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# Social Capital as a Form of Capital in Shaping Students' Tolerance in Kubu Raya Regency

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## ABSTRACT

Family relationships provide an important social context in which students develop ways of relating to others and responding to differences. This study examines how family social capital operates as a form of capital in students' social lives and how it is converted into tolerance within the school field in Kubu Raya Regency, Indonesia. Using a qualitative single-case study, data were obtained from ten purposively selected participants comprising three students, three parents or guardians, three teachers, and one school principal. Semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentation were employed, followed by iterative data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. The findings reveal that communication, trust, parental guidance, role modeling, habituation, reciprocity, and community relationships constitute relational resources available to students. Within the school field, these resources are activated, tested, negotiated, and adapted through cross-background friendships, cooperation, dialogue, respect for differences, and responses to potentially uncomfortable interactions. Tolerance thus emerges through the interplay between family relational capital, students' dispositions and agency, and school conditions rather than through direct value transmission. The single-case design limits the broader generalizability of these findings.

*Relasi keluarga merupakan konteks sosial penting bagi siswa dalam mengembangkan cara berhubungan dengan orang lain dan menyikapi perbedaan. Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana modal sosial keluarga berfungsi sebagai bentuk kapital dalam kehidupan sosial siswa serta bagaimana kapital tersebut dikonversi menjadi toleransi dalam arena sekolah di Kabupaten Kubu Raya. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus tunggal yang melibatkan sepuluh informan yang dipilih secara purposif, yaitu tiga siswa, tiga orang tua atau wali, tiga guru, dan satu kepala sekolah. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur, observasi, dan dokumentasi, kemudian dianalisis secara iteratif melalui kondensasi data, penyajian data, serta penarikan dan verifikasi kesimpulan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa komunikasi, kepercayaan, bimbingan orang tua, keteladanan, pembiasaan, resiprositas, dan hubungan dengan lingkungan membentuk sumber daya relasional yang tersedia bagi siswa. Dalam arena sekolah, sumber daya tersebut diaktifkan, diuji, dinegosiasikan, dan disesuaikan melalui persahabatan lintas latar belakang, kerja sama, dialog, penghargaan terhadap perbedaan, serta respons terhadap interaksi yang berpotensi menimbulkan ketidaknyamanan. Toleransi dengan demikian berkembang melalui keterhubungan antara kapital relasional keluarga, disposisi dan agensi siswa, serta kondisi arena sekolah, bukan melalui pemindahan nilai secara langsung. Desain studi kasus tunggal membatasi generalisasi temuan ke konteks yang lebih luas.*

**Keywords:** family relationships, social capital, students' tolerance

## Introduction

Diversity is an inherent feature of Indonesian social life, reflected in differences in ethnicity, religion, language, culture, and everyday social practices. Within educational settings, diversity becomes a concrete experience as schools bring together students who have grown up in families and social environments characterized by different values, practices, and

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experiences. Such encounters can broaden students' social experiences through friendship, cooperation, exchanges of perspectives, and exposure to ways of life beyond their own. At the same time, diversity requires the capacity to maintain social relationships without turning difference into a basis for exclusion, prejudice, or degrading treatment. Tolerance, therefore, extends beyond passive acceptance of the existence of others and involves respect for difference and a willingness to establish constructive social relationships. Within educational settings, Setiawan et al. (2024) demonstrate the relevance of multicultural education to the development of student tolerance, suggesting that schools constitute an important social setting in which students learn to engage with diversity.

Despite the important role of schools, students' social experiences do not begin when they enter the classroom. Students arrive at school carrying values, habits, modes of communication, and relational experiences previously developed within their families and immediate social environments. Tolerance, therefore, cannot be understood exclusively through curricula, classroom instruction, or formally organized school programs. Hafizi et al. (2025) , through a quantitative study conducted in Pontianak, identified a relationship between family social capital and students' tolerance toward social diversity. This finding indicates that the quality of family relationships is relevant to understanding how students respond to difference and directs attention toward social processes that precede and extend beyond formal school interventions. The question is consequently not limited to how schools teach tolerance, but also concerns how relational experiences developed within families provide social resources that students carry with them when entering a more diverse school environment.

The family occupies a central position in this process because it represents one of the earliest environments in which children repeatedly experience social relationships. Through everyday communication, guidance, trust, role modeling, habituation, and family relationships with the wider community, children acquire experiences concerning how to treat and relate to others. Elsayed (2024) positions family social values as an important component of children's character formation, while Poff et al. (2024) demonstrate the relevance of family and peer social capital to child behavioral outcomes. In this study, family social capital is broadly understood as social resources developed through networks of family relationships and reflected in communication, trust, parental involvement, relationships with the wider social environment, and values concerning life with others. This conceptualization positions the family not merely as a site where advice is transmitted but as a relational environment in which children directly observe and experience how trust, responsibility, respect, support, and relationships with others operate in everyday life. It is consistent with the original research design, which identifies family communication, trust, parental involvement, and values concerning diversity as key manifestations of family social capital.

