SOCIAL CAPITAL NETWORKS OF INSTITUTIONAL AGENTS AND THE

EMPOWERMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH

by

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To my grandfather James Carrol Crain

You told me to "Keep on, keeping on!"

And I will…

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST of TABLES

ABSTRACT

This is a study of community-based program leaders who support African American youth in their efforts to attain academic success. A sociological concept, "social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 2000, Lin, 1999, 2001) was applied in an analysis of how program leaders utilize their social capital networks to empower low-status and minority youth. Successful interventions programs that empower youth help the youth learn to decode the systems they live within as well as impart information necessary for young people to learn how to manage life in multiple worlds (Carter, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2001). The name generator, position generator, and resource generator are the proposed measures of social capital (Flap, Snijders, Völker, & van der Gaag, 2003), as well as ethnographic interview (Spradley, 1979) techniques for more detailed analysis of the processes of empowerment (Bryant-Soloman, 1976, Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, & Sadan, 2004).

Qualitative and quantitative methodologies from social network analysis in this case study revels the network and help seeking orientations of community-based programs leaders of intervention programs that focus on the empowerment of African American and other minority youth. Intensive interviews with the leaders of the African Male Achievers Network and Kappa League programs provide insight into the types relationships that are particularly helpful in providing critical support to youth as well as the ways these programs leaders approach relationship building and whether a particular help-seeking orientation influences their access to social capital. The research questions for this study were as follows: 1) How has the

program leaders' personal history of empowerment impacted the structure of the programs? 2) Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their program? 3) Does the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital? 4) How is cyber technology used in the development of network connections for enhancing the social capital of the program leaders? 5) Does a program leader's individual perceptions of length of contact with a person, age, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders' implementation of institutional agency?

The findings from the study indicate that organizational structure and Black leadership and/or traditional African American resistance forms (i.e. church, fraternal, and lived experience) are important to the success of these programs. Positive help-seeking orientation in regards to the program leader's views of stress management for self and the types of relationships are chosen by the program leaders are important to the overall impact of their program leaders network contacts. Clearly articulated male/female relationships are important for the overall success of interventions designed to support African American males. Issues of generational-connection, race, status, and gender are accounted for by these leaders of African American youth.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The continued challenges African American students experience in obtaining

an education in public schools tell us that there are fundamental problems with the

way education is delivered to all Americans (Singham, 1998). Like a "canary in the

mine," African American students are the most sensitive to the worst of American

education (Singham, 1998). No matter their parents' socio-economic status, African

American students often experience academic success at a level far below their peers

(United States Department of Education, 2004). Since the 1950's, various research

studies and programs have been implemented to address the achievement gap.

However, in too many schools and communities in America the inequity in resources

has kept the achievement gap, in place (Kozol, 1992; 2005; Perry, Steele, & Hilliard,

2003). Based on the outcomes of many of the government programs to help urban

youth, the reproduction of inequality has been maintained. Aside from a few

exceptional intervention programs where minority youth excel, public schools have

done little to manufacture hope in the lives of minority youth (Stanton-Salazar,

2001).

Theories of social capital have generated a great deal of interest in solving

problems in society (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000), and researchers in

education have employed measures of social capital (Dika & Singh, 2002).

Economic, human, and political capital work best when the resources are mobilized

to produce a positive result for people. Social capital is no different (Lin, 2001). We

all come in contact with networks that can produce either deviant or purposeful individual development (Portes, 1998). There is mounting evidence—although largely suggestive—that intervention program leaders who work with youth in direct or indirect ways utilize their social capital to intervene in the lives of disenfranchised youth and empower the youth to have greater opportunities as a result of quality intervention programs (Lareau & Hovart, 1999, McLaughlin, Irbry, & Langham, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2006a). Few scholars (Conchas, 2001; Noguera, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2001; Spina & Stanton-Salazar, 2004) have elaborated on the complex processes of social capital as they apply to the plight of minority youth. Even fewer have addressed African American students' academic outcomes (Jarrett, 1995; Orr, 1998). However, if the program leader is unaware of their own inherent power and capacity to provide youth with access to key institutional resources, they may unwittingly serve to reproduce the inequality that brought the young person to their program to begin with (Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Sadan, 2004; Solomon, 1976). Unless program leaders have dealt with their own issues if internalized oppression they are likely to pass on its' effects to the youth they serve (Frerie, 1970; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). As a researcher, I am particularly concerned with African American academic achievement and the gap in educational outcomes that African American students face when compared to their White counterparts (Singham, 1998). There are programs that work to address the achievement gap, but programs in public schools do not often directly address African American male achievement, even though most educators agree that the

chronic low achievement of African American males is a problem (National Alliance of Black School Educators, 2002).

It was beneficial to learn from program leaders that have had success in educating African American males. Stanton-Salazar's (1997, 2001, 2006a, 2006b) work on social capital of low-status and minority youth has the greatest potential of providing the theoretical perspective that can inform how to address issues of inequality and social reproduction. Stanton-Salazar's work comes from the same theoretical perspective of Bourdieu, 1986), Burt (1995) Granovetter (1973), and Lin (1999, 2000, 2001), which Stanton-Salazar refers to as the social resource framework (2006c). The social resource framework addresses issues of stratification within a hierarchical society, access to resources, and links to systems and/or individuals within a system that can provide access to high status positions and resources within a social structure. The normative-functionalist framework, according to Stanton-Salazar (2006b), comes from the perspective of Coleman (1988), Portes (1998), and Coleman (2000). Although, the normative-functionalists address issues of community characteristics, rules and norms, help-seeking, volunteerism, trust, and social closure, they do not address the issues of access to resources within a hierarchical society. Without that emphasis the normative functionalist can identify a problem but are at a loss as to how interventions and program leaders who provide interventions empower low-status and minority youth. Fortunately, research from the social resources framework has begun to articulate the process of empowerment. More is discussed about the two frameworks in the next section as well as chapter two.

3

I studied the African-American Male Achievers Network (A-MAN) of Inglewood, California. This program was started over 20 years ago to address the challenges that African American male students had in achieving high Grade Point Averages and college entrance. The program combines, mentoring, philanthropic support, and an emphasis on developing skills in mathematics and sciences to support young people in their efforts to attain college admittance and go on to successful careers. At the request of female students in the community the Young Ladies Achievers Club (Y-LAC) was formed just a few years after the inception of A-MAN. What is of particular interest to this study is how A-MAN and Y-LAC program leaders use their social capital networks to support the success of the youth who participate in their program. More specifically, I were considering if the program leaders are aware of and can articulate their process for embedding youth within a social network that provides resources and opportunities that provide beneficial payoffs (e.g. improved grades, college entrance, scholarships) for the students.

In this chapter I will highlight the following sections; statement of the problem in regards to social capital access and empowerment as it relates to the improved educational outcomes for minority youth. A purpose for the study, statement of the problem, as well as a description of the unit of analysis will also be provided. The study elaborated here is specifically concerned with African American academic achievement and with the empowerment and transformation of the youth as well as staff on a more comprehensive level. For many researchers who have attempted to address the phenomena of the "achievement gap" it has been addressed

from a perspective of better measurement (Heubert & Hauser, 1999), individual

psychological issues of ability (Hernstrein & Murry, 1993), attribution (Graham,

1994), and/or environmental factors (Townsend, 2000). Few theorists have applied

sociological theory to explain the phenomena of the achievement gap, as well as

observe social capital principles in actions that have led to positive student outcomes.

The achievement gap is a societal phenomena that has been approached from

economic (Singham, 1998), gendered (Kunjufu, 1995), individual (Hernstein &

Murray, 1994), political (Orr, 1998), and psychological (Hilliard, 2003a)

perspectives. There is also much to be learned about the processes of successful

interventions from a sociological perspective (Carter, 2005; Dika & Singh, 2002)

specifically as it relates to conscious efforts of intervention program leaders efforts

to empower low-status and minority youth (Stanton-Salazar, 2006a).

Background of the Problem

Stanton-Salazar's (1997, 2001, 2006a, 2006b) ongoing research program

helps researchers understand how social inequality plays out in the lived experiences

(or lives) of minority youth. It is fruitful to look at the differences between middle

class youth and lower class youth in terms of social capital – class analysis (Lin,

2001) because it focuses our attention on differential access to institutional

resources, opportunities, and ties to gate-keepers (Lareau-McNamara & Hovart,

1999; Maeroff, 1999). Stanton-Salazar (2006a) has outlined a 4 dimension analytical

model for comparing and contrasting the two major approaches associated with

social capital theory. The first major approach is the normative functionalist

approach and the other is the social resources approach. The 4 are; social mediums, social properties, social resources, and social structure.

The normative-functionalist approach that began in the early 1900's with Emile Durkheim (1897/1951) provides the foundational explanation for social mediums. Durkheim's work addressed the loss of community as small town agrarian based populations moved and/or were transformed into more industrial societies. The split of the individual from what they knew as community created the conditions for people to be more susceptible to intentionally end their life (i.e. commit suicide). Durkheim applied empiricism to the field that had been bound largely by subjective interpretations of individual psychological phenomena (i.e. suicide) and he applied them to broad social issues. Durkheim's term, "acute economic anomie," was defined by sporadic decreases in the ability of traditional institutions (such as religion, guilds, pre-industrial social systems, etc.) to regulate and fulfill social needs. More recently, political scientist Robert Puntam (2000) has followed in that tradition by examining the disintegration of social networks and ties. In reviewing the normative-functionalist approach, Stanton Salazar (2006b) has outlined collective participation, sociability, and social closure (Coleman, 1988) as terms that loosely coincide with Durkheim's social integration. Rules, norms, help-seeking, help-giving, volunteerism, and trust are terms that roughly match with Durkheim's social integration.

The social resources approach overlaps the normative-functionalist approach in the area of social properties but ends there. The properties are the characteristics of the social mediums. The strength of a relationship or social tie (Grannovetter,

1973), closure of a social network (Coleman, 1988) to bond a community (Putnam, 2000), and structural holes (Burt, 1995) to transition a person from one community to another make up those properties from the normative-functionalist approach. The social resources approach addresses the properties by looking at collective (Lin, 2001) and relational assests (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) in a manner consistent with the term "capital." The normative-functionalist approach does not deal with resources within a social network nor the access to those resources.

For Lin (2001), social resources correspond with a position or social status within a hierarchy. Control over economic resources, prestige, political power, and authorities over others characterize the positions. Individual resources, that an occupant of a high status position holds are; reputation, money, power, connections, facilities, knowledge (Stanton-Salazar, 1997), cultural capital (Lareau & Hoverat, 1999), and institutional support (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Another area the normative-functionalist approach to social capital does not address is social structure. The resources and mediums are embedded within a social structure. Within the social structure a person can be linked to people in positions within the upper levels of a hierarchy (Lin, 2001) or social stratification system (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Social stratification systems have to do with a system of social division, dominate/subordinate group relations, and institutionalized forms of exclusion and inclusion. Societal forces act to either stratify a hierarchy or counter-stratify for either inequitable or equitable means. A push and pull acts upon educational systems that help to maintain inequity in issues such as tracking students into remedial or advanced placement courses (Heubert & Hauser, 1999; Singham, 1998)

at the K-12 grade levels and "Ivy League" vs. lower tiered higher education institutions.

Durkehim's (1897/1951) issue of anomie, that describes the processes of integration of disintegration, relates to a sense of membership and/or sharing of values within a school and its' impact on students. Researchers, who look to explain the level of engagement and perceived support the students should take the view of the student and the staff and then looking at the interactions with peers, faculty, and staff overlapping with community expectations. All of which can create a unique mix for intervention programs. Due to America's challenges with class, gender, and racial stratification students who attend American public schools can experience even more complexity physically integrating into the mainstream classroom and also socially integrating into the culture of power and privilege (Bourdieu, 1988).

As educators and researchers consider the savage inequalities (Kozol, 1992) represented in the ever widening achievement gap between those who have been traditionally denied access to high quality schools-- via direct or indirect discrimination--, they would do well to consider an analysis of students' access to social capital as particularly elaborated by such sociologists as Stanton-Salazar (2001) and Lareau and Hovart (1999). Some researchers (Hilliard, 2003; Singham, 1998) see the "achievement gap" as more of an opportunity gap as often times students considered "minorities" in our society are denied the opportunity to access resources (i.e. funding, activities, and codes of power denied to them).

The Achievement Gap

The achievement gap has been well established. Measures such as a 15-point average IQ gap between African Americans and Whites as well as SAT scores, college and high school grade-point averages, graduation and drop out rates, college acceptance and retention, and disproportionate suspension of African American students are indicators of this gap (Singham, 1998; Townsend, 2000). Issues of access to cyber-space (Lin, 1999) as highlighted by organizations such as the Urban League also speak to the "digital divide" as it relates to African American's access to vital technological resources (Fulton, 1999).

In remarks addressing the achievement gap between White and African American students Dr. Margaret Spellings, the United States Secretary of Education said the following. "For the first time, we are looking ourselves in the mirror and holding ourselves accountable for educating every child. That means all children, no matter their race or income level or zip code (United States Department of Education, 2004)." At first glance this quote appears to speak of progressive shift in the direction of educating all students. However, when we view the prefix, "For the first time ever" we can see the late acknowledgement of the government in their efforts to address the "achievement gap" for African American students.

For those that have followed the over 400 years of oppression by American educational institutions and the resistance by Africans to American oppression, this lack of understanding the achievement gap is of no surprise. America's early efforts to legally deny people of African descent a quality education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) or an education at all (Woodson, 1933) is well documented. It was

illegal to teach African people to read and write in many parts of America until the Civil War was over (Perry, 2003). Today's efforts to address the "achievement gap" are limited to only 50 years of history beginning at Brown vs. the Board of education decision to desegregate schools. Although it is generally acknowledged that legal segregation was not only morally wrong, and counter to the American constitution, moreover it was also a crime against humanity. Nonetheless, our public schools run by the American government are just as (if not more) segregated today than they were during the civil rights era (Kozol, 2005). Community leaders, educators, and researchers remain perplexed by the continuance of the achievement gap despite the efforts of those in the civil rights era to improve our society. According to Ladson-Billings (1995) a critical analysis of the issue of race has not been consistently applied to issues for improving education for minority students. Although some fundamental changes have been made in public schools, those changes are often co-opted by efforts at superficial multicultural gestures, which are designed to maintain the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

At the 50th anniversary of the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education* landmark ruling we are all reminded that all children have a right to a high-quality education. But for many students their education is far from quality (Kozol, 2005). Issues such as high teacher turn-over, poor physical facilitates, limited instructional resources, and continued segregation are few of the many examples of the low quality of education minority students receive in America (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Kozol, 1992, 2005; National Alliance of Black School Educators, 2002). Stephens McIntosh and Duren-Green (2005), in addressing quality of American education

since 1954, state that education is influenced by social, psychological, and economic factors. Actions such as legislation, policies, or procedures must be accompanied by effective action that address community interactions, and define specialized training for professionals who facilitate those interactions. Stephens McIntosh and Duren Green, also indicate that students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, such as African Americans, have dealt with an ever widening achievement gap. This gap is most salient between African American students and White students. Other issues, such as the overrepresentation of African American students in special education (National Alliance of Black School Educators, 2002; Reschly, 2003), and high suspension and expulsion rates (Townsend, 2000) are also of concern. Hale (2001) has identified that teachers' own examination of their assumptions can help them to understand more fully how their own personal views can impact their students, since many teachers are often unaware of how the achievement gap impacts their culturally linguistically and diverse students. The educational achievement gap, according to Singham (1998) is real and has serious, social, economic, and political consequences. There are too many African American students in special education placements (Reschly, 2003) on the lower end of the achievement spectrum and limited enrollment of African American students in advanced placement courses required for college on the other end of the spectrum (Singham, 1998; Steele, 2003). Disproportionate discipline and suspension of African American male students (Townsend, 2000) as well as placement in classes for students with emotional disturbances are an ever growing trend. African American males are more likely be to identified as having behavior problems and to

be placed in special education than any other ethnic group (Algozzine, Enwefa, Enwefa, Gwalla-Ogisi, McIntosh, & Obiakor, 2002; Reschly, 2003). An ever widening gap in achievement between African American students and every other ethnicity has serious economic, political, and social implications for African Americans (Singham, 1998). Truancy, drop-out, and incarceration rates mirror these trends in special education (Rajack,-Talley, Talley, & Tewksbury, 2005). These challenges have especially impacted the achievement, motivation, and learning of African American males (Ferguson, 2000; Kunjufu, 1995, Townsend, 2000). Mano Singham (1998) provides information that challenges the view that all is well with education as evidenced by the challenges experienced by African American students.

> "The achievement gap shows that the education system's ills are more clearly visible in the Black community than in the White community and there is a fundamental problem with the way education is delivered to all students (p. 1)."

Social Capital and Empowerment

As stated previously, the two approaches—the normative-functionalist and social recourses theories of social capital, provide analyses for explaining social inequality; and in terms of articulating key processes of youth empowerment, rigorous analyses of social capital processes promises to open new intellectual pathways. However, not all theories or writings on social capital articulate the larger context of racial and class oppression in society. As Stanton-Salazar (2001) has indicated, communities and their schools can serve as fertile ground for the negative effects of class, gender, and race, as perceived by American society, that impact low negatively impact low-status youth. The school can also become an arena for

12

students to develop positive network resources and psychological orientations that allow youth to cope in an effective manner. As we consider that strong ties within kinship networks may provide caring environments for low status youth, we should also keep in mind that for many of those same youth, there are few opportunities to directly access higher status resources—even if family ties are strong. As the American saying goes, "love doesn't pay the rent." Lin (2001), writing from the social-resources framework, indicates that the caring environments are not always translated into useful resources. School environments often serve to reproduce issues of social inequity rather than critique their own history of discrimination and ongoing failed efforts to provide environments that produce positive academic outcomes for low status and minority youth.

Coleman, from the normative-functionalist framework, has been acknowledged as one of the first theorist to bring the term social capital into popular use in recent years—both in sociology and in the field of education. He has identified levels of trust within a social structure, norms and sanctions, and information channels (1988, 1990). As we consider the history of America, issues of access via individual and community means have remained a consistent theme that has implications for access to opportunity for mobility in status and power. Social capital for Coleman is about the properties or characteristics of the social mediums of trust, social closure within a network (1988). Coleman's properties loosely coincide with Durkheim's (1897/1951) ground-breaking sociological theories of social integration. Collective participation in decision making, sociability, and social closure are factors of the community and group characteristics of social capital.

Moral integration (Durkheim, 1897/1951) is another concept that Coleman aligns

rules and norms, help-seeking, volunteerism, and trust with to complete his theory of

social capital.

In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) reminds readers that the tension between

and analysis of the individual and analysis of community has been a part of

intellectual debates early on in America. As a political scientist who uses social

capital as a basis to address many of the societal problems we face in America,

Putnam highlights two types of social capital. The first is "bonding" which connects

communities like superglue and promotes "in-group" strength that can serve to

intensify and strengthen in-group social capital connections and collaborations. The

second is "bridging," which acts to smooth inter-group connections. These bridges

are identified with Granovetter's (1982) concept of "strong ties" and "weak ties" in

which the strong (i.e. intensive daily contact with those of similar background, oft

time family) serve to bond us together and our weak ties (i.e. people beyond our

social networks) serve to expand our connections.

Theorists of social capital who emphasize the utilization of the resources

from inside and outside an individual's network (Lin, 2001) and who are concerned

with the empowerment of minority youth (Stanton-Salazar, 1997) are particularly

interested with these programmatic instances of "counter-stratification" (Stanton-

Salazar, 2001). Stanton-Salazar defines "counter stratification" as attempts within

the family, community, or school to help "selected youth construct egocentric

networks characterized by trusting relations and authentic social and or institutional

support (i.e. social capital)" (p. 22). Similar to Ladson-Billings' and Tate's (1995)

analysis of progressive interventions in education via a critical race theory, counter stratification efforts can also succumb to ideas and forces that reinforce existing stratification, such as notions of individual meritocracy and self-reliance (Hill, 2002). Despite America's recent efforts over the past 50 years to undue societal injustices, stratification has remained strong within America. The United States has its' roots in a hierarchy based on position, economic control, prestige, and political power, especially in regards to class, gender, and race (Lin, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 2006b).

Bourdieu (1986), writing from the social resources framework, encouraged social capital theorist to go beyond Coleman's and Putnam's view of the network to how the network can serve to not only develop social norms but reproduce a hierarchical system of privilege and status. Lin's (1999) work began to identify the difference between Coleman's and Putnam's analysis of networks with an emphasis on a payoff of resources that would actually help people to benefit from the resources offered from strong or weak ties. Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2001) has applied the ideas of social capital to minority youth's efforts to gain status by the use of weak ties within their networks. The youth's development within an embedded network can produce either the cycle of oppression, which may lead to poverty or deviant behavior or a rise from poverty and empowered actions (Durkheim, 1897/1997; Portes, 1998; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Intervention programs that are able to help people gain status and internal psychological strength can be empowering to low-status and minority youth.

Many theorists have indirectly talked about empowerment but few have actually defined it (Sadan, 2004). Twenty years ago Cummins (1986) challenged

educators to rethink their roles within the classroom, community, and broader

society. This challenge was given so that educators would empower rather than

disable students through labeling via diagnosing disability through special education

handicapping conditions, categorization such as "at-risk", and finally disinvesting in

them with terms such as "drop-out." Empowering programs reinforce rather than

deny students cultural identity. For Cummins, active collaboration with parents was

a key part of the successfully empowering programs. A meaningful use of language

was used within the community. Delpit (1995), provides readers with five aspects of

power in schools: 1) Issues of power are enacted in classrooms; 2) There are codes or

rules for participation in power or stated another way, there is a "culture of power";

3) The rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of

those who have power; 4) If you are not already a participant in the culture of power,

being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier; and 5)

Those with power are frequently least aware of – or least willing to acknowledge –

its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of the existence of power

but are unsure how to make the rules of power work for them. Delpit (1995) goes on

to state that the first three rules are basic tenets in the literature of the sociology of

education but the last two have seldom been addressed.

Noted educator, the late Paulo Frerie (1970/1993), in the book *Pedagogy of

the Oppressed,* stated that much of Western education follows a banking model

where teachers have the currency and if students qualify for the currency of

information the teachers will give it to them. What Frerie suggested is that a more

reciprocal teacher to student relationship develops where each teacher learns from

what her students needs. The students come to the schooling experience with prior knowledge and both the teacher and student build upon each other's knowledge. Ultimately, for the student to learn the student must go out and teach others. A community can be strongly impacted by this model of each-one teach-one (Perry, 2003) and a community can be empowered (Sadan, 2004). This process of empowerment of the self and community can be applied to youth programs as well as schools.

In summary, the background of the problem has addressed the issues of social inequality and how those issues play out in the lives of minority youth. The achievement gap between African American and White students has had serious educational, economic, and societal implications. The gap has been relatively stable despite legislation and programs designed to remediate the gap since the 1954 school desegregation rulings. Social capital frameworks can provide a perspective that can address the reproduction of inequality that has plagued American public schools. If intervention can help provide individual growth and community growth they will go a long way towards empowering communities to reduce the achievement gap. In the next section we will introduce a growing body of research on youth intervention programs that attempts to empower youth by providing opportunities to understand and access resources of power as well as achieve greater educational outcomes.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of the achievement gap remains. One under-investigated area within the research literature, in regards to the problem of the achievement gap, is

the rigorous analysis of the social capital networks of intervention program leaders, and the mobilization of these networks to empower program participants (Jarrett, 1995). Non-family 'institutional agents' can impact adolescents by providing them with what Delpit (1995) calls the "codes of power" or privileged access to institutional resources and opportunities.

Youth who grow up in privileged communities most often have access to resources that prepare them for adult positions of power and influence. Adults with low-status in the family and outside the family often spend much of their time protecting youth from the ecological dangers (Spina & Stanton Salazar, 2003). Psychological barriers created within harsh sociological environments also limit the aspirations of low-status youth (McLaughlin, Irby, & Langham, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). In order to move beyond these deleterious environments, low-status youth most often benefit from social ties within their interpersonal networks and family (Spina & Stanton Salazar, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Cochran (1995) provides a view of the personal network within a number of environmental systems affecting development. As Cochran indicates, the personal network is a part of evolving social relations that bridge to formally structured systems (i.e. ideologies of institutions). The bridge or bridges are connecting within a larger social field. Social constraints and the choice of individuals to access and/or develop bridges to larger social networks are what we can see that shows despite how people, are being oppressed due to social constraints, choose to empower themselves individually as well as collectively. The social constraints can be

manifested externally by way of classism, racism, sexism (Cochran, Larner, Riely, Gunnarson & Henderson, 1990) as well as by internal personal psychological oppression from the messages of society (Fanon, 1967; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The constraints can serve to limit opportunity via direct discrimination as well as psychological perception that people cannot access or create their own bridges to access cultural, economic, institutional, physical, political, psychological, and/or social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Gordon, 2006).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the network and resource mobilization of program leaders within a community based program that aims to empower youth to achieve social as well as academic success. There are schools as well as school based programs that provide examples of minority success in harsh educational environments (Delpit, 1995; Hilliard, 2003; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2003). Within these programs in urban environments there are, as McLaughlin, Irby, and Langham (1994) have called them, "wizards" who encourage, support, and empower youth success in well-being and academics.

Maeroff (1998), in the book, *Altered Destinies: Making Life Better for Schoolchildren in Need*, looked at several school-based programs from the lens of social capital. Maeroff was concerned about an absence of a network of support for "disadvantaged children." Coleman (1988) provides the theoretical framework for Maeroff's review. Although Coleman (1988) reminds educators to focus on the home and parent-child dynamics of the transmission of cultural capital, teachers are

19

so frustrated by "social problems" they did not live with or do not currently encounter, that it makes it difficult to structure relationships with their students for productive learning.

Maeroff's (1998) case studies of students in the Puente Program highlight how the social capital bridges function along Latino student's pathways to their college and career. Five bridges for the Puente program were categorized by the reviewers as families, teachers, counselors, mentors, and peers in the project as the five bridges work to create a support system for the youth that were involved with the program (Cooper, 2002). "Wizards," as stated earlier, are non-familiar adults within the student's support system (McLaughlin et al, 1994). Stanton-Salazar (1997) better theoretically defines these "wizards" as "institutional agents," which are in Stanton-Salazar's words "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of, institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)." For theorizing some of the fundamental processes of minority youth empowerment, the program leader's actualization of the role of "institutional agent" and resource-mobilizer (sic) were the "unit of analysis" within the African American Male Achiever's Network (AMAN) youth program and the director of the Kappa League youth program that is run by members of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Incorporated. Kappa Alpha Psi is a traditionally African American Greek-Letter fraternal organization. Both Programs target the success of African American males. AMAN provides programs for both boys and girls.

Reminiscent of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, success on one level is as one

program staffer stated to MacLauglin (1994):

> "If they want to be a doctor great, but their first need is just to live, not just
> away from the gun but verbiage from their peers… a girl pregnant by sixteen,
> a man incarcerated by eighteen—that's the bullet (p. 3)."

In McLaughlin et al's (1994) study, youth achieved higher levels of achievement and

expectations for their academic careers because of the efforts of the wizards and the

children's resilance. Agency, optimism, self-confidence, self-efficacy, and self

worth increased as well. Receiving praise from adults for increasing their role in the

community helped to enhance young people's development.

To summarize, the purpose of this study is to analyze the network and

resource delivery of a program leader(s) within a community based program that

empowers youth to achieve social as well as academic success. "Wizards"

(McLaughlin et al, 1994) also known as institutional agents (Stanton-Salazar, 2001)

can help students gain greater access to resources that will lead to better outcomes

for youth. These institutional agents and their direct and indirect efforts to empower

youth were the unit of analysis for this study. For theorizing some of the

fundamental processes of minority youth empowerment, the program leader's

actualization of the role of "institutional agent" and resource-mobilizer (sic) were the

"unit of analysis within the African American Male Achiever's Network youth

program as well as the Kapper Leaguer's program. The proposed project is as much

a theoretical project as an empirical investigation. As stated earlier, I want to focus

on issues of access and educational attainment for African American youth. The

particular focus were on the nexus between social capital and education as it relates

to empowerment as it relates to African American students and particularly African American males since African American males challenges often act like a canary in the mine (Singham, 1998) indicating toxins within America's educational system.

One of the issues facing African American students and the achievement gap is the continued difficulty public education has had empowering African American male student achievement within supportive academic environments (Townsend, 2000). Within African American students, the alarm appears to be disconnected, in that in some studies they have demonstrated that African American students have a high self concept (Graham, 1994) and an interest to pursue education (Fordham & Obgu, 1986; Ogbu, 1991), yet their performance on standardized tests and Grade Point Averages remains low. Stanton-Salazar (2004) in his work with Latino youth in California found similar concerns that could be explained by a "negative help seeking orientation" (p. 28). If educators and researches knew more about how institutional agents who are providing environments where African American males achieve academic success we could begin to more firmly establish how to identify environments and potentially developmental learning processes that promote African American youth achievement. As Singham (1998) reminds his readers about African American students and African American males are particularly sensitive to poor educational environments. Like a "canary in the mine" that alerts miners to toxic gases that could harm them, African American males challenges with the educational system have been alerting American educators to the problems with the national education system in general.

Institutional program leaders in urban and suburban settings, have

connections to produce performance (Graham, 1994; Howard, 2005) by providing

access to the language and codes of power (Delpit, 1995). Learning environments,

behavioral structure, and cognitive training are some ways educators traditionally use

to produce performance (Anderson & Murphy, 1999; Dembo, 2004). Theories of

social capital networks, as they relate to the empowerment of low-status and

minority youth, can help us understand the means that institutional agents who work

with African American youth, programs use to model access to, develop, and to

utilize their own networks for youth.

Black Social Capital

Orr's (1998) definition of Black social capital as applied to school reform in

Baltimore, Maryland has been broken into two dimensions. The first is interpersonal

and institutional forms within the African-American community and the second

refers to the cross-sector formations of cooperation that bridge black-white divisions.

For this paper's analysis I will look at that bridge between the African American

institution that provides a volunteer service and the public schools, which program

participants attend (1998). There is an acknowledgement that much of the efforts to

ameliorate the achievement gap have centered on learning styles (Hale-Benson,

1986), teacher expectations (Hale, 2001), and improving accountability (United

States Department of Education, 2004) to little or now avail. One theory, which has

not been given much attention in the literature about the achievement gap, has been

social capital theory, especially as it has been applied to the plight of minority youth

and specifically African American youth. Moreover, issues of internalized

oppression of program leaders who serve minority youth must be addressed

(Stanton-Salazar, 2001) but are rarely addressed in training programs for educators

who serve African American students (Cook-Morales, 1992). If educators are

unconscious of their own oppression they can hardly be conscious of the processes

necessary in social capital mobilization that will lead to counter stratification as well

as the empowerment of the youth they serve.

Measurement of Social Capital

According to a Canadian policy document (Franke, 2005) normative

researchers have measured social capital by using cartographic methods. They

would map ties in communities via their intensity, frequency of interaction, types of

resources etc. Since the 1990's, the public sector, particularly governmental

agencies have become to large-scale and even examples as case studies with a more

qualitative orientation.

The networking behavior of program leaders of the African American Male

Achievers Network (AMAN) and Kappa League (KL) shall be the focus of this

study. Via a document analysis of the programs' public information, policies,

procedures, as well as interviews with the executive directors and day to day

program operators, this researcher looks to discover what to degree does the AMAN

and the KL programs empowers African American youth to achieve academic

success. A contextualized interview with an institutional agent of a model program

can provide, in regards to social capital, empowerment, and the agents' ties to the

students' schools, the type of information that can help educators and community members reproduce similar types of success.

The contextual information gathered on the programs will provide the context for a targeted interview with the institutional agent of each program. This interview were used to develop recommendations for educators and community programs that address the achievement gap as well as considerations in future research of social capital as it relates to the empowerment of traditionally marginalized communities.

Through preliminary research of local, state, and national programs, it appears that few school based programs address the achievement gap as it relates to African American students (Hilliard, 2003; Singham, 1998). While there is a move to improve test scores, infrastructure development via critical empowerment and social capital theory are not applied to the conversation with the exception of recent book chapters by African American authors (Gordon 2006; Perry, 2003). Social Capital is a relatively new theory to educational scholars that defies a simple definition and is being refined to the point where application can be measured (Dika & Singh, 2005; Lopez & Stack, 2003; Putnam, 2000). Two similar programs that have over 20 years of experience in successfully empowering African American males with an established evaluation system and a clear program purpose and mission were the focus of this study. King and Smith (2003) in their look at the social capital of non-profit leaders found that the leaders they studied enhanced their own social capital to broaden into new areas for the recruitment of volunteers, participants, and to access sources of funding, partnerships, advocacy, community relations, and coalition contacts.

