. Picture yourself standing in front of a mirror (Figure 3). Depending on your proximity to the mirror, your self-concept and the quality of your vision, which for the purposes of this metaphor are all constant, you see the positive and/or the negative of your physical endowments, but you still only see yourself as you currently are. Your view is defined only by what you see in the mirror. You cannot see behind or ahead of you because you only see yourself. This mirror acts as a metaphor and represents who you are and what you've become to a given point in your life. You are unable to contextualize this process of what and how you've become because as you look into the mirror you cannot see immediately behind you (i.e. the past). As you look into the mirror

you are also unable to see yourself in the future, or the possibilities of what you could become,

because you only see yourself as you are in the present. Thus your motivation level and vision

for success and development may be limited. In other words, while your existence needs may be

satisfied and you may even have some relatedness needs met, the nature of these relatedness

needs may not sufficiently motivate you to satisfy growth needs.
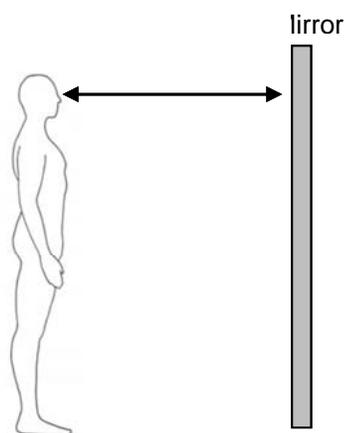
Figure 2. Mirror Metaphor: Without Triggering Relationships

This metaphor represents life without any triggering relationship to help you see beyond

what you see in the mirror. In this study there are essentially two students who do not have an

early triggering relationship. In these cases, note the lack of contextualizing the past or

motivation for the future (i.e. the way they view themselves) prior to the triggering relationship.

Specifically, prior to the triggering relationship S5 experiences while in ninth grade he said,

> My parents never called me dumb directly. I don't know if they thought about it. They just
> didn't believe in me that I could do it. Not that I was dumb, but that I couldn't do it.
> Everybody else in my family that's tried to go to college has eventually dropped out within
> the first year. Not like in my family, but my cousins. Most of them have not even graduated
> from high school or ended up dropping out of Weber State their first year.

> All throughout elementary school and middle school, I had no aspirations to go to college. I
> just didn't want to go. As soon as I got into high school, things just started clicking.

Similarly, in the case of S1, prior to her triggering relationship while in ninth grade she described

her life:

> I never really had a normal childhood. I don't know. People who are nine are being able to go over to friends' houses and play, but I was always watching my sisters. I didn't really have any friends growing up because I was always at home. I couldn't go anywhere.
>
> Well, I didn't really have any friends including at Church, so that kind of made me not want to go even more.
>
> Well, she [widowed mother] was gone all the time so there wasn't much there. Plus, I guess the way that I grew up from the time my dad passed on was really hard on me and my mom didn't ever thank me or anything for helping and stuff, so I kind of really didn't want to keep that relationship as close as it should have been. . . I couldn't really tell a lot of times if she really cared that I was there doing a lot or anything.

In the other five cases, their triggering relationships and contextualization of life, the decisions,

influences and experiences happened early and were ongoing.

This leads to a contrasting and vitally important revelation that may explain how

relatedness needs are met to the point where students are motivated to satisfy growth needs.

With respect to the mirror metaphor, imagine that an additional mirror is inserted behind you so

that you are now standing between two mirrors (Figure 4). In this scenario, as you face the

mirror in front of you, you can also see the mirror behind you. Specifically, as you look into the

mirror in front of you, the mirror behind you enables you to see what some might describe as an

infinitely recurring image of yourself looking backwards and forwards. The insertion of the

second mirror represents the triggering relationships in this study. As the second mirror enables

you to view multiple iterations of yourself behind and in front of you, the triggering relationship

opens your eyes and contextualizes your past and future. In other words, the relationship triggers

your ability to recognize positive and negative experiences, decisions and influences at different

points in your past and present, and also causes you to use them as motivation as you look

forward to the future and your own development and success. Because your pathway to success

is now contextualized and you have the motivational vision for success in the future through the form of goals and other desires, you are able to understand, identify, seek out and act upon additional influences and relationships (i.e. social capital and cultural capital) that you trust and recognize in your life.
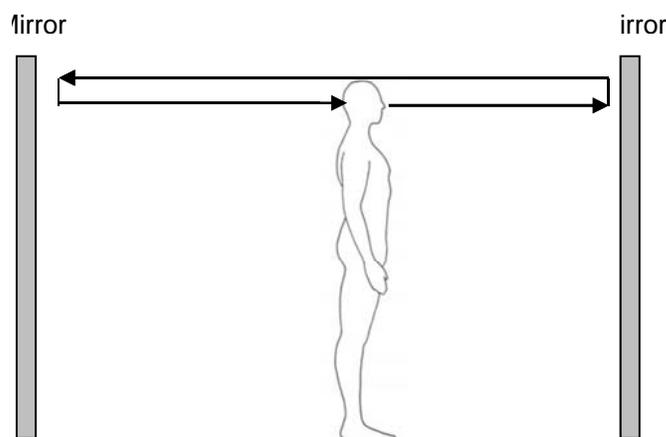
Figure 3. Mirror Metaphor: With Triggering Relationships

In addition to the descriptions of the initial triggering relationships and subsequent influences in Appendix C, Appendix H summarizes additional evidence from each student in this study that describe the contextualization of the past and present that took place subsequent to their triggering relationship, and how each student used this contextualization as a motivation for the future. In each case, from the time of the triggering relationship, whether it happened early in life or later, the trigger caused a contextualization of life's experiences, both positive and negative, which created a source of motivation and ability to recognize and act upon the influences of social capital and cultural capital. The evidence with S1 and S5 provide a helpful contrast because their triggering relationships didn't happen until their teen years and they were not motivated until these experiences occurred. Specifically, notice the student's ability to put

their positive and negative experiences from the past into perspective of context that motivates the students to use their agency and improve their trajectory in life.

Beyond the value added to ERG theory, this metaphor and triggering relationship model also add value to Mead's (1934) social mirror theory and McIntyre's (2006) looking-glass self. The social mirror theory posits that the self is actualized through interaction with others. However, the social mirror's interpersonal interactions focus primarily on the self taking on the role of the other in order to interpret the world. Similarly, the looking-glass self refers to people who shape themselves based on the perceptions of other people. In other words, people become what others think or perceive them to be. The value of the triggering relationship model is that the individual uses relatedness as a context in which to understand the self from the past and in the present, which creates a contextual path and motivation to meet self-actualizing growth needs. Unlike social mirror theory and the looking-glass self, the triggering relationship model keeps the individual in his own shoes and creates the context in which he sees the progression of self from past to present and motivates himself towards future growth.

Practical Implications

There are some educators who feel they always need to be present along the way to help at-risk students be successful. Rousseau (1754) talked about educating an individual for a lifetime. For example, in Helen Keller's story, Ann Sullivan becomes her best and empowering friend for a lifetime. The findings of this study suggest that while the transformation that Helen experiences may have begun in the triggering relationship with Ann, Helen may not have needed Ann for the rest of her life in order to continue her growth and development. This is significant because there are countless teachers and counselors who feel burdened because they feel like they need to be the savior of student souls and they often feel like they are the sole stakeholders to facilitate student success. The efforts of these individuals may go unnoticed, unvalued, and

unutilized by the students they are trying to help because the students may not have had an initial

triggering and contextualizing relationship.

The findings of this study suggest that this burden can be lifted or at least lightened. It

does not necessarily relieve teachers, counselors or others from their duty or desire to influence

students, but they do not need to feel burdened by a lifetime sentence of saving souls. The

findings from this research also provide these well-intended individuals with understanding

when their efforts and resources are rejected or not acted upon. Despite their attempts to use

their resources and information or those embedded within their own networks to facilitate

student success and development, without an initial triggering relationship to help the students

contextualize their past and act as a motivator for the future, their influences may not be valued

or even recognized as they were intended. Without the triggering relationship, the social capital

and cultural capital offered by others may fall on the deaf ears of the student.

Similarly, the change observed in students caused by triggering relationships might be

viewed as a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962). Even though his focus was not necessarily on the

social sciences, the fact remains that the students in this study possess attributes that generally

fall under a predictable paradigm of success. Yet, these students in this study go through a

triggering experience that interrupts their current path and facilitates a new paradigm of ideas.

For example, Augustine went through his own triggering experience that led to a spiritual

conversion. In his case, while in the process of praying, he was triggered by the voice and

message of a child which served as an interruption from his current paradigm. As a result of this

trigger his life received new meaning. It is as if the second mirror was inserted and Augustine

was able to see himself in the past, which motivated him to let go, and look forward with great

motivation and anticipation for the future. While the triggering relationship may not necessarily

be the same for everybody, the findings suggest that there is something, and in each case in this study it was a relationship, that disrupts an individual's personal schema and takes this person from a predictable world without much human capital development, to a new world filled with greater opportunities and the motivation to engage them.

The reference to the religious conversion of Augustine is particularly relevant for this study that focuses on a group within the LDS Church. There appears to be at least two links between the triggering relationship and the spiritual aspects of religion. First, the spiritual becomes contextually important as a result of this triggering relationship. Second, as the spiritual becomes contextually important its influences combine with the triggering relationships to empower and motivate individuals to be better in all they do in the present and into the future. To illustrate the first link that the spiritual becomes contextually important as a result of this triggering relationship, this may more easily be recognized with S1 and S5 who had their triggering relationship during adolescence:

> I actually had a friend who helped me realize that the Church was good and that the Church does bring happiness and stuff and once I realized that, then everything kind of fell into place again. It was easier to go through what I was going through. (S1)

While S5 was not LDS, he had lived in Weber County his entire life and was exposed to the predominant LDS population throughout his life. Yet, it wasn't until after he had his triggering relationship in ninth grade that life, including religion, became contextually important:

> I've always hung around friends that weren't LDS, but in my senior year when I was student body officer, another thing that helped me convert, because all throughout I really didn't hang out with people who were LDS. I hung around everybody, but my senior year when I became student body officer, that's when all the other five members of student government who were LDS. Everybody in that room was LDS except for me and another kid.
>
> The thing that helped me convert was seeing and comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in them.

> The words they used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me. (S5)

However, there are three instances when those with whom the students have early triggering

relationships are not active in the LDS Church, but become active, and the spiritual becomes

important later in life, possibly facilitating additional student contextualization and motivation

for the future:

> When I was younger, because I wasn't quite involved in the religion. My lifestyle was a lot more different. I don't know how you could put it. The lifestyle I had before was a little bit more disarranged. I wasn't really focused on the things that were going to help me to succeed in the future. When I was older my LDS faith, it helped me a lot to set my morals and my standards of the things that I wanted and it helped me through every aspect of my life. Through what I wanted in a family to how I viewed the family and how I viewed education and what I wanted from education to the way I perceived others around me and the way I treated them; treating them in a better way and helping them out. Every aspect of my life it helped me to set higher goals. (S2)

> Well, my mom was actually a convert, and when she met my dad he was actually inactive. So, he served a mission, and then came back and went inactive and they met each other. And so technically I wasn't, like, born into the church, or whatever. Like I still got baptized, but when I got baptized I didn't really know what was going on, like it was never explained to me. It was kind of just like, what everyone else was doing. And we didn't really, like, I don't know--we didn't go to church a lot and stuff. And were kind of just, like, less-active for a while. Until I was, like twelve. And when I was twelve we started really going to church a lot, and stuff. . . . And I can, like, totally see that. And I think that it's, like, just made me more, like, want to be better. And just, like, see the end goal in mind always. (S6)

> I got so excited about the gospel and wanted it to be a part of every second of my life so BYU seemed like the perfect place because of the environment and the atmosphere of the Spirit here all the time. It made me a better person. It made me nicer and happier and more optimistic. Everything. About life and those trials before. I think some of things, like my dad, that I really didn't have a clear perspective on before, I got more perspective. I always felt like they encouraged education a lot and from a really young age I thought it was important. (S3)

The second link is that as the spiritual becomes contextually important its influences

combine with the triggering relationships to empower and motivate individuals to be better in all

they do in the present and into the future. This may be more difficult to distinguish when the triggering relationship and spiritual influences happen at the same or similar times in life: there were two students among those with triggering relationships at an early age and these individuals were active in the LDS Church:

> It's helped us as kids, but our whole family and our testimonies have grown with faith and our testimonies of prayer and fasting and Heavenly Father will always take care of you. (S4)

> They were really encouraging, especially since our religion is encouraging of getting an education and stuff. They taught about how to always continue and do that and try your best. (S4)

> The family I lived with has always been active . . . religion plays an important part. If it weren't for that, being all Mormons, I'm pretty sure we'd be a lot more irresponsible. (S7)

These findings suggest that the most crucial foundation is the triggering relationship because it is this relationship that allows for the contextualization of the spiritual. When there is a triggering relationship, whether it be early or later in life, as the spiritual becomes contextually important, it appears to facilitate additional contextualization and motivation for success and development in the LDS setting.