The relevance of social capital to individual development has been demonstrated across studies with different contexts and analytical concerns. Bao et al. (2023) examine social capital in relation to university students' development and intergenerational mobility, while Bartolini et al. (2023) demonstrate its role in the relationship between income, social comparison, and subjective well-being. Among younger populations, Poff et al. (2024) investigate family and peer social capital in relation to child behavioral outcomes, whereas Elsayed (2024) focuses on family social values in character formation. In the Indonesian context, Hafizi et al. (Hafizi et al., 2025a) more specifically identify a relationship between family social capital and student tolerance. These studies converge in recognizing the significance of resources embedded in

social relationships, although they differ in the outcomes and populations under investigation. Some emphasize development and well-being, others focus on child behavior, and another strand addresses the association between family social capital and tolerance. This pattern suggests that social capital has frequently been examined through its relationship with particular outcomes, while the processes through which relational resources within families operate in students' social lives remain in need of deeper examination.

This distinction is important because establishing that family social capital is associated with tolerance is not equivalent to understanding how that relationship is formed and enacted. Hafizi et al. (2025) ) , for instance, provide quantitative evidence of an association between family social capital and tolerance, but a correlational approach is not designed to explain in depth how communication, trust, parental guidance, role modeling, and relational practices within families are experienced by students and subsequently drawn upon when they encounter difference. Similarly, Poff et al. (2024) , Bao et al. (2023), Bartolini et al. (2023) , and Elsayed (2024) broaden existing knowledge regarding social capital and family values, but do not specifically trace the processes connecting relational resources within families to students' practices of tolerance at school. The research gap, therefore, does not rest on the assumption that the relationship between family life and children's social development has remained unexplored. Rather, it concerns the limited qualitative understanding of how social capital developed through family relationships operates as a resource in students' social lives and how such resources subsequently become expressed through practices of tolerance in school settings. This gap places social process, rather than statistical association alone, at the center of the present investigation.

Pierre Bourdieu's perspective provides a conceptual foundation for addressing the first dimension of this problem by approaching social capital not simply as the existence of interpersonal relationships but as capital embedded within relational networks. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986, 2002, 2020) conceptualizes social capital as actual and potential resources associated with relatively durable and recognized networks of relationships. From this perspective, the value of a relationship lies not merely in the existence of the tie itself but also in the resources made available through that relationship. Within families, communication, trust, support, parental involvement, and relationships with the wider social environment can provide resources that acquire significance in students' social lives. This perspective distinguishes social capital from family closeness alone by directing attention toward how the structure and practices of relationships make resources available to individuals as they navigate social situations. Accordingly, the present study first positions the structure and practices of family social capital as capital in students' social lives as a central analytical concern, consistent with the original research framework in which social capital is treated as a resource operating through family and community networks.

The existence of social capital within families, however, does not by itself explain how students act when they encounter diversity at school. To address the second dimension of the problem, the study draws on the relationship among capital, habitus, and field in Bourdieu's framework. Habitus refers to dispositions developed through repeated social experiences that orient how individuals perceive and respond to social situations. The school can subsequently be understood as a field in which students encounter a broader range of actors, expectations, experiences, and differences. Within this field, experiences acquired through family life meet concrete situations involving friendship, group work, alternative viewpoints, disagreement, and differences in identity and social practice. This framework allows conversion to be understood

not as an automatic transfer of values from family to school but as a process through which relational resources and experiences acquired within the family are enacted, used, and negotiated under different social conditions. Habitus and field therefore provide an analytical bridge between family social capital as capital and students' practices of tolerance within school life.

The present study is positioned at the intersection of scholarship on family social capital and research on student tolerance, with particular attention to the process connecting these two domains. Hafizi et al. (2025) have demonstrated an empirical association between family social capital and tolerance, while Bao et al. (2023), Poff et al. (2024), and Elsayed (2024) highlight the significance of social capital or family values for different aspects of individual development. The present study extends this discussion by shifting analytical attention from social capital as a predictor to social capital as capital operating through relational experiences, and from tolerance as an outcome to tolerance as a social practice observable in students' everyday lives. Within this position, Bourdieu's concepts are not employed merely as abstract explanatory categories but as analytical tools for tracing the relationship between the structure of family relations, repeated social experiences, and students' actions when encountering difference at school. The integration of capital, habitus, and field was likewise established in the original proposal as an analytical orientation distinguishing the study from research primarily concerned with relationships among variables.

This problem acquires a specific empirical context in Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan, Indonesia, where the study was conducted. The original research design situates Kubu Raya within a context of ethnic, religious, and social diversity that creates opportunities for students with different family experiences to encounter one another in everyday school life. Within such a context, family and school are not treated as two entirely separate social environments. Students move between them while carrying values, habits, experiences, and ways of relating developed through family life into the social environment of the school. Focusing on a single senior high school enables these processes to be examined contextually and in depth without assuming that experiences at one site represent all students or schools across Kubu Raya. Students are therefore positioned as the primary social actors situated at the intersection of family experiences and school interactions, while parents, teachers, and the school principal provide complementary perspectives on these interconnected social environments. This contextual boundary is consistent with the original scope of the study, which specifically focuses on the relationship between family experiences and students' social practices at school.