Research Questions

Social capital, according to Lin (1999), "can be defined as resources embedded within a social structure which are accessed and or mobilized in purposive actions (p. 35)." Lin (2001) has also gone on to look at the purposive actions that can be mobilized to increase the likelihood of success. As I study the social capital processes of the African American Male Achievers Network (AMAN) and Kappa League (KL) programs I am looking to better understand AMAN's and KL's social structure and any purposive actions it takes to accesses resources of support for the youth AMAN and KL serves. This study is aimed at gaining insight into these main questions: 1) what conditions and factors permit program leaders to enact the role of "institutional agent?" 2) What conditions and factors might thwart or inhibit programs leaders' potential as an institutional agent? 3) What factors facilitate or constrain a program leaders help-seeking orientation (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) as well as the programmatic context with issues such as training, which may or may not encourage this network behavior.

The following are sub-categories of questions that will help to answer the three main questions as well as the underlying issue of internalized oppression. Data and information obtained from these interviews with the program leaders who participated in this study provided answers to the following research questions. The research questions were developed within from themes within the literature such as social networking (Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000), empowerment (Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Sadan, 2004), and relationships, and

minority equity in access to high status social capital (Lin, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; 2001). Five specific research questions based on the literature and germane to the particular program leaders were answered for this case study.

> *RQ 1: How has the program leaders' personal history of empowerment*
> *impacted the structure of the programs?*
>
> *RQ2: Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking*
> *and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network*
> *relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their*
> *program?*
>
> *RQ3: Does the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in*
> *efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital?*
>
> *RQ4: Does a program leader's individual perceptions of length of contact*
> *with a person, age, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders'*
> *implementation of institutional agency?*

De-Limitations and Limitations of the Study

I applied a critical case study approach to examine the network and context of the program leaders of the A-MAN and KL to draw research findings from a surveys, ethnographic interviews, and program information. This process incorporated both inductive and deductive methodologies for gathering data and information regarding the network orientation and help-seeking of A-MAN and KL relative to the role of the institutional agents. Critical ethnographic case study is

essential to draw inferences relative to a historical background of the community-based A-MAN and KL programs. Both quantitative and qualitative interview methods helped me comment on phenomenon regarding the salience of institutional agency in the context of A-MAN and KL. The literature, data, and information has helped me to triangulate findings in a manner that facilitates broader discussion about the importance of A-MAN and KL and similar programs that seek to ameliorate the challenges faced by African American youth and in particular African American males.

I assumed that program leaders of A-MAN and KL are running successful programs in that they are preparing African American males (and in the case of A-MAN females as well) for college. A-MAN boasts a 100 percent college preparation rate. KL program director states similar numbers for students that "follow the program," although the KL program staff admits the standards are high as some young men are not able to make the commitment to complete the program. My intent with this case study was to provide program leaders' information about data from the network size and potential positions and resources of support as well as comment only on the observed phenomena. The number of program leaders (3) for this study is too small to make any generalizations from the results.

As with all case studies, findings are subjective. The results may also be impacted by the experience, current context, and personality of the program leaders. I also had to be careful of my own influence as a researcher to not be swayed by the level of power that the program leaders utilize in the same field of study I am an engaged in within my career. In an effort at full disclosure, I am a member of Kappa

Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc., which may have provided me a greater degree of access than another person who may have attempted to complete this study. I have a prior knowledge of fraternity life. However, I joined as an alumni member not as an undergraduate member and I am still considered relatively new to the workings of the fraternity and the types of community based traditions or codes of power (Delpit, 1995) that are cultivated within that life. I am learning just as someone else who would conduct a similar study. I have been careful to keep the literature review and discussions of such out of the esoteric nature of the fraternity and focus on the aspects of the study, which can be reliably repeated.

The limitations of time had an impact on my ability to interview other potential leaders within each of the programs. Conducting a study of this nature takes a great deal of time to establish rapport and although asked about interviewing other staff members the program leaders for both programs indicated that it would be best if I only interviewed them. This was especially made clear after the A-MAN program leader and the KL program were made fully aware as to the nature of the study. Their concern was in regards to confidentiality of the program staff and volunteers.

These limitations outlined, the study should provide an understanding of a phenomenon that deserves greater attention (i.e. African American institutions and their youth programs). Graham (2003) and Ross (2003) have given the phenomenon more popular treatment but the there should be greater analysis of the powerful network ties that sustained Fredrick Dougalss, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robson, and Arthur Schomberg, Ralph Abernathy, Tom Bradley, and Arthur Ashe (i.e. African

Americans who achieved success in the twentieth century and who were also members of African American fraternities). The program leaders in this study are representative of a generation within American history that brought an end to segregation and helped America grow with the resultant changes. There stories not only need to be told but we need to utilize this information to develop greater social theory. If anything comes of this study it will be that the mechanisms of empowerment have been recorded for future generations.

The study analyzed the efforts of African Male Achievers Network (AMAN) and Young Ladies Achievers Club (YLAC), known as a 501c3 organization "A-MAN" for African American youth in 6th through 12th grade. It will also analyze a similar program called the Kappa League (KL) of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Incorporated.

The very foundation of Guide Right can be traces to the St. Louis Alumni Chapter (1922) and to Leon W. Steward, who is rightfully dubbed the "Father of the Guide Right Movement." Kappa League began in the late 1960's by the Los Angeles Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., at Alain LeRoy Locke High School.

Record reviews and interviews will give the researchers an opportunity to learn how the program leaders empower participants by providing access to social capital and encouraging academic success via knowledge, motivation, and/or organizational indicators (Clark & Estes, 2002; Graham, 1994). Understanding the help-seeking orientations of the program leaders is critical to this endeavor. As Stanton-Salazar (2001) writes, "such orientations do not always lead to help seeking

and positive and enriching forms of behavioral embeddedness (p. 244)." Hopefully, A-MAN and KL can provide examples of program leaders who demonstrate a positive help-seeking orientation. Data analysis will help in the development of recommendations for educators and community members interested in closing the achievement gap between African American male students and those of other ethnicities. The primary focus of the research is to report on how institutional agents empower African American males within the critical scope of traditional African American community socialization (Hilliard, 1995) while providing the codes of power and access (Delpit, 1995). Also addressed were specifics such as policies, procedures, funding, and location, recruitment of participants, and volunteers as well as training of staff.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter One underscores the purpose and significance of this study. Chapter Two provides a review of literature regarding the achievement gap of African American students from the perspective of the social capital research. I more specifically review the two main frameworks and/or approaches of social capital theory. Chapter Three describes the proposed methodological approach as well as the data collection and analysis procedures. As the study is conducted, Chapter Four will provide more in-depth information about the program to be studied, followed by the findings of the program as well as a theoretical review of the findings. Chapter Five poses recommendations for practice and implications for future research. References and appropriate appendices will follow the concluding chapter.

Definitions and Related Concepts

Achievement Gap

The United States Department of Education (2004) has now made closing the achievement gap a national priority. This study will go along with Singham (1998) that there is enough evidence to conclude Blacks are *not* genetically inferior to Whites and the academic achievement indicators, while they have remained low for the past 40 years, can be narrowed dramatically and even eliminated. For this study we were looking at programs that endeavor to close that gap for all the children and adolescents that participate in the program.

African American & Black

"African American" refers to U.S. born citizens of African Ancestry. "Black," refers to Caribbean-Americans, Native Africans, and/or all other international students of African decent are consider in this definition. Both Black and African American may be used to speak to the specific American context or to the broader context for all people of African decent.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Race continues to be a critical factor in American life. The right of property is the basis of U.S. society. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool for us to understand social inequity. For this paper it relates to the education of African American students (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Empowerment

Paulo Frerie (1970/1993) in his work with low status urban youth in Brazil observed that his students earned greater educational outcomes by helping each other achieve academic success as well as gain greater understanding of the forces that limited their opportunities. Frerie did not define empowerment directly. For Sadan, (2005) empowerment is a process by which people struggle for control of their lives and their environments. Some programs empower and some people are empowered themselves and these are two separate processes.

Institutional Agent

Stanton-Salazar (1997) states, "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of, institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)" are institutional agents.

Social Capital

According to Lin (2001), "social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a purposive action (p. 24). Also, according to Stanton-Salazar (2001), social capital is a set of properties existing within socially patterned associations that, when activated, enable them to accomplish their goals or to empower themselves in some meaningful way. Such associations occur between individuals…, between individuals in a group…, and between groups within a community (p. 265)

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The achievement gap has been given much attention by those concerned with individual ability and effort (Singham, 1998). Arguments for greater emphasis on policy decisions (Hernstein & Murray, 1994; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 2004) and against the exclusive use of standardized tests as the only indicator of academic significance (Hilliard, 1995; Hilliard, 2003a, 2003b) have generated great debate from educators on both sides of this polemic. Despite all the discussion about individual abilities the achievement gap between African American students and others remains significant (McIntosh & Duren-Green, 2005). There is obviously more than an individual's difference that goes into understanding the achievement gap. Program leaders in schools and communities can control access to vital institutional resources that can help to permit access or deny access to educational opportunities. Social capital frameworks can focus educators' view of institutional life through a relational/network paradigm (Stanton-Salazar, 2004). A glossary of key concepts and definitions are provided in Appendix VA.

Stanton-Salazar (2004) has written that, social capital in its simplest form can be understood, "as those 'connections' to individuals and to networks that can provide access to resources and forms of support that facilitate the accomplishments of goals (p. 18)." Social capital has received much attention from those interested in empowering communities (Boudieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Portes, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Sociologists, economists, political scientists etc.

have generated most of the literature in this area and educators have also developed

interest in the concept of social capital (Dika & Singh, 2004; Gordon, 2006;

Leighwood & Riehl, 2003; Noguera, 1999; Orr, 1998; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). For

noted sociologist Nan Lin (2001), it is important to be clear what social capital is by

being specific about what "capital" is from a Marxist perspective. In considering the

development of society, Marx saw capital as a part of the surplus value that creates

further profit. In a capitalist society, capital can be viewed as two distinct elements.

One is the surplus value generated and pocketed by capitalists. The other is an

investment with expected returns. Capital is a product of a process as well as an

investment process. Marx's theory is based on exploitive social relations between

two classes, where capitalists expect returns based on a surplus generated from the

process and products returned to them.

   Stanton-Salazar (2006b) has recently introduced a four dimension typology

of social capital that adheres to the sociological frameworks of both normative-

functionalist (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000) and social-resource

(Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 1995; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999, 2000, 2001) approaches

in an effort to more clearly articulate the processes that serve to promote or deny

access to better educational outcomes for low-status and minority youth. These two

approaches were introduced in Chapter One, but I will go into further detail in this

chapter. The four dimensions are; 1) social mediums, 2) properties (i.e.

characteristics of the mediums), 3) resources (Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 2001) and forms

of empowering social support, and 4) social structure (i.e. where resources and

mediums are embedded). Theorists from both the normative-functionalist approach

35

and the social-resource approach have developed terminology to explain social mediums and properties. However, only those who have utilized a social-resources approach have provided the working definitions that address the other two dimensions of resources with forms of empowering social support as well as the social structure in which mediums and resources are embedded. Both approaches can provide an understanding of programs that are designed to intervene in the lives of low-status and minority youth but only the social resources theorists have been explicit about the processes that lead to vital resources and social structures that empower those youth.

The work of Lin (2001) and especially Stanton-Salazar (2001, 2004, 2006a) has addressed systems of social division, dominant-subordinate group relations, and institutionalized forms of exclusion. Stanton-Salazar (2004) and Tinto (1993; 1997) have addressed exclusion in the form of a classist, gender-based, and/or racialized stratification systems as well as the efforts to counter those systems. A sense of membership as well as an intellectual integration of the values and norms based on Durkeheim's (1897/1951) social integration is an important part of Tinto's (1997) theory. The interaction with peers and adults combine with individual and group judgments about the degree to which a child fits in an institution as well as the institutions level of committment to a student's welfare. If students are integrated within a community they are likely to be influenced by a communicated commitment to their welfare, which can serve to heighten the students motivation to achieve an institution's goals. Once peers accept a child and social bonds are structured around ideas consistent with institutions' goals, which are necessary for degree completion

they are solidly embedded within a structure that will support their success. But

what happens when institutionalized issues of class, race, and/or gender conspire to

keep individuals from fitting into a social structure? It happens too frequently that

low-status and minority students who are not integrated into a social structure

(Stanton-Salazar, 2001)—especially to African American male students from poor

communities (Carter, 2005; Hilliard, 1995; Hilliard, 2003a; Townsend, 2000).

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) have encouraged educators who are

addressing issues of equity (e.g. Black and White student achievement gap,

disproportionate suspensions, college entrance) to strongly consider a critical race

theory (CRT). A CRT perspective in education is analogous to that of the CRT in

legal scholarship. CRT is developed with three propositions: 1) Race continues to

be significant in the United States; 2) U.S. society is based on property rights rather

than human rights; and 3) The intersection of race and property creates an analytical

tool for understanding inequity. Although early American sociologists were

concerned with issues of race, they have not fully developed a theory. In the 1920's

and 1930's, African American scholar Carter G. Woodson (1919; 1933) established

that race must be a topic of study, especially for Black scholars. Du Bois (1903), in

his enduring book*, The Souls of Black Folk*, states the problem of the twentieth

century is "the color line." DuBois indicates that the oppression from Europeans

has been lifted legally but the psychological price of racialized oppression is still

taking tax on African Americans. The "Negro" if compared to an Egyptian, Indian,

Greek, Roman, Teuton, and/or Mongolian, "is sort of a seventh son" who is born

with a veil and gifted with a second sight in an American world that yields him no

true self-consciousness. DuBois goes on to highlight that the American Negro is treated as a second class citizen who always feels his "two-ness." As an American and a Negro, with two souls, two thoughts and warring in one dark body and that body's dogged strength alone keeps that body from being torn apart. DuBois "dual consciousness" allowed African Americans to say things about America from an intuitive place with moral validity. Although civil rights leaders in the 1960's provided moral leadership in the area of civil rights despite those gains over 50 years after *the Brown v. Board of Education* decision African Americans students continue to lag behind their White counterparts (Fulton, K. Abercrombie, & Yoon, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Stephens McIntosh & Duren Green, 2005).

Understanding the fundamental processes of minority youth empowerment can best address academic outcomes for African American youth. As Mano Singham (1998), indicated African American students' continued challenges with the achievement gap are a signal, like a "canary in the mine (p. 1)" for miners, that signals there are toxins present in the environment. African American students are a sensitive indicator for the toxic environment of the current American education system. By concentrating on the particular experiences for African American youth and their utilization of social capital resources this study hopes to direct readers towards a more refined answer as to the question of the achievement gap. This achievement gap which other serious economic, political, and societal consequences that can impact all facets of American life (Singham, 1998). Intervention programs that successfully ameliorate the achievement gap for minority and marginalized youth can provide a basis for understanding how intervention programs can empower

youth. The particular lens of social capital via Stanton-Salazar were used to position

this discussion of youth intervention programs that can provide potential benefits to

African American. History, stratification, and racial-cultural considerations were

addressed as well (Hilliard, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). In

this chapter I will review the theories of social capital and the empowerment of

institutional agents by comparing the two main approaches to social capital theory

(i.e. Network vs. Social-Resources). A discussion of youth intervention programs

were offered followed by, empowerment theory and the role institutional agents were

theorized as well as applied to issues relating to African American students. The

importance of Black history to process of an empowering socialization of Black

people will also be provided.

Social Capital in General

Although social capital is a topic that has gained a great deal of currency

within economics, education, and sociology but it has had various definitions. In

relation to the empowerment of minority youth Stanton-Salazar (2001) has defined

social capital as:

> "… a set of properties existing within socially patterned associations that,
> when activated, enable them to accomplish their goals or to empower
> themselves in some meaningful way. Such associations occur between
> individuals…, between individuals in a group…, and between groups within
> a community (p. 265)."

Stanton-Salazar's definition is similar to prior definitions of social capital that

emphasized the growth of the individual's internal psychological growth as well as

their external social growth as Coleman (1988; 1990) and Putnam (2000) have

emphasized in their network and norms based versions of social capital. Stanton-Salazar's work is unique in that it has been informed by Lin's (2001) emphasis on the utilization of the resources within a network as well as the process of empowerment of minority youth. The empowerment that Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2001) has to do with breaking the cycle of the reproduction of inequality that has plagued so many communities where minority youth live. Stanton-Salazar (2001, 2004), for although he has tended to follow Lin in defining social capital, he has on occasion fallen back on the more colloquial understanding of social capital, in terms of social ties and networks that produce resources---and also in terms of those properties that make these ties and networks productive (Stanton-Salazar, 2006a).

According to Stanton-Salazar, his conceptualization of social capital is still evolving, largely due to the varied and sometimes confusing definitions of social capital. His evolution, however, continues to be principally guided by Bourdieu (1986) and the contemporary theoretical work of Nan Lin (2001). At present, Stanton-Salazar (2004, 2006) defines social capital, in specific reference to 'youth empowerment,' as those

> …institutional resources and forms of "institutional support" (vital to youth development and school achievement) accessible through social ties to supportive "agents" *well positioned* in society's stratification systems—ties which can be mobilized when an individual or group wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a purposive action (R. D. Stanton-Salazar, personal communication, May 5, 2006).

Here we see that social capital is principally equated with high-status "resources," yet what makes these resources "social capital" is that they are embedded in social relations with resourceful actors or agents. So to clarify, social capital, as defined by

Stanton-Salazar, is not to be confused with social ties or networks; rather, ties and networks are the conduits through which valued resources flow. The second part of this definition is key; these valued resources are embedded in relations with agents or actors positioned in hierarchies and social networks where high-status resources are regularly allocated to, and shared by, "insiders" (i.e., social class hierarchy, high-status educational systems, high status occupational structures). Access to empowering forms of social capital, in turn, is determined, according to Stanton-Salazar—following Lin (2001)—by "structural assets," embedded either in a collective (e.g., an intervention program or a community), or in dyadic relations (a teacher-student relationship).

A studied example of a program neglected that the issues of equity of access and actually had harmful effects is provided by Hernandez (1995). Hernandez details a well-funded program run by Latina professionals who wanted to "intervene" by giving a presentation to 47 adolescent Latinas from the same community. The young women were treated to fine table clothes, china, and stories about life in the business world. Prior to attending the meeting the adolescent girls were given a survey of their self-efficacy. After hearing about what the adult Latinas did all day at their job the Latina adolescents' self-efficacy scores actually decreased rather than improved. When the Latina girls were asked about the afternoon they thought it was nice but they did not see how they could have a life like that. The life the presenters described appeared superhuman and unlikely. Access to that type of life was outside of where they saw themselves and they were more discouraged about school then ever. The adult Latinas, although from the same neighborhood were seen as the

exception. They did not make a connection with the young ladies nor share how

they made it from that same community to the job. By using sociological

frameworks that identify the processes below the surface researchers can begin to

have a better understanding of the successful outcomes found in programs that truly

intervene in the lives of minority youth (Mehan, Stanon-Salazar, & Vasquez, 2000).

The story of the journey could have told more about how the adult Latinas developed

with in an embedded network and possibly how they used that network to connect

and reconnect to make the meeting possible. It could have provided an opportunity

for the young Latinas to connect with their adult counterparts.

López and Stack (2001) write, "social capital resists simplification (p. 31)."

Robert Putnam (2000) in his book *Bowling Alone* has popularized the term social

capital from the field of sociology. Although Putnam states that social capital is a

relatively new term he acknowledges the ongoing discussion in American life

regarding the tension between intellectuals theorizing their approach to social

problems as being within the "individual" or in the "community." This tension

thereby places the emphasis for solving problems with either school of thought (i.e.

individual vs. group). Those with high status and access to power often do not see

their own power or do those of high status relate to the plight of low status

individuals and the impact community can have on them. High status groups often

assign blame to individuals for their poor living conditions (Payne, 1998). As

families from various groupings assigned power and status in American society

based on race, culture, and/or socioeconomics consider ways to broaden their

opportunities and heighten their access they either limit their own social connections

or make efforts to develop their social capital outside their connections. Social capital theory provides a way for people to better understand the process of educational opportunity and success experienced by students in American public schools. In the United Kingdom, the National College on School Leadership (NCSL) as a part of their report on successful leadership identifies "expanding the proportion of student's social capital valued by schools" as successful school leaders response to the opportunities and challenges of education diverse groups of students (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003). NCSL, in regards to social capital states,

> The value of social capital depends in part on what people in the school choose to count as educationally useful. To succeed with diverse students, teachers, and others in schools must choose to view… relationships… built on trust, deep familiarity and genuine appreciation for the assets for the family or community… School leaders can promote equity and justice for all students by establishing school climates where patterns of discrimination are challenged and negated. (pg. 9)

Social capital development is seen today as an important part of addressing educational outcomes but especially for African American and other disenfranchised students who have not been fully integrated into the school setting (Carter, 2005). Personal connections and social networks can be resources of economic, cultural, political, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Attainments in this society for youth in educational and socioeconomic realms have been the study of various researchers (Granovetter, 1973; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Sullivan, 1989). Personal networks also provide socio-psychological benefits to individuals thirsting for inclusion in a community such as a peer group, church, or social organization (Coleman, 1988).

Within the past two decades there has been a growth in research that addresses the integration processes within American society (Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2000), specifically within the school and community (Coleman, 1988, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Tinto, 1993). Much of the research has typically come from middle class, European, and functionalist perspectives (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000). Hernandez (1995), details a well-funded program run by Latina professionals who wanted to "intervene" by giving a presentation to 47 adolescent Latinas from the same community. The young women were treated to fine table clothes, china, and stories about life in the business world. Prior to attending the meeting the adolescent girls were given a survey of their self-efficacy. After hearing about what the adult Latinas did all day at their job the Latina adolescents' self-efficacy scores actually decreased rather than improved. When the Latina girls were asked about the afternoon they thought it was nice but they did not see how they could have a life like that. The life the presenters described appeared superhuman and unlikely. Access to that type of life was outside of where they saw themselves and they were more discouraged about school then ever. The adult Latinas, although from the same neighborhood were seen as the exception. They did not make a connection with the young ladies nor share how they made it from that same community to the job. America has consistently validated European-American ideas within the academy (Theoharis, 2004) and in popular press (Martin-Barbero, Fox, & White, 1994; Richardson, 1994). There have been exceptions to the continued use of the hegemonic European-American perspective to look at educational settings (Carter, 2005; Orr, 1998; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). But the concept of social integration within

functionalist ideology (also know as a "network's approach) is so engrained within

scholarship and training programs that it is difficult to find alternatives. The failure

of colleges and public schools too socially integrate students is seen as the core of

the problem of student underachievement. Lin (2001) and Stanton-Salazar's (2001)

critique of the network approach provides the basis of the following review by

separating the major social capital theorist into two schools of thought. One is the

normative-functionalist approach (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) and the other is

the social-resources (Burt, 1995; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001; Stanton Salazar,

2001).

Normative-Functionalist Approach to Social Capital

As introduced in Chapter 1 and discussed at the beginning of this chapter as

detailed by Stanton-Salazar's 4 dimensions (2006b), social mediums; ties, networks,

are best thought of as conduits by which communities and/or sub-cultural groups

utilize social networks to achieve Durkheim's (1897/1951) social integration. The

properties or characteristics of the social medium have to do with the strength or the

relationship of tie, the amount of trust, and/or social closure within a network.

Understanding the rules and norms, help-seeking, and volunteerism, as well as trust

are essential parts of achieving Durkehiem's "moral integration" into a community.

A process for how social closure helps to develop a social network (Coleman, 1988)

that can promote greater civic engagement (Putnam, 2000) and even deviant

behavior (Portes, 1998), is the basis of the normative-functionalist approach. For

Coleman (1988) social capital makes possible achievement that in its absence would

not be possible. And when a group takes part in decision making that group's members becomes familiar with each other (sociability), and eventually achieves social closure they have developed a social network that can sustain the development of its youth institutions that are important to society.

In his often-cited article "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," Coleman (1988) introduces social capital as well as illustrates and describes the forms of social capital. Coleman's aim was, "to import the economists' principle of rational action for the use in the analysis of social system… without discarding the social organization process (p. 97)." Coleman viewed social capital as a conceptual tool for achieving his aim of understanding the creation of human capital. For Coleman, social capital was defined by its function to help people to achieve certain ends. Coleman offers examples of populations that use social networking as means to efficiently sustain income, promote political action, secure childcare without pay, and sustain a collaborative economy in an open air market via trust instead of paperwork. He goes on to highlight that expectations, obligations, social norms, and trustworthiness as key facets of a social capital network. Trust within a structure follows this logic.

> If A does something for B and trusts B to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation of the part of B. This obligation can be conceived as a credit slip held by A for performance by B. If A holds a large number of these credits… A can call in if necessary— unless then, of course, the placement of trust has been unwise, and there are bad debts that will not be repaid (p. 102).

The concentration of obligations constitutes social capital that is useful for legislators. Those in the "club" or the "Senate" are more powerful than those outside

the club. Information is vital in these "clubs." Norms and effective sanctions for not

complying with these norms can constitute a powerful form of social capital.

Coleman's concept of social closure occurs within social structure and is important

only for the existence of effective norms that lead to a level of trustworthiness that

allows for the proliferation of obligations and expectations. If a social structure is

not closed within a community the only way a person can be sanctioned (if at all) is

by the person to whom the obligation is owed. Reputation can not grow in an open

structure. Coleman's article also showed that social capital in the family and social

capital outside the family produce evidence of a reduction of the probability of

dropping out of high school. For Coleman a family can lack social capital if there

are not strong relations between the child and the parents, especially as a result of the

child being embedded in youth culture and the parent lacking the ability to develop

other contacts.

Coleman (1988) also analyzed the *High School and Beyond* (HSB) random

sample of over 4000 high school students. Students were from 893 public schools,

84 Catholic schools, and 27 other private schools. The variables for the HSB study

were measures of family's finances, human and social capital as socioeconomic

status, race, Hispanic ethnicity, number of siblings, number of changes in school due

to family moves etc. The results took into account the differences of students'

religion at all public and private schools as well as socioeconomic background and

still came to the following findings. Catholic students had a lower dropout rate than

their counterparts in public school and other private schools. The rate was a fourth

of public schools and a third of other private schools. These findings were attributed

47

to the frequency of attendance at religious services, which was explained by Coleman as creating a measure of social capital via social closure, more specifically intergenerational closure via family and extended kin networks. Other religious congregations such as Baptist and Jewish also showed a lower dropout rate. This provided evidence of social capital outside the school in the adult community for this outcome of education. Coleman ends the article by almost prophetically directing the reader to Putnam's (2000) work in regards to society substituting more formal organizations for the voluntary and spontaneous social organizations such as churches, fraternal lodges, and/or bowling clubs. For Coleman, people are investing too little effort in developing their social capital. Moreover, Coleman is concerned with social closure and conformity to group norms via rules and societal sanctions. Coleman's theories work well for those who are easily integrated into society. However, low-status individuals and groups are often consciously or unconsciously aware of how they are denied or accepted into a society, especially within America's system of hierarchy (Lin, 2000; 2001) and stratification (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Even within school settings that provide access to the school site, once low-status and/or minority students are granted access there are differential opportunities within the school setting (Noguera, 1999; Singham, 1998; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Croninger and Lee (2001) have found similar results. The guidance of and assistance of teachers is especially helpful to improving student outcomes. Using data from the National Education Longitudinal Study, they addressed whether social capital would reduce the likelihood of students dropping out of school between the tenth and twelfth grade. Over 1000 high schools yielded results from 11,000

adolescents in public and private high schools. Social capital, following Coleman's functional model (network as an ends model), was measured in two ways—students' beliefs about their tenth grade teachers support of their efforts to succeed in school and teacher reports about whether individual tenth grade students receive guidance from teachers about school and personal matters. Croninger and Lee's study was unique in that it addressed teachers as sources of social capital. Their findings were that students benefit from being able to draw on social capital through their relationships with teachers. These trusting relationships where students received support from their teachers made the students more likely to persist through till graduation. Students at serious risk of dropping out appeared to benefit most from the support of teachers. The findings did not address the scope, frequency, or quality of the interactions with teachers and they suggest further study. Croninger and Lee also lament that roughly half of socially at-risk students enter high school without prior academic problems; they are only half as likely to complete high school as their more socially advantaged peers. However supportive the teachers were to students, their efforts did not diminish negative effects of identified risk factors of poverty, low educational attainment by parents, minority status, or family composition. For Croninger and Lee, important issues of equity and social justice deserve attention beyond just looking at behavioral factors. In this study, it appears that social closure was not enough in this study to ameliorate the effects.

Political scientist, Robert Putnam (2000), views social capital as a source of strength for a society. According to Putnam, although social capital has been described in a variety of ways in the literature a common theme revolves around how

49

our life is made productive by social ties. Putnam goes on to indicate the "bridging" social capital provides a sociological smoothing agent as opposed to bonding, which bonds elite people into a tighter social network and creates antagonism. Even the debate on social capital has been a continuation of American intellectuals in regards to individualism against community for preeminence in the American psyche.

Examples of these challenges are of African American military officers who after World War I and II were not able to find work that meet their prior experience. This dilemma is indicative of the many injustices that produced the friction of societal forces that brought about the civil rights movement. A rise of African American's use of social capital for political means generated the momentum necessary to desegregate schools and to bring about other educational reforms. For many educators minority students are integrated into school culture through invisible processes. Minority students' disengagement from school can follow the same type of invisible processes. For those from the functionalist perspective key aspects or functions of social structure propel engagement, learning, and achievement. Through relational processes many social supports (e.g. parents, peers, and school personnel) function to socialize youth into a particular psycho-social orientation. Youth are rewarded for conforming to a social system that serves everyone who submits to that system.

However, low-status and minority youth who do not conform are often more severely punished by the system and denied educational opportunity (Hilliard, 2003b; Townsend, 2000). The codes of power (Delpit, 1995) are often uncritically taught to low-status and minority youth so that they can decode and critique the

system, especially to African American students in higher education (Cook-Morales, 1992; Woodson, 1933). Carter G. Woodson (1993) gave an example of an African American English Professor who was asked by an officer of a Historically Black College to teach a course on Negro history. The professor promptly replied to the college officer that he "knew nothing about the Negro." The professor also added that he "did not go to school to waste his time in that way (p. 1)." Woodson critiqued that the professor, "went on to be educated by a system which dismisses the Negro as a nonentity (p. 2)." In regards to secondary schooling an example of a White instructor at a

> "Negro summer school (who) gave a course on the Negro, using for his text a work which teaches that whites are superior to blacks. When asked by one of the students why he used such a textbook the instructor replied that he wanted them to get that point of view (p.2).

Woodson provides an example of internalized oppression in the African American professor and direct oppression by the White teacher and a clear example of how a school can reproduce the inequality that leads to a denial of opportunities and low academic outcomes for African American youth. The students' family is often seen as being responsible for initiating and continuing the conformity to the system (Harry & Kalyanpu, 1999). The school is seen as the second chance, and in some instances, the last hope for youth as they become a part of society as productive citizens, or as Woodson and others have detailed a place that reproduces inequality (Lin, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

There have been noted limitations of the normative-functionalist approach. Controversies within the field of social capital have been outlined by Lin (1999). By

looking only at collective or individual assets (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) the problem arises with confounding norms of trust. Trust could be seen as an after effect rather than a central component (Lin, 2005). In addressing Putnam's (2000) work of binding or bridging versions of social capital, Lin (2005) states, "Social capital does not bind or bridge. It is the nature of the social networks that bind, bond or bridge (p. 14)."

Closure of group norms for a dense network (Bourdieu, 1975; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) leads to a problematic vision of class and society and an absence of mobility. According to some scholars (Lin, 2001; Portes, 1998), issues of tautology, as indicated by its effect in particular action, limit Coleman's (1998) network theory of social capital. Coleman has related social capital to being any "social-structural" resource. In other words, if following Putnam's (2000) examples of social capital leading to greater civic engagement, then one would assume that if your community is successful it is engaged in civic activities and the measure of engagement is based on a comminutes level of engaging in civic activities. To give an example of this type of circular reasoning, Landholt and Portes (1996) provided an example of a student who obtains money to pay for college tuition from her family members as social capital. However, if that student had no tuition they would not have social capital. Landholt and Portes offer the idea that the unsuccessful student may have highly supportive social networks that simply lack the economic means. This type of reasoning can cause a social blindness to the inequalities that minorities may be subjected to (Lopez & Stack, 2001). Similar to the results of Croninger and Lee (2001), Coleman's model of social capital identified that despite

the support of caring educators the effects of poverty and low status cannot be addressed in a way that provides better educational outcomes. Educators may unconsciously or even consciously assume that because a student comes from a poor economic community that their family does not care about education or that they can not do anything about the "risk factors." If policy decisions are based on this limited view of social capital it can lead to an inequality of access to resources (Lin, 2000). As indicated before, the emphasis on social closure and norms can explain the ruling classes' unconscious efforts to maintain privilege.

Also ascribed to Coleman, are efforts at measurement of social capital, which are seen by Lin as not quantifiable since the heuristic methodology is not falsifiable. Seen in this light as a reproduction of elite social capital and/or a reproduction of deviant behavior, broad assumptions can be and have been made, which have diluted the power of the term social capital. As Portes (1998) has pointed out social capital can be a theory to explain the deviant behavior of organized crime with its' closed norms and trust and/or the growth of religious institutions that promote goodness. Application of the term social capital to broad groups in relation to norms and public goods can leave social capital vulnerable to becoming another trend term in regards to social integration. Although many scholars agreed that social capital can be applied to collective and individual goods, Lin (2001) and Portes (1998) argue that social capital theory is best applied when seen as an individual relational asset not broadly applied to groups in an effort to explain their social structure. Stanton-Salazar (1997) suggests that marginalized youth must be helped individually to understand the codes of power that make up the networks in schools. If they are not

given access to the codes of power, school programs based on the normative-functionalist approach, Stanton-Salazar (1997) writes, "will only function as 'kinder and gentler' mechanisms of social production rather than as one authentic mechanism for the democratization of our school system and society (p. 34)."