In the context of LDS doctrine, there are two verses from the Book of Mormon that may accurately describe this phenomenon. In the second book of Nephi, chapter 33, verses one and two, Nephi, an ancient prophet in the Americas (between 559 and 545 B.C.) is trying to persuade his people and the anticipated readers of this book of scripture to follow the valuable teachings of the prophets. In these two verses he also makes reference to the Holy Ghost (the third member of the Christian Godhead, "whom the Father will send in my [Jesus Christ's] name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" John 14:26, brackets added:

> And now, I Nephi, cannot write all the things which were taught among my people; neither am I mighty in writing, like unto speaking; for when a man speaketh by the power of the Holy Ghost the power of the Holy Ghost carrieth it unto the hearts of the children of men. But behold, there are many that harden their hearts against the Holy Spirit, that it hath no place in them; wherefore, they cast many things away which are written and esteem them as things of naught.

Like Nephi, there are many other religious leaders who attempt to teach and share information with others to improve lives. While many who anciently heard or who currently read the words of Nephi have not necessarily had a triggering relationship with him directly, in the context of this scripture, he is saying that people still use their moral agency and choose to either allow the Holy Ghost to enter their hearts or to harden their hearts against His influences. Another way to interpret this is that the recipients of messages are still responsible to choose whether they will allow relationships and associated information to penetrate their hearts (i.e. contextualization of social capital and cultural capital), and then act on the information, or harden their hearts and reject it.

While recipients of religious messages may not have had a triggering relationship with the deliverers of the messages (e.g., ancient scripture written before their time, messages from living individuals who are not physically or socially proximal, etc.), if the recipients trust the authority and position of these individuals as representatives of God, and have had a triggering relationship with God, they may open their hearts to these individuals and the accompanying influences of the Holy Ghost to teach them as a result of this trust. Metaphorically, the triggering relationship with God acts as the second mirror to help contextualize life, motivate change of personal schemas, and improve lives. Consequently, the implications for religious teachers or leaders would be at least threefold: 1) Build relationships with those they teach and lead so that there is trust and possibly a triggering relationship, and 2) Help those they teach and lead to develop a strong relationship with deity so individuals have a triggering relationship with

the divine and a contextualization of their past, present and future lives, and 3) Encourage and

provide experiences for individuals, especially children and youth, that will help build strong

with their parents.

On a very broad level, this triggering relationship model speaks to the very essence that

facilitates conversion. Conversion may include, but is not limited to, an adoption of a new belief

system or even an adoption of a product or service. People commonly convert to different

religions. Similarly, millions of dollars are spent daily on advertising and other influences with

the hope that consumers will convert to a given product, service or set of values. What is it that

motivates people to convert to a religion, a product or a service and contextualize relevancy for

the future? As noted, individuals regularly internalize the beliefs, values and orientations from

high-quality relationships (Wentzel, 1999; Martin & Dowson, 2009). People often go to the

individuals they trust when seeking advice about beliefs, products and services. According to

this triggering relationship model, if a trusted friend or family member recommends certain

beliefs, products or services that may not have been relevant or important to the individual

previously, the fact that there is a triggering relationship helps the individual contextualize the

relevancy and importance of the referrer's beliefs or advice about products and services and

makes it more likely that conversion will happen.

Future Research

The findings from this study are only generalizable to the cases in this study.

Generalizability is based on analytical generalization to theoretical assumptions and models that

will require future testing outside of the scope of this study (Gummesson, 1991; King, Keohane,

& Verba, 1994; Yin, 2003). There are possible limitations to this study which may provide

opportunities for future research. In addition to any limitations, there are several additional

questions that may add further depth, breadth, and clarification to this triggering relationships model and its application in other settings.

While it was not the focus of this study, one of the limitations of this study is that it is not quite clear to what extent LDS Hispanic youth who attend these Spanish-speaking congregations face the same negative cultural barriers as their non-LDS counterparts and/or how these barriers might outweigh the positive influences that come through the principles, doctrines and support of the LDS Church. Within the methodological context of this study, future research might include interview questions that inquire about any cultural challenges (e.g. losing culture) or opportunities, how their involvement in the LDS Church influences their perception of these challenges or opportunities, and how these LDS youth perceive the potential challenges that their non-LDS counterparts face. One challenge with the exploration of this topic is that it may not be socially desirable for LDS students to disclose their honest feelings about the influences of the LDS Church in their lives, especially if the influences are minimal or even non-existent.

Another possible limitation of this study is the small number of participants. With the exception of Student 8 who was not available for interview because he was away on an LDS mission, all students who met the sampling criteria were interviewed and included in this study which included LDS Hispanic, low-income, first generation college students who graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 and were admitted to BYU during either the summer term or fall semester of 2009. The findings of this study suggest future research needs to explore a larger sample of LDS Hispanic, low-income, first generation college students throughout Utah and even the entire United States. What is more, the implications of this model merit testing of low-income, first generation college students, independent of religion and ethnicity.

Similarly, this study focused on low-income, first generation college students, but it did not include middle or high socioeconomic status (SES) students who are first generation college students, nor did it include those of middle to high SES who are not first generation college students. Does the triggering relationship model hold true with students of other demographic backgrounds not included in this study? Does the triggering relationship transcend SES and ethnicity? Similarly, do the quantity and/or quality of available cultural and social capital influences matter?

Another aspect that deserves attention is that this study does not explore that reasons why students who appear to have solid relatedness with others as well as the manifestation of self-actualization and growth (e.g., good grades, applying for scholarships and admissions, etc.), yet do not end up being successful or even drop out of high school or college. Are there cases when there is a triggering relationship that contextualizes life, yet the student decides to go against the feelings of motivation? If so, what are the conditions and context of this decision? Some may call it rebellion and others a phase. One of the growing challenges in student persistence is students who suffer from mental or emotional wellness (Rogers & Styron, Jr., 2009). Do these students really have a cohesive relationship with parents or others that would or only an outward appearance of it? Will this triggering relationship model hold true for them?

Other groups that deserve attention are those who either dropped out of high school, graduated, but never enrolled in college and/or who remain unemployed or underemployed. Does this model hold true for these types of students as well? Do these individuals have their existence and relatedness needs met? Are the relatedness needs only met to a degree that does not cause them to be motivated to identify or satisfy growth needs? Under what conditions, if at all, do these individuals develop their own motivation to do more with their own lives? Similarly, what

about those who are involved in high relatedness situations that are often unethical or unlawful, like in the case with many gangs. What is the source of motivation for those who feel strong relatedness, yet little towards personal growth? What is the process for former gang members to break out and what does this do to their relatedness?

On a broader level and to one degree or another, everybody has an opportunity to change, convert to a certain set of beliefs or values, or become motivated to act, whether it be personal, emotional, psychological, spiritual, professional or in other contexts. Regardless of the context, each situation is unique because each person defines his or her own needs and may be influenced differently. It may be possible to test the triggering relationships model in several different settings where an explanation for change, conversion or motivation is desired.

Conclusion

The findings of this study illustrate the connection between cultural, social and human capital and motivation theory. While the model needs additional application and exploration, the findings of this study weld sociological and psychological theory to provide an additional explanation for student success and human capital development. The success and development of nations rely heavily on the success and development of their people, and especially the children. For the United States and its growing uneducated ethnic minority, this nation needs to address its own human capital development, especially among the low-income and otherwise at-risk students before the problem becomes worse. This model suggests an approach to contextually empower and therefore, improve the self-actualizing pathways of student success. The model also implies several practical recommendations to assist individuals with the conversion to a specific set of values or beliefs.

It is not disputed that cultural and social capital facilitate student success and development. However, what has largely gone unaddressed in sociological research for years is

the underlying contextualization of and motivation for acquiring and accessing these forms of capital as adolescents move through school. The findings from this study suggest a new theoretical model when considering student success and human capital development among students as they proceed through K-12 education and beyond. The findings in this study reveal that cultural and social capital are recognizably important to the student and that student success is attained when there is first a triggering relationship, either early in life or at some other stage, that contextualizes positive and negative influences of capital from the past and present, and motivates the student's agency for the future. This theoretical notion of a triggering relationship carries potential implications on an individual's motivation to pursue any given set of outcomes or type of development. For parents, teachers, counselors, religious leaders, employers, and in many other potential contexts, if an individual needs to be motivated towards a given set of outcomes or values, the data from this study suggest this individual needs a triggering relationship that will allow for the contextualization of previous decisions, consequences, and overall life experiences, which then leads to better understanding, motivation and potential action.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Commentary on BYU Admissions 2007-2010

Admission to higher educational institutions with limited enrollment has experienced significant scrutiny, especially for the admissions practices of ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups (Kaplin & Lee, 2007). For years, the admissions policies of limited-enrollment institutions in higher education across the nation allowed for race-conscious approaches that were designed to promote diversity and affirmative action (Barnes, Chemerinsky, & Jones, 2010). However, since the 2003 *Grutter v. Bollinger* Supreme Court decision, post-secondary educational institutions with limited enrollment are generally required to have a diversity statement that serves as a holistic lens through which students are admitted. In simple terms, each post-secondary school is required to implement a statement that describes the attributes and characteristics valued by that institution and become the lens through which students are admitted, race being one of many factors.

At BYU, the office that typically spearheads the ownership of and promulgation of students from various backgrounds is the BYU Multicultural Student Services (MSS) Office. MSS provides a statement and context for BYU's diversity statement:

Brigham Young University is committed to a campus environment that is inclusive, free from discrimination, and reflects the backgrounds and values of the worldwide LDS Church population. In March 2005, the Board of Trustees approved and implemented the University Statement on Fostering an Enriched Environment that describes, in part, the mission of BYU and the attributes and characteristics of the students it seeks to serve: The Mission of Brigham Young University – founded, supported, and guided by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints – is to assist individuals in their quest for perfection and eternal life. That assistance should provide a period of intensive learning

in a stimulating setting where a commitment to excellence is expected and the full

realization of human potential is pursued. To this end, the University seeks qualified

students of various talents and backgrounds, including geographic, educational, cultural,

ethnic, and racial, who relate together in such a manner that they are "no more strangers

and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." It is the

University's judgment that providing educational opportunities for a mix of students who

share values based on the gospel of Jesus Christ and come from a variety of backgrounds

and experiences is an important educational asset to BYU. (BYU Multicultural Student

Services, 2011)

Students who apply to BYU have their applications pass through a holistic review process that

seeks to identify students with the characteristics described above. A large part of this holistic

review process includes strong academic qualifications. Table 1 shows the average ACT score

and unweighted high school GPA of the incoming freshmen between 2007-2010 at BYU. In

2009, 68% of the entire pool of new freshmen applicants were admitted to BYU (for a historic

view of new freshmen admissions statistics from 2007-2010, see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

BYU ACT and High School GPA Averages for Incoming Freshmen 2007-2010

Fall Semester Freshmen Averages	2007	2008	2009	2010
Average ACT	27.9	28.0	28.2	28.1
Average GPA (unweighted)	3.78	3.80	3.80	3.79

Table 2

BYU Admissions Statistics for Incoming Fall Freshmen 2007-2010

Summer Term/Fall Semester	2007	2008	2009	2010
Freshmen Applications (completed)	9,979	10,182	10,409	11,207
Number Accepted	7,384	6,954	7,066	6,985
Number Denied	2,595	3,228	3,343	4,222
Acceptance Rate	70.1%	74.0%	68.0%	62.3%

All students must have a valid ecclesiastical endorsement (i.e. signed agreement by bishop/branch president and student affirming worthiness and commitment to live high moral and conduct standards outlined by the BYU Honor Code) to be considered for admission. A significant percentage of new freshmen applicants to BYU are admitted largely on their strong ACT and high school GPA. As noted in Table 1, in 2009 the average unweighted high school GPA was 3.8 and the average ACT was 28. On the other hand, there are several applicants who may have a lower high school GPA and/or ACT score than the averages outlined in Table 1, but are still admitted after a holistic review. The holistic review often reveals strong leadership, character, ability to overcome and rise above hardships, among other characteristics and life circumstances.