Against this conceptual and empirical background, the study aims to analyze the structure and practices of family social capital as a form of capital in students' social lives and to interpret the process through which such social capital is converted into tolerance within students' social interactions in the school field in Kubu Raya Regency, Indonesia. These aims directly correspond to the two research problems concerning how family social capital operates as capital and how such capital is converted into tolerance within students' social interactions. The organization of the article follows these two analytical concerns. The first part of the findings examines family social capital as capital through guidance, role modeling, communication, and relational practices within families, while the subsequent section traces how these experiences become visible in friendship, cooperation, dialogue, the negotiation of disagreement, and students' responses to difference at school. Through this structure, the study contributes an experience-based account of the process connecting relational resources within families to

students' practices of tolerance, while extending the application of a Bourdieusian perspective within research on social capital and education. This position provides a basis for understanding tolerance not solely as an outcome of formal education but as a social practice developing through the intersection of family experiences and students' everyday lives within the school field.

## Methods

This study employed a qualitative approach using a single-case study design to develop an in-depth understanding of family social capital and its relationship with students' tolerance in their social lives at school. A case study design enables a phenomenon to be examined in depth while taking into account participants' experiences and the context in which the phenomenon occurs (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Sugiyono, 2023) . The study was conducted at a senior high school in Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan, Indonesia, from March to November 2026, encompassing research preparation, data collection, data processing and analysis, and the preparation of research findings. The researcher was directly involved throughout the research process and served as the primary instrument in eliciting, documenting, reviewing, and organizing the data. Participants were selected purposively based on their involvement in and knowledge of students' social experiences within family and school settings. A total of 10 participants were involved, comprising three students, three parents or guardians, three teachers, and one school principal. Students served as the primary participants because their accounts provided direct access to social experiences within the family and their interactions at school. Parents or guardians, teachers, and the school principal provided complementary perspectives that enabled these experiences to be examined across both family and educational contexts.

**Table 1.** Characteristics of Research Participants

| Participant Code | Participant Category | Number | Primary Focus of Information |
|---|---|---|---|
| S1–S3 | Students | 3 | Family experiences, friendships, cooperation, and interactions with differences at school |
| O1–O3 | Parents/guardians | 3 | Family communication, parental guidance, role modeling, habituation, and family social relationships |
| G1–G3 | Teachers | 3 | Students' social behavior, peer relationships, cooperation, and respect for differences |
| KS1 | School principal | 1 | Diversity within the school environment, student interactions, and school-based habituation practices |
| Total | | 10 | |

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observation, and documentation. The use of multiple forms of data collection in qualitative inquiry allows experiences and phenomena to be examined through different forms of evidence while retaining attention to the contexts in which they occur (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Suhirman et al., 2026) . The interview guide was developed in accordance with the focus of the study and adapted to each participant group to capture students' experiences across family and school contexts. Student interviews explored parental guidance, family relationships with the surrounding community, friendships with peers from different backgrounds, participation in

group activities, and experiences of dealing with differences of opinion. Interviews with parents or guardians focused on family communication, parental advice and role modeling, everyday habituation, and relationships between families and their communities. Teachers and the school principal were interviewed to obtain information regarding students' social behavior, patterns of peer interaction, diversity within the school environment, and routine practices developed at school. The semi-structured format allowed follow-up questions to be introduced when participants' responses revealed experiences relevant to the focus of the study. Interview data were subsequently transcribed verbatim to preserve participants' accounts, while observation and documentation were used to complement the interviews and provide contextual information concerning the social situations described by participants.

Data analysis was conducted iteratively through data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification, following the interactive analytical framework proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) . The collected data were read repeatedly to identify statements, experiences, and events relevant to the focus of the study. Relevant segments were then coded, compared across participants, and grouped according to similarities in meaning, from which categories and recurring patterns were developed. Students' accounts were examined alongside those of parents or guardians, teachers, and the school principal to identify convergences, variations, and differing experiences across data sources. The trustworthiness of the findings was strengthened through source, technique, and time triangulation (Sugiyono, 2014). Source triangulation involved comparing information obtained from S1–S3, O1–O3, G1–G3, and KS1; technique triangulation involved examining interview data alongside observations and documentation; and time triangulation involved checking the consistency of information obtained at different points during data collection. The analytical process moved iteratively between close reading, coding, categorization, comparison across sources, and verification, allowing the patterns presented in the findings to remain traceable to the empirical data from which they were developed.

## Result

### 4.1 Family Social Capital as Capital in Students' Social Lives

The findings indicate that family social capital was embedded in students' everyday experiences through patterns of relationships, parental guidance, and social practices within family life. The family was not only the setting in which students received guidance regarding appropriate conduct but also the first social environment in which they directly experienced how relationships with others were established and maintained. Across students' and parents' accounts, recurring practices included reminders to communicate respectfully, show respect for others, avoid discriminating against peers, assist those in need, and take responsibility for one's mistakes. These values were communicated in a variety of everyday situations rather than being confined to explicit conversations about social differences. S1, for example, explained that his parents frequently reminded him to speak politely, particularly to older people, while also advising him not to choose friends on the basis of ethnic or religious differences. His account illustrates how guidance concerning interpersonal conduct and respect for differences was communicated simultaneously within family interactions.