To summarize, the network approach used by researchers who agree with Coleman's functionalist perspective of social capital as a means to an end, trust, norms, and sanctions are vitally important to creating social closure. Within social closure, a group's social capital based on "credit slips" of expected information, favors, and ongoing support grows until one has power in a way similar to a legislator to cash in on one's social capital. Coleman's (1988) important work provided evidence that adults in surrounding communities can have a positive impact on educational outcomes. Croninger and Lee (2001) extended Coleman's work and provided evidence that students, especially students at-risk of dropping out of high school, benefit from the support of their teachers. These findings also showed that even if students were helped by well-intentioned education professionals, students who come from challenging situations where poverty and low status are a part of their lives still find it difficult to finish high school. The popular work of Putnam (2000) explains some of the aspects of communal social capital where social closure is achieved through bonding and/or bridging to other communities. Critics of the normative-functionalist approach argue that issues of inequality, elitism in bonded or socially closed communities, and/or tautological problems plague this version of social capital. These critics state that social capital is not gained only within the normative-functionalist model of shared trust but when the resources are delivered.

Written another way, until all the "credits slips" are cashed in there is no social capital. That same social capital that is helpful to the person cashing in can be detrimental to the person losing the cash (López & Stack, 2001). School based programs must consider how to address issues of inequality and empower youth or social reproduction will bring more inequality. The next section will provide a discussion of the social resources approach, which especially will address the issues of low status or minority communities and the youth who live in those communities.

Social Resources Approach to Social Capital

For Lin (2001), "social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in purposive action (p. 24)." Through strong ties, such as family and weak ties such as important friends that are connected to helpful resources, social capital can be developed. Social capital is the social structure that contains the network of strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1982; Stanton-Salazar, 2006). Lin's work on social capital provides a more detailed look at the type of resources and networks in which individuals develop. There are expressive actions that seek solidarity with the strong ties and there are instrumental actions that seek gains in resources via weak ties. The nature of the networks dictates the actions (Lin, 2005). For Lin (2001), the requirement of network density or closure is neither necessary nor realistic as other theorists have posited (Coleman, 1988; Granoevetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000). It is important to acknowledge the significance of bridges, structural holes (Burt, 1995), or weak ties to further network connections. Social

capital as conceptualized by Lin is better viewed by what outcomes and under what conditions denser networks might be generated. Social capital as conceptualized by Lin disentangles the 4 dimensions outlined by Stanton-Salazar in his typology (2006b).

The powerlessness and/or redefinition and use of power that occurs in response to negative hegemonic messages are not fully addressed in the literature when following the normative-functionalist approach (Lopez & Stack, 2001). Fortunately, Lin, (1999, 2000, 2001, 2005), Stanton-Salazar (1997, 2001, 2004), Orr (1998), and Carter (2005) have looked into the fulfillment of social resources. Their work has helped to highlight where the normative-functionalist approach may have been used to reproduce and inculcate messages of racists, classist, and sexist myths that underlie the socialization process. In other words the normative-functionalist approach had little or no capital returns for those considered "low status" in American society.

As discussed in Chapter One, Hernandez's (1995) study of Latina females indicates that the young participants' self-efficacy dropped even though they were in contact with high status Latina females. The informational resource of how to make it from the neighborhood middle school to the boardroom was not discussed. For the students, the adult Latinas boardroom lifestyle was outside of where they saw themselves and they were more discouraged about school then ever after hearing about the boardroom. Hernandez's study is a reminder that when adults are developing intervention programs, they should especially consider their ability to provide information that will directly show students how to make it from where their

school to a positive outcome. The expectation was high from the students view and the adults view and the program's low outcomes show that it did not deliver on that expectation. The issues of the return on resources are important to consider when looking at intervention programs that actually deliver the products of better academic and social resources to disenfranchised minority youth.

Although much of Putnam's (2000) work is from the normative-functionalist approach a review of some of his tenants is necessary here. For Putnam, "social capital theory is that social networks have a value… social contracts affect the productivity of individuals and groups… Social capital can be a 'private good' and a 'public good' (p. 19)." Putnam also acknowledges the difficulty of being discriminated against and being kept outside a social network and that people within a social network can band together for deviant behavior. Putnam writes, "Social capital, in short can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial purposes, just like any other form of capital (p. 22)." Communities can "bond" together in an exclusive manner or bridge to other communities in an inclusive fashion. Much of Putnam's work has been to look at how communities bond and bridge through social networks.

Orr's (1998) work addresses the political mobilization processes of Baltimore, Maryland's African Americans community in regard to school reform. Orr's critique of Putman's (2000), and similar normative-functionalist's approaches to the utilization of social capital, is that it does not consider that there needs to be more than a smoothing agent or bridge to promote connections between groups that have traditionally been at odds. Despite efforts made by civil rights leaders, America continues to have examples of discrimination, institutionalized racial segregation,

and persistently low academic outcomes in the school setting for low-status youth

(Harry & Kalyanpu, 1999; Hilliard, 1995; Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995). The hard work of racial reconciliation and other types of challenging

solutions to dissolve the years of oppression of African American people takes effort

that is sometimes not rewarded. A flaw in the social capital argument, as highlighted

by Orr, is that social capital, as Putnam (2000) theorized it, did not consider the

difficulty in transferring intragroup to intergroup social capital (1999).

Portes (1998) agrees with Orr, in that social capital is a theory that is best

applied to individuals within a network not the groups in that network. For Orr, the

density of the networks could be better measured using Lin's (2000) theories as well

as Stanton-Salazar's (2004, 2006b) latest theories in relation to empowering low-

status students and minorities to counter stratification and oppression. Overall, more

work needs to be done in regards to addressing more individually based networks of

African Americans (Montiel & Wright, 2006).

Carter's (2005) work brought the voices of minority youth in urban schools.

In Carter's study the majority of the African American and Latino students surveyed

indicated that they believe education rarely pays off in the future for persons like

them. Carter argues that for too many minority students schools are unsupportive,

alienating spaces that devalue youths' "cultural codes" and disregard their academic

concerns. Works like these are types that Stanton-Salazar (1997) encourages

scholars to engage in. For Stanton-Salazar (2001), works that are set within the

normative-functionalist approach are ahistorical, miss the issues of class

stratification, racialization, and patriarchy that dominate our segregated American

society. Works that look at how social antagonisms and divisions existing in the wider society operate to undermine minority youth's access to opportunities and resources should be conducted. Researchers should also be mindful not to take for granted that the middle-class family, community, and school networks help to sustain and reproduce their current social structure (Lareau & Horvart, 1999; Hout & Barnhouse-Walters, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Stanton-Salazar (1997) has offered a network framework for understanding socialization and schooling experiences of racial minority youth. To go beyond other theorists who examined the role of others such as teachers and adults in the surrounding community (Coleman, 1988; Croninger & Lee, 2001), Stanton-Salazar (2001), looked closely at the relationship between youth and institutional agents (e.g. teachers, counselors) and the role that the institutional agents played in the context that minority youth had to navigate. In other words, Stanton-Salazar's work answers questions of response to teachers' support that Croninger and Lee (2001) had about at-risk youth due to poverty and low status. Although, only a few of the students in Stanton-Salazar's study are taught how to decode the school systems by tapping into the cultural logic of those that know how to work within the network of the dominant group, the majority of the students did not have that type of direct support. The institutional agents must be acting with a purposeful agenda for students to benefit. If they are not, then the students must be purposeful themselves about obtaining the codes of power. For racial minority youth, discourse that is offered in school is largely based on the assumption of an agreed upon middle class understanding that is supposed to be reinforced at home. However, if even the dialogue to explain the

codes needs to be decoded, school can be an incredibly alienating place. The bureaucratic process grinds ahead while students and their families try to learn how to get the form to fill out. Teachers are caught in between maintaining an aura of middle-class assumption and really wanting to help. This can create an ambiguous relationship, which is not very good for support. This ambiguity gives way to a generalized exchange or "one-size-fits-all" approach to school based programs that reproduce inequality by maintaining the status quo. After all the effort of programs that still have not improved outcomes for minority youth, racialized antagonisms are seen as the reason for the continued challenges. Barriers are created and secretaries and administrators stay behind their desks and meet out punishment and/or promises based on paper or computer scores. Immigrant communities succeed (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991) by developing ties despite of the school system and create their own language for decoding the system, especially when schools are unable to do so for large amounts of students. Learning to decode the system and participation in power is a way that students can come to understand the educational system and how to overcome any direct or indirect efforts to oppress their academic success.

Learning to be "multicultural" navigators (Carter, 2005) is more beneficial than assimilating into a socially closed community. For Carter,

> "multicultural navigators demonstrate how to posses both dominant and nondominant (sic) cultural capital and how to be adept at movement through various sociocultural settings, where cultural codes and cultural rules differ… Multicultural navigators possess some of the appeal of hip-hop stars, not because of fame, but because they can keep youths invested in the dream of upward mobility and show them how to retain their social and cultural origins (p. 150)."

Carter goes on to write that adult models are necessary in order for students to become multicultural navigators. To be middle-class, educated, Black or Latino is not enough to qualify as a multicultural navigator—although these attributes can help. An adult must work to narrow the social divide between their privilege and a child's disadvantage. Communicating the values of both dominant and non-dominant cultural capital does this. Multicultural navigation is not simply switching codes but demonstrating how to negotiate and in some cases penetrate impenetrable boundaries of an opportunity structure without forsaking a child's origins from a class, ethnic, or racial perspective in a stratified society. Moreover, the multicultural navigator does not try to defuse youth's political consciousness about their social groups' standing in society, especially when structures of inequality remain rigid. Too many minority students who are trying to be successful in school are doing it alone and often have to make a violent choice between continuing to understand and identify with their community or identify with the dominant culture. It does not and should not be this way if educators are going to empower minority youth.

Similar to Carter's (2005) multicultural navigators, Stanton-Salazar's (1997) words on institutional agents help describe the type of exceptional person who can best support interventions in the lives of low-status and minority youth. Institutional agents are those "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of, institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)." Stanton-Salazar's (2001) work directs readers to consider that there is a tension between the varied roles of school personnel. A discussion of the pressures to reproduce the established social order and ways for students to break free of that

order can highlight the potential for the transformative power of students and staff members in their efforts at counter-stratification. Stanton-Salazar's illustration of Latino adolescents and the stratification and counter-stratification forces that impact their individual and peer group dynamics is one of the few illustrations of social capital theories as applied to education and especially minority youth. Many institutional agents are people who have access to resources and are linked to positions high in the social structure (i.e., people in power, and who 'control the gate' and the resources within the gate. This is in line with Lin's (2001) social resources approach. The gatekeepers provide institutional support exercised by institutional agents to advance the mechanisms of "counter-stratification" and the transcendence of class and racial oppression---as played out in the lives and schooling of working class minority youth (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2001). Stanton-Salazar, through qualitative interviews with several students, was able to isolate particular characteristics of helpful school-based agents (i.e. teachers, counselors, and other staff members) who made connections with students. Some of the findings were counter-intuitive: in that staff members seen as trustworthy and supportive to students were not always the same ethnicity or culturally identified as the students (i.e. Latino student with a White school counselor). However, if the codes of power are translated for a good result for a student, does it matter where they come from?

As the codes of power that stratify classes with American education institutions are rarely seen by those in power and in the classroom, teachers often do not see a need to address let alone teach these codes (Delpit, 1995). Lareau and McNamara (1999), in their study of middle-class students and their parents from a

Bouridieuaen perspective, found that school staff thought they welcomed parent involvement and believed that their requests for the increased involvement of parents were status neutral, technically correct, and would promote higher levels of student achievement. However, there were contrary findings due to issues of a history of oppressive efforts on the part of the local school districts and African American family's utilization of an adaptive response that remained in place in absence of the schools efforts to acknowledge this history. A strong sensitivity to perceived and direct threats of racial injustice can lead to confrontations with teachers and staff via critiques of school staff. The "neutral" school staffers responded positively and were open to parents who praised them but closed their bridges to parents who critiqued their efforts. White parents were for the most part unaware of any problems that African American parents may have had. Those White parents that did acknowledge that there were other racist parents did not need to discuss such issues. Within this interaction between a school and community Lareau provides an example of the social reproduction of separate messages of access and opportunity that impact the lives of staff and students of various statuses (i.e. in this case race was the status symbol) even within the same schools.

School staff and community members who are sensitive to the issues of social reproduction that create tension between traditionally marginalized communities can help to be a buffer between the insensitivity of the school by utilizing their knowledge from the contextualized experiences of people they serve. The next section will provide a more in-depth look at programs and community

leaders who help to provide access via bridges to greater opportunity in schools and community programs.

The limitations of Lin's 'social resources approach' are that issues of oppression and internalized oppression are not addressed—and Lin's model was never designed to engage the social reproduction of inequality—as seen in Bourdieu's work, and in the work of Stanton-Salazar. As applied to education, program staff members and program participants must both be engaged in an effort to deal with oppression as they learn to engage institutional agents and gate-keepers, and as they learn to access key resources linked to positions in the upper levels of the hierarchy. In dealing with racialized issues such as America's achievement gap, this challenge is not easy and often uncomfortable even for people who are accustomed to challenging the status quo (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Orr, 1998). For example, certain institutions within the African American community such as the African American church, utilize social capital by mixing of status, by bonding, and by bridging across status. This appears to be a less hierarchical model (Putnam, 2000) but status is not so simply defined in the Black community as it has layers, especially at church (Dyson, 2005). Few have gone on to analyze the dynamics in strengths and limitations of Putnam's example as it relates to the impact of the reproduction and efforts to counter oppressive hierarchical positions of status. Although Orr (1998) does not directly specify whether or not she is writing from the normative-functionalist or social-resources frameworks, as stated in the "normative-functionalist approach" section of this chapter, Orr takes issue with the limitations of Putnam's work that is ground in that normative functionalist paradigm. For Orr,

"Black social capital" is viewed as a way to increase individual bonds but has the limitation of reducing bridges to others due to ethnic specific politics. During the civil rights movement in the south, as Lin (2000) writes, "Black social capital" had to do with ties to New York White foundations that bankrolled a good part of the movement.

Burt (1995) would describe this connection as "holes" in networks of the social structure. For example, Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railway was not really a railway but a social network that people used to help support African captive-slaves who escaped from the South of America to the Northern parts of the American Continent. The people that helped the captives escape sometimes literally provided holes in structures, but more importantly for our purpose holes in the racist and segregated structure of the ante-bellum South. To some degree, Lin (2001) identified remnants of the abolitionists' support from the north to the south. This connection (e.g. financial, intellectual via Freedom Riders) helping to bring about a transformation in civil rights politics that changed the way America views social structures based on race and the issues of that time continue to plague education (Kozol, 2005; McIntosh & Duren-Green, 2005). As researchers look to solve the challenge of the achievement gap between African American and White American students, they would do well to learn the processes of programs and their program leaders who act as institutional agents who go out and make holes and/or navigate systems so youth can have links to important social networks.

Stanton-Salazar (2001) has addressed issues of status and access of American "minorities" in his efforts to address the plight of racial minority youth in their efforts to access greater opportunities in schools. As educators it is good to understand the process of how students via kinship networks, school, and community environments gain access to resources that will deliver better educational outcomes. For social resources theorists at this point in history it is still worth the effort even though neither the normative-functionalist nor the social resources approaches have been practically applied to the empowerment of minority youth.

To summarize, "social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in purposive action (Lin, 2001/p. 24)." The powerlessness and/or redefinition and use of power that occurs in response to negative hegemonic messages are not fully addressed in the literature when following the normative-functionalist approach (Lopez & Stack, 2001). Orr's (1998) work addresses the political mobilization processes of Baltimore's African American community in regard to school reform but more work needs to be done in regards to addressing more individually based networks of African Americans. Portes (1998) agrees with Orr in that social capital is a theory best applied to individuals within a network, not the groups in that network. For Orr, as it relates to African American social capital, the density of the networks could be better measured using Lin's (2005) and Stanton-Salzaar's (2001) theories. Carter (2005) has brought the voices of minority youth in urban schools. In Carter's work the majority of the African American and Latino students surveyed indicated that they believe education rarely

pays off in the future for persons like them and that multicultural navigators can help

students to see that they do not have to lose who they are while earning an education.

Stanton-Salazar's (1997) framework for understanding socialization and schooling

experiences of racial minority youth shows that although most students may want to

take advantage of opportunities at school, understanding the codes of power at

school makes it difficult for the students to do so. Researchers should also be

mindful not to take for granted that the middle-class family, community, and school

networks help to sustain and reproduce their current social structure (Lareau &

Horvart, 1999; Hout & Barnhouse-Walters, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Loreau and Hovart (2000) provide an example of the social reproduction of separate

messages of access and opportunity that impact the lives of staff and students of

various statuses (i.e. in this case race was the status symbol) even within the same

schools. Stanton-Salazar's (2001) work also directs readers to consider that a tension

between the varied roles of school personnel and the pressures to reproduce the

established social order as well as provide ways to students to break free of that order

provides students and staff with the potential for transformational power. The

limitations of the social resources approach show that if the issues of internalized

oppression are not addressed, then the reproduction of inequality will continue. For

social resources theorists, even at this point in history, it is still worth the effort even

though neither the network approaches nor the social resources approach been

practically applied to the empowerment of all populations.

Balance Between Normative-Functionalist and Social Resources Approaches

A persistent problem with the social capital approach is the overall

elusiveness of consistent terminology even among theorists' own works (Coleman,

1988; Orr, 1998; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Stanton-

Salazar's (personal communication, January 31, 2006) 4 dimensional

conceptualization of social capital alleviates these problems. Social capital theory is

following a paradigm shift model and is going through the testing phase. As applied

to education it has evolved from getting researchers to provide evidence that adults

in the community can have an impact (Coleman, 1988; Croinger and Lee, 2001).

Then it branched out to how communities can develop political capital through social

capital (Orr, 1998; Putnam, 2000). The process by which inequality has developed

has been described (Lin, 2000) as well as a detailed analysis of the process by which

social capital works to empower minority youth. It also describes, how lack of

access to the networks can serve to disenfranchise youth (Stanton-Salazar, 1997,

2001). Perhaps, it is a balance between the two.

An example of the application of the empowerment of minority youth via

social capital resources is offered next because all the theoretical discussion from

either camp does little unless it is applied to real social settings.

Illustration of Social Capital

Stanton-Salazar (personal communication, May 16, 2006) has provided the

framework for the following illustration, but it is an illustration from my own

experience. In reviewing Lin's concept of positional resources, it is good to consider

"people have access to the reputation of others (2001)." The following is an experience of the author within the lens of social capital theory.

An after school program leader at high school wants to take students to the Black College Expo. The program leader does not have tickets or transportation. The program leader learns that the high school career center where he works is making available tickets to various schools within the school district but the school district has not widely advertised the event. The program leader goes to the career center with his ten students. The program leader "gets the run around" (forms, application process, red-tape); kids see program leader frustrated—Black College Expo is two weeks away, and the program leader wants tickets as well as transportation. In front of his students the program leader tells career center staffer that he will return tomorrow. On the way out to his car (with kids nearby) the program leader makes a phone call to a friend well known in the philanthropic community— has a reputation, prestige, name-recognition. The students hear the program leader ask the person on the phone, "Do you have Brother Johnson's phone number because I need to get some kids to the Black College Expo?" The program leader looks up and says to his students as he is dialing the next number, "Watch this…" The program leader sees an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone: 1) get tickets via his Social Capital; 2) and model "empowering coping behavior" (mobilizing resources). He says as the next person is on the line, "I am a fraternity Brother of Mr. Johnson and he has reserved ten tickets for me. He asks that you please call and verify that our

tickets were available at the will call at the Black College Expo." There is a pause. The leader wonders about his weak tie to Mr. Johnson for a brief moment but after the representative from the Black College Expo returns to the phone the program leader has a smile. He hangs up the phone and tells the students to remember to get to the school early because we want to arrive at the Black College Expo on time so we can receive prizes and a seat at the entertainment as guests of Mr. Johnson.

On the day of the Black College Expo the ten students and the program leader meet Mr. Johnson at their school with five men wearing the same color t-shirts as the program leader with Greek letters on the chest of the t-shirts. Mr. Johnson is dressed the same as well. The students say to the program leader, "What does that stuff on your shirt say?" The program leader tells them, "They are Greek fraternity letters." One student responds, "Oh, well you Greeks, got some juice." For the student, the term "Juice" is equated with the power the program leader has demonstrated *via* his connection to Mr. Johnson; Mr. Johnson is the one with the 'reputation' and the power. For Lin, the program leader, indeed, has "social capital," in terms of his INDIRECT access to Mr. Johnson's reputation and Johnson's own stock of social capital. Here, the program leader's *social capital* is rooted in Mr. Johnson's direct possession of resources as well as Johnson's 'social capital,' which the program leader has access to, given his long-term *investments* in his relationship with Mr. Johnson.

From this illustration Putnam's bridges (2000) can help explain access. Coleman's social closure (1988) of the fraternity brothers relate to trust and social norms. The conduit of the connection to collective assets (Lin, 2001) and power that Mr. Johnson had via the resources is better for explaining the dynamics of the delivery system that allowed the program leader to model the discourse of power for his students (Bourdieu, 1975; Delpit, 1995). Resources, while not accessed directly can be made available from the students' ties to the program leader (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Lin's collective assets provide a more coherent definition to work with.

Intervention Programs

In this section there were a review of successful school based programs, as critiqued within the theory of social capital, institutional agents evidence of modeling empowerment for youth, and instances where the institutions, programs, or agents have used their connections to advance the programs goals. The effort to build both kinds of social capital for poor children and those out of the typical American mainstream of access to opportunity such as African American (Gordon, 2005) is of vital importance to the education of American students today. This next section will look at education programs that have demonstrated academic success with students from minority communities through an analysis of the program's efforts to address Clark's and Estes's (2002) indicators of motivation (i.e. active choice, mental effort, and persistence) as well as develop and utilize the principles of social capital. For Maeroff (1998), a sense of connectedness, well-being, academic initiative, and knowing provide the four characteristics that lead to a semblance of

71

social capital available to other children by virtue of socioeconomic status. The network resources created by way of social capital development can serve to neutralize the effects of psychologically damaging and/or socially discouraging deleterious societal forces. These resources can also help to maintain a high level of self-regard and motivation.

Case studies of Puente students highlight how the social capital bridges function along Latino student's pathways to their college and career. The five bridges for the Puente program are: families, teachers, counselors, mentors, and peers in the project (Cooper, 2002). Families help to navigate between moral paths, either good or bad. Responsibility to family is seen as both a resource and challenge to students. Teachers/School staff can serve as "cultural brokers" when they share experiences about dreams and plans for life after high school. This type of broker support is needed, especially for those first in the family to attend college as students' complicated responsibilities, financial challenges, and their own choices regarding their level of commitment can make the path to college uncertain (Tinto, 1993). Mentors act as brokers by mediating improved parental relationships and helping students to define and redefine success when grades slipped or when peers saw them improve. Mentors went on field trips and talked about the future. Mentoring offers students a purpose for staying in school by providing a future orientation whether or not the student continues on to college. A peer group can help to make the world of education more appealing and/or provide alternative new peer group. This is important to the development of life long learning. When youth encounter friends who now see them in a negative light as a "college-boy/girl" who

72

left the neighborhood or someone who can no longer relate, the youth at least have their alternative or new peer group to reinforce their new college-educated orientation.

Maeroff's sense of connectedness is similar to Coleman's (1988) form of social capital with the issues of social closure and trust as well as the collective assets of the social resource framework (Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). In prior sections and specifically as Stanton-Salazar's (2006b) 4 dimensions of social capital has indicated, just because a youth can feel connected does not mean that the youth is empowered. Maeroff's sense of knowing also has similarities to Bourdieu's (1986) "cultural capital" and the "strategic socialization" of Mehan, Stanton-Salazar, and Vasquez (2002).

McLaughlin, Irby, and Langhan (1994) highlight six organizations that attract and retain youth in their programs. The organizations are not similar in program focus or physical environment. Examples of the programs highlighted are a gang alternative program, Girl Scout Troop, gymnastics team, and multipurpose center. The effective programs provide intentional learning environments that are youth-centered, knowledge-centered, assessment-centered, and caring. Successful youth organizations look remarkably like settlement houses at the beginning of the 20th century with a commitment to neighborhood, focus on wellness, multi-generational services, and commitment to ethnic sensitivity. The conclusions of the authors of Urban Sanctuaries found support for the alternative hypothesis that horizon-expanding schools foster more learning than do norm-enforcing schools.

McLaughlin et al. came to this conclusion by identifying that social closure among parents was negatively associated with achievement gains in mathematics.

For McLaughlin et al, the successful leaders of the organizations were called "wizards." The following are common traits among the wizards. Wizards demonstrated their ability to see potential, not pathology, by locating problems to fix, and not seeing problems as fixed within the child. Another trait of wizards was their commitment to help students see their goals through to a high school diploma and beyond to a career. When Wizards can monitor and enforce group understandings and rules in a way that is perceived as fair and reasonable, they can be successful. The wizards avoid what John Peña, a director of one of the six programs, calls "ethnic chauvinism," or a more militant position in regards to directing positive images to minority youth. Ethnic commonality was less important than demonstrating caring for and understanding the conditions in which youth live. Wizards seek to change the attitude of the community toward the youth who participate in the program by countering impressions that the youth, "are no good". These Wizards deliver personal programs -- they love their jobs. McLaughlin et al go on to write about youths who have built their hope through their participation in neighborhood-based organizations rather than their peers who either have no network or have a family who embeds them within in a supportive network that provides guidance and support.

We know that mentors can have a strong impact on positives outcomes for adolescents (Rhodes, Bogart, Roffman, Edelman, & Glasso, 2002). Even adolescent peers can provide benefits within a emotionally mature platonic and/or romantic

relationship (Spina & Stanton-Salazar, 2004). King and Smith (2003), in their look at the social capital of non-profit leaders found that the leaders they studied enhanced their own social capital to broaden into new areas for the recruiting of volunteers and participants to access sources of funding, partnerships, advocacy, community relations, and coalition contacts. These efforts are time consuming and require planning but were worth the investment to the successful leaders. The lesson learned is that in order to empower others, one has to know how to use and share power since every person who runs the program can enhance opportunities. Paulo Frerie (1970), in his work with low status urban youth in Brazil, observed that his students earned greater educational outcomes by helping each other achieve academic success. Frerie's young people also gained a greater understanding of the forces that limited their opportunities. Empowerment is possible especially when each participant sees himself or herself as capable of making it happen for others as well as for themselves.

Empowerment

In this section empowerment were defined and directly applied to the African American life. I begin by defining empowerment in relation to the redistribution of resources (Stanton-Salazar, 2006c). Next a theoretical framework for understanding empowerment is given (Bryant-Soloman, 1976; Sadan, 2004). Critical race theory is applied to education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This section also provides a rationale for the need to consider the history and socialization of Blacks in America and around the world. This understanding is rooted in Black peoples' efforts to resist

European colonialism. The history is provided, as it is rare that researchers take the time to connect an ongoing resistance of Blacks to their integration or lack of integration within mainstream society. Ties to the social capital process will also be made, and two programs to observe (African American Male Achiever's Network and Kappa League) were reviewed.

Empowerment Defined

Drawing form the literature in the field of social work Stanton Salazar (2006b) defines empowerment as,

> Both the increase in the capacity of an individual, group or community to create change as well as the process and outcomes of actual change in the conditions that oppress people, resulting in an enduring redistribution of power and resources. (p. 5)

The empowering potential of program leaders as institutional agents arises in significant part through modeling behavior, particularly around solving problems related to the program. In the context of the social resources approach to social capital, such problem-solving behavior includes how programs mobilize their social capital. Through the lens of "empowerment theory," learning how to mobilize institutional resources can be empowering to youth, increasing their sense of control over the environment, and their sense of efficacy (locus of control; mastery over the environment); by coding the system (Delpit, 1995). Learning how to mobilize social ties and networks to solve problems that seem gargantuan can be liberating.

Some clarity about empowerment theory is necessary because Internet queries on the topic show that there are a myriad of ideas about what empowerment

is. Religion, self-help, business, and vacation resorts all look to empower people. What I am referring to in this study is a specific theory as it relates to access into the American mainstream. The popular notions are trying to sell empowerment where as youth intervention programs are trying to promote empowerment within individuals and communities.

Empowerment Theories

Elisheva Sadan (2004) has provided personal experiences of people in the course of community planning processes. The research analysis of these experiences provides a view of the transition to community empowerment. The results were indicators of more control over their lives and environment, discovering new insights and abilities, and contributing to some of their knowledge, energy and talent to society. The psychological constructs of efficacy, intellectual development, and seeking social justice component are the by-products of this empowerment process which are important to youth success in community or school-based programs (Stanton-Salazar, 2006b).

An example of empowerment within a helping profession is given by Bryant-Solomon (1976) in her book *Black Empowerment: Social work in oppressed communities.* The history of the movement to contextualize the issues faced by social workers clients' and a critique of the professions' own shortcomings is provided. In the 1960's and 1970's the protest levied by African American social workers encouraged all social workers to access avenues of support that would be

viewed by African American clients as helpful. For example, psychoanalysis from a "therapist" or "mental health" professional in the African American community would not be readily accessed by African Americans as would talking with a pastor or turning your trouble over to Jesus (Boyd-Franklin, 2003) and usually devalued as a valid service by traditional social workers estimations. Bryant-Solomon's research highlighted a study where White social workers were less likely than African American social workers to access the support of the African American church as well as other community based and/or non-traditional familial support. Again, in this movement for "Black Empowerment," there is tension between the agents' efforts to find problems in the individuals they are serving as opposed to collaborating with the people. The agents address issues via interventions within the community. If the pastor will help, then why not let them help, especially if going to see a therapist would dis-empower the client. Bryant-Solomon's work eventually led to a change in the social work movement. Social work theory was influenced by the work of Paulo Frerie (1970) as it began to move towards a more empowering model (Stanton-Salazar, 2006b).

Paulo Frerie (1970), known for his work with homeless and poverty stricken youth in Brazil, had a view of education and community empowerment that was about humanizing people who have been oppressed, then giving them the gift of knowledge. Through the connection to others, by teaching family and friends in similar straights, it was empowering. By lifting the yoke of oppression, people were empowered internally (psychologically) and externally (socially and politically). A student in Paulo Frerie's class was both a student and a teacher. Also, the teachers

were both students and teachers. A reciprocal understanding was developed rather than a hierarchical relationship that had served to continue the process of dehumanization that occurs due to direct oppression. The oppressed person eventually begins to be a restorer of humanity not just for those oppressed but for all of humanity. Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. are examples of this. For an institution to develop into a place that is supportive of the type of growth necessary to develop a great civil rights leader there has to be a conscious effort that acknowledges the challenges that are ahead. It takes at least an awareness of a person's world. Making a map can help to point out obstacles to giving a person the knowledge necessary to begin a journey, but if a person does not have a map they can be limited in their capacity to dream, plan, and act. Who gives students the maps? Who helps them make their own?

Stanton-Salazar's (2001) work directs readers to consider that there is a tension between the varied roles (e.g. co-parent, informal mentors, advocates, informal psychologists) of school personnel. The pressures to reproduce the established social order as well as show ways for students to break free of that order can provide students and staff with the potential for transformative power, or it can crush them. Adolescents in Stanton-Salazar's (1997, 2001) study accessed the support of trusted school agents if support from family was unavailable. Four categories from qualitative student testimonials emerged from Stanton-Salazar's work: 1) The evidence of substantial emotional attachment; 2) qualities attributable to professional demeanor and persona; 3) how the school agent was able to solve a particular problem or crisis, and 4) a history of ongoing support from a school agent.

Students held their school staff to high expectations for professionalism in their demeanor and persona because if the students were limited or punished by school agents their criticism of the staff members was harsh, especially due to incompetence. Although not a direct indication, a move toward an understanding that people with the **power** are perceived by students to be able to either help or hurt the student's changes for success in school, the findings were a beginning toward that understanding. Issues of ethnic differences (e.g. White staff /Latino student) or class differences (e.g. Lives in the suburbs) emerged when the school agent was discussed within a testimonial of dissatisfaction.

In considering Stanton-Salazar's (2006b) "institutional agent (IA)," we know that the IA must be committed to the community's empowerment and know how to bring about "social closure." The IA does all this with the knowledge that it may be difficult if members of that community have not formed coalitions before. For Sadan (2004) an individual whose circumstances and conditions have led that person to participate in an empowering group has a better chance of becoming empowered than someone who has not participated in such a group before. Group activity in the course of the planning is a necessary condition for empowerment. The greater the individual's investment in the group, the more successful is his empowerment process. A dis-empowerment processes can make people feel small and give them a sense of worthlessness. This can lead to the type of alienation and indifference that Carter (2005) and Stanton-Salazar (2001) have written about that happens to many racial minority youth. Individual empowerment is a process of restoring people's lost dignity.