One of the ways BYU identifies those who are able to succeed academically is based on many years of historical data for incoming freshmen, their high school GPA and ACT score, and their final BYU GPA after their freshmen year. Based on this information BYU predicts a minimum threshold for academic success and uses this threshold to help make admissions decisions on prospective students, particularly for those who may not have strong academic

credentials, but who do have other unique attributes and characteristics that align with the University Statement on Fostering an Enriched Environment.

As with most colleges and universities, if the applicants possess one and usually more extraordinary talents (e.g., athletics, musical, vocal, etc.) and/or other attributes (e.g., leadership, diversity, etc.) and the Admissions Committee determines that the students will use their talents and abilities to make unique contributions representing the institution, as well as succeed academically and the lives of those with whom they interact, they are often given additional consideration in the admissions and scholarship decision process. One of the ways several of the departments at BYU (e.g., music, dance, athletics, etc.) identify students with special talents and backgrounds that align with the University Statement on Fostering an Enriched Environment is through a variety of screening processes and programs. Specifically relevant for this study, one of these programs that supports student success for students of diverse backgrounds is the Summer of Academic Refinement (SOAR) provided by BYU Multicultural Student Services (MSS).

According to MSS (2011), SOAR is a low-cost, week-long summer program held on the BYU campus for students in high school who finished their junior year, are permanent residents or U.S. Citizens, have a 3.2 unweighted GPA or higher in grades 9-11, and who come from a multicultural background or demonstrate a strong fit with the University Statement on Fostering an Enriched Environment. All participants must also receive an ecclesiastical recommendation from their clergy or an LDS Bishop. MSS generally begins accepting SOAR applications in January of a student's junior year in high school with a deadline of May 1, which is generally a month or two prior to the end of the junior year of high school.

SOAR participants can qualify for need-based scholarships to cover all or most of the cost of the program as well as travel scholarships, usually based on the student's eligibility for free or reduced lunch at school or a recommendation by clergy or LDS Bishop. SOAR is held for three weeks with a mix of male and female participants, about 100 each week, who live on campus and participate in a wide range of activities (see Figure 1).

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Check-In	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Check Out
Orientation	ACT Classes	ACT Classes	Hike the Y	ACT Test	
	Speaker	Career Assessment			
ACT Classes	Campus Devotional		Lunch & Admissions Review		
	Lunch & Admissions Review	Lunch & Admissions Review			
Lunch			ACT Classes	Lunch & Admissions Review	
	BYU Admissions and Financial Aid	Choosing a Major			
Ropes Course			Lab Tours	Wrap-Up Activity	
		BYU-I, BYU-H & LDSBC		Parents' Meeting	
		CSXQ Test	BBQ		
Dinner	Temple Square and Joseph Smith Movie (Dinner in Salt Lake)	Dinner	Culture Share Activity	Closing Banquet	
Heritage Tour		Service Project	ACT Study	Dance	
Devotional	Devotional	Devotional	Devotional	Devotional	
Lights Out	Lights Out	Lights Out	Lights Out	Lights Out	

Figure 4. Typical SOAR Weekly Activity Schedule
Retrieved from https://multicultural.byu.edu/what-soar

SOAR essentially provides high school students with a miniature BYU experience. It provides an opportunity for multicultural high school students to interact with current multicultural BYU students and administrators (i.e. social capital), opportunities to learn about the admissions and scholarship application process and paying for school, as well as preparation for and taking the ACT, among other activities (i.e. cultural capital). Based on BYU student and MSS employee observations and interactions, SOAR also provides an opportunity for MSS to identify students who are academically, socially, emotionally and spiritually prepared to attend

BYU. Since the 1990's, SOAR participants have traveled to BYU from all 50 states, Washington D.C., American Samoa, Hong Kong, Japan and India, to name only some of the locations. Generally, high school students find out about SOAR through family and friends who have attended in previous years, ecclesiastical or other LDS members who are aware of the program, mailers, those who attended previous MSS college preparation programs, and other various outreach attempts (S. Brown, personal communication, June, 2008).

After personal communication with the Dean of Student Life (V. Heperi, personal communication, July 15, 2010), I was told that due to the sensitive nature of institutional, programmatic and office data, most of the specific outcome data about SOAR are not available. However, based on my own experiences working in BYU Multicultural Student Services for over three years, SOAR does a great job helping students see that college is possible, even those who didn't even plan on attending college prior to attending SOAR. Many of the students who attend SOAR do not even plan on applying to BYU. However, after SOAR the vast majority have a desire to do so.

In this study, there were two first generation, Hispanic, low-income SOAR students who graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 who were admitted to BYU in 2009. Both students received some form of BYU scholarship (additional information regarding these and the other first generation, Hispanic, low-income students who graduated from a Utah high school in 2009 and who applied to BYU as incoming freshmen for 2009 is available in the Methods section below). Similar to athletic, music, dance, or other departments that screen their students to whom they award scholarships, MSS uses the three weeks of activities and interpersonal interactions among SOAR participants and staff during SOAR, as well as any communication after SOAR, as a way to determine those who will receive scholarships to ensure that scholarship

money and specific amounts are awarded in line with merit, financial need, and other

qualifications that align with the University Statement on Fostering an Enriched Environment.

The SOAR program is one of the many other sources of social capital and cultural capital

that may facilitate HC development among permanent resident and U.S. citizen, LDS Hispanics

who attend during one of the three weeks at BYU. While the focus of this research is not on

SOAR, because two of the students in this study participated in the program prior to admissions,

it is important to identify SOAR's potential influences on the HC development of these two

students.

Appendix B – Additional Participant Attributes

Table 3

County of High School for ULDSHISP College Students at BYU - 2009

Attribute		# of students	%
County of High School	Utah	3	37.5%
	Salt Lake	2	25.0%
	Weber	2	25.0%
	Davis	1	12.5%

Table 4

ACT and High School GPA Data for ULDSHISP College Students at BYU - 2009

Attribute	Highest ACT Score	# Times Took ACT	High School GPA
	21	2	3.70
	22	1	3.98
	23	2	3.70
	24	3	3.90
	25	2	3.95
	25	2	3.90
	27	3	3.90
	29	1	3.80
Average	24.5	2	3.85

Appendix C – Contextualization of Significant Other Influences

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S1

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Peers @ age 14 (Triggering Relationship)	Poor relationship with widow mother. Taking care of older autistic sister and younger siblings, the house, cooking, etc. No friends at Church. Completely underappreciated by mother and siblings. Trustworthy and loyal friend helps her find importance of Church and life. Introduced her to other friends who later encouraged her, "My friends were encouraging too. They just kept being like, 'You can make it. Go ahead and apply.'"
Extracurricular	Middle school orchestra provided social context to meet others. "I had my friend. I met her in middle school in orchestra . . ."
Extended Family	Aunt and Uncle in Texas: "They had a good family so that helped me kind of see what a family should be like" "I have a lot of uncles who have been here at BYU and they're all really smart and I look up to them because they're really smart . . ."
Teachers	"I guess the AP Psychology teacher at Mountainview. He went to BYU and he talked about a lot of his experiences at BYU" He instilled confidence in her even though she wasn't doing well in his AP class, telling her she should take the AP exam "He told me that I should take it. I told him, 'But I've been doing really bad in your class. Are you sure I can do that?' He said, 'Yeah, go ahead and take it.' So I took it and I passed. That was really cool."
LDS Church	Mostly her friend from school, but also: "I liked my ward in Texas. It was a bigger ward. I liked the people that I did know. Our bishop was really nice. Two of his girls are actually here at BYU. I haven't gotten a chance to meet up with them yet. They were just really nice." "I really enjoyed this one Young Women's leader I had. She just was a spunky personality and is always happy and likes to sing a lot. Her lessons were always really good. She was just really friendly and that was good." "I guess Brother Kohl (member of Bishopric), the one who gave me the SOAR application . . . just because he was the one who kind of pushed me into even looking into college." "I kind of explained that I kind of think I couldn't get into BYU because of my grades. And he was encouraging and he told me that I should try anyway. He actually got the forms and everything and brought them to me"
SOAR	"My mom couldn't pay for any college and so if I didn't get this scholarship then I wouldn't have probably gone to college. Just because I didn't have the money to." "They had that financial workshop. That really helped me. Other workshops that they did, explaining how the fact that you don't have the best grades isn't the major thing that they look at, that they look at everything all together. That made me want to apply and at least see if I could get in." "After attending the SOAR program however, my eyes were opened and I was helped a lot in finding

	financial aid and scholarships. This made me start to think that college could be a possibility after all."
Culture	"I really didn't have a lot of cultural influences before SOAR." "I was looking through the Multicultural magazine and saw all the pictures of all the different cultures and read some stuff, and I thought it was really cool that BYU has a program like that." "One of my motivations for success stemmed from stereotypes of my racial identity. Many statistics that show racial plots of education do not look so well on Hispanics. I want to break the stereotype. I want to make something of myself. I want to help other people."
Seminary Tchr.	"I did get another scholarship that my seminary teacher actually recommended me for. She gave me the application and everything and she was really encouraging as well and telling me that I should apply." "She kept on us and that we got it filled out on time." "probably my seminary teachers collectively, because they showed a lot of things about BYU and Institute and things like that."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S2

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Mother @ early age (triggering relationship)	"At a younger age she'd always check to see if we were doing our things we should be doing. As we got older we kind of developed the habits already to do our homework and do our projects. She was always there to help us if we needed any guidance or if we didn't understand it, she would help us try and figure it out. She would also help us; she would always check our grades and we kind of like talk with her about our grades and how we were doing. We'd tell her what certain classes were like and what we were struggling with and what we were doing well in. She would just always keep updated with what we were doing and would kind of just help us if we needed help in school if we were struggling."
Sister @ early age (triggering relationship)	"I've always felt I need to set the example for her. Just because I know I love her so much and I want her to succeed and I want her to have, to accomplish her goals, for her to be motivated to have a happy life. That's kind of motivated me to be an example to her and to set goals for myself and to try and succeed and things like that. She's always been such a good support to me just because we're so close to each other. She's always supported me and helped me out if I needed help."
Grandparents	". . . because they didn't get to receive the same types of opportunities I did. In one way they influenced my parents become better than they were and then my parents were able to help me. And also they have encouraged me and talked to me about setting goals and kind of helping me to see what is important for me to succeed and what is important in life for me to be able to accomplish the things I want to accomplish and be happy. Just because of their influence, them talking to me and them influencing my parents, they've had a big impact on my life."
Culture	"So I got to see some people a lot of cultures where they weren't able to have as many opportunities as I did and I guess culture played in a role in that because I know if I wasn't involved in that culture I probably wouldn't have seen some of the people less advantaged as me. Also, it opened my eyes to the world around me and it kind of opened my eyes to all the things that I could accomplish and all the things that I could do. It played a role in that I was setting an example in a way for some of the people who were part of my culture that didn't get to receive the same things that I did."
Move to Utah	"There was a lot more involvement here in the Church here than there was in CA and Florida, so that's where we started becoming more involved in the Church." "I guess you could say in Utah the people have more of a willing heart I guess you could say. A lot of the schools offered more programs that were helpful to students and the people were actively involved. The teachers were more open-minded and they seemed more available and they seemed like they had more of a heart and like they really cared more about the students were going through and helping the

	students to succeed so just the environment everyone seemed willing to help."
Stepfather	". . . he's really supportive of the things me and my sister do. He also helps us. He kind of has the same goals as my mom and they both work together to help me and my sister to set what we want, to set standards. That's kind of the role he has played."
LDS Church	"When I was younger, because I wasn't quite involved in the religion. My lifestyle was a lot more different. I don't know how you could put it. The lifestyle I had before was a little bit more disarranged. I wasn't really focused on the things that were going to help me to succeed in the future. When I was older my LDS faith, it helped me a lot to set my morals and my standards of the things that I wanted and it helped me through every aspect of my life. Through what I wanted in a family to how I viewed the family and how I viewed education and what I wanted from education to the way I perceived others around me and the way I treated them; treating them in a better way and helping them out. Every aspect of my life it helped me to set higher goals."
Extended Family	"My uncle goes here. He's just barely finishing up his education here. And I have a pretty close relationship with him. He lives pretty close to us. Being able to see how he's been doing here at BYU and like how he's enjoyed it and how his education has opened his mind to more knowledge and the knowledge that he's gained has him more happy and has kept his thoughts more focused and things like that. It kind of influenced me to come here."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S3