Accounts from other students revealed a comparable pattern, although the experiences through which these values were communicated varied. S2 described how her mother frequently reminded her to be mindful of her speech and behavior, respect older people, and maintain good relationships with others despite differences of opinion. She was also

encouraged to listen when others were speaking and not to ridicule other people's practices or family circumstances. S3 recalled being taught to conduct himself appropriately in social settings, avoid behaving harshly toward others, respect older people, and greet those he encountered. He also described an understanding that individuals may have different practices and backgrounds and that one's own way of life should not be treated as the sole standard for judging others. These accounts demonstrate variation in the forms of parental guidance while displaying a recurring orientation toward appropriate conduct in relationships with others.

The pattern described by students was also evident in parents' accounts. O1 reported repeatedly reminding the child not to discriminate against others, to be mindful of speech, to refrain from ridicule, and to assist people who needed help. As O1 explained, *"What we remind our child of most often is not to discriminate against people. We also remind our child to be careful with words, not to make fun of others, and, whenever possible, to help someone who needs assistance."* (O1). O2 described a more situational form of guidance. Advice was often provided after the child shared a particular experience from school, after which the parent discussed how the situation could appropriately be addressed. In these conversations, the child was reminded not to regard oneself as superior to others, to maintain respect, and to avoid remarks that could create problems because of differences. The data therefore show that communication concerning social conduct occurred both through recurring messages and through conversations prompted by children's concrete social experiences.

Responsibility for one's actions constituted another recurring feature of family experiences. When children made mistakes, parents did not merely ask them to discontinue the behavior but also encouraged them to acknowledge what had occurred and apologize. S1 described being expected to admit a mistake, apologize, and attempt to correct his behavior. Similar accounts were provided by S2 and S3, both of whom identified apologizing as an expected response when they realized that they had acted incorrectly. From the parental perspective, O2 explained that the child was first asked to describe what had happened so that the situation and the child's responsibility could be understood. When the child was responsible for the problem, an apology was expected. Family relationships therefore also provided everyday experiences of acknowledging mistakes, restoring interpersonal relationships, and accepting responsibility for actions affecting others.

Beyond communication between parents and children, family social capital was also evident in the relationships families maintained with their surrounding communities. Students described their parents as continuing to greet, interact with, and assist neighbors without treating differences in background as barriers to social relationships. S1 reported that his parents maintained ordinary relationships with neighbors of different ethnic and religious backgrounds and provided assistance when neighbors needed help or when community activities were held. S2 offered a comparable description of her family maintaining relationships with neighbors and participating in community activities despite differences in background. S3 likewise observed his family participating in collective activities within a diverse community while continuing to respect the boundaries associated with their respective beliefs. These experiences positioned students not merely as recipients of parental advice but also as family members who directly observed how their parents maintained relationships within the wider community.

Parental exemplification became particularly visible when students' accounts were considered alongside those provided by parents. O1 explained that the family attempted to demonstrate behavior consistent with the guidance given to the child because children paid

attention to what their parents did. O1 stated, *"We also try to demonstrate it through our own behavior because children usually observe what their parents do."* O2 described this process through situations embedded in ordinary family life, including the ways parents spoke with neighbors, welcomed guests, and dealt with problems. As O2 explained, *"Children see how we speak with neighbors, welcome guests, or resolve problems. They learn indirectly from these experiences."* These accounts reveal two closely connected forms of social experience within the home: explicit messages communicated by parents and observable social practices embedded in everyday family interactions.

Families' relationships with their surrounding communities were further characterized by mutual assistance and participation in collective activities. O1 described relationships with neighbors through regular communication, involvement in community activities, and assistance provided when needed. O2 similarly described community relationships as being maintained through everyday interaction and reciprocal assistance. O3 portrayed family life as closely connected with neighbors through shared activities, community service, attendance at neighborhood events, and assistance offered according to the family's capacity. These relational practices indicate that students' experiences of living with others extended beyond interactions within the household. Family networks with neighbors and community members provided a broader social setting in which students could directly observe cooperation, social concern, and the maintenance of relationships with others.

The accounts provided by students and parents in Kubu Raya Regency display a recurring pattern in which communication, everyday conduct, and social relationships were closely intertwined within family life. Guidance concerning politeness and respect for others occurred alongside practices of acknowledging mistakes, apologizing, and assisting others. At the same time, students observed their parents maintaining relationships with neighbors, welcoming others, participating in collective activities, and interacting with people from different backgrounds. O3 particularly emphasized the close relationship between parental example and habituation, noting that advice without corresponding behavior could be more difficult for children to put into practice. The recurring pattern across student and parent accounts portrays family social capital as an experience embedded in everyday relationships—through what parents communicated, what family members practiced, and how families maintained their relationships with the communities around them.