Empowerment Applications

Lee (2003) provides five crucial components of effective African American male empowerment initiatives in consideration of programs that are designed to support African American males.

1) focus on a proactive approach for developmental prevention rather than remediation;

2) provide relationships for competent African American men who can model the attitudes and behavior of successful African American manhood;

3) capitalize on the strength of the African American family;

4) utilize positive culture-specific materials as a way to counteract negative messages within and outside the African American experience;

5) A rite of passage experience where a transition from boyhood to adulthood is celebrated that involves family members, friends, and community representatives.

In view of what we have presented previously, in regards to successful programs, these five aforementioned initiatives provide some consistent as well as divergent ideas. The first proactive and developmental approach is consistent with McLaughlin and colleagues works with the Urban Sanctuaries. The second, speaks to the reality of today's public schools where many of the professionals are White and do not share the same ethnicity (Lareau & McNamara-Hovart, 1999; Cook-Morales, Brown-Cheatem, Robinson-Zañartu, 1992) nor status of the students they

serve. Therefore, in school settings similar racial or status background is not as feasible or even necessary. However, the issue of race and status does play a part when students and families consider reasons for students' low educational access or academic outcomes (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The third, is a connection of a child to their ancestry, which is important for students of any ethnicity but especially for the African American students. This is due to the history of White American's contact with Africans and to the forcing Africans to live in America. This makes sense, as there were deliberate efforts to sever family ties throughout slavery (Asante & Matton, 1991; Hilliard, 1995). The last two, while McLaughlin et al's (1994) "Wizards" in "urban sanctuaries" acknowledge the need to counteract the forces of negativism via a role-model relationship and/or with positive materials, the rite of passage is not something schools directly consider as ways to involve family other than graduations from middle to high school, and high school to adult life. Unless families or community members intentionally acknowledge rites of passages the school setting does not do this consistently. The rites of passages were, and continue to be, a way for African Americans to pass on the strength of their families and cultural traditions.

The next section is provided in an effort to restore the "lost dignity." Often times African Americans are unaware of their history beyond slavery (Kunjufu, 1995; Hilliard, 1995). That is a part of the dignity that was stripped from Blacks during the era of legal chattel slavery in Europe and America as well as during American apartheid (Akbar, 1989; Woodson, 1919, 1933). There has been an ongoing effort of socialization in Black life based on resistance to European colonist

activities (Hilliard, 1995). Some of these efforts have led to great civil rights gains while other aspects have led to divisions within the African American community (DeGruy- Leary, 2006; Graham, 2000). First I begin this section with a brief review of the need to utilize a critical race theory.

Critical Race Theory and Black History

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) have applied critical race theory to education and remind those concerned with improving the educational outcomes of African American students to consider that race has been a factor in American schooling. Race and property have been considered intertwined. Access to property required that one be the right race at the inception of America. Concessions made to skin color had to do with the degree that immigrant to America, Native Americans, and in some cases Blacks were willing to follow the conditions of their status as property of property owners. To be White was a form of status as well as a type of property ownership like a club membership. To be Black was to be degraded in status. Throughout American history and European colonial history, Blacks have engaged in oft times unheralded but consistent efforts to counter hegemonic forces that attempted to keep Blacks powerless.

A consideration of that type of strength and power generated through over 500 years of the African American experience can give us a greater understanding of the nature of that power as it relates to the education and empowerment of African American youth. The following section will provide more detail in that area. Twenty years ago Cummins (1986) challenged educators to rethink their roles within

the classroom, community, and broader society. This challenge was given so that educators would empower rather than disable students through labeling via diagnosing disability through special education handicapping conditions, categorization such as "at-risk", and finally dis-investing in them with terms such as "drop-out." Empowering program examples reinforce rather than deny students cultural identity. For Cummins, active collaboration with parents was a key part of the programs. A meaningful use of language was used within the community. Powerless is how many African Americans were perceived during and after the government supported American apartheid system set up after the civil war. By the time the 1900's came, Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBUC) and similar organizations became institutions where power has been developed, sustained, and enhanced (Graham, 2000; Hilliard, 1995).

According to Asa Hilliard in his 1995 book, *The Maroon Within Us: Selected Essays on African American, Community Socialization*, there were many Africans like Nat Turner who proactively planned resistance especially in regards to education. From Brazil and North to Columbia, Venezuela, Haiti, and even the Southern States of America, "there were those who managed to escape slavery and establish what would come to be called 'maroon' villages and nations (pg. 52)." African descendent, Touissaint L'Overture, the great liberator of Haiti who defeated Napoleon's troops, was from a maroon community. Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican born leader of the "Back to Africa" movement that was a catalyst for a cultural

revolution at the turn of the nineteenth century, was a maroon too. The Harlem

Renaissance, the ideas of W.E.B DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and other

organizations for the improvement of the circumstances of the lives for African

Americans only one generation away from the end of legal slavery in America were

enacted in the traditional "vestiges of maroonage." As Hilliard writes in his book,

The Maroon Within Us (1995), these vestiges "remain in the United States." Hilliard

offers as examples, Universal Negro Improvement Association, African Methodist

Episcopal Church, the Nation of Islam, The Association of Black Psychologists,

Black Karate Federation etc. I would add that at the turn of the century many of the

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBUC), fraternities and sororities,

Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also

began by mobilizing the same type of resistance efforts as the maroons due to the

oppressive circumstances in which they lived. Asa Hilliard writes about

"maroonage" in lifelong learning among the West African scholars at Timbuktu.

Each person was to mentor and to care for someone else. This tradition of mentoring

and looking out for the welfare of others were passed down in the tradition of the

Maroons who met in slave quarters, clearings in the forests, and places where White

slave masters could not see. They met to plan acts of rebellion in overt, covert, and

psychological acts of resistance and survival. Frederick Douglass and Booker T.

Washington although born slaves were beneficiaries of these traditions (Perry, 2003).

From the efforts of Booker T. Washington and countless other Americans Black and

White, Historically Black Colleges and Universities were opened at the turn of the

century. Soon, after at the turn of the Twentieth Century, Black Fraternities and

Sororities and civic organizations (e.g. National Association of the Advance of Colored People and Urban League) were founded. Members of these organizations such as Carter G. Woodson, W.E.B. DuBois, and soon after Langston Hughes and Mary McCloud Bethune helped to usher in an era of African American excellence in arts, education, literature, politics, and sciences.

As these groups were founded, they also paid particular attention to the development of young people through organizations founded by Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO) such as Jack and Jill, Order of the Omega, and Kappa League (Graham, 2000; Ross, 2000). From their beginnings (Woodson, 1933) as it is today (Graham, 2000) these organizations have often been criticized for their exclusivity and lack of connection with the community as well as hazing rituals at the undergraduate levels (Kunjufu, 1997). Sociologists have noted that Blacks often lack the desire to extend their networks beyond these social ties (Lin, 2000). Despite their limitations, for nearly a century these organizations have sustained a part of life for African Americans where academic achievement, scholarship, unity, and progress has been cultivated, nurtured, and shared in the best situations. These institutions have promoted African American's achievement by serving as centers of power development to provide meaning (López & Stack, 2001) and mission via the empowering act of education and political exercise through the vote, governmental services, and economic enterprise (Anderson, 1994; Ross, 2000). At the core of BGLO community service has been youth mentoring and scholarship programs, which have been on school campuses but most often at churches, lodges, and/or at community centers.

In reference to DuBois (1903) concept of "double consciousness" Hilliard (1995) writes that DuBois' double-consciousness is not a Freudian issue but an issue of surrender to self-definition and responsibility. According to Hilliard (1995), the final victory of a slave-owner over the slave is to delay the development of the slave's self-concept. In other words, if victims wait for victimizers to define them in positive terms, then the victims were waiting for an eternity. There were Africans who escaped, but even more specifically, there were those who sought to escape from slavery, by delving deeper into greater self-knowledge. Finding self-knowledge has a price. According to Fanon (1967), even if one escapes external and direct oppression such as poverty and/or slavery through education, internal oppression through use of status-laden language can set limits on one's capacity to think as a liberated person.

The teachers of students experiencing internalized oppression have to work through the tension of helping students transcend societal forces which have traditionally limited students opportunities while maintaining their support of the very same system. Ernest J. Gaines' 1950's novel, *A Lesson Before Dying*, offers an example of a teacher caught in this type of contextualized societal mix (1956). In Gaines' novel the main characters are a teacher who is charged by his mother and a family friend, who is a relative of the man on death row, to teach the man on death row how to face a court, prison time, and death with dignity. The other underlying task for the teacher is to advocate for the basic human rights of the man on death row as well as extend the boundaries of class, race, and status within the city on behalf of both of them. The teacher has to navigate metaphorically a political tightrope in the

midst of classist, racist, and sexist norms that have existed for centuries but that are about to change. The backdrop for this story is the Deep South. The teacher, his mother and mother's friends are all African American. The teacher is the only educated African American man in the town. His mother grew up on the plantation where the White warden dines with local city officials. During the 1950's, while efforts were made to desegregate America's public schools, and even in today's current educational system, there are many examples of teachers of African American students who have gone against the status quo of low educational outcomes and the political power structure. Educators have done so at times by subverting policies and procedures they viewed as limiting opportunity to provide students the support they need to achieve academic success (Delpit, 1995; Hilliard, 1995; Hilliard, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

Black Historical Resistance and Social Capital

While the Black resistance movement may not be seen consistently within formal institutions, it is very much a part of African American culture to look out for other African Americans to help solve social problems. The tendency of all ethnic and racial groups to support each other is waning (Putnam, 2000) and it is important to review the processes African Americans used to sustain themselves through one of the most horrific periods of African history, American history, and world history. For good and for bad, the direct threat to their lives bonded Africans who had not previously even spoken the same language. People from different tribes soon became a part of the African American tribes.

Some people who may want to work with African Americans in schools or in community programs may have the impression that African Americans are lacking in social capital after reading important theorist's literature (Orr, 1998; Lin, 2000). Indeed the situation for the majority of African Americans has continued to be challenging (e.g. low educational achievement, high incarceration rates, poverty etc.). However, there are groups that are decades, if not a couple of hundred years old that have been following the process of decoding power and developing ways to help African Americans to develop and to sustain better life outcomes (Asante & Matton, 1991; Hilliard, 1995). There have been some efforts to address the overall sociological group process of the African American elite (Graham, 2000; Moore, 1999) but not to address the specific process of how programs established by the African American elite empower African American youth.

African-American Male Achiever's Network

The African-American Male Achiever's Network (A-MAN) Inc., located in Inglewood, California, is such a program. In 1986 the University of California at Los Angeles was looking to fund a program that was an early intervention for African American males. Dr. Bettye Walker, an elementary school Principal at the time applied for the funding. Her school had a high number of African American students, and Dr. Walker put together a tremendous proposal. Science was used as a motivational tool to get the young people involved. The program was funded, and into the 1990's the program was expanded to another school in Compton, CA. The Young Ladies Achievers Club (Y-LAC) was formed based on the success of A-

MAN. Soon after it was incorporated as a 501c3 non-profit organization it attracted

the attention of community leaders. Throughout the 1990's, noted speakers such as,

African American Astronaut Bernard Harris and World Renowned Brain Surgeon

Ben Carson have spoken at their annual celebration event and became active

members of their board. By 1997, students in the program were visiting South

Africa in an exchange program. Dr. Walker and her husband Hal have retired from

their positions as a principal and NASA engineer, respectively. Their connections to

South Africa are extended via layers of their involvement with city government, their

church, BGLO fraternity and sorority, and many other "friends of the program." Six

days a week, African American students come to their building near the Inglewood

City Hall to be supported in their efforts to achieve. The Walkers are a well kept

secret of the power of social capital. They have yet to be interviewed about their

process for developing programs. Their program has been adopted nationally by

Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc. Others are following their lead. Their leadership is

not one of militancy but of excellence and a determination to provide a model of

what can be done for African American students. They have power and they

translate those codes into resources for the youth they serve.

Kappa League

Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. continued with the Guide Right

program as developed in 1922, until in 1968, a year after Tom Bradley, former

Mayor Los Angles, CA was the Grand Polemarch (i.e. President) for the entire

fraternity from 1960-1967. In 1968, the Los Angeles Alumni Chapter of Kappa

Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., at Alain LeRoy Locke High School started a program

based on Guide Right. The Los Angles Alumni chapter's version of Guide Right

was refined into what is now known as, "Kappa League" and took on a similar but

more distinct purpose of preparing young men to be able to "present" their

demonstrated growth in leadership skills in the "Five Phases of Kappa League":

- Self Identity

- Training

- Competition

- Social

- Health Education

Kappa League was adopted by the Grand Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity,

Inc. in 1970.

In summary, "empowerment is both the increase in the capacity of an

individual, group or community to create change as well as the process and outcomes

of actual change in the conditions that oppress people, resulting in an enduring

redistribution of power and resources (Stanton-Salazar, 2006c). Elisheva Sadan

(2004) has provided a scholarly theory of empowerment that addresses personal

experiences of people in the course of community planning processes. The research

analysis of these experiences provides a view of the transition to community

empowerment. Social work theory was influenced by the work of Paulo Frerie

(1970) and it began to move towards more of an empowering model (Bryant-

Solomon, 1976; Stanton-Salazar, 2006b). Paulo Frerie (1970), known for his work

with homeless and poverty stricken youth in Brazil, had a view of education and

community empowerment that was more about humanizing people who have been

oppressed than about giving them the gift of knowledge. Readers should consider

that a tension exists between the varied roles (e.g. co-parent, informal mentors,

advocates, informal psychologists) of school personnel (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The

pressures to reproduce the established social order as well as show ways for students

to break free of that order can be intense and sometimes overwhelming (Ladson-

Billings, 1994; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). When considering Stanton-Salazar's

(2006b) "institutional agent (IA)," we know that the IA must be committed to the

community's empowerment and know how to bring about "social closure." For

African American youth, rites of passage programs can be a way to provide African

Americans to pass on the strength of their families and cultural traditions (Lee,

2003). This is a part of African as well as African American tradition. There have

been many Africans, like Nat Turner, who proactively planned resistance, especially

in regards to education. From Brazil and north to Columbia, Venezuela, Haiti, and

even the Southern States of America, "there were those who managed to escape

slavery and establish what would come to be called 'Maroon' villages and nations

(Hilliard, 1995/ p. 52)." At the turn of the century, Black Greek Letter Organizations

(BGLO) and other civic organizations have carried the tradition of the Maroons.

Despite their limitations, for nearly a century these organizations have sustained a

part of life for African Americans where academic achievement, scholarship, unity,

and progress has been cultivated, nurtured, and shared in the best situations. While

the Black resistance movement may not be seen consistently within formal

institutions, it is very much a part of African American culture to look out for other

African Americans to help solve social problems. There have been some efforts to address the overall the sociological group process of African American elite (Graham, 2000; Moore, 1999) but not to address the specific process of how programs established by the African American elite empower African American youth. The time has come to addresses the process of empowerment as enacted by people with benefit from networks based on generations of African American social capital. The African Male Achiever Network in Southern California provides a potential source of inquiry in regards to the processes of empowerment of African American youth.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the aforementioned has attempted to provide the reader with a better understanding of the fundamental processes of minority youth empowerment through the lens of the social capital theorists. Bourdieu's (1975) contributions, as highlighted by Lareau and McNamara-Hovart (1999), remind individuals to stay attuned to the strategies and actions that individuals follow in their daily lives. They go on to highlight that Bourdieu and many other social capital theorists (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) have not always demonstrated an awareness of the ways in which institutional actors, such as school staff or community based leaders of programs, limit or enhance efforts to access resources and utilize resources. Social capital, as it impacts African American schooling outcomes, as with Orr's work (1999), has been the particular focus of my study. My work differs from Orr's in the analysis of institutional agents of successful programs and in gaining an

understanding of how they have been able to help their program participants close the achievement gap by empowering African American youth. The development of social capital as well "cyber-capital" are also of unique interest and is important to this study. The institutional agents' efforts to empower minority youth (Spina & Stanton-Salazar, 1997) to access resources via bridges to broader networks (Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2000) provide a rarely seen but potentially fruitful unit of analysis for further study.

In relation to closing the achievement gap, researchers should learn from programs that are not reproductions of mediocrity but examples of excellence and empowerment for minority youth. Rather than looking for deficits in people's social capital (Lin, 2000), researchers could look to learn more about why a particular social network works in relation to empowering youth, and then formulate a more refined version of social capital. If refinement of the theory does not occur, then social capital can soon become a trendy a buzz word as "empowerment" and nearly lose its' currency for theoretical analysis (Portes, 1998). The achievement gap has been with us since founding of this country, sustained with American apartheid, and retrenched by chronic underachievement of American public schools. Our nation is becoming more and more diverse and increasing in populations of people who were once thought of as minorities. Those minorities are fast becoming the majority (Ramirez & de la Cruz, 2002). It is time to learn from and develop programs that can close the achievement gap (United States Department of Education, 2004). This will take a willingness to share access to opportunity as well as the codes of power.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to analyze the level of social capital of

program leaders within community-based programs using instruments, methods and

frameworks of social capital that profile in detail program leaders' resource networks

and the program leaders' resource mobilization activities. The present chapter

provides a formal presentation of the research design, rationale for design, sample

selection, de-limitation and limitations, and the process of data collection and

analysis specific to this study. The role of program leaders and their personal

networks in the empowerment of minority youth were examined through a

theoretical lens that situates them as potential "institutional agents (IA)" (Stanton-

Salazar, 1997, 2001). For Stanton-Salazar (1997), IA's are "individuals who have

the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of,

institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)." Not all program leaders are IA's.

Many program leaders are unaware of the processes of oppression but they know the

results they want and work to achieve those results by overcoming obstacles in other

ways. Also, some program leaders seek to maintain the status quo without critical

regard to their role in empowering youth or their work to remove obstacles that

society may have created via classist, racist, and/or sexist messages. I employed

frameworks and theories to determine whether staffers are acting as IA's even if they

tried but failed to mobilize social capital on behalf of students in their program. I

studied the resources program leaders use in their efforts to empower youth to

achieve greater academic and social success, and I also studied the challenges these agents faced in effectively mobilizing support for the youth in the program.

The network-related 'agency' of program leaders (i.e., "institutional agency") are discussed as a key mechanism of youth empowerment—a mechanism examined in detail through theories of social capital and the mobilization of social support. The contexts for the analyses are two community-based mentoring program called the African Male Achievers Network (A-MAN) and Kappa League (KL). I asked in particular, questions about the social networks of the program leaders for A-MAN and KL. In any program there may be more than one IA, and an IA can be the director, key staff members, and/or others deemed to display the capacity of a leader within the program. The units of analysis for this program were two program leaders within the A-MAN program and one within the Kappa League (KL) program. The study also examined the manner in which the program leaders and staff involved in the program fulfill their roles as institutional agents, their conveyance of essential social network skills relative to evolving dynamic contexts. The answers to the following questions provide data and information regarding the ideological orientation of program leaders as answered by A-MAN staff and in consideration of similar programs in the discussion section of this study.

Research Questions

Social capital, according to (Lin, 1999), "can be defined as resources embedded within a social structure which are accessed and or mobilized in purposive actions (p. 35)." Lin (2001)'s work looks at purposive actions that can be mobilized

96

to increase the likelihood of success for individuals and collectives within a network. As I studied the social capital processes of the African-American Male Achievers Network (A-MAN) and Kappa League (KL) program leaders, I was looking to better understand the program leaders' social structure and any purposive actions they take to access resources of support for the youth each program serves. I was also seeking to better understand the ideological orientation of program leaders. This study aimed at gaining insight by addressing these main questions: 1) What can we learn about the basic characteristics and features or composition of the "social resource networks" of those adults who coordinate and run youth intervention programs? 2) What factors facilitate or constrain program leaders' help-seeking orientation (Stanton-Salazar, 2001), which encourage and/or discourage this network behavior. Also, what conditions and factors might thwart or inhibit program leaders' potential as IA? 3) Finally, how do relationships lead to the mobilization of social capital on behalf of youth and program colleagues also asked follow-up ethnographic interview questions that were germane to the program? These three questions provide the theoretical foundation for the development of the five core research questions that guide the data and information collection.

Civil rights movements and any community political effort toward empowerment require a pro-active help-seeking orientation. As I considered Stanton-Salazar's (2001) treatment of "help-seeking," I kept in mind his emphasis on help-seeking being a key part of an individuals overall network orientation. A phenomenon I anticipated observing was the emergence of program leaders' orientations that would accept help-seeking as a viable coping strategy at the

collective and individual levels. Although issues of internalized oppression were not

a direct focus of the questions I asked, these issues are important and could be asked

the following way. "Do distress patterns of adult agents manifest themselves in

actions that either neglect of invalidate the ever present demands of multiple borders

of class, race, and status that are a reality of oppressed youth in America (Stanton-

Salazar, 2001/p. 252)?" To ask these questions directly, when program leaders may

have been unaware of their own internalized oppression could have caused a great

deal of damage. Therefore, this issue of internalized oppression was addressed

within a theoretical analysis of the data collected after direct observations have been

conducted.

Data and information obtained from these interviews with the program

leaders who participated in this study provide answers to the research questions. The

research questions were developed from themes within the literature such as social

networking (Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000), empowerment

(Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Sadan, 2004), positive help-seeking orientations (Stanton-

Salazar, 1997; 2001), and minority equity in access to high status social capital (Lin,

2000; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; 2001). Five specific research questions based on the

literature and germane to the particular program leaders were answered for this case

study.

RQ 1: How has the program leaders' personal history of empowerment

impacted the structure of the program?

RQ2: Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their program?

RQ3: Does the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital?

RQ4: Does a program leader's individual perceptions of length of contact with a person, age, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders' implementation of institutional agency?

The study analyzed the efforts of the African-American Male Achievers Network and Young Ladies Achievers Club, known as a 501c3 organization and in the community as "A-MAN," for African American youth in Kindergarten through 12th grade. The study also analyzed the Kappa League program, which is mainly targeted at providing high school age African American youth with a community-based college-preparatory experience. Record reviews and interviews gave me an opportunity to learn how program leaders for the programs empower participants by providing access to social capital and encouraging academic success via knowledge, motivation, and/or organizational indicators (Clark & Estes, 2002; Graham, 1994). Critical to this endeavor, is a greater understanding of the help-seeking orientations of the program leaders. As Stanton-Salazar (2001) writes, "such orientations do not always lead to help seeking and positive and enriching forms of behavioral embeddedness (p. 244)." A-MAN and KL had the potential of providing examples

of program leaders who demonstrate a positive help-seeking orientation. Data

analysis helped in the development of recommendations for educators and

community members interested in closing the achievement gap between African

American male students and those of other ethnicity. Since the educational

challenges and opportunities for academic achievement of African American males

are often indicative of the ills of the American education system (Shujja, 1994;

Singham, 1998; Townsend, 2000) it is appropriate that to look at program that

addresses their overall success of African American males. The primary focus of the

research was to report on how institutional agents empower African American males

within the critical scope of traditional African American community socialization

(Hilliard, 1995) while providing the codes of power and access (Delpit, 1995).

General issues such as policies, procedures, funding, locations, recruitment of

participants, and volunteers provided context for the study. More specifically, the

network orientation and process of resource mobilization of the program leaders was

the focus of the study.

Research Design

This case study required a mixed method approach (i.e. quantitative and

qualitative) that incorporated ethnographic observations and analysis. Three sets of

methodological devices were used. The first set was general background

information based on Baker's measures of social capital (2000) and Spadley's (1979)

ethnographic interviews. Also used were measures from the field of "social network

analysis (Flapp, Vokers, Snijders, and Van der Gaag, 2003). Within this first set,

three widely used methods were used to construct independent descriptive profiles of social and resource networks of program leaders. For this study, I used the oldest method usually referred to as the "name generator/interpreter" approach (McCallister & Fischer, 1978). Stanton-Salazar (2001) used the name generator/interpreter approach more recently in his work of mapping the social networks of Latino youth. He wanted to see if or how institutional agents provided access to resources for Latino students through the IA's social capital as well as the IA's efforts to directly provide institutional support to students and/or colleagues. The program leaders I observed in this study are different from the type studied by Stanton-Salazar (2001) in that they are not employees within an institution but volunteers or non-profit organization leaders of community-based organizations. They are more likely to have contacts outside their program rather than within a program or institution such as a school-based official (e.g. school counselor, assistant principal, leader teacher) who may have most contacts in the school building or at the district office. This method is a starting point for social-resource inventories that depend on the inclusion of name interpretation questions by mapping ego-centered social networks (Flapp et al., 2003). In order to triangulate results, I used two other measures of social capital, developed by network analysts, mainly for efficiency purposes to address variations in social capital within large populations. The second set of qualitative interview methods followed the work of Stanton-Salazar, (1995, 2001). The name generator/interpreter network survey were followed by a quasi-standardized set of qualitative interview questions that were explored in some detail, each relationship as indicated by the name generator survey. The third set of interview methods for

the study employed ethnographic interview questions (Spradley, 1979). This was done so that I could explore the complex factors that facilitate or constrain program leader's access and mobilization of resources as well as those factors that involve the ability of the program leaders to assume the role of institutional agent. Again, this approach is drawn from the work of Stanton-Salazar (2001).

Case Study Approach

The units of analysis for this case study were on program personnel, not the students in the program. The foci included; a) the role of "program context; and b) the role of the program leader's orientations in regards to the mobilization of social capital and on their capacity to function as "institutional agents." A case study approach allowed me to delve deeply into the context and into program leaders' network orientations as well as theories of change of the program leaders. It also highlights the complexities involved in a program leaders' inclination to assume or not to assume the role of institutional agents.

Rationale for Mixed Method Approach

Livermore's and Neurstrom's (2003) study employed qualitative methods to study the discretional use of social capital as social workers made efforts to link welfare clients to jobs. Again, qualitative methods are appropriate when studying a little known topic (Patton, 2002). Although Livermore and Neustrom applied their analysis to a little known phenomenon of social workers in their efforts to support clients, this study looked to apply its' analysis to community based programs. The

102

leaders of the A-MAN and KL programs support young people's social and academic growth. Like social workers who help welfare clients find jobs, A-MAN and KL program leaders often give of themselves in similar ways by providing access to social capital through their personal networks. Guided conversations with key informants were also a great part of Livermore's and Neustrom's study. Observations and brief interviews with program staff were conducted for clarification and context.

Researchers that have attempted to understand issues of academic and social mobility, as they relate to empowerment of youth considered "low-status" in our society, have employed critical ethnographic methods that provide the proper theoretical frame for analysis (Spina & Stanton-Salazar, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Ethnographic interview protocols can provide researchers information as to the meanings in life expressed through language and events directly or indirectly seen through actions as we make use of complex systems to organize our behavior and understand others (Spradley, 1979). Qualitative inductive methods that led to an analysis of ethnographic interview protocols can help researchers learn about the mechanisms institutional agents (IA) use to make sense of what they are doing. These mechanisms are made up of complex meaning systems and ideological frameworks (tacit or explicit) of the IA (Quantz, 1992; Spradley, 1979, Weiss, 1972). Deductive analytical methods helped to guide thematic analysis of interviews (Patton, 2002; Spradley, 1979). In the initial phases of the research with A-MAN and KL the identification of cultural organizational themes (Clark & Estes, 2002; Spradley, 1979) or tacit structures. Clark and Estes' describe culture as, "A way to

103

describe core values, beliefs, emotions, and processes learned as people develop over time in our family and work environments" (p. 108). Spradley's earlier work extends that idea to any cognitive principle in the context of a particular intervention given through either tacit or explicit information channels. Weiss (1972) pointed out that practitioners who are also program designers often have an institutive approach to program development. An analytical approach is often reserved for academics or researchers. The ambiguity of the practitioner does serve a useful function as addressed by Woodson in his observations of the "Negro" scholar during the Harlem Renaissance era (1933) when Woodson suggested that it was better for "Negro" scholars to earn a masters degree than a doctorate. If a "Negro" earned a doctorate he would have spent too much time trying to align himself with his dissertation chair and the university and not toward applying his efforts to the betterment of his people. During Woodson's time the academy offered very little in the way of support for the development of African Americans and their ideas and empowerment. Woodson's suggestion for African Americans to avoid the academy was born out of his own significant struggles, even within primarily African American institutions, to gain acceptance for his need to study African and African American life in a positive and progressive manner. Weiss indicates that the broad mission statements and goals of the latter half of the Twentieth century often masked the true intent of program leaders. Many programs are funded from multiple sources. The leaders of programs know that, at least on paper if not in general, it is good to align themselves with ideas that satisfy a variety of perspectives. Even that understanding of day to day program practitioners is often masked in program documents and the images program leaders

104

want to give to the public. This study looks to delve deeper into the true intent of program leaders.

Deductive Analytical Approach

It was anticipated that as the study progressed, the participants' familiarity with me would grow as well as my knowledge and understanding of programmatic features and their personal contextual relationships. The deductive methodical approaches in the form of interviews allowed me to dig deeper into the underlying social, institutional, and ideological structures of the program. An ethnographic approach was taken.

According to Quantz (1992), a definition of the phrase "critical ethnography (CE)," is elusive as it poses an epistemological challenge to those who are wary of defining the world in precise ways. However, despite the challenge, many have still attempted to define CE in reference to the use of qualitative, participant observer methods, and the use of theory based on critical sociology and philosophy. Quantz avoids trying to define CE but attempts to place CE within a critical discourse. For Quantz, the researcher uses field methods in which a researcher attempts to represent the lived experiences of people who live in "asymmetrical power relations (p. 448)." Rather than be apologists for the status quo, scholars of CE have a political intention with emancipatory and democratic goals that informs the larger critical dialogue as a key element of CE. Although there is an assumption that people who are to be studied are disempowered, there has been little or no study about how the disempowerment is represented in cultural forms. Also, there has been little

information available about how participants respond to their positioning as anything other than individual choice or that they even agree that they are disempowered. The epistemological challenge comes full circle at the point in a study where the meaning is found. The main question is not that groups such as Blacks, Gays, Native Americans, and/or women are oppressed. The questions are; How are marginalized people positioned in relationships, how do they participate in these relationships, and how can our understanding work toward restructuring of these relationships?

Inductive Analytical Approach

Ethnographic interview protocols can provide researchers information that can help them understand the complex meanings systems expressed through language and events. Through these actions we make use of complex systems to organize our behavior and understand others (Spradely, 1979). It is important here to make a distinction, as we did in Chapter Two, between the type of social capital theory that was so broad it encompassed both positive and deviant types of social networks (Portes, 1998). Without a critical lens to look at complex social problems, what may appear to be a neutral look at a program can easily return to a view undergirded by hegemonic notions of race and ability as seen in the work of Herrnstein and Murray's (1994) the *Bell Curve*. Therefore this research will keep in mind the issues of critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and empowerment (Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Sadan, 2004) in order to avoid the pressures of American theoretical hegemony. Qualitative inductive methods that led to an analysis of ethnographic interview protocols can help researchers learn about the mechanisms

program leaders use to make sense of what they are doing. From an inductive

analysis, ethnographic analysis gives an opportunity to gain insight into cultural,

ideological, and theoretical mechanisms in relation to program leaders' assumptions

and implementation of their roles as institutional agents. This facilitates the process

of academic and social mobility, and in turn, empowerment as it pertains to minority

or low status youth. Spina and Stanton-Salazar (2003) employ critical ethnographic

methods from a viewpoint that "aims to understand, analyze, pose questions, and

affect the sociopolitical and economic realties that shape our lives" (p. 237).

According to Spradley (1979):

> The essential core of ethnography is this… (a) concern with the meaning of
> actions and events to the people we seek to understand. Some of these
> meanings are directly expressed in language… (M)any are communicated
> only indirectly through word and action. But in every society people make
> constant use of these complex meaning systems to organize their behavior, to
> understand themselves and others, and to make sense out of the world in
> which they live. These systems of meaning constitute their culture;
> ethnography always implies a theory of culture. (p. 5)

Therefore, critical ethnographic methods allow the researcher to uncover

underlying social, institutional and ideological structures, while analyzing their

underpinning mechanisms that comprise programmatic processes in their context of

the intervention (Spina & Stanton-Salazar, 2003). This methodology allowed me, as

a researcher, to draw upon my experience as a school psychologist and more

specifically an interviewer. It also allowed me to apply my analytical skills to the

programmatic processes in the context of the community based A-MAN and KL

programs as interpreted within the context of the program leaders' processes for

developing social capital networks for the participating youth. I also looked at how

107

institutional agents and their dynamic interactions affected the program and thereby facilitated academic and social mobility as it pertains to African American males, which should ultimately foster the empowerment of program participants. The significance of this study is enhanced by the critical ethnographic components which provide a more scholarly analysis, which separates this from other studies that have not had the same depth and breadth. In effective interventions programs, program leaders and their networks as well as the peers in the program, in relation to the social capital of peers, represent a key context of human development (Cochran, Larner, Rilery, & Henderson, 1990).