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Parents @ early age (triggering relationship)	"I always felt like they encouraged education a lot and from a really young age I thought it was important. I don't really know why. But education has always been a top priority. I always did my homework before having a social life and even though my mom didn't go to college she really thinks it's important." "I guess my mom taught me how to set goals. A lot of what my parents taught me have been by example, not really teaching me things. Just the way they live their lives. I've never really audibly heard my mom set a goal, but she just does a lot with the resources she has, even though she hasn't gone to college. She just keeps getting better and better jobs each year and she just always getting better and accomplishing goals, even though she doesn't literally set them. But, I am constantly setting goals, even daily. I set little goals and little to-do lists. I think this helps me a lot because it makes me feel like I've accomplished something and it makes me motivated and makes me feel like I can do something. I'm always working towards something and looking forward to something."
Sister @ early age (triggering relationship)	"She has influenced me a lot. She is always pushing me to be better. We're always helping each other. I feel like she really does love me for who I am. But she's such a good friend because she always wants me to be better and she knows I can be better. So in school, since we were always a grade apart, we'd just want to do well in school together and feed off of each other."
Grandparents	Mother's parents: "My grandparents are from Chile and my mom came here when she was 12. She's always just stressed the importance, like they came over here for the Church and also for better opportunities and they came here when they were pretty old so there's not a lot they could do, but they always just had hope in their children and their grandchildren that they would get a good education and that they would stay active in the Church, that they could make it worth that they came here. Sometimes I'm motivated a lot by my grandma coming here." Father's parents: "They both graduated from BYU . . . and they've always talked about it and how great it is. My dad's parents have always stressed education too. They, a lot of times, were supportive of us, like taking us to Church (my sister and I), when my parents didn't. So they influenced me that way in the Church more."
LDS Church	"We've lived in really good neighborhoods. Actually, one of the neighborhoods we moved in, that's how my sister and I started being active in the Church because like I said, our parents weren't. It wasn't like they were anti, but we just didn't know a lot about it. In one of the neighborhoods we had some neighbors that were Young Women's leaders and they were really friendly and they came over and invited us to Church and we went. That's really what first started us to go to

Church. I was 12 and my sister was 13. They just became really good friends with us. They were nice people and showed real sincere care for us and love for us. We lived there for two years, when I was 12-14, and they had kids we would babysit, and that was a lot of fun. My sister and I would babysit together. They would come over to our house just to see how we were doing. Sometimes they would pick us up for church and for activities. In all the wards from then until now I've had really close relationships with the Young Women's leaders. I think because they felt like they had to make sure we went to Church because my parents didn't and so they picked us up for activities and then just really we learned to love them." "The Book of Mormon. Just reading it helps me in my daily life. I didn't know a lot about it when I did start activity. I had never had experience reading it all the way through and once I did that was like the biggest turning point to my testimony and the point of my true conversion when I read the Book of Mormon. I got so excited about the gospel and wanted it to be a part of every second of my life so BYU seemed like the perfect place because of the environment and the atmosphere of the Spirit here all the time." "Church leaders, like my bishop and the apostles, just listening to their guidance and advice. Just talks on education."

Teachers & Counselors	"I had a lot of English teachers that influenced me a lot. I just loved English and I loved the advice they gave me on my writing and in class. They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do. There's a lot of motivation for academic achievement at least the people I was with. I don't know if it was because I was surrounded by people in my AP classes, but it felt like there was a lot of emphasis placed on achievement and learning. Also in theater they were really motivated, but sometimes it was just for theater and not necessarily for academics, but they were all very motivated to do what they did." "I talked to my counselor and she really influenced me a lot. She was really helpful. She gave me a lot of scholarship forms and I filled out a lot of those."
Extracurricular	"I was involved in theater and so my theater teacher, the director, she was a big influence on me too. I respected her a lot just because she had so much passion for what she did and she was very good at it. My theater teacher graduated from BYU and she liked it." "Because I moved around a lot I never really had a lot of close friends through elementary and junior high. I had friends, but I was just never really that close with them and I never really felt a need to have a big social life. But once I got into high school and got more involved in theater, then I made really close friendships because I was just with them all the time. I think when I began to make closer friendships like that, I learned a lot about myself and I learned more about relationships and about people."
Seminary Tchr.	"I always loved my seminary teachers. They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do."

Pet "This might sound weird, but my dog has been a really big influence just because I've always been a little bit of a perfectionist and like things to go my way. When my mom gave me my dog it was a surprise. Since then she's kind of taught me to appreciate everything in life, even things that aren't perfect."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S4

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Parents @ early age	I knew there were things I needed to do to get where I wanted to go. My parents taught me about setting goals . . . They definitely encouraged me from day one to go to college after high school. For me, in my mind, it wasn't an option- I was going to go to college. It wasn't smart not to. But they encouraged me to go wherever I wanted to go. They were very happy about BYU, but they would support me anywhere. both my parents have worked very hard to get where they are. I also don't want to throw away anything they have given me because they've both worked very hard to give me what they didn't have." "I've kind of always wanted to be a teacher. I wanted to be a high school teacher. I guess seeing how she loves it so much has kind of encouraged me that I'll probably love it too."
Grandparents	"My grandparents picked fruit. That gives me motivation to prove that stereotype wrong. You know, my grandparents did it and my dad has done it and I want to do that. That gives a better name for them. I guess it's really easy to see what not going to school does because a lot of Mexicans don't go to school. That don't continue their education. So I guess that influences it." "Well, I had a lot of encouragement from my dad's side of the family to go to BYU because both my grandparents had gone there. At some point, my grandpa got his master's, but they both had gone there at some point. They loved it and it's like, "The Lord's school." My aunt had gone there and my parents had gone to Ricks, but it's kind of like a branch, since it's BYU-Idaho now. So they were all like, "BYU is really good. There's a lot of RMs. You'll be with the Church. A lot of the same people with your standards." I'd say they were really influential about that."
Move to Utah	"We've always been really close, especially since we've moved to Utah." "When we first moved here, he was starting this business and he also worked at the Provo Willow Creek School, with younger troubled boys . . . He learned a lot from that. That really helped him become a better dad for us." "I lived right by the high school . . . I'd come home for lunch a lot with one or two friends of mine. My mom would usually be home unless she was teaching. Even if she was teaching, we'd go home together if she was teaching at my high school. Or we'd eat lunch there. This is bringing back fun memories. I'd just go in the classroom she was subbing in with my friends and we'd just eat lunch with her."
LDS Church	"It's everything. I grew up with it so I can't really compare it to when I didn't have the gospel. There's so much to say about that. If you're close to Heavenly Father. I've learned that He cares about what you care about. If you are going to put in the effort and you're going to be obedient then He's going to help you a ton. He's going to help things work out. I think that's a huge factor of why I got into BYU. I was

praying about it. I wanted to get in. I got in. It's worked out. He's helped with school and we were always taught to pray before tests and before you sit down to write an essay. Plus, with religion, that's why my family is the way they are and that's why we're all so close. Because our Church puts so much emphasis on the importance of the family structure and how there should be love in our homes and love in our parents' relationships and their relationship with us. And even on the radio you hear those advertisements about, "Listen to your kids" or "Talk to your kids." We're really like that. We're really good listeners and we talk to each other all the time as a family. That's a huge part of it that our religion encourages us so much with the family. The prophets have always have encouraged us to get an education, like President Hinckley did so much. "Be smart."

Extracurricular	"I was in dance also. Council played a big part. That helped with leadership qualities and it helped a lot with college applications and scholarships as far as being in student council. Plus it was a lot of fun and you learn a lot of things. You learn a lot about how to be a leader, how to plan things. I loved that. That was an awesome experience. Let's see, the gymnastics job, that's still my favorite job ever. I'd still be doing that if I hadn't moved away. That was just too hard. That's also given me more of a confirmation that I definitely want to teach. I was in a teaching position then. Oh, you know what also, in my typical high school day, I would also go to my internship, which was at the junior high, and I would go and help teach lessons over there and observe. I would help teach lessons for a teacher that I have loved. I chose him and asked to intern for him and so they let me. And they were seventh graders and that was a ton of fun. That was really good because I got to plan lessons and that helped me know definitely for sure what I wanted to do." "I was on the track team for a little while, but I just did that because I like to run. Otherwise I kind of did that stuff on my own. So I really wasn't in that many extracurricular activities. I was in the FCCLA (Family Community Career Leadership of America). I was in that club and I was in the NHS club (the National Honor's Society), which that was a good club to be into for college applications, but I hated it. But, my mom is the one that made me continue with that one and pushed me to graduate from that." "Teachers, my parents, have told us. Counselors. I guess it was always encouraged in my high school. I guess I was just told, but it made sense to me because it made sense that colleges were looking for you to be involved in the school, involved in the community. Like holding leadership positions and that kind of experience. I just remembered something else I was in that my mom had me put in and it was really good for college applications. When I lived in Salem, I was on the Salem Youth Council and that was a council of young kids from Salem and we would do community service all the time."
Peers	"I guess it was encouraging that we were all doing the same thing. We weren't necessarily all going for the same school, but I mean of couple

of us were applying to BYU. I guess it was encouraging that we would talk to each other about it. We would talk about what we need to do, about getting stuff done. What kind of stuff we'd put on applications. So it's always nice to have a support system when you have other friends doing all of that stuff with you and getting ready for college." "I had a couple of older friends that were coming here and they were saying they loved it. That made me more excited to come and to apply."

Teachers & Counselors	"Counselors would come into classes and talk to us about things with scholarships and talk to us about getting involved and what to put on our applications and stuff like that. Clubs were always encouraged." "Teachers would tell us a lot. I had an English teacher and she was very adamant with teaching us about job resumes and college applications and scholarship applications and mainly it's because she was an English teacher and we would practice writing that kind of stuff." "I had a couple teachers that would just teach us about what to write and they would invite us to bring it in to them and ask, "How, let us read it over for you and we'll help you do it." They always offered to help. That was encouraging. They talked about it. "You guys need to continue your education." For me, I really listened to my teachers because I wanted to be one and I really liked them, so I always listened to them." "I just had really good teachers. And plus they knew, since I had good teachers, we were friends and I was close to them and I would talk to them. They knew that I wanted to be a teacher. I would ask them, "What do I need to do?" They would tell me. They would encourage me with what I was already doing. They would tell me about what they did and what kind of classes they had taken, what majors they had studied to be what they are."
Seminary Tchr.	"I loved, loved, loved seminary. My teachers were all awesome. They were really funny. They were really cool. They knew how to teach. They were, of course, they helped my testimony grow a ton. I loved the seminary program there. They were really encouraging, especially since our religion is encouraging of getting an education and stuff. They taught about how to always continue and do that and try your best."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S5

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Mother on & off/Father never home	"At the beginning they really didn't support me going to college because they thought college is kind of a waste of time. But then the more they start talking to people about their children going to college they started to see that maybe it wasn't so bad. At the beginning, like I said, they really didn't support me. But now they support me a little bit more, but they still have some doubts about college. They think I should be working and making money right away instead of just wasting money and not really making as much money as I could right now. Because they really don't know anything about college. The main problem with them is that they don't know how college works or anything. They just don't know anything about college." "I just want to not suffer like my dad. Sometimes we struggle financially and sometimes we don't. It just depends on how far he works. I just don't want to ever be thinking about money. I just want to live a nice life where I don't have to worry about money or anything. I don't want to suffer like my dad. I want to provide a better living than I had. A better living for my family in the future. I want to prove to other students that you can be whatever you want."
Culture	"Most kids are really poor and live in poverty and they need to help their parents out in some way, so the culture is work, work, work and they don't pay close attention to their education." "Well, my cultural influences have influenced me in school because they taught me to persevere through anything. To be strong and always do my best I possibly could. Pretty much the thing that has always done well in school from the Mexican culture is that there are a lot of people who try to outdo you in your community. I just want to outdo my dad, but not in a bad way. I want to have a better life. He always tells us to work as hard as you can so you can have a better life so you don't have to be like me going from state to state, working in the sun every day with a pick and shovel."
Extended family	". . . the things that made an influence for me to go to college were . . . seeing my uncle . . . my uncle in Mexico. After my dad started sending them money so they could afford for him to go to college. So he went to college in Mexico and the thing that really hit me is that my parents, like I said at the beginning, they never really wanted me to go to college. They wanted me to make money. They really didn't believe I could do it, to get a major or anything like that. So I talked to my uncle and he said, "Yeah. My parents were the exact same way as your dad is with you right now. They didn't believe in me that I could go to school. They told me, "you're dumb and you're not going to go anywhere. You're just going to waste money." After he told me that, he became mayor over there. My uncle became mayor and that's pretty much what inspired me. That's pretty much what got me going." It's mostly what I've seen. He

always lived in Mexico. He's never come over here. I've most always been here. I might go visit for a month or two maybe, like every three of four years. It's not really what I've talked to him about. It's more of what I've seen. I've seen him on videos. One time when we went I saw his office and I thought it was really cool." "Everybody else in my family that's tried to go to college has eventually dropped out within the first year. Not like in my family, but my cousins. Most of them have not even graduated from high school or ended up dropping out of Weber State their first year."