### 4.2 Conversion of Family Social Capital into Tolerance in Students' Social Interactions at School

The findings reveal a discernible continuity between students' social experiences within their families and the ways in which they establish relationships at school in Kubu Raya Regency. Values previously encountered through parental guidance, role modeling, and everyday family practices were also evident when students interacted with peers from different backgrounds, with different habits, and with different viewpoints. Students described maintaining appropriate language, respecting others, refraining from discriminating against peers, offering assistance, and taking responsibility for their mistakes as practices that had been introduced within their families. These practices were subsequently reflected in their social experiences at school, particularly in friendship formation, communication, group work, and responses to differences of opinion. S1, for example, stated that one of the family values most frequently practiced at school was respecting peers without distinguishing between their backgrounds: *"What I practice most often is respecting my friends and not treating them differently.*

*At school, my friends come from various backgrounds. I think what matters is that we can be friends and work well together."* (S1). A similar pattern appeared in S2's experience, as she avoided judging peers based on their appearance, ethnicity, or religion, while S3 continued to respect peers despite differences in their habits.

This continuity was also evident in parents' accounts of their children's behavior within and beyond the home. Parents did not rely solely on verbal guidance but also demonstrated ways of treating others through everyday social relationships. Children observed how their parents communicated with neighbors, welcomed guests, provided assistance, and maintained relationships with people from different backgrounds. O1 explained that behaviors observed within the family were carried into the child's interactions outside the home, particularly because the child regularly witnessed the parents respecting neighbors and treating people without discrimination based on their backgrounds. O3 provided a similar account, describing how welcoming others and not teaching children to avoid people because of differences had been practiced since the children were young. These parental accounts corresponded with students' descriptions of respect for differences as part of their everyday interactions with peers at school.

In peer relationships, differences in ethnicity, religion, and social practices were not described as reasons for restricting interaction. Students continued to study, converse, joke, and participate in activities with peers from different backgrounds. S1 explained that differences occasionally became part of conversations among friends, including discussions about their respective religions or practices. Such conversations involved asking questions and learning about one another's differences without requiring others to adopt a particular viewpoint. S2 similarly described friendships with peers from different backgrounds as opportunities to become familiar with practices she had not previously encountered. S3 reported a comparable experience, explaining that he could learn about his friends' practices without having to adopt their beliefs. These experiences show that respect for differences was embedded in recurring and ordinary social activities, including studying together, exchanging stories, learning about peers' practices, and sustaining friendships amid the diversity encountered at school.

Respect for differences was also apparent in students' participation in group activities. According to the participants, ethnic and religious backgrounds were not used as criteria for determining with whom they would work. Instead, the allocation of tasks was more commonly based on individual abilities, responsibilities, and the needs of the group. S3 explicitly stated, *"In group work, we pay more attention to each person's abilities and responsibilities. I have never chosen group members based on their ethnicity or religion."* (S3). S1 similarly described tasks as being distributed according to the abilities of individual group members, while S2 explained that differences in approaches to completing assignments were discussed collectively to identify an option acceptable to the group. Group activities therefore constituted a more intensive form of interaction in which students were not merely present alongside peers from different backgrounds but were also required to share responsibilities, accommodate different approaches to work, and complete tasks in pursuit of a common objective.

Differences of opinion provided another context in which students demonstrated how they maintained social relationships when faced with disagreement. The data indicate that students did not always share the same views, particularly during discussions or collaborative tasks. When disagreements occurred, commonly reported responses included listening to peers' reasons, expressing one's own position, and seeking a solution that could be mutually

accepted. S1 explained that he attempted to communicate his perspective while also allowing peers to explain the reasoning behind their views. S2 preferred to listen before responding, whereas S3 described efforts to identify common ground when both parties continued to hold different positions. In these experiences, respect for others was not expressed through the absence of disagreement, but through a willingness to provide space for others to speak and to maintain communication even when agreement was not immediately reached.

Although students generally described their relationships as open and cooperative, the data also captured situations in which differences became a source of discomfort. Such situations were particularly evident in jokes concerning ethnicity, regional origin, and accent. S1 recalled witnessing a peer joking about another student's ethnicity and noted that, although the remark was initially treated as a joke, it could nevertheless make the person concerned feel uncomfortable. As S1 explained, *"I once saw a friend joking about another friend's ethnicity. Even though it was initially considered a joke, I think jokes like that can make other people uncomfortable."* (S1). S2 described a similar incident in which a student was teased because of a different accent and appeared uncomfortable with the remarks. S3 also referred to jokes concerning regional origin that were stopped when the student concerned or other peers expressed an objection. These experiences indicate that identity differences could still surface in everyday peer interactions and that social relationships at school were not entirely free from interpersonal tension.