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Sample and Population

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A-MAN

There were a total of three program leaders interviewed. The following information was obtained from the African Male Achievers Network (A-MAN) website at http://www.A-MAN.org/ as well as other program information. The A-MAN program was selected because of the program leaders' reputation as persistent networking agents. The International Grand Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Incorporated, has adopted A-MAN as a national model of youth programs for implementation throughout the United States as well as South Africa. The sites primarily serve African American youth from ages 5 years of age to 18 years of age via mentoring, direct tutoring, scholarships, and ongoing guidance toward academic achievement specifically in mathematics and sciences.

The founders and administrators of A-MAN are Dr. Bettye Davis Walker (President) and her husband Hildreth (Hal) Walker, Jr. (Chairman). Although, they have founded the program Mr. and Mrs. Walker are still active in the day to day planning and operations of the program. Every facet of the program's implementation is approved or denied by them. They answered the nearly all of the questions for this study. These follow-up observations and interviews with program staff helped me to gain a sense of the overall operations and perspective on the day to day operations of the 501c3 non-profit A-MAN program.

In the early 1980's, the Walkers were very concerned with the declining educational achievement of African American males, so they sought out funding. A-MAN began in 1986, when Dr. Walker was a school principal at an elementary school in Carson, California, and she received funding from the University of California at Los Angeles to begin conducting research to address early intervention for African American males. By 1991, A-MAN had expanded the program to a middle school in Compton, California. Female students at these schools expressed an interest in being involved with a similar program and Dr. Walker developed the Young Ladies Achievers Club (Y-LAC). Since 1994, when the program moved into the a 1,500 square foot office space near the Inglewood City Hall, the program has grown to include after school tutoring and mentoring sessions. The meetings with the mentors occur one to two times a month on Saturdays. The staff and youth involved with the program have been to South Africa and have opened a 7500 square foot facility at a primary school in Mamelodi, South Africa. A multi-ethnic population of nealry1200 disadvantaged youth is served throughout the year by A-

MAN in the Inglewood, Riverside, and South Africa locations. Two new locations

are beginning on the East Coast with the support of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc.

Youth attend after school, evening, and weekend programs as well as a summer

program. Hands on experiments and technology based activities provide

opportunities for youth to further their knowledge of science and sharpen their verbal

and presentation skills. The program boasts that 100 percent of the A-MAN's

participants have graduated from high school and nearly 85 percent have

matriculated to the university level.

Notable speakers such as Astronaut Bernard Harris, neurosurgeon Dr. Ben

Carson, and Dr. James Lyons, President of Cal State Dominguez Hills University

have provided keynote addresses at their annual banquet to celebrate the success of

the youth in Kindergarten to twelfth grades that have participated in the program.

Every college student or professional, especially minorities, that Mr. Walker or Dr.

Walker meet is seen as a potential guest speaker for their young people in A-MAN.

Although they look forward to hearing people talk about their current studies or job,

they make sure that guest speakers focus on the journey from young person to

professional. This is done not simply to avoid boring the youth with stories of

someone's job but to make a connection via their commonality of childhood and the

transition to adulthood as well as to inspire youth with a clearly laid path from where

they are now to where they can go (Hernandez, 1995).

A-MAN has formed strategic partnerships with 13 different organizations

such as the Mountain Science Center in Cape Town, South Africa, The Lemelson

Center at the Smithsonian, and the National Association of Black Engineers. Dr.

Bettye Walker and Hildreth Walker have shepherded the development of this

program since its inception and are powerful advocates in the community for

supporting excellence in education for all students. They are "institutions"

themselves. For example, Dr. Walker has had state and national congressional

proclamations made to affirm her work as an educator and Mr. Walker has a display

in the Smithsonian about his work in Engineering. Much of how and what they do to

sustain their program is about making and using their connections, but more

importantly, about supplying the resources to the youth they serve. The A-MAN

program founders and staff understand the importance of their work to the

empowerment of African American youth and students of other ethnicity who

participate in A-MAN. This study is mainly focused on the founders of the program

and on the people who operate the program day to day and the complex systems at

play, which provide access to resources through their social capital as well as to

direct institutional support to youth and program colleagues (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Kappa League

The Kappa League program was founded in 1960 by the Los Angles,

California alumni chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. According to the

History of Kappa Alpha Psi (Bryson, 2003),

> "The purpose of Kappa Leadership League is to improve the self-image of
> today's youth and thus raise their aspirational level. Through club oriented
> responsibilities of tomorrow while yet enjoying youth today. Realizing the
> hastening maturing of today's youth, academic educational advancement for
> leadership training, but will take advantage of this program to start the
> practical leadership process. There are **5 Phases of Kappa League**: Phase I

111

– Self Identity; Phase II – Training; Phase III – Competition; Phase IV – Social; and Phase V – Health Education."

This program was chosen because of its similar affiliation with Kappa Alpha Psi's youth mentoring programs as well as the similar population it attempts to serve within the Greater Los Angeles area. Although, Kappa League has been the model of youth develop adopted by the fraternity, and preceded by Guide Right (Bryson, 2003), more recently, A-MAN has become the national model.

The Kappa Leaguers (KL) meet every first and third Sunday afternoon of the month. They meet to participate in activities that will help them provide evidence of their development in the "Five Phases of Kappa League." Their parents are also encouraged to participate in monthly meetings, field trips, and/or support with the Kappa Leaguer's plans to attend college.

The director of the Kappa League committee is Mr. Lawrence Reney. Kappa League is a committee of most alumni chapters of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity, Inc. and the Los Angeles, California chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi operates with a committee of 5-8 people. Mr. Reney's answers to questions in surveys, interviews, and observations of the programs provided the information regarding the KL program. Observation of a program meeting place, program staffers, and the facilities where the program is held (i.e. the Kappa Kastle) helped to provide greater context.

Instrumentation

For Flap, Snijders, Völker, and van der Gaag (2003), the Social Survey of the

Networks of the Dutch (SSND) provided valuable information about the social

relations and networks of people in their neighborhoods and work places. For their

study three types of measurements were reviewed; the name generator/interpreter,

position generator, and the resource generator. For Flap et al, the difference was in

the way the instruments were used in their approach to the understanding of

resources and how information was retrieved from respondents. Single measures of

social capital may be convenient for statistical analysis but they lack goal and

context specifics. Follow-up semi-structured ethnographic interview questions were

also conducted in an attempt to provide more contextual information.

Name Generator (NG)

The oldest of the three instruments used has been the NG. The NG has been

used by several researchers since the late 1970's and early 1980's (Fischer, 1982).

Fischer used instruments that measured ego-centric networks in communities.

Researchers, who use an open-ended "name-generator" rather than an enumerated

checklist, know that people often discuss important matters with other people. For

example, an interviewer may say, "Looking back over the last six months, who are

the people with whom you discussed matters important to you regarding the

program. Just tell me their names or initials." After this type of questioning, the

Interviewer collects data about each interviewee's social attributes (gender, race, age,

occupation etc.), then asks: "Here is a list of some of the ways in which people are

connected to each other. Some people can be connected to you in more than one way. For example, a man could be your brother and he may belong to your church and be your lawyer. When I read you a name, please tell me all the ways that person is connected to you (Konoke, 2004)." Moncrieff Cochran has also used the generator to look at families (1990). The most recent use of the name generator as it applies to low-status and minority students and the school personnel has come from Stanton-Salazar (1997, 2001).

For the NG, an ego-centric network is mapped by generating names and collecting information from each specific network member (i.e. finding out what the person named does for the subject of the network). This is an expensive and time consuming process that can result in very detailed and informative social capital descriptions. The interviewer and interviewee can expend a great deal of time and energy especially if the interviewee has a large social network. If there are questions included to probe further for detail, then behind each person there may be a long and elaborate story that can take even more time to interpret. The limitations of the name generator are that it can be time consuming, must be interpreted in a systematic way, and there is still a lack of consensus within the literature on how to aggregate the data (e.g. based on network size, indices over a network, weak vs. strong ties etc.). The NG is recommended for detailed analysis of social network contents in specific populations. An example of the type of NG used for this study is in the Appendix (II). Follow up; semi-structured interview questions on each of the relationships indicated by the name generator will also be conducted for this study.

Position Generator (PG)

Flap et al's (2003) second type of measure to collect access-type of social capital data is the position generator. This instrument follows Lin's (2001, 2005) theories of social resources and social capital. The number of studies that use the PG is growing. The PG measures access to network members' occupations that represent job prestige social-resource collections within a given network. In comparison to the NG the PG is quick and easy to administer. The questionnaire can be systematically adjusted for different populations by using appropriate job prestige hierarchies such as Blau and Duncan's (1970) Socio-Economic Index (SEI). Limitations of the PG include its theoretical dependence on the importance of job prestige. Another limitation is that it is a challenge to focus an investigation of the goals and context specifics of social capital. Multiple measures are needed to look at this type of textual complexity. As I attempted to apply this instrument to an analysis of African American life I considered the many layers of status and hierarchic positions within the African American community (e.g. the Black church with mixed status). The PG is very useful in between-population comparisons and is well suited to the complex mix of status and power as written about within the African American community (Dyson, 2006; Putnam, 2000). See the Appendix ((III A, C, and D) for 20 plus item questionnaire as an example of the PG.

Resource Generator (RG)

The "resource generator" was used together with the "position and name generator" for purposes of "triangulation" and to get a more holistic and

115

multidimensional view of the social resource network of each coordinator. When

researchers wanted to survey a very large population and the name generator was too

detailed, could not be self-administered, and thus, was too costly, therefore they

invented the "resource generator (personal communication Stanton-Salazar,

September 12, 2006). The RG is the latest of the measures and attempts to overcome

many of the challenges encountered in the use of the NG and PG. The RG helps

researchers ask about access to resources within the basic questionnaire format of the

PG while measuring the strength of ties by indicating the role of the ties. The

availability of the resource is determined by the strength of tie to the unit of analysis

via family, friend, or acquaintance. It can lead to multiple social capital indicators,

which can lead to goal specific resources of social capital. As with the PG there is a

need for theoretical guidance in regards to the value of the types of social capital

observed. The RG is useful for within-population studies and comparisons between

subgroups of populations. See the Appendix (III B, E, and F) for an example of 30

plus item questionnaire--the RG.

Instrument Considerations

Notions that a lager volume of social networks are better, a better type of

social capital exists due to the amount of variety, and a vertical reach of hierarchy

are notions that can only hold true if there is common agreement as to theories

applied. A single measure can leave data unused because social capital data is

viewed in only one way and should be viewed within the type of comparisons of

other data (i.e. triangulation). Flap et al (2003) suggested that more than one

116

measure be used. This is done first by looking at a theoretical basis to group items that measure a particular phenomenon. Next, the use of the NG and RG to added items as the PG does not have theoretical domains. Empirical analysis from a set of questionnaire items for an exploration and transformation into dimensions of social capital can be accomplished with the NG, PG, and the RG. Like Flap et al (2003), this study has been concerned with the reproduction of equality (Lin, 2001) and/or inequality (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). While, many sociologists focus on group differences, in this study, similar to Flap et al, I am interested in the individual characteristics of program leaders and/or institutional agents that serve to help promote the reproduction of society and/or to challenge and to change the status quo, especially where there are deleterious situations for many African American youth.

Ethnographic Interview Questions

These ethnographic interview questions and more in-depth probes were followed both a deductive and inductive approach. The deductive approach was rooted in theories of social capital (Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001), empowerment (Bryant-Solomon, 1976), and help-seeking orientation (Carter, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The inductive approach came in my efforts to have respondents explain their motivations and challenges based upon their own mindset (e.g. personality, cultural orientation, ideology, training etc.). For more on the ethnographic interview questions, see the Appendix (IV A and B).

To summarize the instrumentation section -- the name generator (NG), position generator (PG), and resource generator (RG) are instruments that have been

useful in researchers' ongoing efforts to measure social capital. Flapp et al (2003), researchers in the Netherlands, have refined the use of the instruments in their look at individual networks. The NG is a time consuming but effective way to analyze ego-centric networks in depth. The PG is a quick way to analyze data but is very dependent on the theory of job prestige to explain the data sets. The RG is an evolution of the NG and PG that overcomes their challenges by remaining quick in its administration but allows more detailed study of the strength of the ties. The challenge with all these measures by themselves is that they are not suitable for investigations of goal and context specificity. In isolation, without a common theory the NG, PG, and RG can yield varying information that can lead to disparate measures of social capital. All three should be used to truly measure the impact of social capital. Follow-up questions in general as well as specific ethnographic questions to help highlight the goals and context, especially as they relate to the reproduction of equality or inequalities, were addressed for this study.

De-Limitations and Limitations of the Study

I applied a critical case study approach to examine the network and context of the program leaders of the A-MAN and KL to draw research findings from a surveys, ethnographic interviews, and program information. This process incorporated both inductive and deductive methodologies gather data and information regarding the network orientation and help-seeking of A-MAN and KL relative to the role of the institutional agents. Critical ethnographic case study is essential to draw inferences relative to a historical background of the community-

118

based A-MAN and KL programs. Both quantitative and qualitative interview methods helped me comment on phenomenon regarding the salience of institutional agency in the context of A-MAN and KL. The literature, data, and information has helped me to triangulate findings in a manner that facilitates broader discussion about the importance of A-MAN and KL and similar programs that seek to ameliorate the challenges faced by African American youth and in particular African American males.

I assumed that program leaders of A-MAN and KL are running successful programs in that they are preparing African American males (and in the case of A-MAN females as well) for college. A-MAN boasts a 100 percent college preparation rate. KL program director states similar numbers for students that "follow the program," although the KL program staff admits the standards are high as some young men are not able to make the commitment to complete the program. Three program leaders for this study are too small to make any generalizations from the results. My intent with this case study was to provide program leaders' information about data from the network size and potential positions and resources of support as well as comment only on the observed phenomena.

As with all case studies, findings are subjective. The results may also be impacted by the experience, current context, and personality of the program leaders. I also had to be careful of my own influence as a researcher to not be swayed by the level of power that the program leaders utilize in the same field of study I am an engaged in within my career. In an effort at full disclosure, I am a member of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc., which may have provided me a greater degree of access

119

than another person who may have attempted to complete this study. I have a prior knowledge of fraternity life. However, I joined as an alumni member (i.e. I became a member after earning a bachelor's degree) five years prior to beginning this study and I am still considered relatively new to the workings of the fraternity and the types of community based traditions or codes of power (Delpit, 1995) that are cultivated within that life. I am learning just as someone else who would conduct a similar study. I have been careful to keep the literature review and discussions of such out of the esoteric nature of the fraternity and focus on the aspects of the study, which can be reliably repeated by those who may or may not be members of a fraternity or sorority.

The limitations of time had an impact on my ability to interview other potential leaders within each of the programs. Conducting a study of this nature takes a great deal of time to establish rapport and although I asked about interviewing other staff members the program leaders for both programs indicated that it would be best if I only interviewed them. This was especially made clear after the A-MAN program leader and the KL program were made fully aware as to the nature of the study. Their concern was in regards to confidentiality of the program staff and volunteers.

These limitations outlined, the study should provide an understanding of a phenomenon that deserves greater attention (i.e. African American institutions and their youth programs). Graham (2003) and Ross (2000) have given the phenomenon more popular treatment but the there should be greater analysis of the powerful network ties that sustained well known African American civil rights leaders such as

Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, James Weldon

Johnson, Paul Robson, Arthur Schomberg, Ralph Abernathy, Tom Bradley, and

Arthur Ashe (Graham, 2003; Ross, 2000). The program leaders in this study are

representative of a generation within American history that brought an end to

segregation and helped America grow with the resultant changes. There stories not

only need to be told but we need to utilize this information to develop greater social

theory. If anything comes of this study it will be that the mechanisms of

empowerment have been recorded for future generations.

Data Collection

Prior to collection of any data I applied to the University of Southern

California's Internal Review Board (IRB) and was granted approvals to conduct this

study with an exemption. I provided the participants with an IRB approved

information sheet and their consent was given by their participation this study.

Phase I (Interview 1)

Name Generator (NG) takes approximately one and half hours to administer.

It is not too invasive, but is used to learn about the program and helps to establish

rapport due to the nature of the time involved in the administration of the instrument.

The Position Generator (PG) and Resource Generator (RG) are developed to be self-

administered, but I guided the interviewees through the instruments. These were

done after the NG as I had a better idea regarding what to ask the interviewee.

Phase II (2 Interviews)

After the NG was given, the names of individuals' for follow-up questions from a predetermined list (see appendix IV), with topics on specific information regarding each provider. These questions pertained to aspects of the relationships that were discovered in Phase I. Ethnographic interview notes were taken during and memos were developed upon review of this data. For the third interview ethnographic data were collected regarding the participant's beliefs and perceptions regarding the intervention program (data to be recorded and transcribed). The questions will also be specific to the A-MAN program in regards to the empowerment of African American students as well as the use of internet technology to model the creation of social networks. These interviews were transcribed.

Data Analysis

To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to answer questions about how program leaders convey essential skills that empower low-status and minority youth to achieve academic success. With the exception of Erickson's (1996) work on the exploration of social networks and cultural capital, most researchers have not done qualitative research as I had proposed. The work actually delves into the dynamics of the relationships and program contexts. I am concerned in particular with the program leaders' support of African American youth in their navigation around and through institutional and/or societal obstacles to their academic success. The data I collected was used to answer each research question. Follow-up, semi-structured interview questions on each of the names generated in the name generator were

audio-recorded. Detailed note taking and the use of a transcription helped in the analysis. Data was transcribed verbatim and extensive notes were taken, during the interview. "Memos" were developed after I coded data and information using a limited list of codes and patterns identified using Spradley's (1979) domain analysis. Spradley identifies four principles that can be used in an ethnographic analysis. The "relational principle," is when the meaning of a symbol can be found in relation to other symbols in the literature and or in other aspects of the gathered data. Also, "the use principle," is when the meaning of a symbol can be discovered by asking how it is used rather than inquiring as to its' meaning. Next, the "similarity principle," is when a symbol's meaning can be discovered by finding out how it is similar to other symbols. Finally, the "contrast principle," is where the meaning of a symbol can be discovered by finding out how it is different from other principles. The information that comes out of this interview prepared me for the subsequent ethnographic interview—which were more unstructured and conversational. This ethnographic interview involved extensive probing and references back to the follow-up interview on those named in the "name generator" instrument.

The research questions were answered by first developing a network from the Name Generator (NG), then using the follow-up questions to analyze the nature of the relationships with each person within the network. How a program leader considers others' positions and their own based was based on the answers to the Position Generator (PG). As transcripts were reviewed the theoretical considerations that make the basis of empowerment (Sadan, 2004; Bryant-Solomon, 1976) and institutional agency (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) were considered.

123

To conclude this section, network data were organized into tables with numerical data that shows the diversity, quality, and range of the program leader's social networks. Ethnographic interview data were analyzed via recorded and transcribed interview data, which helped detail how program leaders mobilize and utilize sources of support as well as overcome obstacles youth and/or program staff encounter. An analysis of recorded and transcribed interview data based on a theoretical perspective helped to answer this final set of questions.

Summary

This chapter has provided the research methods, design, and the population and relevant program characteristics of the African Male Achiever's Network and Kappa League program leaders. The rationale and specifics regarding the name generator, position generator, and resource generator instruments were also provided. Finally, the data collection and analysis procedures were detailed. In Chapter Four the research findings and an analysis of the findings are given and outlined.

Quantitative and Qualitative research methods were used in this case study of husband and wife founders of the African Male Achiever's Network (A-MAN). Interviews were conducted at their business, in their home, and on the phone from South Africa. A single male Director of the Kappa League (KL) with all interviews conducted at the Kappa Kastle where the Los Angeles, CA Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity holds their meetings. Spardley's (1979) ethnographic approach and Stanton-Salazar's (1997; 2001) understanding of minority-life guided the approach to this study. Background information, Name Generator, Position

Generator, Resource Generator, and Ethnographic digitally recorded interviews with transcription and follow-up clarification questions via e-mail and phone conferences were used to gather data and information.

The guidelines for selecting the programs and program leaders were as follows: The program had been in existence for over 20 years, the program leaders were available to be interviewed, the program leaders were active in the running of the daily operations, and they program leaders consented to being interviewed. The protocols for the study were cleared by an Institutional Review Board for the University of Southern California. The study earned an exempt status and the participants reviewed an approved protocol and answering of questions was indicated as consent to conduct this study. The first phases of the study utilized IRB approved survey instruments and the last phases were done with an IRB ethnographic interview protocol. These interviews were transcribed and reviewed for themes that related to the answers for research questions. Interviews were conducted in person, over the phone, and via e-mail.

The data and information collected was reviewed and developed into four major categories. The literature review, transcribed interviews, survey protocols, and general program information were used to develop these themes within the context. Spradley-type (1979) memos were organized after each interview and used to graphically organize the data and information so that themes from interviews and surveys could be analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter I will analyze the quantitative and qualitative data and

information. The data and information from this study highlights the issues related

to networking for the benefit of the students in the African Male Achiever's Network

(A-MAN) and Kappa League programs. In this chapter, I will review the sequential

process for data collection and information gathering. A review of the research

questions will be provided. I will also provide answers to questions based on data,

information, and theoretical themes that emerged as a result of this study. Numerical

and graphic organization of the data and information will be presented from

interviews and will be displayed in relation to the answered questions. Demographic

information and programmatic information is detailed in this section to make the

more personable the program leaders of the A-MAN and Kappa League. Finally,

conclusions based upon emergent themes will be discussed in relation to answers to

the research questions. A glossary of key concepts and definitions are provided in

Appendix (V B).

The purpose of this study has been to reveal how program leaders use their

relationships to provide resources to mostly African American youth in the African

Male Achiever's Network (A-MAN) program, which provides services to

participants ages six to 18 years of age and the Kappa League program, services

young men in grades nine through twelve. Leaders from two academically oriented

and community-based mentoring programs were interviewed. The Chief Executive

Officer and President of the A-MAN, which has been in place for over 20 years, were interviewed together. In a separate interview, was the Director of the 40 year old Kappa League Program of the Los Angles Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc. (KL), provided his insight into a similar program. Both programs have as their overall outcomes preparation of African American and minority youth's increased readiness and entrance into college.

Data Collection and Information Gathering

After preliminary proposal submission to the dissertation committee and the University of Southern California's Internal Review Board (IRB) the study was conducted in the three different phases. The first phase involved rapport building and the collection of background information. The tools in Appendix IA through IE were all utilized. I started by collecting information from the A-MAN program leaders, Mr. Hildreth Walker and his wife Dr. Bettye Walker. They insisted on being interviewed together. Mr. Walker would often begin the interviews and Dr. Walker would complete them. Rapport was established easily after visits to their Awards Banquet in June of 2006, their home to discuss the IRB protocols, their office to discuss program publications, and phone calls from South Africa. The Walkers were in South Africa on business from December 2006 until mid February 2007. They completed the Personal Background Survey (Appendix IB), Staff Worksheet (Appendix IC), Grand Tour Survey (Appendix ID), and Organizational Affiliations (Appendix IE) after discussing the directions on the phone with me and then e-mailing the completed forms back to me. Mr. Reney met with me at the "Kappa

Kastle" fraternity house and over the course of an hour we went through the first phases of information together (see Appendix IA-IE). Although the conditions were ideal (i.e. we were in the same building, at a quiet conference table, familiar surroundings for him) rapport was not as easily established. I had known the Walkers for almost six months prior to beginning interviews, whereas Mr. Reney and I had only six days to get know each other. Mr. Reney agreed to meet with me in January of 2007 and by February 2007 we were conducting interviews. Mr. Reney wanted me to be clear that his experience with the program's organizational structure may prove to be a challenge to my understanding how KL works and our conversations involved revisiting this issue. With the A-MAN program I had more time to read their program literature therefore there was less need to stop and review.

The second phase of the data gathering involved the Name Generator (Appendix IIA-IIB), which was completed by the Walkers and me over the phone. They called their offices in Inglewood, California from their location in South Africa. The A-MAN staff gave me a quiet place to me to sit and the Walkers and I held our phone conferences. Again, Mr. Reney met with me at the "Kappa Kastle" and over the course of an hour we went through the second phase of information together (i.e. Appendix IIA-IIC). Mr. Reney's answers regarding his contacts frequently ended with parents being the sole source of support and his desire to be clear that there are certain issues that the KL does not get involved with. I will discuss this further in later sections (e.g. Response to Research Questions and Thematic Categories).

Phase three of the data collection involved the more technical data collection with the Position Generator (Appendix IIIA, IIIC, and IIID) and Resource Generator (Appendix IIIB, IIIE, and IIIF). The Walkers completed the PG and RG over the phone with me and e-mailed their responses. Although, they felt their answers were complete I followed-up with an interview to clarify and confirm their responses. The interview was conducted with them at their church. Mr. Reney and I again completed the responses at the Kappa Kastle.

The final phase of the interviews occurred after an analysis of the data and information and follow-up questions were asked. The first round of follow-up questions had to do with the contacts that were indicated as providing two or three sources of support. The other questions for A-MAN were in regards to a thought I had about Dr. Walker growing up in the same town and era as famous civil rights leaders. In the answer to Research Question One she provided a very clear answer to me via e-mail. The questions for KL were also about program volunteers who had provided Mr. Reney sources of support as well as questions generated by observations of the program meetings. The follow-up interview sessions were tape recorded and transcribed.

Overall, the data and information collected involved several rapport building meetings with the A-MAN program leaders, four specific meetings for data collection and rapport building with the KL and as a result rapport was not as easily established with the KL. With the exception of the A-MAN program leaders' responses to the Position and Resource Generators the first time, each meeting yielding significant data and information. Interviews were conducted at one main

location with the KL program leader while the A-MAN program leaders met with me in various locations (e.g. church, home, and office) and they utilized various methods to contact me (e.g. e-mail, phone, and mail).

Research Questions Reviewed

The research questions were developed from themes within the literature such as social networking (Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000), empowerment (Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Sadan, 2004), and relationships, and minority equity in access to high status social capital (Lin, 2000; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; 2001). Five specific research questions based on the literature and germane to the particular program leaders were answered for this case study.

RQ 1: How has the program leaders' personal history of empowerment impacted the structure of the programs?

RQ2: Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their program?

RQ3: Does the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital?

RQ4: Does a program leader's individual perceptions of length of contact with a person, age, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders' implementation of institutional agency?

Program Description and Context

The following information has been obtained from the Fifth Edition of the History of Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity, Inc. as edited by Bryson (2003). As indicated in Chapter Three, the Guide Right objectives of Kappa Alpha Psi were implemented by the St. Louis Alumni Chapter in 1922. Leon W. Steward, who is dubbed the "Father of the Guide Right Movement," based Guide Right on these five objectives:

- To help youth, especially those of high school graduating classes, in their selection of courses leading to vocations compatible with their aptitudes and personalities

- To assist students, while they are training, to get started in the employment, and to progress successfully in their chosen fields.

- To assist parents in the handling of their children by given them the opportunities to talk over their problems with those who know and are successful in their chosen vocations.

- To afford the less fortunate youths a respite from the drudgery of the streets, through sponsored trips to ball games, zoological garden, museums, theater, and other activities.

- To inform youth of the values of higher education, assistance available for continued pursuits, scholarship, loans, professional opportunities, and of current labor demands and the trends on the effect of these demands and trends on the labor market.

Kappa League

Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. continued with the Guide Right program as developed in 1922, until in 1968, a year after Tom Bradley, former Mayor Los Angles, CA was the Grand Polemarch (i.e. President) for the entire fraternity from 1960-1967. In 1968, the Los Angeles Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., at Alain LeRoy Locke High School started a program based on Guide Right. Kappa League was adopted by the Grand Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. in 1970. The Los Angles Alumni chapter's version of Guide Right was refined into what is now known as, "Kappa League" and took on a similar but more distinct purpose of preparing young men to be able to show their demonstrated growth in leadership skills in the "Five Phases of Kappa League":

- Self Identity

- Training

- Competition

- Social

- Health Education

Toward the end of each school year, the Kappa Leaguers each do presentations to demonstrate the growth in five phases. The program leaders and the Kappa Leaguers refer to the event as the "Presents." Preparation for the "Presents" is a big part of the activities throughout the year.

KL, according to Mr. Reney, "has been in its' basic configuration for the past 12 years I have been involved with it." KL is run by a sub-committee of Guide

Right. The main Guide Right committee ensures that the chapter meets the

objectives of the fraternity's 80 year old guidelines for youth programs. In order to

be in good standing, every chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi must have an active Guide

Right program. The Los Angles Alumni Chapter has at least four sub-committees of

Guide Right. They are as follows:

- Tutoring at Tom Bradley Elementary and Johnnie Cochran Middle School in
    Los Angles Unified School District (Mr. Bradley and Mr. Cochran were
    both very active and decorated members of Kappa Alpha Psi)

- Work with at-risk students in the community at large

- ACT and SAT prep open to males and females for a low cost

- Kappa League

    Key staff member information is provided for context. The names have been

changed to keep the confidentiality of the program volunteers. The volunteer staff is

made up of all African American fraternity members of Kappa Alpha Psi. The key

staff members listed by Mr. Reney are KL is as follows:

- David is a mentoring volunteer who coordinates the mentor connections and
    step routines. He has worked with the KL for two years in Los Angles, CA.
    Prior to his moving to Los Angles, CA, David worked with KL "some where
    Down South," according to Mr. Reney. "Down South" refers to Southern
    region of the United States of America.

- Fred is a committee member who coordinates meetings and helps monitor the KL youth participants point system. He has been involved with the program for the past 2 years.

- William is a committee member who helps to coordinate the meetings. He has been involved with the program for the past 2 years.

- McKinley is a committee member who is a "jack of all trades." His latest support has been to coordinate the KL program retreat and the youth's participation in the Martin Luther King Day Parade. He has been involved with the program for the past 3 years.

- James is a committee member who worked with Garfield to coordinate the KL program retreat and the youth's participation in the Martin Luther King Day Parade. He has been involved with the program for the past 3 years.

- Alvin is a committee member who has coordinated college entrance readiness activities and Scholastic Aptitude Testing (SAT) prep courses for the youth. He has been involved with the program for the past 5 years

- Bill is a committee member who has coordinated the tutorial program for the youth participants and has worked with Melvyn on the SAT prep courses. He has been involved with the program for the past 2 years.

- Nathan is a committee member who works with the youth to prepare them for their presentations of the Kappa Leaguer's growth in the 5 Phases of KL. Also known as the "Presents." He also supports the KL retreat. He has been involved with the program for at least 2 years.

At the Kappa Alpha Psi Los Angeles Alumni Chapter's Fraternity House, all the youth participants are all male. They current participants are approximately 25 African American, students, from various high schools in the Los Angles, CA area. The young men meet one time a month on Sunday afternoon and for other scheduled activities such as tutoring, step-dance practice, field trips, college-prep courses, and/or as needed. During the monthly business meetings, Mr. Reney and the other staff are there to coach the students and to run the meetings by using Robert's Rules of Order the guidelines to run the meeting. All participants are required to wear collared-shirts and ties. Each participant is rewarded through a point system that is totaled the end of the year. The young men can earn points for being on time, wearing the proper attire, and completing any required assignments (e.g. Job applications, SAT packet, 5 Phases worksheet etc…). The young men follow a strict agenda at the meeting. The agenda is set by the young men who are officers and the adult committee members. There is time for celebrations of the young men's achievements, critique from the adults, discussion of political events from the week, and announcements of interest to the participants. Parent participation is strongly encouraged and parent meetings occur at the same time as the youth meetings. The parents often meet in a nearby room at the Kappa House. All the parents who attend these meetings are mothers.

The committee of eight reports back to the 100 member Los Angles Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. in regards to the development of the KL participants. The committee utilizes the chapter for some forms of financial support,

generation of ideas, and/or volunteers to support various events. Mr. Reney makes every effort to keep KL an independent group within the chapter.

African Male Achiever's Network (A-MAN)

The A-MAN program also developed out of this tradition as it is Mr. Walker is a member of Kappa Alpha Psi . Mr. Walker and Mr. Reney are members of the same chapter in Los Angeles, CA. The A-MAN model of Guide Right as of 2005 has been adopted as the national model for Guide Right programs. As indicated in Chapter three, the main mission of A-MAN is:

> To utilize science and technology as a motivational tool and advance the educational achievement, intellectual, and career development of African-American and other minority students 5-18 years of age. A-MAN, INC. seeks partnerships with individuals and institutions that share the vision to increase diversity in the special interests in the fields of science and technology.

The goal of A-MAN has been to increase the number of African-American and other minority students who are excited about and who enter the fields of science and technology. Activities take place year round at the base of operations in Inglewood, CA at the International Science Discovery and Learning (ISD&L) Center. The Center provides students opportunities for hands-on activities to foster the student's interest in science and technology as well as prepare students to become, "outstanding citizens in the Twenty-First Century." Similar programs have within the past few years in South Africa, Riverside, CA, and some Kappa Alpha Psi chapters have attempted to adopt the A-MAN model in parts of the East Coast. According to program literature, nearly 1200 youth are served by the A-MAN

136

program. As indicated that Chapters Two and Three, boys via (A-MAN) and girls via (Young Ladies Achievers Club/Y-LAC) participate. Fourteen people make up its' board for the 501c3 organization and A-MAN is sponsored by at least a dozen corporations. Endorsements from local, state, and national politicians and business leaders line the walls and are throughout the informational packets on A-MAN. Relationships or "strategic partnerships" are very important to the operation of the program.