College Counselor	"After I missed the deadlines for the first one. I found out there are specific rules and that's how I got to know about that. Every single school has a certain deadline. . . My counselor at BYU, Anthony Bates. I went to ask him some quick questions about BYU and if I could still fill out the application at BYU even though the deadline was past. He said yes and look on there and just always fill it out."
Peers	"I've always hung around friends that weren't LDS, but in my senior year when I was student body officer, another thing that helped me convert, because all throughout I really didn't hang out with people who were LDS. I hung around everybody, but my senior year when I became student body officer, that's when all the other five members of student government who were LDS. Everybody in that room was LDS except for me and another kid." "The thing that helped me convert was seeing and comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in them. The words they used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me." "I think the one that influenced me the most was my LDS friends. They supported me more than my non-LDS friends." "They supported me. I said, "I think I might want to go to BYU" and they said, "Yeah, you should go." I wasn't converted yet and they would say, "Yeah, you should go. It will be a great experience for you." My non-LDS friends were like, "Why are you going to BYU? It's such a bad school." There was a huge difference between the two groups."
Teachers & Counselors (triggering relationship)	". . . the things that made an influence for me to go to college were, like I said, seeing my uncle, and my teachers always supporting me and helping me out with everything." ". . . there were three teachers and they're all science teachers, human anatomy and physiology." "I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted. They said, 'You could do whatever you want.' They inspired me to do whatever I wanted. It was really good teachers that got me through. As soon as they heard that I got in, they told me I should go because it's a really good school." "Honestly, I had the best counselor out of everybody. Everybody even said it. Mrs. Han was the best. Whenever you needed something, she'd either find it for you, if she didn't know it on her own or find it for you. She'd do anything."
Extracurricular	"I was involved in a whole bunch. I was involved in a Health Careers

	and Occupation program, HOSA, National Honor Society, student body officer, the Chess Team, Key Club. They kind of helped expose me to all the different careers I could have in the medical field or even just college. Some just exposed me to college. "You can get this type of scholarship" or "You can do these types of things or this type of major" by doing the things you love, like health promotion or marketing or whatever. Those kind of helped me and exposed me to college. Knowing more about college from what I didn't know already. I made really good friends for life. They influenced me really well. Those programs, because I stayed with them three or four years, I built a strong connection with the teachers or program leaders. Those are the ones that helped me look at college and that helped me with everything."
LDS Church	"I saw a whole bunch of people like the principals that follow it and I like that. I don't like how my friends are always drunk or smoking or doing something dumb. So I like that. I'd have to say that's how they influenced me." "The thing that helped me convert was seeing and comparing my friends that weren't LDS to comparing my friends that were LDS and seeing the big difference in them. The words they used. The way they lived. The way their houses were. The way they live. The way they talked. The way they did everything, in essence, was the thing that changed me." ". . . the Church has influenced me really well. Just by praying and teaching me work ethic through all different things." "I wanted to go to BYU . . . because I wanted to learn more about the LDS religion and that would be the best place for me to learn more stuff and not fall off for some weird reason."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S6

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Parents @ early age	"I'm making huge, life-changing decisions and I can, like, go to them and, like, ask them for advice, because I know that they've been through it already and, like--especially, like, my mom. She, like, always gives great advice. And I think that, in going to BYU, it helped, because I wasn't even going to apply to BYU. I didn't even want to go there. But, like, my mom encouraged me to apply and that's actually the only school I applied to. And, yeah, they, they were always, like, really big about college. Like, that was always their thing: you have to go to college. So, they, like, always encouraged me to go. Because they never went to college. And my mom would always tell me, like, how her parents would always say, like, it's important to get a good job but, like, now, since things have changed it's, like, more important to get a college education and, like, a good job, because the college education will lead to a good job. And so she would always, like, tell me, like, 'No matter what you do you have to go to college and, like, get an education and stuff.' Because she never did and, like, now, like, if their business doesn't work out and they don't have anything to fall back on, you know, cause they don't have a college degree." "I think I felt like, I wanted to, like, be the first one and, like, you know, make them proud and, like, I think by going it would, like, show them that I was, like, taking what they were saying seriously, like about going to college and stuff. Yeah, I think I tried harder in school, and, yeah, worked harder." "They were always . . . encouraging, and, like, always, like really proud of me like whenever I did anything. I think that's how they influenced me."
Grandmother @ BYU	" . . . my grandma worked at BYU for 17 years in the Library. She was always telling me to go to BYU. I went with her sometimes to work and she would take me to the Library and stuff. I know a lot of families around here go to the football games, but my family never did that. Besides going with my grandma, I had never ever been to BYU."
Peers	"One of my friends had gotten her medical assisting degree there and she totally loved it. It sounded really, really cool so I said I wanted to do that too. . . She is always encouraging me when I wanted to the medical assisting thing she said, 'Yeah, I think you would like it. If you need any help with anything, I'll help you with it.' "She's in my ward at home so we're like really close. Some of my friends aren't LDS so we can talk about things like that with each other." "One is at SUU. A few of them are at UVU. One is at Utah State. One is at the U. So it's everywhere. I think it's good because we all get to see ourselves accomplishing something that we all wanted to do."
LDS Church	"Well, my mom was actually a convert, and when she met my dad he

was actually inactive. So, he served a mission, and then came back and went inactive and they met each other. And so technically I wasn't, like, born into the church, or whatever. Like I still got baptized, but when I got baptized I didn't really know what was going on, like it was never explained to me. It was kind of just like, what everyone else was doing. And we didn't really, like, I don't know--we didn't go to church a lot and stuff. And were kind of just, like, less-active for a while. Until I was, like twelve. And when I was twelve we started really going to church a lot, and stuff." "I had this one leader that would, like, always just, like, call me and just like, 'How are you?' or, like, if I wasn't at church, she would call me like 'Are you doing ok? Missed you at church.' And, like, she would just, like--and I was friends with her daughter and so we would just, like, sit down and talk to her. And, like, she just had a really good way of teaching us gospel doctrine without, like, preaching it, or like, she would just incorporate it really well into whatever we were talking about. She just cared about all the girls. I had a good Bishop, too. talking to us and he was, like, really cool. Like, he related to the youth really well. he was really nice and he was always there. Like, whenever we needed him. He gave me a blessing one time when I was going through stuff and he was really nice."

Extended Family	" . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' They just told me it was a good school and they would tell me about how it's different because it's an LDS school and how there's devotionals and that kind of stuff. I didn't know a lot of that stuff. It made me excited because I thought it was cool."
Mother's Tumor	"It just made me not take things for granted anymore because I think a lot of people take their parents for granted and everything they do for them." "I had to do everything. I had to take care of my little brother, clean the house, make dinner sometimes, and stuff. My dad was still there, but he was working. It was hard . . . around two years." ". . . when I went into Young Women's she was, like, okay 'Well, maybe we should start taking this more seriously.' . . . my mom has a brain tumor--and when she found out she like, really was like, 'Okay, it's, like, time to, like, get our lives on track.' That's when it really, like, turned around. She really wanted to do good with, like, scripture reading and going to church and praying and everything."
Extracurricular	"I was the president of one of the clubs there. I think that was good because it taught me a lot of responsibility. It was HOSA, Health Occupation Students of America. We did blood drives and stuff so I was always in charge of doing blood drives for our school and I got along well with one of the teachers. And we got to go to leadership conferences and competitions. I think having that much responsibility helps you because I had to plan things and organize things and set up things and be in charge of people. I think that was helpful."
Seminary	"I had one really good seminary teacher that was, like, way awesome

Tchrs.	and, I think, helped me a lot. . . he would, like, relate it to, like, stories, or, like, personal experiences that he had and just things like that. And taught us, like, different ways of, like, studying the scriptures and, like, different techniques and stuff."

Contextualization of Significant Influences: S7

Trigger and Influences	Circumstances of Trigger and Significant Influences
Parents on and off	". . . my dad when I moved in with him kind of got the vibe that I was independent, but he knew I was smart. I don't think he was worried about me getting into college. My mom, 'just going to college you'd do better than us'; most of her brothers went to college; she's the only girl with seven brothers. She just knows that it's the best thing."
Grandparents	"And it was my grandpa who I think started teaching me math and reading since I was five. Since then, all throughout grade school it was easy to do. And my grandma, I'm pretty sure, she's told me herself that I was her favorite grandson. Everyone knew. Probably because she raised me like her own." "Really after my grandpa helped me learn so much at an early age, my family didn't really help me do my homework per say. I don't think there was much need of enforcement of doing well in school. I just did well on my own. I can't remember if they ever told me to do my homework or stop playing video games or watching TV. But I always did well enough."
Extended Family	". . . and probably helped when my cousins graduated from BYU some of them graduated in Mexico. My family is smart. My cousins are either going to med school. In Mexico they're going to the best schools out there for med school or for business. Here my; I don't know what my cousin graduated in but I other two cousins are graduating with majors in business or economics and I think one of them is going for an MBA." "My cousins encouraged it because of how good it is. No one else really even knew about BYU. Maybe they knew, but they didn't encourage it too much per se. Maybe my family is OK with BYU. Most of them have stopped being members. Three are still active members."
LDS Church	"We went to church every Sunday and during my youth, I went to youth every time I could. Beyond that I really couldn't do much. But religion plays an important part. If it weren't for that, being all Mormons, I'm pretty sure we'd be a lot more irresponsible." "My bishop. He did promote a sense of education. He was there for us, so I guess if anything, he kept me fed during high school."
Teacher & Counselor	"There was one of the best teachers I ever had was in 10th grade and she just cared about us so much, even when she was mad. She wasn't freaking out mad. She was an honor's world history teacher. At the end of the year she was like, do you want to take the AP world history test? I'm sure so she told us to go out and buy the books and we do the exam and we have like one month to study for that exam and I ended up passing. So that made me feel more confident about AP tests." "The only other person I can think of is the high school counselor. She was really nice. She was the head counselor so she did her job well. Basically I just looked at; she didn't really influence me in getting into BYU. She

influenced me to talk to the right people within high school that could help me best."

SOAR
"I guess I was living on my own and my cousin just happened to tell me about it from an email or a call. My mom said I should do it. My mom basically forced me to do it. Because of my cousin more than anything. It was really nice. Basically I really wasn't interested in going to BYU at all. That put some interest in me. Just because of the classes they offer and how the nice the people were. Maybe it was the group of kids I was with, who were very interested in BYU. I'm not sure if at that moment I was lacking spiritual guidance or something, but I told myself you know if I ever have issues this would be the only place I would have hope. Because if I went to any other college the environment would have destroyed me. I had researched other places but hadn't really applied I never got the motivation to apply. I was interested in Brown, Stanford, and Columbia were interested in me." "Firsthand experience of applying and everything. Because most people say we see a lot of kids apply and make this mistake and people have actually applied and gotten in and made it somehow and paid for it somehow and there somehow there. It makes the process, I don't want to say real, it's just more doable. It just makes it seem there."

Peers
"It's just that most kids that I know of don't really separate until they go to college. Most of them are friends since kindergarten. They were in one class in third grade and they still remember that. For me I was basically; I don't have that sense of unity since 10 years old. So that's why I kind of really wanted to stay in Utah. I really wanted to stay in the school for three years at least. There was one school that I had been four years, but I skipped a year or so and that made a difference."

Extracurricular
"I guess the best sense of family I got during high school, or second best, was cheer squad. Just because I spent a good amount of time with them. I went to class with them and then there was class and games and all the trips we took. They dressed differently and they were more of a sense of family and more than almost anyone during my senior year. Because of the cheer squad, most people knew our names. People knew who I was. So it was easier. It felt good to know that I paid for cheer all the way through, almost $1400. All the guys kind of paid their own way and all the girls didn't. I don't know. They just a sense of unity and memories and stuff that you can go back to. Even my girlfriend during my senior year was; she's not a member and she's a Ute fan, but she still encouraged me to finish everything and was very supportive." ". . . basically all my nights were either working or on cheer squad. I didn't really have much of a social life."