Students' responses to situations that caused discomfort revealed another dimension of tolerance in everyday school interactions. When jokes were perceived to have crossed acceptable boundaries, students did not necessarily allow them to continue. The data included instances in which peers reminded one another, expressed discomfort, or asked for such remarks to stop. A comparable pattern was observed when students encountered differences of opinion: they listened, discussed the issue, and attempted to resolve disagreements without escalating them into interpersonal conflict. These experiences occurred alongside practices of mutual assistance and cooperation observed in school life. Teachers' accounts reinforced this pattern through observations of students helping one another, engaging in discussion, respecting different opinions, and addressing disagreements through dialogue. Teachers also observed that practices acquired at home could be recognized in how students spoke, greeted others, asked for permission, and interacted with both teachers and peers. The school environment consequently provided a broader range of social situations in which these practices could be enacted through classroom learning, group activities, peer relationships, school rules, and routine character-building activities.

The students' experiences in Kubu Raya Regency display a continuing pattern extending from social experiences within the family to more diverse forms of interaction at school. Parental guidance, observed parental behavior, habits of maintaining appropriate language, respect for others, responsibility for mistakes, and openness in social relationships did not remain confined to the home. These practices reappeared when students formed friendships, participated in group work, encountered differences of opinion, and responded to behaviors that could cause discomfort to others. At the same time, students' accounts indicate that these practices continued to encounter new social situations within the school environment. Teachers and peers became part of a broader social setting in which students experienced and practiced these behaviors. S2 explicitly described the family as the initial environment in which respect for others was learned, while teachers and peer relationships further reinforced these practices at school. The pattern evident across the data thus traces a connection between

relational experiences within the family and the ways students accepted differences, developed cooperation, maintained communication, and positioned themselves within the social diversity encountered in their everyday school life.

## Discussion

The findings of this study broadly correspond with previous research that identifies the family as an important relational environment in the development of children's and adolescents' interpersonal and intergroup orientations. In the context of students in Kubu Raya Regency, family social capital was not merely reflected in emotional closeness among family members but was embedded in everyday relational practices, including communication about respecting others, trust among family members, encouragement to take responsibility for mistakes, habitual helping behaviors, maintenance of relationships with the surrounding community, and parental modeling in interactions with people from different backgrounds. The significance of these experiences becomes particularly apparent because similar relational patterns re-emerged in students' social lives at school through cross-ethnic and cross-religious friendships, willingness to listen to different perspectives, cooperation based on competence and responsibility, constructive management of disagreements, and responses to jokes concerning ethnicity, regional origin, or accent. This pattern is consistent with Wang et al. (2020) , whose meta-analysis of 102 studies involving 27,221 participants found that parental ethnic-racial socialization was generally positively, although moderately, associated with children's self-perceptions and interpersonal relationship quality. The findings can also be situated alongside Miklikowska's (2017) longitudinal evidence demonstrating that parents, peers, cross-group friendships, and empathy are associated with the development of adolescents' attitudes toward other social groups. Killen et al. (2022) further highlighted the significance of cross-group friendship in providing experiences that can reduce prejudice and foster more positive orientations toward members of other groups. Similarly, Karataş et al. (2023; 2023) demonstrated that positive intergroup contact may extend across school and out-of-school contexts. Taken together, these studies support the interpretation that relational experiences developed within the family can remain relevant when adolescents enter more socially heterogeneous school environments, although their actual expression continues to evolve through encounters with new social conditions.

Nevertheless, the continuity between family experiences and tolerant practices at school should not be interpreted as evidence that tolerance is transmitted through a linear, uniform, and exclusively parent-to-child process. Previous longitudinal evidence points to considerably more complex intergenerational and cross-contextual dynamics. Pagano et al. (2024) , in a longitudinal study involving 702 Italian adolescents and their parents, did not identify a consistent pattern in which parents' intergroup contact predicted adolescents' subsequent intergroup contact. Instead, adolescents' earlier intergroup contact was associated, under particular conditions, with mothers' subsequent contact, whereas the same longitudinal pattern was not identified for fathers. Such evidence provides an important basis for conceptualizing adolescents as social actors who do not merely receive social orientations from their families but actively construct experiences that may, in turn, influence their surrounding relational environments. Karataş and Eckstein. (2023) similarly demonstrated that positive contact at school may be associated with greater positive contact outside school and lower levels of negative contact in certain contexts. Moreover, not every adult effort to support diversity produces equivalent longitudinal consequences; students' perceptions of equal treatment by

teachers appear to show a more consistent relationship with the quality of intergroup contact than some other forms of teacher support. These findings establish an important boundary for interpreting the evidence from Kubu Raya. Similarities between family relational experiences and students' behavior at school cannot automatically be treated as evidence of a straightforward causal pathway. Instead, family experiences, friendships, teacher practices, school characteristics, intergroup encounters, and adolescents' agency interact in shaping the forms of tolerance manifested in everyday social life.