Examples of materials and activities at A-MAN program are a full scale space station simulator, robotics lab, and laser beam lab. There are also computer, multi-media, and math/reading labs. There is also a permanent display of the Tuskegee Airmen (i.e. the much decorated African American pilots who flow for the United States of America's Army Air Corp in World War II). The Tuskegee Airmen who are alive from that time are supporters of the program and have spoke with the youth participants. The young people attend tutoring, field trips, and/or activities with mentors after school, on weekends, and in the summer. Of note, the International Space Station Lab is named Sirius-B (S-B) after the star initially discovered in the 1930's by the West African Dogan tribe. The S-B Lab is a near full size model of an International Space Station Module. This is the only model of it's type in America. S-B consists of six work stations, which include a bio-medical lab and an operational mission control center. Student astronaut teams simulate operations in both the station and the ground mission control systems as they learn more about space travel as well as increase their understanding of science in a kinesthetic and a cognitive-academic process.

Along with all the academic components and the physical plant's labs is the nurturing component. Role models are assigned to students. They meet with students monthly to discuss the student's plans for the life after high school, progress in school, and/or any obstacles that may keep them from being prepared for college. The role models sign a contract and work with students for a minimum of one year. Some role models have worked with students for up to 10 years. Parents meet monthly at the ISD&L Center, for dinner, and/or at the office of the role model. The parent participation component of the A-MAN is called Parents, Achievers, and Role-Models (PAR). At the end of each school year A-MAN holds a recognition event where students achievers and role models are presented to an audience. During the formal banquet, "Passing the Torch" awards are presented to the role-models by the young people. In a processional of pageantry and music the awardees walk in to the event with their young people. At the even the Walker's lead the way while mostly the African American audience applauds the young people. Each young person and their mentor walk up to a microphone and say something like this, "Good evening. My name is _____ and my role-model is Dr. _____, and I want to be a doctor." At the event I observed over twenty young people and their role-models were presented.

As Board Chairman, Co-Founder and Science Education advisor, Mr. Walker initiates and participates in community collaborations, seeks funds and supporters as well as directs the science and technology department. In her roles as President, Co-Founder, and Education Director, Dr. Walker directs the daily operations of the A-MAN's physical plant, coordinates projects, and community outreach activities. Dr.

Walker acts as a liaison with local school officials, teachers, and parents in the community. She also seeks funding by writing grants and coordinates the Business Advisory Council. Dr. Walker maintains the organization and environment of the program and physical plant.

Key staff member information is provided for context. The names have been changed to keep the confidentiality of the program staff. The staff is made up of all African Americans. Key staff members for A-MAN are as follows:

- Jill, a female administrative assistant who coordinates the ISD&L Center activities and keeps the books. She has been with A-MAN for one year.

- Brandon is a male instructor who works as a part-time as an after school technology teacher and informational technology liaison. He has been with A-MAN for three years.

- Damon is a male van driver who provides transportation and maintains the ISD& L Center's van. He has been with the Center for 1 year.

- Trisha is a female receptionist/clerk and she receives visitors to the ISD& L Center and provides clerical support. She has been with A-MAN for one year.

- Timothy is a male teacher who provides part-time instruction for the hands on science activities. He has been with A-MAN for one year.

- Jude is a male teacher who provides tutoring, homework assistance, and other hands-on academic. He has been with A-MAN for 1 year.

A-MAN and KL

My dissertation chair and I chose A-MAN and KL programs of they met

these following guidelines: The programs had been in existence for over 20 years,

the program leaders were available to be interviewed, the program leaders were

active in the running of the daily operations, and they program leaders consented to

being interviewed. I first obtained consent to interview the A-MAN program leaders

and due to the heavy travel schedule of the A-MAN program leaders (e.g. Boston,

San Francisco, Washington, D.C., South Africa etc all within the last six months the

study was conducted) I included the KL program leader. Both programs share a

similar network and the A-MAN model has been adopted by the Kappa's national

Guide Right committee to be the official model. The review of the older program

(KL since 1967) and the newer program (A-MAN since 1986) provided some points

for comparison but overall there is a sharing of information regarding parallel

phenomena in regards to programs with similar outcomes (i.e. preparing African

American youth for college).

Answers to Research Questions

RQ1: Do these program leaders have access to a network and/or institutions with a

history of empowerment?

This question relates back to the literature review and the discussion

empowerment and/or of a community members efforts to gain control of their lives

(Sadan, 2004). These questions also relate specifically to Hilliard's (1995)

"maroonage" and the ongoing efforts of African Americans to remain empowered within the realm of education and other societal pursuits (Bryant-Solomon, 1976).

<u>A-MAN's program leaders' history of empowerment is embedded in their personal and work related network ties</u>

The following information was obtained using the background surveys based on Baker's (2000) and Spradely's (1979) guidelines for identifying social networks and ethnographic interviews. The Walkers completed these surveys via interviews in their home, the office, over the phone, and via the internet.

The A-MAN program leaders are husband and wife (Board Chairman and President respectively). At their insistence, they were interviewed together. Hildreth Walker, Jr. is 73 years of age and his wife, Dr. Bettye Walker is 63 years of age. They have two adult children, one of whom they refer to in their personal network. They both refer to themselves as "African American." Mr. Walker has Bachelors' degrees in Business Management and Engineering. Dr. Walker has a Bachelor's degree from Howard University, a Historically Black College or University (HBCU), a Master's degree from Chapman University, and a Doctorate of Philosophy from Western University. Hildreth indicated that his father attended Southern University (HBCU) in 1937 for his Bachelor's degree and Cal State Los Angeles in 1970 for his Master's degree. Dr. Walker's parents attended Morris Brown College (HBCU) and graduated with a Bachelors' degrees in 1934. Howard, Southern, and Morris Brown are all HBCU's and provide a significant connection for social networking among college educated African Americans. Mr. Walker is a member of Kappa Alpha Psi,

Fraternity as well as the exclusive Sigma Pi Phi (Boulé) fraternity. Both fraternities

are traditionally Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO). Dr. Walker is a member

of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority as well as a member of the exclusive African

American women's society known as "The Links." Both of the these

aforementioned sororities are traditionally known as being BGLO's.

Dr. Walker is professionally involved in the Council of Black Administrators

and Mr. Walker is professionally involved with the Association of Science and

Technology Centers. They did not indicate ties to either political party. They attend

Holman United Methodist Church (a traditionally African American congregation).

The Walkers are also involved with Rotary International and participate in a

recreational golf organization called "Tee Divas and Tee Dudes."

The Walkers are retired from their careers in engineering and education but

they continue to use their training and contacts within these fields to support their

work with the A-MAN program. Mr. Walker indicated his most important

educational experience that applied to his career and directly impacts the program

was his participation in the National Aeronautical and Space Association's (NASA)

Apollo 11 moon landing. Mr. Walker has an exhibit in the Smithsonian Institute for

being the Laser Ranging Team Leader in the Moon Laser Ranging Experiment with

Hughes Aircraft. Mr. Walker also holds the distinction of being the first African

American to earn the position of Laboratory Manger with NASA. Dr. Walker

indicated her most important employment experiences has been her work as an

assistant professor and student affairs facilitator in the 1970's and her work as an

elementary and secondary school principal in the 1980's and 1990's. The Walker's

are also very involved with their church (Holman United Methodist Church, which can be heard on the radio each week) and are active participants in the various activities that occur at their church.

The type of networking Mr. Walker participates in with his contacts from NASA and the type of contacts Dr. Walker has from her contacts from her work as an educator have a positive impact on the A-MAN, Inc. International Science Discovery and Learning Center (ISD&L). The title itself is an expression of the career experience that Mr. Walker (science discovery) and Dr. Walker (learning) bring to the program. The Walkers developed the program over 20 years ago and have been using the current organizational structure for the past 15 years. The first five years the program was funded by grant with the University of California at Los Angles and Dr. Walker's contacts within the school district where she worked. After Dr. Walker's retirement they developed the program in to a 501c3 and devote their time to running the program.

If their personal and professional associations are not enough to answer the question about their ties to the ongoing empowerment of African American youth their interviews solidified the answer. Dr. Walker is in many ways tied to African American civil rights pioneers from the twentieth century. After further review of the background information and other data related to dates and locations each has lived, I asked Dr. Walker, "Did you ever met Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. or were you acquainted with other significant civil rights figures?" She answered:

> Yes, I met Dr. King after the March on Washington (1963) with a group of teachers in Washington, D. C. My mother grew up in Atlanta and attended his father's church. My aunt, one of my mother's sisters used to baby sit Dr. King and when church was in session, Dr. King would sit on my aunt's lap. She would tell me stories about him as a child when she was his baby sitter.

I felt this information was sufficient to justify my inquiry but her following

statements added more evidence for the answers to the research questions in regards

to her mindfulness of social capital and empowerment. This confirms for me that

social capital network and the empowerment of African American youth were

modeled for her. Similarly, as scholars have found as they look back at the life of

Malcolm X (also known as El Hajj Malik Al Shabazz), his mother and father were

actively involved with civil rights even prior to Shabazz's birth (Tappan, 2005), thus

planting the seeds for his activism with the Nation of Islam and later with his

independent organization. Dr. Walker's social network was full of models of

empowered African American success. Here is what she stated about her neighbors:

> I grew up in the same neighborhood as Dr. Charles Drew (noted African American physician who developed advanced techniques for blood transfusion) and his daughters and we went to school together and we were a community that had role models all around us that always encouraged us whenever they saw us in the community, in school, in the neighborhood stores, in church, in the homes. I just saw one of Dr. Drew's daughters in Washington, D. C. last fall and she is a college president.

It appears that Dr. Walker and Dr. Drew's daughters benefited from the same

network and those connections have continued. Dr. Walker's connections remain

current with her neighborhood friend and ongoing contacts. This may be based on

her ties through the same sorority (i.e. Alpha Kappa Alpha), of which the deceased

Rosa Parks and Coretta Scott King are members. Dr. Walker also states,

> I met Rosa Parks several times in Los Angeles and the last time I saw her was at UCLA. The English department had their literary reading and I was one of the readers. Rosa Parks and I sat together and she spoke after my reading.

Dr. Walker brings the same level mission and seriousness to accomplishing the goals of A-MAN as I imagine Rosa Parks brought to the Civil Rights struggle. Dr. Walker grew up embedded within a network of adults who were active in the struggle for African Americans to empower themselves. The Walkers are very aware of their efforts to make connections with others on behalf of their program and they are deliberate about looking for "good people" (i.e. committed to children) in the process.

Mr. Walker is calm, smiling, and assured in his work with A-MAN. In my estimation he is a very humble man who has accomplished extraordinary things. In between interviews I had a chance to talk with him at his home about his love for his wife, travel, playing six-string electric guitar, and for his fraternity. He laughs a great deal and when he speaks he is careful but not sparse with his words. When he listens he is engaged in what you have to tell him. He is a pioneer in mathematics and science and you would never know it unless his wife told you.

The Walker's are a unique American couple. They are committed to civil rights via education. They are humble, committed, down to earth, and excited about their program. They may have just come from the grocery store or the White House and they are the same. Their purpose for that moment and for their time is what is important. If you are sitting with them you are the most important person in the

room. If you have a challenge they will help you find a solution and if they can not find that solution they know someone who can help you.

Mr. Walker is often unassuming in his role as Board Chairman and Co-Founder but after interviewing both of them together, Mr. Walker's role emerges with him providing a knowledge-base in regards to the specific of science and technology as well as his being a catalyst for discussions with the Walkers. He is a great host and can make you feel comfortable from the time you first time you come through the door to meet them. He may not know what the activity is going to be but he enjoys the journey. He is patient and confident that whatever is about to happen that there is a reason for it. I had a chance to interview the Walker's at their home. As per our usual, we waited for Dr. Walker to finish a phone call. While we waited Mr. Walker showed me his vintage guitar. He told me about his trips to Africa and how he played guitar with a band at one of the local social gatherings.

Dr. Walker and "Hal," as only his wife calls him finish each others sentences and answer each others queries into their memory. For example, while completing the Name Generator, Mr. Walker started answering the questions for me, but he said, "Let's wait till Bettye gets her." When she arrived she would say, "Oh that's ____, we met them _____" and he would say, "Oh, yeah, I remember." The really complete each other. This dynamic of respect, trust, and support is not easy to fake (i.e. it is genuine). If you have a challenge they will help you find a solution and if they can not find that solution they know someone who can help you.

Kappa League's Program Leader's Network is Empowered by His Familiarity with the Church and Fraternity

Mr. Reney and I sat in Kappa Kastle in Los Angeles, CA at the corner of Crenshaw and Washington for our interview and I looked at the pictures and newspaper of clippings of prominent Kappa Men such as the late Mayor Tom Bradley, Attorney Johnnie Cochran, and civil rights activist and tennis player Arthur Ashe. In the Kappa Kastle you could easily get the sense of the type of people that Mr. Reney has interacted with over the years within Kappa.

Currently, Mr. Lawrence Reney is the program leader for Kappa League with the Los Angeles Alumni. Mr. Reney is 55 years of age. He is single. He has a son who is college age. He lists his ethnicity as African American. He is "a proud native of New Orleans, Louisiana." His bachelor's and master's degrees in business administration are from the University of Southern California. His parents' highest level of educational attainment was the third grade. The two most important experiences that apply to his position as the KL director are his work in the insurance as a Senior Vice President, which give him intuitive knowledge about leadership. Dealing with subordinates through delegation is his area of expertise. He has worked for the past 12 years with the KL program and has been the leader of the program for the past three. Mr. Reney is very involved with Kappa Alpha Psi, Fraternity Inc. He is also active in his local Catholic Church. However, in regards to KL, Mr. Reney's base of support, as he made clear from the outset, is the men listed as the members of his chapter of the fraternity.

Mr. Reney's philosophy about KL is that the fraternity is a volunteer organization and thereby volunteers run its programs--such as the KL. He treats those who work with the KL program very differently than he would at the business or educational intuitions where he has worked. His opinion is that in all of his years of experience in business he has not seen a model like this one. When I asked him if he had seen a similar model any where else, he mentioned, "Church… that's an all volunteer organization." As Billingsley (2003) has outlined, the Black church has played a major part in American social reform. One of the few venues where African Americans could gather to commiserate, plan, and prepare future generations was and is the Black church. It is not a surprise that a familiar form of support and leadership would be evident within the KL, although KL is not a religious organization many of its members are involved with churches.

I had a chance to ask Mr. Reney, "What makes a good committee member?" and his response to me revealed something about why he does not feel the need to call on several people at time. In his response I have inserted "active choice, persistence, and mental effort" as the three indicators of motivation in the research regarding effective organizations and leaders, according to Clark and Estes (2002). Here is what Mr. Reney stated.

> I tell you the one thing you can start off with is the dedication and
> commitment (active choice) to the young people in the program. If you
> didn't have that, then you know you wouldn't be showing up. And the other
> thing too, KL is a year almost a year round participation. Because, uh the
> actual committee function goes from September till the first part June… But
> then we meet during the first part of the summer to plan for the following of
> the year. Unless you start off with that dedication to the young people in the
> program the other things are not going to fall into place. Because it does, it

can become very demanding… not can be, it becomes very demanding on your time. And it's not like some committees where you go three of four months for example and you know you're out of there. This thing, it's a race; it's a long race so you have to be dedicated (persistence) to what you want to do.

Mr. Reney also indicated that in response to how he deals with the pressure of the program,

… (A)s far as the emotional part I am kinda even keel, um (mental effort). And I realize you have to maintain a certain level to get things done. As I mentioned earlier that the fraternity is voluntary… So what you are doing is voluntary it is not as if you're being paid. You can't go flying off the handle if something's not done.

Each of the "key staff members" listed by Mr. Reney are in his opinion, in roles that are suited to their strengths.

He is soft spoken yet precise with his words. When he talks he commands attention. Kappa Alpha Psi has written what the fraternity deems as acceptable qualities of its members. Three salient qualities demonstrated in words and deeds by Mr. Reney are as follows: The wisdom to abide by the will of the majority without sacrificing individuality, the discretion to refrain from destructive criticism while seeking to remove the causes of such criticism, and the acceptance of responsibility for any effort that moves the group forward (Bryson, 2003).

If one can be such a thing as the personification as a "Kappa Man," then Mr. Reney is that type of man. He is all business. Mr. Reney was born, in what Strauss and Howe (1992) call the, "Baby Boomer's generation (born 1940's-1960's). Mr. Reney's parents earned a third grade education. These circumstances in segregated Louisiana where he grew up could lend themselves to an upbringing that was similar

to those from Strauss and Howe's (1992) silent generation (1925-1940), which endured the challenges of The Great Depression—Mr. Reney is not overly talkative but speaks for the sake of clarity. His actions often speak louder. By attending the University of Southern California (USC) he was able to achieve a level of upward mobility that he wants to share with the young men in the program. His son attend USC and he is very proud of that and feels that giving back to the students in the Kappa League program is a way of continuing his commitment to the fraternity and the university. In some sense even speaking with me is a part of his giving back to USC. If you spend time with you him you will also get the sense that the less said and the more done in regards to the Kappa League, the better the situation for Mr. Reney.

Summary

The background of both programs leaders indicates networks there were built within a history of African American empowerment. The ties were via personal, professional, and general social ties. The A-MAN program leaders' collaboration as husband and wife has helped the Walkers to expand their network contacts. The KL program leader prefers a few committed members to do the bulk of the work, while having the faith that many weak ties can be drawn upon for support given the right time and right type of effective support for a given task and/or resource fulfillment.

RQ2: Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their program?

Program leaders' own awareness of their particular help-seeking orientation is important to educate youth as well as the program leaders endeavor to counter hegemonic forces within and around the youth and community they serve (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Factors which either facilitated or constrained program leaders' help-seeking orientation (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) and programmatic contexts are also important to consider in regards to these questions. These questions were answered using transcribed interview information.

<u>"No man (or woman) is an island" & You have to find "good folk"</u>

I asked the Walkers, "When you first started providing this type of support and thinking about now has there been any changes in the past 20 some odd years and how you provide that type of support?" Dr. Walker answered, "Well we've made partnerships to fit with the financial support for the students thru 'Dollars for Scholars Program.'" I also asked, "Is this something that came about naturally in the conversations you were having or something that was targeted from the beginning to make these partnerships?" Dr. Walker answered, "Well, we are always looking for partnerships… 'No man is an island.'"

We also discussed how draining the role of a program leader can be. Dr. Walker answered, "No. It is very rewarding. It's very uh, time consuming, never-ending, continuous… The tediousness… But it's so rewarding all of that makes it

worth while…" I also asked, "How do you keep yourself going or how do you deal

with the stress that may result from that?" Dr. Walker answered, "Well my

spirituality does… it takes care of that. I have a very deep sense of being a child of

the King (i.e. a reference to God)… And I'm doing his work…"

After discussing people in their network I posed the following to the Walkers,

"I got the sense you were looking for "good folk" to work with. How do you

identify those people? Dr. Walker answered:

> We kind of use ourselves. (Laughs) and the commonalties that we come up
> with between and Hal and the others that we meet. We've got to "be on the
> same page" I guess you could say. There are so many people who feel like
> children are a waste of your time and too time consuming to even deal with
> and that's unfortunate… But we make sure that people see our commitment
> to the children and want to get involved at that same level. Because if we
> don't work with the children we will never have the adults we need to be the
> leaders of tomorrow. I've given up on adults. I want to give all I've got to
> the children.

Although, Dr. Walker's stated that she has "given up on adults" she and her husband

are constantly seeking out people to work with the youth in their program but as she

stated the adults need have the same level of commitment to the children.

Ability to identify where people can function in different areas

Mr. Reney has a smaller network but he uses that network to make maximize

his connections within the program. Although he did not directly state that he is

actively seeking contacts from his discussion of, "fitting people into the right places"

he is aware of how people can work together to support a youth program. For

example, after I proposed the following; "You have a unique way of doing things.

You've been doing it for a while. I'm listening to how you pieced together all these different things. Where do you get your mentorship, guidance… in doing what you're doing?" He answered,

> Most of it is my personality quite frankly. Most of it is a lot of different organizations… Different groups that do not have the finality like you get in the work environment. So, um, you get to uh, a knack for learning how to deal with these different types if individuals different types of functions. Uh, I think I just have I have an ability to identify where people can function in different areas. I never forget that this is a volunteer organization. People will… You can't just overload them or demand that they do something. You can discuss it. You guys may go back and forth. You can't forget that someone may decide that, "I need this from you…" and you know you're down to no body. That's one of the unique challenges of dealing with the frat or any organization where people are volunteering your time.

Summary

The A-MAN program leaders are on a constant search for committed volunteers. While the KL program leader keep searches for opportunities for members of the fraternity to be effective in their roles within the committee and/or to support the committee.

RQ3: Did the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital?

Granovetter's (1973) weak ties are important for individuals to have in order to complete their network. The weak ties (e.g. financial lenders, high status executives, and/or knowledgeable college professors) help a person to extend their personal network beyond what strong ties (e.g. people they may see every day such as family, friends, and peers). For Granovettor (1973), weak ties or dormant ties

153

have to do with those ties that are not frequently accessed. For the purposes of this study dormant ties are seen as those contacts not fully accessed within the past year. The respondents for the A-MAN program had accessed all facets of their program (i.e. educational gateway, social services, health, governmental agency, business, computer technology, and African-Centered) within the past year. These 7 aforementioned facets were broken into 16 areas. The responses for this question have come from interviews, Name Generator, Resource Generator, and the Staff Worksheet.

For A-MAN there were 4 contacts listed that provided support in 3 or more areas and in all areas there were 2 or people who had provided support that past year. The respondent for KL was able to support the program in at least nine of the 16 areas. For A-MAN, only one contact was listed as dormant for an area but 2 others had been accessed within the year as well as the respondent. The KL program had 10 of the 16 domains with either dormant of fully accessed contacts. The areas of support that had been accessed within the year were education al support, social integration/development, political support, medical support, careers/internships, and the computers/internet. The areas of program support that the respondent provided was academic integration, financial information, and careers/internships. When asked about the other areas (i.e. college services, academic and student affairs, crisis support, law enforcement, and African Centered) where contacts could provide support to the program, Mr. Reney was clear in that, "We call the parents if we see a young men who needs support in any of these areas." See table 4.1 for a graphic presentation of the results.

Table 4.1 provides a detailed indication of the 16 areas of support that the A-MAN and KL program leaders were asked about. For example with the educational gateway to college for A-MAN "3F +R" means that the respondents indicated three people that have been "Fully Accessed (F)" with that past year and that the "Respondent (R)" had provided support to the youth in the program. Another example is under the area of Social Services and specifically Crisis Support. The A-MAN program leaders indicated that "4F + R" or 4 contacts had been fully accessed within the past year and that they had also provided support to the youth. Mr. Reney's (KL) responses in Table 4.1 indicated that he was clear when the parents were to provide the level of support ("0 or P*) for college services, interfacing with academic affairs, legal issues, and/or providing African American cultural or historical information. The KL program leader indicated that neither his contacts nor he provided any support to the youth but that if a crisis did arise that it would be referred to the particular child's parents.

I have divided the 16 areas of support into seven categories; Educational Gateway, Social Services, Health, Governmental Agency, Business/financial, Computer Technology, and African Centered. The first 14 areas were the areas of consideration utilized in Stanton-Salazar's (2001) study. In consideration of today technology and per Lin's (2000) recommendation in the literature I added section on cyber technology. For a more ethnographic consideration based on Hilliard's (1995) discussion of African American community socialization, I added the African-Centered contact to the list for a total of 16 potential areas of support.

155

Table 4.1 *Resource or support contacts relative to essential resources (16)*

A-MAN		KL	
Educational Gateway		Educational Gateway	
Educational gateway to college	3F + R	Educational gateway to college	F
College services/support	2F + D + R	College services and support	0 or P*
Academic and student affairs	3F	Academic and student affairs	0 or P*
Academic integration	2F + R	Academic integration	R
Social Services		Social Services	
Social integration and develop	4F + R	Social integration and develop	F
Crisis support	3F + R	Crisis support	0 or P*
Health		Health	
Medical wellness	3F + R	Medical wellness	4F
Mental Health	2F + R	Mental Health	2D
Governmental Agency		Governmental Agency	
Legal assistance	2F	Legal assistance	D
Political Support	3F	Political Support	2F + R
Law Enforcement	2F	Law Enforcement	0 or P*
Business, Financial, and Economic		Business, Financial, and Economic	
Financial information	3F + R	Financial information	R
Careers and internships	3F + R	Careers and internships	F + R
Computer Technology		Computer Technology	
Computers and internet	2F	Computers and internet	2F
African Centered		African Centered	
African American culture	3F	African American culture 0 or P*	

F = Fully Accessed within a year

R = Respondent

D = Dormant

P* = Parents

The Resource Generator provided an indication of contacts indicated by the respondents in response to phrases such as, "Can assist with obtaining medical services for youth?" The A-MAN respondents indicated the total number of resource contacts as 96. The KL listed his at 256. The reason for the large difference was indicated that Mr. Reney currently works within the school district and he viewed the approximately 100 member Los Angles Alumni chapter of Kappa as a resource. The number of friends of acquaintances listed was 54 for A-MAN and 246 for KL. For A-MAN 2.57 per people resources were listed and for KL 9.5 were listed per resource. The mode of contacts listed for A-MAN was 3 and 10 for KL. The median was 3 for A-MAN and 6 for KL. The total percentage of contacts listed as friends of acquaintances was 56.25 for A-MAN and 96.06 for KL. The number of resources listed as "yourself" for A-MAN was 15 and 2 for KL. The most significant difference between the programs came between the percentage of total contacts listed as "family" or strong ties, which had A-MAN with 54.16 of their ties as strong and KL as 3.9 as strong. In other words, A-MAN had a network with a balance of approximately half strong ties and half weak ties in their network; where as the KL program leader indicated that 94 percent of his ties were weak and/or dormant according to the Resource Generator. Also, see Tables 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7.

Table 4.2 *Resource Generator*

Program Leader Interviews (N=2)	*A-MAN*	*KL*
Total Number of Resource Contacts	96	256
Total Number of "Friends" or "Acquaintances" listed on survey (*"N=?"*)—i.e., weak ties	*54*	*246*
Mean Score of "Friends" or "Acquaintances"	2.57 per Resource	9.5 per resource
Highest Number of Acquaintances listed per Resource Contact	10 and family listed 3 times for college application, academic probation, and how to register for classes.	100 + for Ph.D. and similarly degreed persons.
Mode of Contacts Listed as "Friends" or "Acquaintances"	3	10
Median of Contacts Listed as "Friends" or "Acquaintances"	3	(4+8)/2 = 6
Percentage of Total Contacts Listed as "Friends" or "Acquaintances"—i.e., "weak ties"	56.25	96.09
Number of Resources Listed "Yourself"	15	2
Percentage of Total Contacts Listed as "Family"—i.e., "strong ties"	54.16	3.9

A-MAN's program leaders not only utilize strong ties at a higher rate but they also have more sustained relationships. The KL has people who do not stay with the program as long.

Table 4.3 *Duration or Relationship*

A-MAN		KL	
Life (30+ yr)	4	Life (30+ yr)	0
20 + yr	9	20 + yr	1
10 - 14y	14	10 - 15yr	5
5 -7yr	8	5 -7yr	1
1 yr-4 yr	4	1 yr-4 yr	7

The types of relationships that the A-MAN program has are varied with

mostly program contacts followed by work and fraternal contacts. The A-MAN

contacts are in different places such as the program meetings, health and fitness

groups, and/or trips to South Africa. The KL contacts are all fraternal within

program contexts. The frequency of contact with nearly all the A-MAN members

and KL members has two thirds of her contacts at one time a month or the rest of

that third at one time a week to every other week. The KL contacts with network

members occur most often 2 times a month which correspond with the frequency of

the meetings on the first and third Sundays. The A-MAN program has contacts that

meet very frequently. For example, most of their contacts (12) meet at least one time

a month. Whereas, the KL program has contacts (12) that meet two times a month

Table 4.4 *Frequency of Contacts with Network Members*

A-MAN		KL	
2-3 times a year	#11	2-3 times a year	# 00
1x a month	#12	1 x a month	# 00
2x a month	# 05	2x a month	# 12
3x a month	# 01	3x a month	# 01
4x a month	# 07	4x a month	# 01

Table 4.5 *Types of Relationships (A-MAN)*

Relationship Type	Total
Program Associate	13
Peer/Fraternal	11
Work Associate	08
Church	05
Close Friend	04
Brother	01
Daughter	01

Table 4.6 *Types of Relationships KL*

Relationship Type	Total
Fraternal	17
No others indicated	00

Table 4.7 *Settings for Contacts*

A-MAN		KL	
1)	Program Meetings- 35	1)	Program Meetings- 14
	Meetings Evaluations- 2		
	Fraternity- 1	2	Fraternity- 14
	Neighborhood- 1		
2)	Civic Political Organization- 13		
	Church- 8		
	Cross Program Planning- 7		
	Community Collaboration- 5		
	Fraternity/Sorority- 4		
	Volunteer Organization- 3		
	Program Meetings- 1		
	Health/Fitness- 1		
3)	Fraternity/Sorority - 12		
	Professional Organizations- 7		
	Civic Political Organization - 4		
	Not listed- 3 (These 3 in S. Africa)		
	Program Meetings - 2		
	Church- 2		

Mr Reney states the following:

> Uh, Kappa League is a little different than other programs that the chapter does. Uh, in Kappa League we rely more upon the parents and the young men. Uh, I mean the fraternity is apart of the KL. We have for example, when we have the "presents (i.e. the presentations of each youth participants' 5 Areas of Growth for KL)" we encourage them (fraternity brothers in the chapter) to purchase tickets. It is not as if you have an activity that the chapter is bringing forward and everyone participates in that particular function. Let's say the pancake breakfast, you know for example, the majority of the tickets for that function, which is something the chapter is sponsoring will come from the chapter membership.

The whole chapter and fraternity in this case is seen by Mr. Reney as a weak tie.

Summary

The program leaders in A-MAN accessed all their contacts within the past year and the KL program leader was clear about when and why he accessed the people in his network and for the most part it was within the year and at specific times (e.g. weekly, monthly, quarterly). A-MAN looked for a certain type of person while KL looked for a certain type of job for the person to do so they felt effective as we indicated in the previous sections. The variety of settings in which A-MAN program leaders make contacts in is indicative of the frequency in which they utilize their network ties. They meet people at church, at professional conferences, at recreational activities, and on behalf of their program. There is a balance between their personal and professional lives. Whereas, the KL program leader makes clear distinctions between what is a KL event, Kappa fraternity event, and his personal life.

RQ4: Do program leader's individual perceptions of generation differences, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders' implementation of institutional agency?

Orr (1998) had concerns about the limited size status based on a network of all oppressed minorities. To review, Granovetter's (1973) indicates that strong ties are people we know well. Stratification of the network (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) is important in addressing minorities' lack of access to high status contacts. Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2001) found that young people who have only strong family ties may get mixed messages about moving beyond those familiar ties to the unknown of weak ties at a college of university. Coleman (1988) called this phenomenon "closed" and Putnam's version "bonded" networks, which can limit people's ability to extend their network beyond the strong or bonded ties. Lin (1999) studied high status African Americans in the Southern United States of America who, in his opinion, limited themselves to ethno-specific networks. For Sadan (2004), "empowerment is a process by which people struggle for control of their lives and their environments."

The argument made by Black scholars against Lin's reasoning is made by Fanon (1963), who wrorte nearly 30 years earlier about the need for oppressed minorities to see each other in the act of empowerment. Cress-Welsing (1995), a psychiatrist, also writes about the need to develop an understanding of the balance of male and female to support work with African people. The perception of control and dignity can be lost by African Americans by using a network that minimizes ties to African Americans based on American's denial of organized resistance and

empowerment of African and Black in America and other parts of the world communities (Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Fanon, 1960; Hilliard, 1995).

The data and information collected to answer these questions comes from the interviews, Name Generator, Position Generator, Resource Generator, and program observations. For the position and resource generator survey data the respondent was given a copy of the survey and I had a copy. We reviewed each item together after the respondent completed the items. I sat at the table with them to answer questions and/or clarify any answers they or I were unsure of before I analyzed the results. The purpose was to gather information in regards to the status levels of resources range and quality of resources which make up the program leaders' individual networks and sources of support. The A-MAN program leaders are husband and wife and they were interviewed together. The husband always began the survey and his wife clarified and/or added to his response, then they reviewed them together to make sure they were consistent. The completed each others sentences in general conversation as well. The KL program leader completed the survey by her after asking him many questions prior to taking the survey and he "thought out loud" if he was unsure of an answer.

Different generations and length of relationships

In regards to dealing with people of different generations Mr. Reney proved to have thought out his connections to them. In Kappa there are varying generations (i.e. Alumni members, undergraduates, and the Kappa Leaguers that are being mentored). In regards to the generational differences, Mr. Reney stated that,

It is something you have to deal with delicately. It is is a, it can be very, very sensitive. Because yeah, you are dealing with a let's say 25 year old as opposed to a 45-50 year old person… You may have a different approach but everyone can not lose sight of the fact that you are trying to help these young men so you may have a different approach. But again it goes back to keeping everybody in focus in terms what you are trying to do. You gonna have these conflicts. You can't avoid it.