Appendix D - Summary of Cultural and Social Capital Influences on Student Success

Construct	Indicator	Definition	Example	Threshold
Cultural Capital	LDS Church	May include any doctrine, values or beliefs communicated by members or leaders of the LDS Church	"Because our Church puts so much emphasis on the importance of the family structure and how there should be love in our homes and love in our parents' relationships and their relationship with us. We're really like that. We're really good listeners and we talk to each other all the time as a family. That's a huge part of it that our religion encourages us so much with the family. The prophets have always have encouraged us to get an education, like President Hinckley did so much. 'Be smart.'" (S4)	100%
	Extracurricular activities	Activities outside of the classroom	"Because of the cheer squad, most people knew our names. People knew who I was." (S7)	100%
	Teachers & Counselors	Positive or negative influences by those who fill these roles at the schools	"Counselors would come into classes and talk to us about things with scholarships and talk to us about getting involved and what to put on our applications and stuff like that." (S4)	100%
	Culture	Broadly includes influences pertaining to culture of origin as well as culture possessed by others	"So I got to see some people, a lot of cultures where they weren't able to have as many opportunities . . . it opened my eyes to the world around me and it kind of opened my eyes to all the things that I could accomplish and all the things that I could do. It played a role in that I was setting an example in a way for some of the people who were part of my culture that didn't get to receive the same things that I did." (S2)	86%
	LDS Seminary	May include any influence associated with LDS Seminary	"I always loved my seminary teachers. They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." (S3)	83%*
Social Capital	Parents	Positive or negative relationships with one or more parents	"So we're really close and they've always been supportive" (S2) "I couldn't really tell a lot of times if she really cared" (S1)	100%
	Extended family	Grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc. who attended or	" . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' They just told me it was a good school . . . . It made me excited because I	100%

	talked about BYU	thought it was cool." (S6)	
Peers	Positive or negative peer influences	"I think the one that influenced me the most was my LDS friends. They supported me more than my non-LDS friends." (S5)	100%
Moving residences	Changing homes one or more times in or outside of Utah and general perceived social influences as a result	"I guess you could say in Utah the people have more of a willing heart I guess you could say. A lot of the schools offered more programs that were helpful to students and the people were actively involved. The teachers were more open-minded and they seemed more available and they seemed like they had more of a heart and like they really cared more about the students were going through and helping the students to succeed so just the environment everyone seemed willing to help." (S2)	100%
Siblings	Direct or indirect positive or negative sibling influences	"She is always pushing me to be better. We're always helping each other." (S3) "Because I was in charge and I was supposed to make sure that everybody did everything, my little sisters didn't want to listen to me because I wasn't the mom." (S1)	71%

Note: *One of the students was not a member of the LDS Church during high school and did not attend LDS Seminary, therefore the computation is 5 out of 6 instead of 5 out of 7 students.

Appendix E – Emergent Themes, Evidence and Percentage of Cases Represented

Relational Themes	Supporting Case Evidence	% of Cases Represented by Data
Student with parents	"So we're really close and they've always been supportive" (S2) "I couldn't really tell a lot of times if she really cared" (S1)	100%
Student with grandparents	"And it was my grandpa who I think started teaching me math and reading since I was five. Since then, all throughout grade school it was easy to do. And my grandma, I'm pretty sure, she's told me herself that I was her favorite grandson." (S7)	71%
Student with siblings	"She is always pushing me to be better. We're always helping each other." (S3) "Because I was in charge and I was supposed to make sure that everybody did everything, my little sisters didn't want to listen to me because I wasn't the mom." (S1)	43%
Student with extended family	" . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' They just told me it was a good school . . . . It made me excited because I thought it was cool." (S6)	71%
Cultural influences	"So I got to see some people, a lot of cultures where they weren't able to have as many opportunities . . . it opened my eyes to the world around me and it kind of opened my eyes to all the things that I could accomplish and all the things that I could do. It played a role in that I was setting an example in a way for some of the people who were part of my culture that didn't get to receive the same things that I did." (S2)	57%
Student with peers	"I think the one that influenced me the most was my LDS friends. They supported me more than my non-LDS friends." (S5)	71%
Student with teachers and counselors	"I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted." (S5) "Counselors would come into classes and talk to us about things with scholarships and talk to us about getting involved and what to put on our applications and stuff like that." (S4)	86%
Student with LDS Seminary teachers	"I always loved my seminary teachers. They just loved what they did. They would give me a lot of complements and made me feel like I could do what I wanted to do." (S3)	57%*
Student with members of LDS Church	"Because our Church puts so much emphasis on the importance of the family structure and how there should be love in our homes and love in our parents' relationships and	100%

their relationship with us. We're really like that. We're
really good listeners and we talk to each other all the time
as a family. That's a huge part of it that our religion
encourages us so much with the family. The prophets have
always have encouraged us to get an education, like
President Hinckley did so much. 'Be smart.'" (S4)

Note: *One participant was not a member of the LDS Church during high school and did not
attend LDS Seminary

Appendix F – Evidence for Abrupt Contextualization Model

Student	Abrupt Trigger	Brokers to Cultural & Social Capital	Evidence of Success
1	*Friend*: "She kind of got me to see that trials are hard and you can't always see the good that comes out of them. She had a group of friends, like five or so, and they kind of, she introduced me to all of them. I never really had friends before then."	*Mother*: "That made me see that I needed to kind of get into college before I would have to raise a family because I saw what it was doing and I didn't want that to happen to my family." *Peers*: "Mostly just seeing the grades that they got made me want to do better in school." *Seminary Teacher*: "I did get another scholarship that my seminary teacher actually recommended me for. She gave me the application and everything and she was really encouraging as well and telling me that I should apply." *Cultural Stereotype*: "One of my motivations for success stemmed from stereotypes of my racial identity. Many statistics that show racial plots of education do not look so well on Hispanics. I want to break the stereotype. I want to make something of myself. I want to help other people."	*Admissions*: "Yeah. I got in there [Brigham Young University Idaho]. Then it took a while to get the letter from here [Brigham Young University]. The one from BYU-Idaho came really fast." *Financial Aid*: "If I didn't get those scholarships [through Seminary and from BYU] I probably wouldn't have gone to college."
5	"You know what? It was ETS actually that started making things click. He started exposing us. He was going to college then and he would talk about what he did in college that day and what he did in his classes or whatever. It was him. It was ETS."	*Father*: "I think seeing all that my dad suffers, because he still works there just to provide for us. I think that's another thing that got me clicking. That's the thing that influenced me to go to college just seeing my dad suffer and all that." *Teachers*: "I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted. They said, 'You could do whatever you want.'" *Peers*: "I think the one that influenced me the most was my LDS friends. They supported me more than my non-LDS friends. That also influenced me to get converted and to go to college." *Clubs*: They kind of helped expose me to all the different careers I could have in the medical field or even just college. Some just exposed me to college."	*Grades*: "I had a 4.0 throughout high school and I got an A- my last semester of my senior year. I always got good grades, took AP classes, and was involved with everything you can possibly be involved in at school." *Financial Aid*: "I had high school scholarships as well and I had financial aid. An Enriched Environment Scholarship [from BYU]."

Appendix G – Evidence for Gradual Contextualization Model

Student	Gradual Trigger	Brokers to Cultural & Social Capital	Evidence of Ongoing Success
2	*Relationship*: "I think I've always had a close bond with her just because she was a single mom and she was kind of like the sole parent I had. She's always been really open with us and she communicates with us . . . . She kind of pushes us to become better and do the things that are good." *Encouragement*: "Going to college was kind of what we needed to help us succeed. . . She showed us that that was what was important in life."	*Sister*: "I've always felt I need to set the example for her. Just because I know I love her so much and I want her to succeed and I want her to have, to accomplish her goals, for her to be motivated to have a happy life." *Grandparents*: ". . . because they didn't get to receive the same types of opportunities I did . . . . And also they have encouraged me and talked to me about setting goals and kind of helping me to see what is important for me to succeed" *Culture:* "So I got to see some people a lot of cultures where they weren't able to have as many opportunities as I did" *Religion*: "When I was older my LDS faith, it helped me a lot to set my morals and my standards of the things that I wanted and it helped me through every aspect of my life. . . and how I viewed education and what I wanted from education" *Uncle*: "Being able to see how he's been doing here at BYU and like how he's enjoyed it and how his education has opened his mind to more knowledge"	"Through parental guidance that was a big influence in education, teaching me from an early age, as a baby teaching education and that being set as a standard of living and things like that. Those are available to me and it pushed me to do well in my grades and things like that." "Throughout high school, my goals were that I wanted to do well in school and get good grades . . . I wanted to be able to receive good grades and be able to also help others who were in need, so I did that through community service."
3	*Relationship*: "So we're really close and they've always been supportive even though they aren't always active [in the LDS Church], they've always been supportive of everything my sister and I have done."	*Sister*: ". . . she's such a good friend because she always wants me to be better and she knows I can be better. So in school, since we were always a grade apart, we'd just want to do well in school together and feed off of each other." *Grandparents*: "they always just had hope in their children and their grandchildren that they would get a good education and that they would stay active in the Church, that they could make it worth that they came here. Sometimes I'm motivated a lot by my grandma coming here." *Neighbors/Religion*: "We've lived in	"All throughout junior high I got really good grades and I felt so good when I got good grades, and in high school I did too, and I wanted to get a head start in college and I also wanted to take classes that challenged me."

	Encouragement: "My mom places a lot of importance on education. She doesn't care where I go or what I do but definitely encourages higher education."	really good neighborhoods. Actually, one of the neighborhoods we moved in, that's how my sister and I started being active in the Church because like I said, our parents weren't. . . we had some neighbors that were Young Women's leaders and they were really friendly and they came over and invited us to Church and we went. That's really what first started us to go to Church."	
4	*Relationship*: "My relationship with my dad is great. We're really, really good friends. I am best friends with my mom. I tell her everything. We love spending time together." *Encouragement*: "They definitely encouraged me from day one to go to college after high school."	Culture: "My grandparents picked fruit. That gives me motivation to prove that stereotype wrong. You know, my grandparents did it and my dad has done it and I want to do that. That gives a better name for them. I guess it's really easy to see what not going to school does because a lot of Mexicans don't go to school." *School influences*: "I guess it was always encouraged in my high school. I guess I was just told, but it made sense to me because it made sense that colleges were looking for you to be involved in the school, involved in the community. Like holding leadership positions and that kind of experience." *Peers*: "So it's always nice to have a support system when you have other friends doing all of that stuff with you and getting ready for college."	"I always loved school. I always did well in my classes. I was a straight A student."
6	*Relationship*: ". . . me and my mom are like, really, really close. And, like, we just, like, talk. And that's, like, especially how my parents are."	*Grandmother*: " . . . my grandma worked at BYU for 17 years in the Library. She was always telling me to go to BYU. I went with her sometimes to work and she would take me to the Library and stuff." *Extended family*: " . . . two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like 'You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU.' They just told me it was a good school . . . It made me excited	"I kind of just motivated myself, really. I mean sometimes I needed a push from my parents, but most of the time I just wanted to get good grades. I think because it made my parents proud that

Encouragement: "She encouraged me to go [to college] and was helpful along the way in everything. Then probably my dad for the same reasons."	because I thought it was cool." *Mother's tumor*: "It just made me not take things for granted anymore because I think a lot of people take their parents for granted and everything they do for them." "I had to do everything. I had to take care of my little brother, clean the house, make dinner sometimes, and stuff. My dad was still there, but he was working. It was hard . . . around two years."	I was a good student, because my parents weren't good students in high school either."
7	Relationship: "My mom's always been responsible and she's always cared about us. . . . My mom basically raised me on her own . . . She pushed me in every way and motivated me and still helped me pay for stuff even when I was on my own." *Encouragement*: "I always was told and expected to go to college. There was never a doubt in my mind."	*Grandparents*: "And it was my grandpa who I think started teaching me math and reading since I was five. Since then, all throughout grade school it was easy to do." *Extended family*: ". . . and probably helped when my cousins graduated from BYU some of them graduated in Mexico. My family is smart. My cousins are either going to med school. In Mexico they're going to the best schools out there for med school or for business" *Religion*: "My bishop. He did promote a sense of education. He was there for us, so I guess if anything, he kept me fed during high school." *High School Counselor*: "She influenced me to talk to the right people within high school that could help me best." *SOAR*: "My mom basically forced me to do it. Because of my cousin more than anything. It was really nice. Basically I really wasn't interested in going to BYU at all. That put some interest in me."	"I always did well enough. I just did well in school. I thought it was easy. I figured why not." "My goals were always mixed with making money to do better than my parents, and spreading empathy from moving so much"