The first mechanism that may explain this pattern concerns the function of family social capital as relational capital that provides resources students can draw upon when entering broader social relationships. In Bourdieu's perspective (Bourdieu, 1986, 2002, 2020) , social capital refers to actual or potential resources associated with membership in relatively durable networks of relationships. From this perspective, the value of family relationships in the present study lies not simply in the intensity of parent-child closeness but in the types of resources generated through those relationships and the extent to which such resources can be mobilized in other social situations. Trust allows students to experience relatively secure relationships; communication about respect provides a normative framework for understanding how others should be treated; responsibility introduces the social consequences of one's actions; helping practices provide experiences of reciprocity; and family relationships with neighbors and the wider community expand students' relational experiences beyond the boundaries of the household. Wang et al. (2020)  are particularly relevant in this respect because their findings indicate that parental socialization is associated with psychosocial development and interpersonal relationship quality, while also demonstrating that the strength of these associations varies according to the form of socialization, developmental stage, ethnicity, and reporting source. Normative parental messages, therefore, cannot be assumed to translate automatically into behavior. In this study, such messages acquired significance because they were accompanied by recurring concrete experiences: students not only heard that differences should be respected but also observed how their parents welcomed guests, communicated with neighbors, assisted others, acknowledged mistakes, and maintained relationships with people from different backgrounds. Family social capital consequently becomes meaningful as capital when family relationships generate relational resources that students can mobilize to establish, maintain, and manage relationships beyond the family.

The second mechanism concerns the process through which recurring relational experiences contribute to the formation of habitus. Within Bourdieu's framework ((Bourdieu, 1986, 2002, 2020) , habitus cannot be reduced to a collection of memorized behavioral rules; rather, it refers to dispositions developed through social experience that subsequently shape how individuals perceive situations and determine responses that appear appropriate or natural. This perspective helps explain why tolerance in the present study was not always expressed through explicit statements about diversity. Instead, it became visible through relatively ordinary yet recurrent practices, such as regulating one's speech to avoid degrading others, refraining from using ethnic or religious identity as a basis for choosing friends, apologizing after making mistakes, listening before responding, helping peers, and maintaining relationships despite disagreements. Parental modeling is particularly important in this process because students receive not only verbal instructions but also opportunities to observe how social relationships are actually conducted. Buckley et al. (2024) , drawing on longitudinal data, demonstrated that consistently experienced parental warmth was associated with a greater likelihood of high prosocial behavior during adolescence. Nevertheless, habitus formed through

family experience should not be understood as producing fixed behavioral outcomes. Miklikowska (2017) showed that cross-group friendships can alter the strength of associations between parental or peer prejudice and adolescents' attitudes. Family experience is therefore better understood as contributing to an initial orientation toward action rather than determining its final form. Students carry these dispositions into new social relationships, but the ways in which such dispositions are enacted remain open to experience, interpretation, negotiation, and change.

The third mechanism becomes visible when relational capital and family-based dispositions enter the school as a distinct social field with its own relational structures, demands, opportunities, and dynamics. Schools expose students to peers whose ethnicities, religions, regional origins, habits, viewpoints, and social experiences may be considerably more diverse than those encountered within the family. Within this field, relational resources acquired through family life are not simply transferred in an identical form; rather, they must be applied, tested, negotiated, and adapted to concrete situations. The findings concerning cross-ethnic and cross-religious friendships, allocation of group responsibilities according to competence, willingness to listen to different viewpoints, attempts to find common ground during disagreement, and students' willingness to intervene when identity-related jokes cause discomfort illustrate this process. Turner and Cameron's ((2016) concept of *confidence in contact* provides a useful perspective for explaining how previous experiences may contribute to children's and adolescents' confidence in establishing positive interactions with members of different social groups. Once cross-group relationships are established, they can generate additional relational learning. Killen et al. ((2022) demonstrate that cross-group friendships may contribute to prejudice reduction because individuals no longer encounter members of other groups solely as abstract social categories but come to know them through sustained interpersonal relationships. In the present study, students were able to maintain friendships without requiring ethnic or religious differences to disappear. They could inquire about unfamiliar practices, recognize that their peers held different beliefs, and cooperate without making identity the principal criterion for assigning responsibility. Tolerance, from this perspective, does not require the erasure of difference; it involves developing the capacity to sustain constructive social relationships while differences remain present.

A further mechanism demonstrates that this process becomes increasingly complex because school functions not merely as an arena in which family resources are enacted but also as a source of new social experiences through cooperation, peer socialization, conflict, and the negotiation of behavioral boundaries. The finding that students organized group work according to competence and responsibility rather than ethnicity or religion suggests that shared goals can reduce the salience of identity categories in structuring interaction. Tondok et al. (2024), through a meta-analysis of 18 field experiments involving 5,265 participants, reported a moderate positive effect of cooperative learning on intergroup relations (ES = 0.33; 95% CI [0.25–0.40]). Cooperation therefore involves more than simply placing students from different backgrounds in the same physical or instructional space; it creates a practical need to communicate, coordinate activities, distribute responsibilities, and depend upon one another's contributions in pursuing common goals. Peers simultaneously operate as socialization agents capable of reinforcing or challenging orientations previously developed within the family, as reflected in Busching and Krahé's (2020) longitudinal evidence concerning classmates' role in adolescents' prosocial development. This process is particularly visible in students' responses to jokes involving ethnicity, regional origin, or accent. The presence of such jokes indicates that

students' social environments are not uniformly harmonious and that positive family social capital does not automatically eliminate behaviors capable of offending others. Yet when students challenge inappropriate jokes, stop after objections are raised, apologize, listen to explanations, or seek common ground during disagreements, they actively negotiate the boundaries of acceptable conduct. The conversion of family social capital into tolerance should therefore be understood as a process of activation, application, testing, negotiation, and adaptation of relational resources rather than as the mechanical transfer of values. From a capital–habitus–field perspective, the family provides relational capital, repeated experiences contribute to dispositions, the school provides the field in which those dispositions encounter new conditions, and students exercise agency in determining how those resources are translated into social practices.