In addressing the ever-present nature of time and age Mr. Reney offered;

There will be different ways of thinking. That will always be the case. You don't have to get to a confrontational standpoint though. But there will be some different confrontation that will always be the case. I am sure there are some things I look at differently than you do. There's obviously an age difference between the two of us (i.e. I am 35 years old and he is 55 years old). So you know …and that's not gonna change. But if you, uh, it's a matter of how you deal with it and turn to your programs' advantage. Believe it or not a lot of young people have some very good things to say (Some laughs by me at this point in the recording but he is very serious).

In his connection between the 20-year generation gap between him and me, I became more aware of his efforts to help me understand things, almost mentoring me in every phrase (i.e. "You know" or "you probably know that"). The Walkers also, similarly spoke to me and gave me an impression that they were teaching and sharing information with me as an aspiring educator.

Another factor that may have impacted differences between the programs is the length of time the program participants have known their contacts. These long – term relationships could be considered "strong ties," however in regards to the program, A-MAN's program leaders are into using only "good people" who are able to get along with others and who are "committed to the program's ideals." My sense is that after getting to know someone over several years the A-MAN program leaders are in a good position to gauge people's level of commitment. What is also

165

noteworthy is that the A-MAN program leaders have an even distribution of older

contacts and new contacts. The KL program leaders' committee seems to serve the

purpose of developing relationships with a small group of committed individuals and

allows brief opportunities for program participants to demonstrate their commitment.

One should keep in mind that the A-MAN program leaders have been doing so for

20 years and the KL program leader has been involved for 12 and a leader for four

years.

Table 4.8 *Duration of Relationship II*

A-MAN		KL	
Life (30+ yr)	4	Life (30+ yr)	0
20 + yr	9	20 + yr	1
10 - 14y	14	10 - 15yr	5
5 -7yr	8	5 -7yr	1
1 yr-4 yr	4	1 yr-4 yr	7

<u>Networks limited to mostly African Americans</u>

Prior to beginning this study I know that the program participants were nearly

all African American. Stanton-Salazar (2001) and Lin (1999) have indicated the

multi-ethnic networks would be beneficial to providing low-status minorities, such as

African Americans opportunities to expand their networks. The program leaders for

both the A-MAN (89.18%) and KL (100%) listed nearly all their contacts as middle

to high status African Americans. For this study African-Centered support was

considered in one domain and there appears to be a certain level of cache and again

166

authenticity for A-MAN to have contacts in South Africa. Nelson Mandela's picture of his visit to the A-AMAN center area prominently displayed at the main headquarters of A-MAN. This concept of African American empowerment as seen by the networks' single ethnicity will be detailed in the discussion section as well.

The Name Generator (NG) was a survey of the respondents' personal network. Of particular note within the NG were questions in regards to the ethnicity of the respondents' contacts. After the first few responses during the interview the respondents became aware of the fact that their networks were largely African American. Table 4.8 below shows that the ethnicity of the respondents' contacts was 95 percent Black for the A-MAN program and 100 percent Black for the KL. The A-MAN program demonstrated minor variations in ethnicity such as African Caribbean, African Continental, and two White people. For both the A-MAN and KL program leaders their contacts were very ethnic specific. Lin (1999) reported that in his study of high status African American southerners that having such an ethnic specific network appeared to limit the social mobility of the African Americans he studied. Putman (2000) indicated that although African Americans have a unique social structure within the Black Church where African American throughout history have had an opportunity to meet within a context that had less stratification. The activated network size of the A-MAN was 37 and the network size of KL as 17.

Table 4.9 *Ethnicity of Contacts from the NG*

A-MAN		KL
African American	33	African American 17/17
African Caribbean	01	
African Continental	01	
White	02	

A-MAN's program leaders in interviews were very proud of this and saw this as a empowerment in that the network relied on African American support, which is consistent with the Black scholars argument at the beginning of this section (Bryant-Solomon, 1976, Fanon, 1963, and Hilliard, 1995). Both Mr. Reney and the Walkers were asked about their ethnic specific contacts and they indicated a level of pride and satisfaction. In response to this question, "How important is that to your networking… to your networking and making partnerships? Dr. Walker replied:

> It is very key because those are our professionals who are African American. We must keep that connection going and partnership and networking so that these kids can have can have role models. Modeling is everything because you can talk about this and talk about that but if I can never see it that's not going to really gonna help me internalize it. Because when I see these role models… So that's why we have to keep the fraternities and sororities (i.e. traditionally African American in origin) as our partners so these kids can have these role models.

Mr. Reney stated:
> It is extremely important. From the standpoint that uh, we need to have resources, we need to have people who are willing to help out other African Americans. We are dealing with high school kids who need guidance and they need assistance. All of those are there to provide that guidance and assistance to the young men (pause) and to the parents (Laughs) in many cases.

168

Summary

They see their ethnic specific nature of their programs as sources of power rather than sources of limitation. That control over their lives is modeled and lived. The Walkers are actively involved in developing a replication model of their program in South Africa. Their contacts in Africa and America inform the international nature of their program. These contacts have helped them to meet people such as Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, and other leaders of high status within the civil and governmental structure of South Africa. Although, not highlighted to such a degree by KL the issue of collaged education African Americans modeling academic success for the students and their families is of great importance to Mr. Reney.

Gender Balance

The gender balance can be observed first via the A-MAN's program's husband and wife team of founders as being equally committed in word and deed to clear understandings in their relationship, which is manifest in each new phase of development in A-MAN (i.e. they incorporate themselves and their life into it Mr. Walker - Science, Dr. Walker – Education). Also, in my interactions with them, Mr. Walker starts the interviews and his wife comes in to clarify and finish the interviews. This is consistent with a beginning and mid-twenty-first century practice of African American men having to act in tandem with African American women by providing an introduction to the mostly male-dominated power base (Collins, P.,

1986). The Walker's may not see it this way, but in any case they are comfortable and consistent in their interaction with one another and it works for them. Mr. Walker knows men in his fraternity and mostly male engineering field for support for the program and Dr. Walker knows women who get things done for the program from her sorority and mostly female education field. The consideration of gender also led to development of the Young Ladies Achievers Club (Y-LAC) after young women who know about the A-MAN program asked for a similar program.

A salient comparative feature of the programs is the level of gender diversity for A-MAN (i.e. 37.83% female) versus the KL (100% male). In an observation of the program this difference in a more balanced gender interaction played itself out. A-MAN did not indicate the level of challenge with gender issues as evidenced by KL, which had a more compact network in ethnicity, gender, and type of relationship. This was an unanticipated finding, which may have implications for practice (i.e. gender equity as a part of programs to empower African American males). I will go into further detail regarding this issue in the discussion section. In regards to gender, the A-MAN program leaders indicated 25 males in their contacts for the Name Generator and 14 females. The Kappa League was all male with the exception of the parents. Although the parents were listed as a contact, it is assumed based on observations of a parent meeting where all the parents were mothers and general knowledge from the results of the Name Generator, where Mr. Reney listed "parents" as a contact, the mothers were not emphasized as being a part of the network during the name generator surveys with the KL program leader.

This led me to recall a serendipitous observation of a KL meeting at the Kappa Kastle where mothers and female high school age students were present. In my observation of a KL meeting there arose some questions in regards to the involvement of females in the support of the KL program and what message is given to the young men. The meeting was a special meeting. There was a parent meeting taking place with over 20 mothers in attendance. The mothers were also there to support the young men's Barbeque dinner. The Kappa Leaguers were encouraged to invite a female friend and only two of the more than 25 young men in attendance actually invited a female friend. Prior to the meeting commencing the mothers and the two young women were asked to step next door while the KL conducted it's meeting with all male members. Upon further review of the information and observations of the A-MAN program it had not occurred to me the importance of the level of involvement of women. My thought about this that the young men may easily take for granted the women in their lives if the relationship of women is not clearly defined by the program. Again, the confines of this study are limited but more will be provided in the discussion section regarding gender.

Access to high status relationships

The practical and theoretical concern regarding program leaders' ability to access social capital in regards to high status positions is discussed based on the results of surveys. Table 4.11 indicates program leaders' accessible social capital in relation to positional and status based contacts according to Blau and Duncan's

171

(1970) socioeconomic index of occupations (SEI). The SEI scores are ranked in the following ranges:

- Ruling/High   (75 or higher)

- Managing/Middle   (60-74)

- Working/Low   (40-59)

- Lower Class Status   (39 and below)

The results of the survey administrated to the programs leaders of A-MAN and KL indicated that 35 and 57 percent respectively, of their networks consists of high-class positional contacts. The SEI scores and ethnicity indicate consistency in their networks (i.e. mostly middle to high status African Americans). There is significant chances for contacts that could potentially provide middle to high status mobility as reflected by the mean scores of A-MAN and KL program leaders.

The program leaders responses were similar in regards to the level of middle to high status contacts. The Ducan SEI scores for the A-MAN was 54.05 percent for high status and 40.54 percent for mid status. For the KL it was 57 percent for high status and 43 percent for mid status. Dr. Walker took great pride in knowing that she could call on people in such high status and strategic locations. Mr. Reney was more matter of fact in his response, "That's Kappa," in essence referring to the nature of a college fraternity.

Table 4.10 *Duncan SEI Status per Program on Name Generator*

Duncan SEI Status Scores	Status Levels	A-MAN	KL
75+	Ruling/High	# 20/39 and 54.05 %	# 8 and 8/14 = 57 %
60-74 -	Managing/Middle	#15/39 and 40.54 %	# 6 and 6/14 = 43 %
59 >	Working/Low	# 04/39 and 10.81 %	# 0 and 0/14 = 00 %

Table 4.11 illustrates the responses on the Name Generator and that the highest score of support relative to the positions that were accessed by either program was an SEI score of 92. The mean score for both programs was a score of approximately 73 SEI, which is a mid status but near the high status range. The median SEI score for A-MAN was an 80 and a 71 for KL. The mode (i.e. most frequently occurring score) for both contacts was a 62. The SEI score for educators from kindergarten through twelfth grade is "62." The range of SEI scores for A-MAN was 41-92 and KL 62-92. The percentage of SEI scores listed as high was 54.05 percent for A-MAN and 66.66 percent for KL. Also of significance was the ethnic and gender ratios for each program. Although a minor variation, A-MAN program leaders indicated that 33 (89.18%) of their contacts are African American, one (2.7%) as Afro Caribbean, one (2.7%) as from the African continent, and two (5.4%) are White. The greatest difference between the two programs is the female/male gender ratio of support with A-MAN indicated that 25 (64%) males and 14 (36%) females provided support. For KL 15 males and 0 females were indicated as contacts that provided support. In follow-up interviews for A-MAN despite being only 36% of the contacts, females provided the greatest source of multiplex support

(i.e. they were indicated 3 times as providing 3 or more sources of support). These 3

females were the contacts that I asked Dr. Walker about in regards to the

ethnographic questions.

Table 4.11 *Name Generator Program Leader's Network Range*

Program Coordinator (N=4)	A-MAN	KL
Network Size (number of persons listed as sources of support)	*37*	*14 + 3 = 17*
Multiplex Relations (number of persons listed as 3 or more sources of support)	04	03
Male/Female Gender Ratio of support contacts	25 m: 14 f	15 m: 0 f
Ethnicity Ratios of support contacts	33 - Afr. Amer. = 89.18% 01 - Afr. Carib. = 02.7% 01 - Afr. Conti = 02.7% 02 - White = 05.4%	17 Afr. Amer. = 100%
Highest SEI score of support contacts	92	92
Mean SEI Score of support contacts	73.10	73
Median SEI Score of support contacts	80	(62+80)/2 = 71
Mode SEI Score of support contacts	62	62
Range of SEI Scores of support contacts	41-92	62-92
Percentage of SEI Scores listed as High Status positional contacts	54.05 %	66.66%

For (Flapp et al, 2003) the position generator is best used when the positions are stratified within varied status levels. The respondents for both had contacts in nearly every position. As indicated above the highest SEI score was 92. The range was 11-92 for both. The mean SEI score for A-MAN was 63.17 and for KL 66.76. The mode SEI score for both programs was 44, 65. The median SEI score of accessed positions was 65.5 for A-MAN and 72 for KL. The explanation for the higher mean and median for KL despite the higher mean for A-MAN on the Name Generator is that the KL director has many weak or dormant ties. For this study dormant ties are seen as those ties not accessed within a year. The percentage of positions listed as family, friend, for acquaintance was 100 percent for A-MAN and 77 percent for KL. The total number of positional contacts was 81 for A-MAN and 138 for KL.

Table 4.12 *Position Generator*

Program Leader Interviews (N=2)	A-MAN	Kappa League
Highest SEI Score Relative to Accessed Positions	92	92
Range of SEI Scores for Positional Contacts	*11-92*	*11-92*
Mean SEI Score of Accessed Positions	63.17	66.76
Mode SEI Scores of Accessed Positions	44 and 65	44 and 65
Median SEI Score of Access Positions	65.5	72
Percentage of High Status Accessed Positions	35%	57 %
Percentage of Accessed Positions Listed As "Family", "Friend" or "Acquaintance"	100%	77%
Total Number of Positional Contacts	81	138

<u>Fraternity Contacts & High Status</u>

For Mr. Reney and the Walkers, fraternity contacts were indicated with a great deal of as a positive aspect of their network. After completing the Name Generator, Dr. Walker, without prompting, indicated that she was pleased with that they used an all African American network. Mr. Reney, when asked about the importance of an African American network he was quick to respond but stating in the affirmative that, "It is important." While, Mr. Reney's networks are exclusively from Kappa Alpha Psi the A-MAN's networks extended to church, recreational clubs, family, professional organizations and work. The Walkers had a more diverse network in somewhat in ethnicity but definitely in gender. Mr. Reney was very intent on keeping a small circle of eight members of the Kappa League committee at the hub of a wheel that had spokes reaching to brothers from the Los Angeles Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, which is all African American men. In regards to the domains of crisis support and program funding the parents and the whole chapter respectively were indicated rather than specific respondents.

Table 4.13 *A-MAN Types of Relationships*

Relationship Type	Total
Program Associate	13
Peer/Fraternal	11
Work Associate	08
Church	05
Close Friend	04
Brother	01
Daughter	01

The variety of the A-MAN relationships allows for a greater degree of gender equity. In other words the limited types of relationships are all fraternal and thus male according to the KL program leader.

Table 4.14 *KL Types of Relationships*

Relationship Type	*Total*
Fraternal	17
No others indicated	00

As indicated earlier, the relatively small size of the KL network in the name generator is in stark contrast to the potential of resources he could use based on the results in the resource generator.

The mean scores SEI status-scores for A-MAN (73.10) and KL (73) indicate that both networks are of high status. Mr. Walker and Mr. Reney both belong to the fraternity, Kappa Alpha Psi. The both know each other from their interactions in the same chapter. The high percentage of high status people in each network (A-MAN – 54.05% and KL-66.66%) indicate that the program leaders have made efforts to help students directly access high status support.

A Few Good People in the Right Position

These surveys focused more on Granovetter's (1973), "network extensity," which refers to the actually size of an individual network, and the Resource Generator measures the size of extensity, while considering resources and their

attributes, sources of support, status of contacts associated within the design of the programs. For Granovetter, the importance of "weak ties," for this is study purposes "college/acquaintances," can show the effectiveness of an individual network. Also, for this study, too many "family or friends" (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) or strong ties can limit the effectiveness of a personal network due to the social closure (Coleman, 1983) or bonding (Putnam, 2000). Social closure, as defined by Coleman that may occur, which may result in a limited network. Coleman's concept of social closure occurs within social structure and is important only for the existence of effective norms that lead to a level of trustworthiness that allows for the proliferation of obligations and expectations. If a social structure is not closed within a community the only way a person can be sanctioned (if at all) is by the person to whom the obligation is owed. Reputation can not grow in an open structure.

Results concerning "friends" and "acquaintances (i.e. weak versus strong ties)" and/or network size indicate that the percentage of weak ties is over 40% greater than strong ties in both cases. In other words both the A-MAN program and KL are utilizing people that are outside close personal family or friend network more often than they are relying on friends and family. This is consistent with Stanton-Salazar's (2001) notion that good help seeking orientations for institutional agents have indicators of access to ties beyond their personal networks, especially on behalf of support for low-status youth.

Results from the resource generator indicate that for A-MAN having just a few good people who can provide various resources was sufficient for the program leaders and for the KL program leader many people that could potentially be

available as a resource was the way to arrange his resource network. In the results of the name generator and in interviews with him it is clear that although the KL program leader has many resources available to him he is very selective about the type of resources he chooses.

Summary

A-MAN and KL program leaders' results both indicated a large degree of extensity. Granovetter's (1973) "network extensity" refers to the actually size of an individual network, and the Resource Generator measures the size of extensity, while considering resources and their attributes, sources of support, status of contacts associated within the design of the programs. For A-MAN human capital is a valuable asset seen in many areas while for KL human capital is limited to particular types of support and can be accessed and mobilized for social capital only as it fits the occasion based upon the program leader's discretion.

The A-MAN and KL look for people who want to "help young Black men;" as Dr. Walker states, people who "have a commitment to children." Also, A-MAN staff indicated no disagreements and high levels of satisfaction with their multiplex ties (i.e. two or more sources of support). For example, when discussing how he gets along with a fraternity brother who provided him two or more sources of support, Mr. Reney stated, "(He) is kinda all over the place. (chuckles me…). I asked him, "Is he the kind of guy who will do whatever you need?" Mr. Reney answered, "That he will do. Um, lets' seee. See, he is kinda one of those jack of all trade type of individuals who you can use in a lot of different areas. I am afraid to pigeon hole

179

him… I went on to state, "My sense is that if you want to get something done and just get it taken care of… (Laughs me but Brother Reney not laughing)." He responded by saying, "But you have to define and keep it within the parameters that you set and make sure it appeals to … He's gonna definitely take care of it." I stated, "My sense is that you would come to him with that type of support. Has this Brother come to you for support for assistance with a problem?" Both of us laughed and then he stated,

> Actually, (Laughs) he has… A lot of times he will try to deal with things himself. We've had. He also helps coordinate our (other events)… Again within those defined parameters we've talked about getting (that event) in place.

In that same way Brother Reney had been teaching me in prior discussion he was looking for a redeeming quality and took the conversation about this man who he had a disagreement with and turned it into a positive result.

Thematic Summary of Key Findings

T1: The organizational structure of traditional African American resistance forms (i.e. church, fraternal, and lived experience) is important to the success of these programs.

Both of the program leaders utilize networks with access to high status figures within the civil rights struggle. Dr. Walker, one of A-MAN's program leaders has had direct contact with civil rights royalty within her family and through her individual experiences contact with such notables as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Charles Drew, Rosa Parks etc… Mr. Reney, whose Kappa Leaguers (KL) meet

at the Kappa Kastle where Arthur Ashe, Tom Bradley, Johnnie Cochran, and other notable African American political leaders have exchanged ideas in their efforts to support one another in Achievement in politics and civil rights in Los Angeles, CA and throughout the world.

Mr. and Mrs. Walker's ties to Historically Black College and Universities via their family and Dr. Walker's schooling also provide an alumni network from which to extend their connections within a mostly African American network. The traditionally African American church, as well as fraternity and sororities that the Walkers belong to, provide contacts that overlap within nearly every facet of their areas of their lives. For Mr. Reney, the Kappa Chapter is sufficient to supply the contacts he needs in order to effectively run the KL program. The program leaders of both programs, especially A-MAN have access to significant high status sources that are able to provide resources in the form of funds, information and/or direct support that is invaluable to youth intervention programs. I will elaborate more on the need for similar programs to seek and out utilize high status resources from varied context in the implications section of the next chapter.

T2: Positive help-seeking orientation in regards to the program leaders' views of stress management for self and the types of relationships chosen by the program leaders.

When Mr. Reney of the KL was asked, "Is your role as program leader a very emotionally draining task?" He responded with laughter, "Yeah it is." I went on to ask him, "How do you deal with the pressure in time consuming tasks?" Within

Clark and Estes' (2002) two out of three indicators of motivation (i.e. active choice

and mental effort) Mr. Reney provided statements, which reflected his and others

need to stay motivated despite the tasks being emotionally draining. He also stated,

> Um, first of all its' um, it's what I want to do (active choice). Um, I've
> limited my activities within the um, frat and uh, this is primarily what I want
> to do. It's, it's, it's time consuming, but it would be more time consuming if
> I was trying to do many other things. So um in as far as the emotional part I
> am kinda even keel, um (mental effort). And I realize you have to maintain a
> certain level to get things done.

Also, when discussing the qualities of a good committee member his answer was

consistent with the final indicator of motivation (persistence), "This thing, it's a race;

it's a long race so you have to be dedicated (persistence) to what you want to do."

Mr. Reney's answers indicate that he has taken into consideration the facets of what

goes into being a successful program leader as well as adult volunteer with the

program.

Dr. Walker, regarding her spirituality, lack of conflict with those who provide

here with 2 or more sources of support and her desire to work with people who can

make a "commitment to children" speaks of a similar type of thoughtfulness

regarding people who support the program and the collaborative leadership, which

will sustain the program.

T3: Clearly articulated male/female relationships are important for the overall

success of interventions designed to support African American males

The salience of this finding was underestimated in preparation for the study,

however in serendipitous ways it returned again and again. It first appeared when

182

the Walkers agreed to do the interviews together. It appeared again as I began

reading further into the development of the A-MAN program's Young Ladies

Achiever's Club (Y-LAC) as it was written about in A-MAN's own publications on

the internet and general handouts. After the young men began receiving attention

within the early years of the school-based version of A-MAN program, the young

woman expressed their interest in a similar for them and Dr. Walker responded by

developing Y-LAC. The program staff at the A-MAN headquarters was a mix of

men and women. With KL, the program was run mostly by men and the one

observation I saw provided an awkward negotiation of space, time, and roles. The

only comparison to be made between the two programs to account for this was that

A-MAN had an established protocol for the their support of both boys and girls

and/or women either explicitly via (A-MAN and Y-LAC) and/or implicitly via A-

MAN's support for all the children and staff. I will address this issue further in the

implication sections to inform those who are working to support similar youth

programs, especially targeted at African American males.

T4: Issues of gender, generational-connection, race, and status, are accounted for by
these leaders of African American youth.

As indicated in the Theme Three the positive efforts to address empowered

gender participation is important. A fruitful discussion with Mr. Reney about his

intentional efforts to take into accounts his fraternity brother's generational

connectedness and/or differences in pairing them together. Mr. Reney mentioned the

need for being "sensitive" to this in collaborative efforts for the program. Mr. Reney

183

was aware of this when he found a tutor for his son when his son was a high school student but also in planning events for the chapter when young men between 21-25 years of age are interacting with fraternity brothers 55 years of age or older. He even had the presence of mind to point out the age difference between him and me in regards to the type of opinions that we may have.

Leaders of both programs, when asked about the importance of supporting African American youth indicated the importance of that type of support but not so much in a specific theoretical manner (e.g. African-Centered theory) but more in the sense that role-models are needed and the importance for generational support. The leaders of the programs also connected well to the concept of "each one teach one (Perry, 2003)" as it even related to their mentoring of me as a younger African American person interested in the development of African American youth. The Walker's were proud of their high status nearly all African American network, while Mr. Reney was not too concerned that his network was African American but again the role modeling aspect was important. As Lin (1999) indicated a network that is all African American and high status may struggle to gain access outside that network. For these program leaders it appears that some of the strength and benefit is in the knowledge that a mostly African American network can have power (Bryant-Solomon, 1976; Fanon, 1963; Hilliard, 1995). This can lead to the very definition of empowerment as it relates to the program leaders having, "control over their lives (Sadan, 2004)" in regarding the autonomy as program leaders.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Program leaders from two community-based programs, which focus on African American males' college readiness, were interviewed. The programs have ties to an 80 year-old Black Greek Letter Organizations' (BGLO) tradition of supporting youth and preparing them for college. The focus of the study was on the program leaders' social networks and how they used their networks to empower students and other participants in their programs.

This Chapter provides an overview of the study with methods and significant findings. A discussion of consistencies and differences with the literature in areas such as social capital, empowerment, help-seeking, technology, African American leadership, and Gender is also provided. Practical implications based on literature and observed phenomenon is provided for K-12 educators, Higher Education, Community-Based program leaders, and general considerations. Also, implications for future research are offered.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to gain information about the social capital networks of program leaders and how the program leaders use their social networks to empower African American youth. Current research on African American youth has focused primarily on deficits and the challenges of their achievement (Hernstein & Murray, 1994; Hilliard, 1995; Singham, 1998). Although much has been written

about social capital (Coleman, 1998; Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2000) little has been studied about the empowerment of program leaders (Sadan, 2004), especially in regards in the program leaders' efforts to support minority youth (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The program leaders that are able to actually deliver resources in major life areas, such as finances, knowledge, and/or high status support of a program are known as institutional agents. This study has been significant in that it has contributed to the discussion of how best to intervene on the lives of minority youth, especially African American youth.

The overall significance is the knowledge that there is a long history of African American programs for youth that have worked to address the America's documented overt and covert efforts to oppress African Americans. The leaders of A-MAN and KL are tied to that history via church, family, fraternity, and sorority ties. Other than Hilliard's recent attempt to highlight successful programs (Hilliard, 1995; Hilliard, 2003), little is known about this long history of African American community support and achievement.

The social capital of program leaders of African American youth was explored in this study as well as their help-seeking and relationship considerations. Issues such as age, gender, race, and status are considered by the program leaders in making decisions. Their motivation to continue working with these programs was fostered by a deep sense of commitment to ameliorating the conditions that African American youth find themselves living with in today's society.

Research Questions Reviewed

These results were gained by asking the following research questions:

RQ1: How has the program leaders' personal history of empowerment impacted the structure of the programs?

RQ2: Do program leaders understand their role relative to the help-seeking and network orientations? Also, have they identified variations in network relationships that they use as indicators of potential success in their program?

RQ3: Does the program leaders' accessible social capital play a role in efforts to engage in mobilization of that capital?

RQ4: Does a program leader's individual perceptions of length of contact with a person, age, race, status, and gender manifest in their leaders' implementation of institutional agency?

Thematic Categories Discussion

- T1: The organizational structure of traditional African American resistance forms (i.e. church, fraternal, and lived experience) is important to the success of these programs.

- T2: Positive help-seeking orientation in regards to the program leaders' views of stress management for self and the types of relationships chosen by the program leaders.

- T3: Clearly articulated male/female relationships are important for the overall success of interventions designed to support African American males

- T4: Issues of generational-connection, race, status, and gender are accounted for by these leaders of African American youth.

T1: The organizational structure of traditional African American resistance forms (i.e. church, fraternal, and lived experience) is important to the success of these programs.

Hilliard's (1995, 2003) contribution to the literature in regards to the ongoing history of African American resistance to slavery and subsequent mobilization of in the civil rights era was helpful in guiding my collection of the data and information while in the moment and in the analysis stages of this study. When the Director of the Kappa League (KL), Mr. Reney began to reiterate that the KL was unlike any business model he had even seen I was drawn to the comparison of the Black church (Billingsley, 2003), which provided for African Americans the volunteer force and power necessary to sustain resistance efforts. Historically, Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO) began at the turn of the twentieth century to provide college – educated African Americans a place support one another's efforts to attain status and economic mobility. Many Historically Black College and Universities (HBCU) had been in existence at the time the BGLO's began and by the time the program leaders for the A-MAN were born both of their families were embedded within these network traditions of the BGLO and HBCU. Dr. Bettye Walker's family shared the same neighborhood, church, and BGLO network that included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, Charles Drew, and Rosa Parks. Mr. Reney's fraternity, Kappa Alpha Psi, is connected to that network and Mr. Reney has relied on that same network that has

produced over six United States Congressmen, an Astronaut (Bryson, 2003), and for our study Mr. Walker, a highly lauded African American engineer with a display at the Smithsonian institute. In sum, the participants' connections to traditions of ongoing African American empowerment and resistance to oppression is important. Dr. Walker takes a great deal of pride and is empowered by the utilization of a high status, mostly African American network. Mr. Reney also appreciates that the opportunity to act as a role-model by utilizing an all African American social network.

In regards to African American empowerment, Lee (2003) provides five crucial components of effective African American male empowerment initiatives in consideration of programs that are designed to support African American males. Both programs provided support in the following areas.

- focus on a proactive approach for developmental prevention rather than remediation (A-MAN and KL);

- provide relationships for competent African American men who can model the attitudes and behavior of successful African American manhood (A-MAN and KL);

- capitalize on the strength of the African American family (Although mentioned not observed in a full context);

- utilize positive culture-specific materials as a way to counteract negative messages within and outside the African American experience (A-MAN observed and KL discussed in interviews);

- A rite of passage experience where a transition from boyhood to adulthood is celebrated that involves family members, friends, and community representatives (A-MAN and KL).

T2: Positive help-seeking orientation in regards to the program leaders' views of stress management for self and the types of relationships chosen by the program leaders

Coleman (1988) aligns rules and norms, help-seeking, volunteerism, and trust to complete his theory of social capital. Both leaders of the program appear to be impacted, although minimally by the high levels of stress, based upon their selection of people and optimism. Mr. Reney, with the KL indicates that although the job is stressful he has made a commitment and in order for others who volunteer with KL they have to have to be able to make that same type of commitment. Although, not overtly stated or directly apparent in his admittedly, "calm demeanor," Mr. Reney is an optimist. He looks for the best in people and tries to place them in situations where they will be effective on behalf of the youth in the program. Mr. Reney seeks to solve problems rather than dwell on them. His over 30 years experience in business and his fraternity has taught him to look for the right people (Collins, J. 2001). He demonstrates an understanding of Clark and Estes' (2002) indices of motivation (e.g. active choice, mental effort, and persistence). Mr. Reney looks for people who choose to volunteer for the program, can keep a calm demeanor, and who can commit to a full year with the program. Dr. Walker says her spirituality sustains her in times of stress. She lives not merely talks about Christian principles.

In regards to her dealing with conflicts she looks for "good people." Although Mr. Walker and Dr. Walker look for people to volunteer with their program they do not want just anyone. They look for people who are truly committed to children. When conflicts arise they are solved before they get started based on the high level of communication.

T3: Clearly articulated male/female relationships are important for the overall success of interventions designed to support African American males

Kunjufu (1995) states, "mothers (often) love their sons and raise their daughters." He goes on to infer that in the absence of a father it is difficult for women to prepare young men for manhood, yet mothers appear to be clear on how to raise and discipline their daughters. By adolescence a young man has difficulty adjusting to the expectations of a mother who once loved (i.e. limited disciplinary requirements) to a mother and larger society who expect a Black boy to quickly become a man in unloving ways. In the process a Black boy can receive many messages regarding manhood and one message is how to treat women. In the absence of counsel the direct message to a young boy from a father who is absent is, "If a woman is going to have your child, then it is time to leave." In that message is a lack of responsibility, lack of accountability, and a set up for poor relationships among male and female adolescents. Although it would be nice to have more men around the reality is that there are more African American women in the world.

There are more African American women in collage as well as graduating from college than men (Kunjufu, 1997). College-educated women over the past 30

years have gained greater access to positions of power within higher education. An African American woman, as it happened during the civil rights and prior eras in America, have been at the forefront of fighting for both males and females (Collins, P, 2003). Young people in programs that are preparing them for college should have clearly articulated structures of interactions or rules and norms (Coleman, 1988) that can be modeled or explicitly taught to them in regards to cross-gendered interactions. This would be done in order to ensure a successful admission and matriculation through college. This is especially important as African American males prepare for college. Ties across gender that are intra and inter ethnic will be important for African American males to have.

As indicated in Chapter Four, in my observation of a KL meeting there arose some questions in regards to the involvement of females in the support of the KL program and what message is given to the young men. The KL meeting I observed was a special meeting. There was a parent meeting taking place with over 20 mothers in attendance. The mothers were also there to support the young men's Barbeque dinner. The Kappa Leaguers were encouraged to invite a female friend and only two of the more than 25 young men in attendance actually invited a female friend. Prior to the meeting commencing the mothers of the young men and the two young women were asked to move their meeting to the next room while the KL program conducted it's meeting with all male members. The mothers and young women moved into the next room reluctantly but they did occupy that room. Until further review of the information and observations of the KL program the importance of the level of involvement of women had not occurred to me. My

192

thought about this is that the young men may easily take for granted the women in their lives if the relationship of women is not more clearly defined.

In regards to the A-MAN program, the process of empowerment of young men could have potentially led to the dis-empowerment of young women in the A-MAN program, but fortunately Dr. Walker and the young women were aware enough to provide a way in which to empower the young women with the Young Ladies Achievers Club (Y-LAC). The KL program participants did not have the advantage of a clearly defined role and the potential for slighting their mothers and young women their age. The potential for this type of slight and in male-based program remains high in the absence of a clearly articulated plan.