Appendix H – Additional Evidence for Contextualization

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S1

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
On death of father, activity in Church and triggering relationship Referring to her mother's return to school	When he first passed away and all of this started happening I kind of actually stopped liking and wanting to go to Church and stuff. It just wasn't important to me at the time. So that kind of let me into things that I shouldn't have done. I actually had a friend who helped me realize that the Church was good and that the Church does bring happiness and stuff and once I realized that, then everything kind of fell into place again. It was easier to go through what I was going through. I think I was around 10 ½ to 11, around there. That made me see that I needed to kind of get into college before I would have to raise a family because I saw what it was doing and I didn't want that to happen to my family. I decided that I would get a degree before I started a family so I could have something to go back to, if I ever needed to.
Referring to her childhood experiences	I never really had a normal childhood. I don't know. People who are nine are being able to go over to friends' houses and play, but I was always watching my sisters. I didn't really have any friends growing up because I was always at home. I couldn't go anywhere. It's probably made me more prepared for my own family, but still, it was hard.
Referring to her friend (trigger)	She kind of got me to see that trials are hard and you can't always see the good that comes out of them. But there is something you needed from that that will help you later on.
Reflecting on making it to BYU	Mostly, I didn't really plan on going to BYU just because I figured I couldn't get in and the money thing was a big issue. My mom couldn't pay for any college and so if I didn't get this scholarship then I wouldn't have probably gone to college. Just because I didn't have the money to. So I guess in a lot of ways, I've been blessed by being multicultural because I was able to get scholarships that a lot of my friends complain about not getting because they're White. If I didn't get those scholarships I probably wouldn't have gone to college.
Reflecting on influence of Church leader	I told him I didn't really know what I was going to do because I don't have a lot of money and stuff. Then he told me about SOAR and about the scholarship potential money coming to those kids, so I was like, "I can try that." . . . He actually got the forms and everything and brought them to me . . . I figured he really cared because he took the time to get that stuff and bring it to me. So I filled out the application and everything and sent that in.
Why BYU after SOAR?	I liked the fact the they tried to include the spiritual side of education, I guess. I liked having prayer at the beginning of class was interesting. It was pretty cool to me. The campus just feels really nice. It doesn't feel like a normal college campus. I guess it has to do with the Spirit here on campus.

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S2

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Speaking of his grandparents	. . . they didn't get to receive the same types of opportunities I did. In one way they influenced my parents to become better than they were and then my parents were able to help me. And also they have encouraged me and talked to me about setting goals and kind of helping me to see what is important for me to succeed and what is important in life for me to be able to accomplish the things I want to accomplish and be happy. Just because of their influence, them talking to me and them influencing my parents, they've had a big impact on my life.
Speaking of his birth father	I think the influence that he had on my life was, I got to see he still is less involved in the Church and I guess he didn't really get to follow his dreams and accomplish his goals that he wanted for his future life. So I think for me I was kind of motivated to become, it wanted me to be become better and wanted me to reach higher goals and not have to follow the path I guess he followed.
Speaking of the divorce and his mother's life	When I was younger it impacted me maybe in a negative way just because I was upset about it, but as I grew older I kind of I guess saw positive things I learned from it; I got to see how my mom struggled, but was at the same time was able to be strong. I saw her be able to set goals for herself and how she was able to create a better life for me and my sister. I got to see the positive aspects of just like looking for the better things in life and setting goals and trying to create a more happier life . . .
Speaking of his sister	Just because I know I love her so much and I want her to succeed and I want her to have, to accomplish her goals, for her to be motivated to have a happy life. That's kind of motivated me to be an example to her and to set goals for myself and to try and succeed and things like that.
Speaking of other students	The influences around me – some of the negative influences around me: I got to see how pupils' determination and motivation I could see how some people it helped them to succeed. With other people who didn't try as hard and who weren't really focused on what they wanted were not doing as well and they were not accomplishing what they probably had for their dreams. So that kind of influenced the aspects that I wanted in my character. So it made me want to become determined and motivated to set goals and accomplish and push myself and things like that.
Speaking of uncle at BYU	He lives pretty close to us. Being able to see how he's been doing here at BYU and like how he's enjoyed it and how his education has opened his mind to more knowledge and the knowledge that he's gained has him more happy and has kept his thoughts more focused and things like that. It kind of influenced me to come here. I got to see how the things that were being beneficial to him I could see how were going to help me too.
Speaking of future	. . . motivations for success were making a good name for myself and for my family. Also knowing the prize of future success and stability motivated me to do well.

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S3

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Speaking of her grandparents from Chile	It's influenced me a lot because I have so many more opportunities and privileges than they do and I'm so grateful for that. I'm just motivated by the drive that they have and the desire that they have to accomplish more things in their lives and to make it easier for me.
Motivation to earn good grades	All throughout junior high I got really good grades and I felt so good when I got good grades, and in high school I did too, and I wanted to get a head start in college and I also wanted to take classes that challenged me. I was really interested in English and I felt when I took honors classes I did a lot better with classes that challenged me. I just love learning. That was really the only motivation.
Others who attended BYU	My dad went to BYU for a semester or a year . . . My dad's adopted and all three of his brothers and sisters are adopted too. They both graduated from BYU, my dad's parents, and they've always talked about it and how great it is. My theater teacher graduated from BYU and she liked it.
Surrounded by motivated individuals	There's a lot of motivation for academic achievement at least the people I was with. I don't know if it was because I was surrounded by people in my AP classes, but it felt like there was a lot of emphasis placed on achievement and learning. Also in theater they were really motivated, but sometimes it was just for theater and not necessarily for academics, but they were all very motivated to do what they did. Maybe it was the teachers and the classes, because there were really good classes offered and the teachers encouraged it.
Excitement for BYU	I got so excited about the gospel and wanted it to be a part of every second of my life so BYU seemed like the perfect place because of the environment and the atmosphere of the Spirit here all the time.
Speaking of her mother and goals	I guess my mom taught me how to set goals. A lot of what my parents taught me have been by example, not really teaching me things. Just the way they live their lives. I've never really audibly heard my mom set a goal, but she just does a lot with the resources she has, even though she hasn't gone to college. She just keeps getting better and better jobs each year and she just always getting better and accomplishing goals, even though she doesn't literally set them. But, I am constantly setting goals, even daily. I set little goals and little to-do lists. I think this helps me a lot because it makes me feel like I've accomplished something and it makes me motivated and makes me feel like I can do something. I'm always working towards something and looking forward to something.
Speaking of her motivations in general	Mostly I just wanted to feel like I was fulfilling my potential and helping others. As I learned more about life and the world, I was intrigued by all the things there are to learn and do and all the people in need of help. I could never be happy if I was not constantly progressing and growing and becoming who my Heavenly Father would want me to be. Also, I want to be able to teach my children all that I can and feel fulfilled and accomplished in life.

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S4

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Motivation to do well in school	I have always loved school. I always did well in my classes. I was a straight A student. I felt like I always had the best teachers. They were awesome. They were really cool. So I just remember associating with my teachers and how much fun I had in the class and how much fun they were having with us as their students too, that they really loved their job, so I'd always thought, maybe I want to be a teacher.
Motivation to become a teacher	So I guess just really good teachers were my first motivator and then when I got in high school when I was old enough to be involved in an internship and I could go, once again, I asked one of my teachers from junior high if he would let me do that, because he was one of my favorite teachers. He was really cool with it. I would go in and I would observe some of the days and he would give me a lesson plan and I could plan it how I wanted. Then I would teach. It was a lot of fun and it just confirmed that I wanted to be a teacher. Same with gymnastics because I was in a teaching position where I was coaching them and teaching them concepts. So I've known because of those experiences.
Motivation from family	My grandparents picked fruit. That gives me motivation to prove that stereotype wrong. You know, my grandparents did it and my dad has done it and I want to do that. That gives a better name for them. That's not the only reason why. There's obviously other motivating factors. I guess it's really easy to see what not going to school does because a lot of Mexicans don't go to school; that don't continue their education.
Desire to serve in student council	So I guess my motivation was to see if I could do it. To see if I would get elected.
Speaking of goals	I knew there were things I needed to do to get where I wanted to go. My parents taught me about setting goals, and I was also taught in school about what colleges were looking for. But really I just knew what I think is common knowledge- get good grades, be a good kid, be involved, work hard, and things will turn out how they're supposed to.
Parental encouragement	They definitely encouraged me from day 1 to go to college after high school. For me, in my mind, it wasn't an option- I was going to go to college. It wasn't smart not to.
Motivation for BYU	Well, I had a lot of encouragement from my dad's side of the family to go to BYU because both my grandparents had gone there. At some point, my grandpa got his master's, but they both had gone there at some point. They loved it and it's like, "The Lord's school." My aunt had gone there and my parents had gone to Ricks, but it's kind of like a branch, since it's BYU-Idaho now. So they were all like, "BYU is really good. There's a lot of RMs. You'll be with the Church. A lot of the same people with your standards." I'd say they were really influential about that.

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S5

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Reflections on goals	I just picked it up. My dad always taught me that if you say you're going to do something, always just do it. Don't just say you're going to do something and not do it. Just do it. They're like my drive to do whatever I want. If I really want to reach that goal, I'll reach it. What I've noticed, the more I'm in college and the more I go for a goal, the more I find out about other goals that I could possible do.
Motivation from uncle (mayor) in Mexico	I can't really tell you more about the influence of my uncle. It's mostly what I've seen. He always lived in Mexico. He's never come over here. I've most always been here. I might go visit for a month or two maybe, like every three of four years. It's not really what I've talked to him about. It's more of what I've seen. I've seen him on videos. One time when we went I saw his office and I thought it was really cool. It's pretty much all I can honestly tell you.
Motivation from father's life	I just want to not suffer like my dad. Sometimes we struggle financially and sometimes we don't. It just depends on how far he works. I just don't want to ever be thinking about money. I just want to live a nice life where I don't have to worry about money or anything. I don't want to suffer like my dad. I want to provide a better living than I had. A better living for my family in the future. I want to prove to other students that you can be whatever you want.
Motivation to attend college	I just wanted to go because I had really good teachers that inspired me to do whatever I wanted. They said, "You could do whatever you want." They inspired me to do whatever I wanted. It was really good teachers that got me through.
Motivation to attend BYU	One of the main reasons was just because I wanted to learn more about the LDS religion and that would be the best place for me to learn more stuff and not fall off for some weird reason. The other reason that BYU has this really nice thing that you apply once for all the scholarships and you just submit it. It applies you for all the scholarships you can possibly get.
Encouragement to go to BYU	I'm going to have to say that there were the three teachers I talk to you about. As soon as they heard that I got in, they told me I should go because it's a really good school. My friend who is not LDS. Jose Reyes. Me and him have always been really close friends. Right now I'm trying to get him to go back to college because he went for one semester but he quit to work. So I'm trying to get him to go back. All my other friends that weren't LDS kept saying, "Why are you going to BYU?" Him, he's like, "Go wherever you want. They're just mad that they can't get in and could never get in."

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S6

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Speaking of parents	I think I felt like, I wanted to, like, be the first one and, like, you know, make them proud and, like, I think by going it would, like, show them that I was, like, taking what they were saying seriously, like about going to college and stuff. Yeah, I think I tried harder in school, and, yeah, worked harder.
Motivation	I kind of just motivated myself, really. I just wanted to get good grades. It's not like I would beat myself up if I got a bad grade. I just said, OK, I'll do better next time. I said, "No, I want good grades. I want A's." I think because it made my parents proud that I was a good student, because my parents weren't good students in high school either.
Speaking of grandparents	They were always, like, really encouraging, and, like, always, like really proud of me like whenever I did anything.
Motivation to set example for brother	It makes me, like, want to do better cause, like, I want to be a good example to him. And, so I just wanna, like, make sure that I'm, like, doing everything right.
Encouragement from family	Yeah, like two of my aunts went to BYU, so they were always like "You've got to get good grades so you can get into BYU." They just told me it was a good school and they would tell me about how it's different because it's an LDS school and how there's devotionals and that kind of stuff. I didn't know a lot of that stuff. It made me excited because I thought it was cool.
Encouragement from grandmother	My grandma because my grandma worked at BYU for 17 years in the Library. She was always telling me to go to BYU. I went with her sometimes to work and she would take me to the Library and stuff.