Theoretically, these findings extend the understanding of family social capital by shifting analytical attention from the mere presence of resources within family networks toward the processes through which those resources become usable beyond the contexts in which they initially develop. Communication, trust, parental modeling, responsibility, reciprocity, and family connections with the broader social environment can be empirically understood as contributing to a relational repertoire: a set of experiences, orientations, and available ways of acting that students can draw upon when communicating, cooperating, encountering conflict, engaging with difference, and maintaining social relationships. The concept of a relational repertoire is not intended to replace habitus; rather, it provides a more concrete empirical explanation of the relational resources connecting family capital to dispositions and social practices. The findings therefore place Bourdieu's perspective in productive dialogue with the literature on socialization and intergroup contact. Capital explains the resources available through family relationships; habitus helps account for how recurring experiences contribute to dispositions; field explains why the manifestation of those dispositions depends on the conditions of particular social arenas; and adolescent agency helps explain why the relationship between family social capital and tolerance is not deterministic. Evidence from Miklikowska (2017) , Karataş et al. (2023) , and Pagano et al. (Pagano et al., 2024) further reinforces the need to understand adolescent social development as cross-contextual and potentially bidirectional. The theoretical contribution of this study therefore lies in conceptualizing family social capital not as a static stock of resources but as relational capital whose social significance emerges through activation, negotiation, and reconstruction across different social fields. Within this framework, tolerance becomes an evolving relational practice produced through the intersection of family capital, habitus, adolescent agency, and the characteristics of the fields in which social interactions occur.

Practically, the findings suggest that strengthening tolerance requires relational environments in which students are able not only to learn about respect for difference but also to observe, experience, practice, and negotiate it repeatedly. Within families, this can be fostered through consistency between normative messages and everyday conduct: parents need not only communicate the importance of respecting difference but also demonstrate it through the ways they speak about others, welcome guests, interact with neighbors, assist other people, acknowledge mistakes, and sustain relationships with individuals from different backgrounds. At school, diversity among students cannot by itself be assumed to generate tolerance. Schools need to create meaningful relational experiences through cooperative learning, equitable distribution of responsibilities, equal treatment by teachers, opportunities for dialogue, sustained cross-group friendships, and appropriate responses to jokes or

behaviors that demean particular identities. Families and schools are therefore more productively understood as interconnected relational environments than as separate agents of character education. This interpretation, however, should remain situated within the methodological boundaries of the study. The qualitative case study of one senior high school involving ten informants enables an in-depth understanding of family and school experiences from multiple perspectives but is not intended to support statistical generalization to all students in Kubu Raya Regency. The partial reliance on informants' narratives also leaves open the possibility of socially desirable accounts, while the non-longitudinal design does not permit causal or temporal relationships among family social capital, habitus, and tolerance practices to be established. Future studies could therefore employ longitudinal and multisite designs and deliberately examine cases that depart from the dominant pattern to clarify the relative contributions of family, peers, teachers, digital experiences, intergroup contact, and adolescent agency. Taken together, the findings suggest that, among the students examined in Kubu Raya Regency, tolerance develops as a social practice through the dynamic intersection of family relational capital, dispositions formed through recurring experience, adolescent agency, and the conditions of the school field in which differences are encountered, negotiated, and managed in everyday life.

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates that, within the context of students in Kubu Raya Regency, family social capital operates as capital in students' social lives through relational resources developed through communication, trust, parental guidance, role modeling, habituation, and family relationships with the wider social environment. These resources extend beyond the family context and become part of the social experiences that shape how students relate to others. Within the school field, family social capital becomes visible through practices of tolerance reflected in cross-background friendships, respect for differences, cooperation based on ability and responsibility, willingness to listen to different perspectives, the negotiation of disagreement through dialogue, and responses to behavior that may cause discomfort to others. These findings address both research objectives by demonstrating that the relationship between family social capital and tolerance does not involve a direct transfer of values. Rather, it develops through a process in which relational resources formed within family life are activated, enacted, negotiated, and adjusted through students' social interactions at school.

The contribution of this study lies in conceptualizing family social capital as capital whose relevance can extend beyond the family environment, while positioning tolerance as a social practice that develops through the intersection of family experiences, students' dispositions, adolescent agency, and the dynamics of the school field. This perspective suggests that strengthening tolerance requires more than the formal transmission of values; it also requires relational environments in which respect, responsibility, cooperation, and openness to difference can be consistently experienced across family and school life. In practical terms, families and schools should foster mutually supportive social experiences, while future research may employ longitudinal and multisite designs to extend understanding of how social capital and practices of tolerance develop across different social contexts and stages of adolescence.

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