Contextualization of Past and Motivation for the Future: S7

Past Experiences	Student Ability to Contextualize
Motivated by mother	Well, there's my mom. She pushed me in every way and motivated me and still helped me pay for stuff even when I was on my own.
Motivation to do well in school	I just did well in school. I thought it was easy. I figured why not. I don't think any need or psychological issues to rebel. Always was told and expected to go to college, never a doubt in my mind.
Speaking of grandparents	My grandpa. He probably helped me be smart in school. I don't know how well I would have done in school without him at an early age. My grandma was always supportive and everything.
Encouragement to attend SOAR	I guess I was living on my own and my cousin just happened to tell me about it from an email or a call. My mom said I should do it. My mom basically forced me to do it. Because of my cousin more than anything.
Encouragement to attend BYU	My grandpa did. Mostly because it was a high ranking University funded by the Church, so why wouldn't you want to go. He encouraged it because of the environment. My cousins encouraged it because of how good it is.
Speaking of goals	My goals were always mixed with making money to do better than my parents(business), and spreading empathy from moving so much(sociology), and add to that international development inspired by the hunger banquet held at BYU.

Appendix I – Email Invitation to Informant

Subject: BYU Hispanic student research – need your help

WHO I AM: My name is Darin Eckton and I am working on my doctorate in Educational Leadership at BYU.

PURPOSE OF EMAIL: I am researching the lives of newly admitted freshmen at BYU who are LDS, Hispanic/Latino, first-generation college students, and who graduated from a Utah high school. You have been identified as a student who meets this description. I would like to interview you because I want to give you an opportunity to tell your personal success story.

WHY: As you likely know, very few Hispanic/Latino students continue their education beyond high school and I would like to better understand your personal story of how you made it to BYU so that other LDS Hispanic/Latinos who find themselves in similar circumstances may learn from your experiences.

YOUR TIME COMMITMENT: The interview will likely take about 1-2 hours and will be completely confidential. The interview will be recorded, with your permission, to make sure I don't miss anything you say. Once I type up the notes from your interview, you will have the opportunity to go over them and make any corrections or additions to make sure you feel comfortable with your comments. Consider this a great service opportunity for your voice to be heard and potentially benefit a growing population of LDS Hispanic/Latino youth in Utah.

HOW YOU CONFIRM YOUR WILLINGNESS TO HELP: I need you to respond to this email to confirm your willingness to be interviewed. If I do not hear from you within two days I will contact you at the phone number listed with BYU to request your willingness to participate. Please know I am genuinely interested in learning from you and documenting your specific experiences and I look forward to hearing from you very soon.

Sincerely,

Darin R. Eckton
BYU Doctoral student
436 S. 1740 W.
Provo, UT 84601
801-601-4907 (work)
801-375-2045 (home)
801-310-9875 (cell)

Appendix J – Interview Schedule

Code:
Date:
Birth date:
Gender:
Geographic Region:
Ethnic Background:

Background/Environment
Personal – Tell me about your home life growing up. Parents. Parental experiences with education.
Cultural – Tell me about your cultural background.
Religious – Tell me about your religious background
School – Tell me about your junior high/middle school you attended. Tell me about your high school you attended.
Social Capital – Tell me about the relationships you have with people outside of your home.
Cultural Capital – Tell me about your thought process to go to college. Talk to me about the application process.
Significant Others – Tell me about
LDS Influences – Tell me about your ward/branch. Quorum. Class. Activities. Mutual.
Academic Achievement – Tell me about your success in junior high and high school.
Educational Aspirations/Expectations – When you were in junior high, tell me about your thoughts on college. When you were in high school (same).
Geographic Mobility (moving) – Tell me about your neighborhood.
Personal Persistence – Tell me about your decision making process to attend college.
Personal Resiliency -

Self-identity Formulation – Tell me about why you chose BYU.
You mentioned specific people. Let me read you this list of people you've mentioned. Is there anybody else? (If so – please tell me about them.)
How would you rank your top five people and why? How does 1 compare with 2, 2 with 3, etc.?

Appendix K – Potential Questions and Topics to Address

These are possible questions from which to draw:
1. If you were to summarize what influences had the greatest impact on you to help you make it to BYU, what are they?
2. Describe your home life growing up (i.e. relationships with family members, financial situation, neighborhood, etc.), starting with as far back as you can remember to the present.
3. What are the underlying reasons why your home life was the way it was?
4. What kind of influences did your home life have on your educational decisions as you got older?
5. Describe your parents' educational experiences growing up to present.
6. In what ways, if any, did your parents' educational experiences influence your success in school as you grew up?
7. Describe the role/influence of education on your life, starting with as far back as you can remember to the present.
8. What are the underlying reasons as to why education played this/these roles/influences?
9. Describe the educational expectations others have had for you over time.
10. Explain who and why you think these people have these educational expectations of you over time. Under what circumstances did these people come into your life?
11. In what ways did these educational expectations influence you over time?
12. Describe your own educational desires and how they have evolved over time.
13. What has contributed most to these educational desires over time?
14. Describe your relationships with your teachers, school administrators and staff as you attended elementary, junior high/middle school and high school.
15. Describe the role/influence of your cultural heritage from as far back as you can remember to the present.
16. Describe the influences of your friends on your educational decisions over time.
17. Describe the influences of seminary on your educational decisions over time.
18. Describe the influences of the LDS Church on your educational decisions over time.
19. Describe any conflicting influences between the teachings of the LDS Church and your family when it came to your educational circumstances. Describe the circumstances.
20. Describe any conflicting influences between your family and the LDS Church when it came to your educational circumstances. Describe the circumstances.
21. Describe the circumstances and influences that contributed to your decision to attend college.
22. Describe what you did while in high school to prepare for college.
23. What/Who influenced you to do these things? Describe the circumstances/context of how these influences came about in your life.
24. Describe what you did specifically to prepare to attend BYU.

25. What/Who influenced you to do these things? Describe the circumstances/context of how these influences came about in your life.
26. What do you wish you would have known that could have prepared you better to attend BYU/be successful at BYU?
27. Why do you think you didn't know to do these things? How would you go about getting this information?
28. Describe the circumstances/influences that contributed to your decision to attend BYU.
29. What do you think you would have done if you had not attended BYU? Why?
30. If you were to summarize what influences had the greatest impact on you to help you make it to BYU, what are they?
31. Describe the general income levels of your LDS branch/ward (direct/strong with occasional weak tie of higher SES) – education levels, occupations, financial situations
32. As you think about the people who had the greatest influence on you making it to college, how did these relationships start? Who were they initiated by? Under what circumstances?
33. What kinds of classes did you take? Do you think these classes affected your preparation? In what ways?
34. Resource attribution (how do views/definitions of resources change over time? How did the resources become important?
35. Describe how often you moved and how these moves affected you.
36. How did you know to fill out the FAFSA? Comprehensive Scholarship Application? Why didn't you? (Cultural Capital)
37. What kind of resources were made available to you to be successful? Prepare for college? (social capital)
38. How did you come to know what to do to prepare?

Appendix L – Email Confirmation

Dear (student),

I just wanted to follow up with you to make sure we are still on for our interview at (location) at

(time) on (date). Please respond to this email within 3 days of the above scheduled interview

time. I will also call you at (number) to confirm this appointment.

I appreciate your willingness to help and I invite you to contact me with any questions you may

have.

Sincerely,

Darin R. Eckton
BYU Doctoral student
436 S. 1740 W.
Provo, UT 84601
801-601-4907 (work)
801-375-2045 (home)
801-310-9875 (cell)

Appendix M – Consent Form

How They Made it to College: The Success Stories of LDS Hispanic, Low-Income, First Generation College Students

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction

This research study is being conducted by Darin Eckton, Ed.D. candidate at Brigham Young University. The purposes of this study are to explore, identify and understand the primary influences on the lives of low-income, LDS Hispanics who are permanent residents or U.S. Citizens, the first to attend college in their families, and who graduated from a Utah high school. By better understanding these influences it is anticipated that the findings will benefit the lives of others in similar contexts and circumstances.

Procedures

Prior to a face-to-face interview, you will be asked to complete a brief pre-interview survey to gather some background information about you. This pre-interview survey will be emailed to you and it is anticipated that you will return the survey via email no later than Sunday, November 8. The survey consists of 18 simple questions and will take approximately 8-10 minutes to complete. Questions will include details about your home, your experiences in school, and with your family. At the time you receive the survey you will also be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview lasting approximately 1-2 hours, either on the BYU campus or in a similar open, safe and distraction-free location within BYU-approved housing. If you would prefer a different location, this can also be arranged. The interview will be recorded (audio only) to make sure none of our discussion is missed and to allow you the opportunity to review the typed-written transcription of the interview and allow you to make sure your responses are accurate and sufficiently thorough.

Risks/Discomforts

There are minimal risks for participation in this study. However, you may feel emotional discomfort when answering questions about personal experiences. The interviewer will not intentionally ask you questions to cause you any type of pain or discomfort.

Benefits

While there may be no tangible direct benefits to subjects in this study, it is anticipated that through your participation you and others will learn more about the process of how low-income, LDS Hispanic permanent residents and U.S. Citizens from Utah high schools, who are the first to attend college in their family, successfully make it to BYU. It is anticipated that other families with children in these types of circumstances will benefit from the information you share.

Confidentiality

All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as group data with no personal identifying information. All data, including surveys, electronic files, and transcriptions from the interviews will be kept in a locked storage cabinet and only those directly involved with the research will have access to them. While it is not the primary purpose of this study to follow the subjects in the future, there may be a desire to conduct follow-up interviews

and/or surveys with respondents and explore their overall BYU experience, progress to graduation, post-graduation experiences, among others.

Compensation
Participants in this study will not receive any course credit or compensation for their participation.

Participation
Participation in this research study is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any time or refuse to participate entirely without jeopardy to your class status, grades or standing with BYU.

Questions about the Research
If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Darin Eckton, Ed.D. candidate at 801-440-6772, dre3@email.byu.edu or darin.eckton@ourteamsinc.org.

Questions about your Rights as Research Participants
If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact the BYU IRB Administrator at (801) 422-1461, A-285 ASB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, irb@byu.edu.

I have read, understood, and received a copy of the above consent and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Signature:_____Date:_____
Name:_____

Appendix N – Pre-Interview Survey

Respondent Number:

Please answer the following brief questions as accurately as you can.

1. When were you born (month/year)?
2. Between your birth and now, where have you lived and during what ages – be sure to include every location (e.g. Riverton from birth to age 10 and Bountiful ages 10 until now)?

3. What languages are spoken in your home?
4. What language do you speak most while at home?
5. What language do your parents/guardians speak most when you are home?
6. From which high school did you graduate?
7. What was your composite/overall ACT?
8. How many times did you take the ACT?
9. What was your high school GPA?
10. How many Advanced Placement (AP) and/or International Baccalaureate (IB) courses did you take while in high school?   AP   IB
11. How many AP or IB exams did you take?
12. How many concurrent enrollment college credits did you earn while in high school?
13. How many years have you been a member of the LDS Church?
14. How many years of LDS seminary did you attend?
15. Circle all the following that you earned: Duty to God   Eagle Scout   Young Womanhood Recognition
16. Did you attend the Summer of Academic Refinement (SOAR) program through BYU's Multicultural Student Services Office during the summer between your junior and senior year in high school?
17. How are you paying for your enrollment at BYU?
18. What other experiences did you have with BYU prior to enrolling as a Freshman?

Appendix O – Attribute Table of Students Not Admitted to BYU

Attribute	Variation	#	%
Gender	M	4[†]	26.7%
	F	11[††]	73.3%
BYU was First Choice	Yes	7	46.7%
	No	3	20.0%
	Unknown	5	33.3%
Applied to At Least Two Colleges	Yes	10	66.7%
	No	0	0%
	Unknown	5	33.3%
County of High School High School/City	Utah	6	40.0%
	Spanish Fork/Spanish Fork		
	Salem/Salem		
	Orem/Orem		
	Mountain View/Orem		
	Lone Peak/Highland		
	Pleasant Grove/Pleasant Grove		
	Salt Lake	2	13.3%
	Hillcrest/Midvale		
	Copper Hills/West Jordan		
	Davis	2	13.3%
	Davis/Kaysville		
	Syracuse/Syracuse		
	Beaver	1	6.7%
	Beaver/Beaver		
	Washington	1	6.7%
	Dixie/St. George		
	Cache	1	6.7%
	Logan/Logan		
	Unknown	2	13.3%

Highest ACT Score	HS GPA	Heard About SOAR	Attended SOAR
18	3.20	No	No
19	3.70	No	No
19	3.89	No	No
20	3.70	No	No
20	3.80	No	No

	21	3.50	Yes (Sister at BYU)	No
	21	3.50	Yes (Applied Late)	No
	25	3.20	Yes (HS Counselor)	No
	28	3.00	No	No
	30	3.90	No	No
Average	22	3.54		
Unknown	5			

[†] 2 males did not respond to email/phone calls
[††] 3 females did not respond to email/phone calls