Mr. Walker's and Dr. Walker's relationship, as noted in Chapter Four (i.e. Mr. Walker began conversations and Dr. Walker finished them), may also provide more implicit modeling to staff, parents, volunteers, and especially youth participants about the balance and expectations for male and female interaction and the importance of that interaction in relation to supporting African American youth, even though the program is targeted at males. Current trends of high incarceration for African American males and limited college entrance for them as well indicate that programs designed to support African American males will be challenged to find African American males to support the program (Noguera, 2003). This is because many African American males who are 18-30 years of age may be involved with the justice system and/or lacking an education. Male and female relationships, even for programs must be considered in effective programs for African American males. Although based on my limited observation it is worth noting for future research.

193

T4: Issues of generational-connection race and status are accounted for by these leaders of African American youth

Gender was the topic of the previous section and will not be addressed again but issues of generational-differences, race, and status will be discussed below.

Mr. Reney took into account the age and experience of participants as he does overall when providing opportunities for adults to volunteer with the program. He statements with the most words and that he repeated in different ways had to do with finding good people and the need to "be sensitive" in regards to working with people of different ages. The KL is a program that comes from men in Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity who at one point shared similar experiences as undergraduates. There are also current members of Kappa who are undergraduates who provide support to the program, however Mr. Reney is aware enough to make sure that even people 10-20 years apart in age will have a common theme of which to guide their work—the success of the high school aged young men who are known as "Kappa Leaguers."

The Walkers from A-MAN have close friends (strong ties) that go back 10-20 years. I believe these long-term contacts have helped them keep their lines of communication going so well that they are able to quickly move through or bypass conflicts with others before they get started.

In the context of the broader achievement gap between African American and students of other ethnicities, Lin (2000) and Stanton-Salazar (2001) may be right but in regards to the results of the particular programs staying within ethnicity appears to be empowering for program leaders' and participants. The integrity of the

information for communication and ongoing development in this way is not

compromised. However, in regards Lin's (2000) research regarding high status

African American s the non-African American sources of support also provided

financial incentives. The Walker's two people in their network that were not African

American (i.e. White) offered financial support to their network. As indicated

before, Dr. Walker takes a great deal of pride and is empowered by the utilization of

a high status and mostly African American network. Mr. Reney appreciates that the

opportunity to act as a role-model by utilizing an all African American social

network.

The high status nature of both these networks provides many opportunities

for A-MAN to access people with information about funding as well as people who

deliver on those funds. The status of the program itself is raised. The KL program

director knows he has access to many ties.

Discussion

In the introduction and literature review for this study important definitions

and concepts were provided to guide the overall research questions, data analysis,

review of information, as well as the current discussion. In this section I will review

the salient concepts as they relate to the results of this study: Critical race theory in

education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), empowerment (Bryant-Soloman, 1976;

Frerie, 1970; Sadan, 2004), institutional agent (Stanton-Salazar, 1997), and social

capital (Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). I will also relate these issues to African

American community empowerment, gender, help-seeking orientation, and technology.

For Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) critical race theory is important in addressing America's persistent challenges, especially in regards to the achievement gap between African American students and students of other ethnicities. According to Ladson Billings and Tate, intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool to understand social inequity. As indicated on standardized tests results, college entrance, and overall economic opportunities the challenges posed by the achievement gap have significant consequences not just for African Americans but for society as a whole (Singham, 1998). The respondents in this study were aware of how their high status African American networks offered the youth participants access to the property college entrance, thereby in many cases, to extend the metaphor, they endeavored to build a bridge between the children and the achievement gap. Admittedly, 25 youth in KL and over 1200 in A-MAN does not open the flood gates to academic success for African American students, but a tenuous bridge to higher education has been open as a result of these programs and program leaders who recognize the importance of providing access to their network/property to help students be prepared for college entrance.

The reality is that in today's public schools many of the professionals are White and do not share the same ethnicity (Lareau & McNamara-Hovart, 1999; Cook-Morales, Brown-Cheatem, Robinson-Zañartu, 1992) nor status of the students they serve (Carter, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Therefore, in school settings similar racial or status background is not as feasible or even necessary. I was able to

observe Lee's (2003) indicators of successful African American male empowerment

programs but in consideration of the type of knowledge transfer necessary for

success in most schooling situations other than Historically Black Colleges or

Universities (HBCU's), there was little to indicated in surveys with the participants,

opportunities for access beyond their ethnic-specific contacts in either program. The

ethnic specific nature of both programs was not consistent with Carter's (2005)

multicultural navigation that was helpful in the education of African American and

other minority youth. For Carter,

> (M)ulticultural navigators demonstrate how to posses both dominant and
> nondominant (sic) cultural capital and how to be adept at movement through
> various sociocultural settings, where cultural codes and cultural rules differ…
> Multicultural navigators possess some of the appeal of hip-hop stars, not
> because of fame, but because they can keep youths invested in the dream of
> upward mobility and show them how to retain their social and cultural origins
> (p. 150).

Carter goes on to write that adult models are necessary in order for students to

become multicultural navigators. Lin's (2000) point regarding the limitations o f

ethnic specific networks may apply here. However, given the history of efforts at

integration since the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education and the limited progress

recently (Kozol, 2005), African American youth's overall academic success

continues to be a challenge (Stephens McIntosh & Duren Green, 2005; Singham,

1998). Trust remains elusive under these types of situations. As Gibson and Ogbu

(1991) have indicated, immigrant communities succeed (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991) by

developing ties despite of the school system and create their own language for

decoding the system, especially when schools are unable to do so for large amounts

of students.

Until Stanton-Salazar (2006b) proposed it, the connection of social capital to empowerment had not been clearly articulated. Stanton-Salazar's research on social capital and the empowerment of minority youth provided the basis for much of the literature review for this study. Bryant-Solomon (1976) and Sadan (2004) gave the theoretical backing regarding empowerment and what I should look for in the observed phenomenon during this study. Empowerment, according to Sadan, "is a process by which people struggle for control of their lives and environments." She also qualifies this definition by stating, "some programs empower and some people are empower themselves. These are two separate processes." The leaders of both programs were definitely empowered to make decisions and clear about what they wanted for their program. The extent to which program participants are empowered can not fully be measured based on the limitations of this study but the observed phenomenon provides enough information to draw some conclusions. Mr. Reney of KL is very clear that parents can provide much of the support to the youth in the KL and program and he is careful not over extend his support. To some degree this is giving the parents control of the decisions with their child. In keeping with the definition and upon first reviewing Mr. Reney's network I was concerned that too much emphasis was put on the parents, however the control over what role was fulfilled by the KL program and what was fulfilled by the family was clear in his mind. The program leaders interviewed have networks with a history of empowerment and resistance to oppression. This is consistent with the literature.

Stanton-Salazar (2001) defines institutional agents as "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of

198

institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)." Leaders of the both programs were

not only looking for commitment in adults that work with the program but were

thoughtful about whether or not young people had a consistent resource in the human

capital (i.e. people were there to deliver services) and in the opportunities for a

college education were there for them. The A-MAN program leaders had a more

extensive network and utilize mores sources of support to ensure that the youth

participants not only made it to college but came back to contribute to the program.

The KL program leader was more comfortable with a smaller but well-defined and

manageable network so he could have greater assurance that the people involved

would deliver on the resources as a result of the task performed for the program (e.g.

field trip to a political appointee's office, Barbeque, facilitate a meeting etc...).

Although the KL program leader had within his personal network hundreds of people

he was comfortable with only the 14. The Walkers and Mr. Reney are institutional

agents. They act in this capacity in their own terms. By engaging in purposeful

networking they are aware of the worth of their own social capital. Indeed Mr.

Reney's self-imposed limits (i.e. only utilizing a committee of eight members

although 100 members are in his fraternity chapter) demonstrated his way of

controlling the relationships on behalf of the program.

According to Lin (2001), social capital consists of resources embedded in

social relations and social structure, which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to

increase the likelihood of success in a purpose action (p. 24). The program leaders

of A-MAN and KL have and utilize their social capital well according to this

definition. Also, according to Stanton-Salazar (2001),

(S)ocial capital is a set of properties existing within socially patterned associations that, when activated, enable them to accomplish their goals or to empower themselves in some meaningful way (p. 265)

The church, professional, especially fraternal relationships for the both programs are powerful socially patterned associations. For Mr. Reney of KL the selection of his associations was a way for him to remain empowered to make choices about who interacts with the youth in his program. For the Walkers, their varied contacts in church, professional associations, and fraternal organizations all work seamlessly into their work as leaders of a youth program. Similar to Coleman's (1988) study of students who attended religious school or services frequently an embedded social network was utilized to provide meaning and social closure (Coleman, 1988) to help shape the identity and goal development of the young people within these networks. Although Putnam has decried the disintegration of social ties, people like Mr. Reney and the Walkers have continued an 80 year old (Bryson, 2003), if not 500 year old tradition of African American creating a network of support for their young people (Hilliard, 1995).

A final thought about social capital in regards to cyber technology. Although not enough significant data was gathered in regards to the use of cyber technology I still wonder, how is cyber technology used in the development of networks connections and is cyber technology used to enhance the social capital of the program leaders? Lin (2000) has written about the importance of technological internet-based networks for twenty first century intervention programs. Small sections within the interviews, Name Generator, Position Generator, Resource

Generator, and program observations were sources of information for the answer to the question. The program leaders of the A-MAN program utilize the latest technological means to stay in contact with their staff. The Walkers work from home, their office, and/or when they are out networking in such places as Washington, DC or South Africa. The Walkers utilize e-mail, fax, cell phones, and/or conference calls as a regular part of their contacts. Mr. Reney utilizes e-mail contacts for his main source of information regarding financial aide for the youth in his program. He receives electronic information from various e-mails and websites. He receives enough information from e-mail contacts where he feels he does not need to solicit information. Leaders in both programs indicate that cyber and computer technological staff is available to them within their networks.

Implications

The findings from the case study bring to the fore issues for consideration for professionals and researchers looking at similar programs, especially programs and interventions targeted at African American youth. Recommendations and suggestions are offered below for parents, K-12 educators, post secondary administrators and faculty, Community Leaders, those committed to gender equity, and general recommendations. Also provided are implications for future research.

Parents

No matter their parents' socio-economic status, African American students often experience academic success at a level far below their peers (United States

Department of Education, 2004). For Coleman (1988) a family can lack social capital if there are not strong relations between the child and the parents, especially as a result of the child being embedded in youth-based networks and the parent lacking the ability to develop other contacts. Fortunately, once low-status and/or minority youth are granted access there are differential opportunities within the school setting (Noguera, 1999; Singham, 1998; Stanton-Salazar, 2001) they have opportunities to extend their ties beyond constraining ties of a locally based and similar status network. For Cummins (1986), active collaboration with parents was a key part of successfully empowering programs. The Guide Right program of Kappa Alpha Psi, which began over 80 years ago, was aware of this and that tradition has continued with the KL and with A-MAN. Although opportunities to observe parent participation were limited to the program meeting with the KL and at awards ceremonies with A-MAN, the KL program meeting had nearly as many parents as youth participants. This was an indicator of the level of parent participation in the program. At the A-MAN awards ceremony parents are very active participants on their child's progress in the program as well as role models for other youths. The A-MAN program did indicate that one of their contacts, a parent, was impressed with A-MAN to such a degree that the parent continued volunteering with the A-MAN even after their child had completed the program.

The role of parents is critical to providing the right context for child development. The mothers of the young men in KL were actively involved and a large part of the success of the program. The same goes for parents of both genders within my observations of the A-MAN program. It is important to maintain ties with

parents and cultivate them for the ongoing development of the program. The African American concept of "each one, teach one" (Perry, 2003) is alive and well within the A-MAN program. Many of the youth participants in the KL have family members that have been involved with Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO) and are interested in their child attending college and one day joining a BGLO. In that sense a return on the investment of social capital is assumed by the parents, the program staff of KL, and the youth involved in KL. Long-term planning and commitment is needed for the success of A-MAN and KL. It is important for the young people involved with the program to grow and develop within a supportive community. Reinforcing ties within church, school, fraternity etc can help to maintain the connections that make a strong community for youth. In this case study we were looking at African American youth and in particular African American males. Parents should be made aware that the types of communities that sustain A-MAN and KL are available to them and in the absence of a similar community the parents should be empowered to create one.

The choices that a parent makes in regards to their social network early on can provide a model for the opportunities their child has to utilize resources within the parents and the child's network. As Stanton-Salazar (2001) has written, at-risk minority youth with too many close family and friends often do not go on to college and/or onto careers limit resource potential for a child. In other words, their network is strong but the extensions to other people in varied high status institutions. If a child is the first in her/his family to attend college but they never talk with people who have been to college it will be very challenging to for the parents and the child

to negotiate the networks to the necessary information for the child to be prepared for and ultimately matriculate through college. That goes to the previously mentioned concerns regarding the limitations of an ethnic or gender specific network. For example if an African American boy's only interactions are with other African American boys he will be limited in his experiences in how to interact with females and other people who are not African American. Another example may be an African American male who has grown up around many females and has few or no interactions with other African Americans. That African American male could be limited in knowledge of himself. A balance must be achieved with his own cultural or gendered understanding and others in order for an African American boy to develop into a mulit-cultural navigator (Carter, 2005), which will help African American boys by being in a better position to take advantage of opportunities so the boys can develop into academically successful college students.

K-12 Educators

Cummins (1986) challenged educators to rethink their roles within the classroom, community, and broader society. This challenge was given so that educators would empower rather than disable students through labeling via diagnosing disability through special education handicapping conditions, categorization such as "at-risk", and finally disinvesting in them with terms such as "drop-out." As an educator, a good way to show the level of investment in the youth is to utilize their social capital by accessing personal networks to provide access to high status resources. As Delpit (1995) suggests, more should be done by educators

204

to inform dis-empowered students and/or families, that if they are not already a participant in the culture of power, they should be told explicitly the rules of that culture, which would make acquiring power easier. Also, they should be told that those with power are frequently least aware of – or least willing to acknowledge – its existence.

As a K-12 educator, Dr. Walker utilized her higher education contacts, sorority contacts, and professional contacts in high status positions to apply for a grant and to start the A-MAN program. She has utilized those same and other high status contacts to maintain A-MAN. Mr. Reney has utilized pre-existing high status network contacts (i.e. his fraternity) from which to selectively mobilize resources for the youth in his program. Whether on a grand scale like A-MAN or in a small purposive fashion as with KL, the K-12 educator should be aware of their personal and professional networks available to students, staff, and the community and they should be purposively using their networks. It is important that K-12 educators access people in their school buildings and outside of the school buildings for providing resources for their students. Administrators who look at programs should have a checklist of the areas for developing programs (e.g. education, transition from secondary and post secondary, medical, legal, mental health, technology, cultural competence etc…). They should seek to extend their network and open opportunities for networking with successful community based programs. The A-MAN and KL both utilized their contacts within the local school district to support the youth in their programs and schools should do the same.

Higher Education

Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2001) found that young people who have only strong family ties get mixed messages about moving beyond those familiar ties to the unknown of weak ties at a college of university. Coleman (1988) called this phenomenon "closed" and Putnam's called them "bonded" networks, which can limit people's ability to extend their network beyond the strong or bonded ties. Knowledge of how to access college or university resource via the internet as well as other means is an important part of the development for young people, especially those who have been denied access (Fulton, 1999; Perry, 2003).

For A-MAN and KL, the ultimate goal of the programs was college preparation. For both programs to have access to higher education officials helped them as program leaders to pass on scholarship information, first hand accounts of college-life, and contact information of specific individuals who could help the youth in their programs have greater access to college campuses.

For higher education officials, cache of the local college or university can provide an entrée into opportunities for network expansion. More importantly, administrators and faculty at colleges and universities have resources that many people in the community need. For example, time, information, tested data-collection mechanisms, and people to do data analysis, as well as the important resource of energetic college students. These resources could be invaluable in creating a collaborative community network in which to embed youth as they endeavor to enroll and matriculate through a college or university. Many colleges have Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO) as well as other student

organizations (e.g. University based chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Association of Black Psychologists etc…), which can be resources for making proactive connections within the community. In particular, recruitment for the university as well as extending connections for other opportunities would be the aim of the contacts. Careful attention should be given by university officials not to dis-empower these organizations with a pre-imposed agenda (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Sadan, 2004) but to support the overall aims of these organizations in a win-win situation (Collins, 2001).

Community Leaders

Durkheim's (1897/1951) ground-breaking sociological theories of social integration include collective participation in decision making; sociability, and social closure as factors of the community and group characteristics of social capital. Moral integration (Durkheim, 1897/1951) is another concept that Coleman (1988) aligns with rules and norms, help-seeking, volunteerism, and trust to complete his theory of social capital. Although, the normative-functionalists (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) address issues of community characteristics, rules and norms, help-seeking, volunteerism, trust, and social closure, they do not address the issues of access to resources within a hierarchical society. Without that emphasis the normative functionalist can identify a problem but are at a loss as to how interventions and program leaders who provide interventions empower low-status and minority youth. Fortunately, research from the social resources framework (Lin,

2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001) have begun to articulate the process of empowerment. According to Stanton-Salazar (2001),

> (S)ocial capital is a set of properties existing within socially patterned associations that, when activated, enable them to accomplish their goals or to empower themselves in some meaningful way. Such associations occur between individuals…, between individuals in a group…, and between groups within a community (p. 265)

In my observations of the A-MAN program leaders, they unashamedly talk about the positive aspects of their programs. They have learned to select people they get along with. The KL program leader looks for opportunities for adults to do well as volunteer participants. What can be learned from this is to be a cheerleader for the program and find ways for people to be on your team (Collins, 2001). Remaining optimistic and willing to find solutions in an agreeable manner is important to sustaining these two programs. For A-MAN program leaders, every contact is viewed a possibility for resources, especially a high status resource (e.g. government officials, university administrators, philanthropists). Also for A-MAN, connections with people outside the city were important to the expansion of the program if only to compare notes on program development. In particular for people working with African American youth, having a network connection to Civil Rights people and/or organizations that have a history of resistance to oppression are important to the success of a program that looks to ameliorate the challenges faced by African American youth. Examples where these types of connections can be made are traditionally African American Churches, NAACP, BGLO's as well as organizations founded in the 1950-60's such as the Association of Black Psychologists, National

Alliance of Black School Educators National Association of Black Accountants, and National Society of Black Engineers etc.

General

For Sadan (2005), empowerment is a process by which people struggle for control of their lives. Some programs empower and some people are empowered themselves and these are two separate processes. Paulo Frerie (1970/1993) in his work with low status urban youth in Brazil observed that his students earned greater educational outcomes by helping each other achieve academic success as well as gain greater understanding of the forces that limited their opportunities. The program leader should consider that along with the population they are attempting to serve they need to be empowered themselves. Their social networks are important to extending the capacity contacts that can be used to support the program's growth. An individual awareness by youth and adults as well as an institutional awareness of this process can help program leaders to access both strong ties (i.e. close family or friends seen regularly) and weak ties (i.e. every contacts and contacts in high status positions accessed per incident) which are helpful for program development (Burt, 1995)

If a person is developing a program that looks to empower people, especially minority youth or adults, and the program leaders are working with or benefiting from the program they may benefit from these recommendations: 1) Take an inventory of and then utilize your social networks (i.e. personal and professional). 2) When hiring or taking on volunteers be aware of people who can extend your

network by asking questions about the type of contacts they have that may help your business or organization. 3) Have a plan for networking and keep in mind that the youth served and/or other program participants will benefit from a layered web of connections. 4) Remember that the impact of a small sized network is minimized when the efficacy of the network members is consciously taken into account and meeting the needs of the program participants. 5) Be ready to share that network because when a charismatic leader leaves in order for the increased likely hood of passing on network's benefits there must be a person who knows and who can utilize that network.

Future Research

The following sections will be divided into three types of considerations for future study: One to five years from now, five to 10 years from now, and general considerations for future research.

1- 5 years

The limitations of time had an impact on my ability to interview other potential leaders within each of the programs. Conducting a study of this nature takes a great deal of time to establish rapport and although I asked about interviewing other staff members the program leaders for both programs indicated that it would be best if I only interviewed them. This was especially made clear after the A-MAN program leader and the KL program were made fully aware as to the nature of the study. Their concern was in regards to confidentiality of the program staff and volunteers.

Therefore, interviews with other program staff members who are not considered "traditional program leaders" but who have acted in leadership roles within the program would provide more insight into the process of resource mobilization and empowerment of the youth in the program. Interviews with program leaders' identified network contacts could also help with gaining greater understanding regarding the network contacts motivation for providing social support.

Consideration should be given to a similar but larger study with greater amounts of program leaders (e.g. N = 30) from other successful BGLO supported youth programs or other empowering college-preparatory programs supported by people of other ethnicities. I look forward to conducting future research in regards to the positive help-seeking orientations of program leaders' views of stress management as well as the type of relationships they seek out for their network. Further questions regarding the relationships with parents could also have implications for program leaders looking to enhance their program's parent involvement but also provide clarity regarding gender-based interactions. The potential for cross-cultural exchanges or more specifically ideas and actions for connections beyond intra-ethnic ties should also be addressed in follow-up questions.

The perceptions of program leaders and their considerations of their program participants in their social development and interactions will provide information regarding how to best develop curriculum, activities, and to guide day to day interaction with program participants and others in the community.

I anticipate that the network contacts of each of the program leaders could be extensive and occur in several settings. For example it would not be unusual to find two members of the same BGLO, local civic organization such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as well as National Society of Black Engineers (NASBE) as it happened with a few of Mr. Walkers contacts with the program. A study of the types of contacts Lin (2000) found with high status African Americans in the Southern Unified States as well as in other urban locations in the Eastern, Northern, or Western part of the Unified States of America may provide more current insights into Lin's concerns regarding ethnic specific networks. In general more research should be done regarding twenty first century fraternity life and trends as well as overt and covert efforts at social capital development and empowerment within fraternities and sororities. Also, civil Rights pioneers of the 1950's and 1960's are age 60's or older (i.e. they are dying soon). Their stories of overcoming oppression must be told and a theory of resistance and empowerment must be written and utilized to develop theory and practices that will solve the major challenges of today (e.g. the persistent achievement gap, increased incarceration rates, lack of health care resources etc.).

Future research should also include a longitudinal study of significant long-term (e.g. 10 years or more) relationships among the program leaders and their contacts within their network. This study would be aimed at gaining insights into the dynamics of the relationships with a focus on how they solve problems as well as

maintain their contacts, especially in the case of contacts that are made quarterly or once or twice a year.

The role of gender and equity in programs and interventions designed to support African American males should also be studied. A study looking at the comparative impact gender can have on the program participants as well as the overall culture of the program. Much has been written about African American men being raised by mothers (Kunjufu, 1995) due the adult Black male unemployment, incarceration, divorce, and/or child born without their father in their life.

General Future Research

Future research should extend findings on Black leadership and/or traditional resistance forms of organizational structure. Youth program leaders from African Christian churches, Historically Black College and Universities, Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO), and similar organizations that began in the early to mid part of the Twentieth century and have remained active (e.g. National Alliance of Black School Educators, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Society of Black Engineers etc…) could provide important information. If community-based professionals can be aware of their own ability to deal with stress and seek out people who make positive connections they should be more likely to provide supportive resources to the students they serve. Issues of spirituality, civility, and/or morality as both the Walkers and Mr. Reney spoke of, "committed people." An accurate assessment of a person's level of commitment based on successful program leaders experience could inform theory and practice in important

213

ways. Stress management practices for program leaders would be helpful for practitioners in their efforts to avoid burn-out and fatigue. Especially in community –based volunteer programs. Cyber networks are another area of growth for research that can provide more insights into how people use the internet to develop community and mobilize resource on behalf of their programs (Lin, 2000).

Closing

There are several programs that address the challenges faced by African American youth but they are not reaching enough people. Our society continues to have greater numbers of Black males in prison than in college (Noguera, 2003). This trend has to change. Society needs models of community building and studies that move towards a theory of community empowerment, which support sustained academic excellence. Mr. Reney and the Walkers have contributed to that. I hope that even further research can bring an end to the challenges that are at the root cause of the achievement gap.

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IRB information Sheet

(University of Southern California)
Doctorate of Education Program

INFORMATION SHEET FOR NON-MEDICAL RESEARCH

Social Capital of Program Leaders for African American Youth
The population group for this study is program leaders of the African American Male Achiever's Network (A-MAN). A-MAN is a non-profit organization in Inglewood, CA. The program provides after school tutoring, individual mentoring, and Saturday information sessions. Youth from 6-18 years of age participate in the program. The program leaders that will be interviewed are Mr. Hildreth and Dr. Bettye Walker the founders and directors of the program. No youth will be interviewed for the study. Also, program leaders from the Kappa League program of Los Angles, CA will be interviewed. Mr. Lawrence is the director of the Kappa League program. Their program is similar to A-MAN with the exception of an older age group from 12-18 years of age.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Brandon E. Gamble, M.S. (doctoral student) and Ricardo Stanton-Salazar, Ph.D. (Dissertation Chair) from the Rossier School of Education at the University of Southern California. Results will be contributed to Mr. Gamble's dissertation. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of the success you have had as a program leader who supports the development with African American youth. A total of 4 subjects will be selected from the A-MAN and Kappa League programs in the Los Angles, CA area to participate (i.e. 2 from A-MAN and 2 from Kappa League). Your participation is voluntary.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
We are asking you to take part in a research study because we are trying to learn more about Social Capital and Institutional Agency, relative to the A-MAN and Kappa League programs. Furthermore, the study intends to analyze the salience of the Institutional agent in the context of the A-MAN and Kappa League coordinators and teachers as it pertains to their role relative to minority and low-status youth intervention programs and in particular to African American youth.

The concept of Institutional agency involves fostering the acquisition of social capital, serving as purveyors of positional resources, and the provision of opportunities within the scope of their own embedded networks. Therefore, facilitating academic and/or social mobility. Completion via response to the interview questions will constitute consent to participate in this research project.

PROCEDURES
The respondent will be asked to complete the interviews in three phases. Phase I will entail an audio-recorded interview about people the respondent goes to provide information and/or help them solve problems. The researcher will code the responses to the questions. Phase II will have a checklist of positions and resources that help the researcher learn about how many people the respondent goes to for help. Phase II will not be audio-recorded. Phase III will have follow-up questions specific to the program as well as to the theory of social capital as the respondent views their role as a program leader. Each Phase will involve a 1-3 hour time commitment for completion. Overall the interviews with each respondent will involve 3-4 sessions. The types of questions asked will be in regard to the social networks and social resources that the respondents used to support the youth in their program.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no anticipated risks to your participation; you may experience some discomfort at completing the questionnaire or you may be inconvenienced from taking time out of your day to complete the questionnaire/survey instrument, etc. Although not anticipated, but if there are any questions that make the subject uncomfortable can be skipped and not answered.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY
You may not directly benefit from your participation in this research study. However, as a person concerned about the lives of youth you should know that your answers to our questions will give us greater insights into the nature of how program leaders use social resources. This knowledge will contribute to theory and we should be able to make more applicable recommendations to practitioners.

Another potential side benefit may be that in talking about the social networks the program leaders' thinking about their program may spur changes in how they interface. That is up to the program leader to follow-thru with those ideas. Again this is only an anticipated result.

PAYMENT/COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION
You will not receive any payment or be reimbursed for your participation in this research study.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. The information collected about you will be coded using a fake name (pseudonym) or initials and numbers, for example abc-123, etc. The information which has your identifiable information will be kept separately from the rest of your data.

Only members of the research team will have access to the data associated with this study. The data will be stored in the investigator's office in a locked file cabinet/password protected computer The data will be stored for three years after the study has been completed and then destroyed.

Since some of the activities will be audio-recorded, describe the subject's has the right to review the tapes. The researcher and his dissertation chair will have access, since they will be used for educational purpose. The participant may continue in the study should they decline to be taped.

When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. If photographs, videos, or audio-tape recordings of you will be used for educational purposes, your identity will be protected or disguised, unless you approve the release of the name of the program leaders and the program (i.e. A-MAN and Hildreth and Bettye Walker). Some transcripts from the recordings may be used but not without the prior consent of the program leaders.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL
You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. In this circumstance if the respondents are not available for interviews to be completed by the second week in February 17, 2007.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the University Park IRB, Office of the Vice Provost for Research Advancement, Grace Ford Salvatori Hall, Room 306, Los Angeles, CA 90089-1695, (213) 821-5272 or upirb@usc.edu.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact

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Personal Background Survey (Interviewer Only)
Script: At this time, I would like to ask some questions about your personal background.

Name of Respondent: _____
Date:_____

Demographic Information	
1. How old are you?	
2. What is your marital status?	
3. Do you have any children? If yes, how many?	
4. What is your ethnic background?	

Educational Background	
1. What degree or degrees do you hold? In what area(s)?	

2. From which institutions were your degrees granted and in what year(s)? *(Skip this question if respondent doesn't have any degrees.)*	

3. What is your parents' educational background? *Note: If the respondent's parents attended college, ask question #2 in reference to their parents [including where their degree(s) were granted and in what area(s)).*	

APPENDIX IB: continued

Employment History	
1. What are the two most important employment experiences that you have had that apply to your current job in [name of program]?	
2a. How long have you worked in your current position?	
2b. Have you held any other positions in this program?	

APPENDIX IC:

Staff Worksheet (Interviewer Only)

Interviewer: This worksheet is useful for providing context for a conversation with the respondent regarding the program. Ask the respondent to give information about the main staff members and/or other leaders of your intervention program. These individuals must be key people that the respondent works with and that help him/her run the intervention program.

Script: Now I would like to find out about who is on the [name of program] staff. Please tell me who are the key people that you work with who help you run this program.

Staff #_____	
Name:	
Gender:	
Title/Position:	
Brief Job Description:	
Length of Employment:	

Staff #_____	
Name:	
Gender:	
Title/Position:	
Brief Job Description:	
Length of Employment:	

Staff #_____	
Name:	
Gender:	
Title/Position:	
Brief Job Description:	
Length of Employment:	

Staff #_____	
Name:	
Gender:	
Title/Position:	
Brief Job Description:	
Length of Employment:	

APPENDIX ID:

"Grand Tour" Survey of Program (Interviewer Only)

Script: I would like to now ask you to talk informally about your program, the kind of youth/students you serve and your role in program.

Current Job	
1. Please explain your current position or role in the (name of program)	
2. What is the mission of the (name of program)?	
3. What kinds of students/youth are targeted in the (name of program)?	
4. What are the most fundamental core aspects of [name of program]? *Probe for:* • *Goals* • *Activities* • *One or two key features (e.g. mentorship, leadership building)*	

APPENDIX IE:

Organizational Affiliations

Instructions for interviewer: 1) Provide copy to respondent.

Script: I am interested in your current involvement in professional organizations. Specifically, name the three most important professional organizations that you are currently involved in. By current involvement, I mean attendance at least once a year at meetings held by a group and has face-to-face interactions.

Type of Affiliation (A thru F)	Actively Involved? (Yes or No)	Name(s)
A **Professional Association**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____

B **Trade or Industry Association**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____
C **Political Party or Organization (e.g., Black Caucus neither Republican or Democrat)**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____
D **Church or Religious Organization**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____
E **Charitable or Philanthropic Organization**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____
F **Sports Club or Recreation Organization**	1._____ 2._____ 3._____	1._____ 2._____ 3._____

APPENDIX IIA:

Name Generator Script

Preface interview session with the following introduction:

Over the course of our first major survey, I would like to get an idea of the people who are important to you in your efforts to run [name of program]. Specifically, I am interested in the people you would seek assistance and support from. This support would be related to:

1. **Supporting your students [program youth]**

2. **Supporting your program colleagues**

3. **Meeting the objectives of the program**

After reading each scenario, I will be asking you to provide me with the names of the people who you would seek out for support with *genuine* confidence and trust. Just to clarify, you would seek them out because you have confidence in them and because you trust they would be able to provide reliable and substantive support. These people could be your friends, family, colleagues, supervisors, mentors, or other people you know. If there is no one that you would go to for a particular kind of support mentioned in the following survey that is perfectly okay.

Are you ready?

APPENDIX IIB:

NAME GENERATOR (DOMAINS AND QUESTIONS)

Preface interview session with the following introduction:

Over the course of our conversation, I would like to get an idea of the people who are important to you in your efforts to help students, in various ways. I will preface each topic with a description of the ways that people assist you in helping you figure out how to get your students the help they need. After reading each description, I were asking you to provide me with only the first names of these people who you would go to with confidence, if you needed this type of assistance on behalf of your students. These people could be your friends, family, colleagues, supervisors, mentors, or other people you might know.

If you feel that there isn't anyone you would go to with confidence, for a specific type of assistance described on behalf of your students then let's talk about that as well. If there are any descriptions or questions that may be unclear, please don't hesitate to ask me to clarify anything. Today, I were tape-recording our session. Are you ready?

1. Educational Opportunities:
- If you need information or assistance regarding an educational concern for one of your youth program participants, who are the main people that you would call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

2. Social Development and Support:
- If you have a student who has experienced difficulties socializing with others, who are the main people that you would call to assist you in accessing mentorship or social supports for youth program participants?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

3. Medical Health and Wellness Support:
- If one of your students has a medical or dental need that you feel is not being addressed by the school or his/her family, who can you call with confidence to assist you in getting the services that the student needs.
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

4. Psychological and Emotional Support:

- If one of your students was experiencing psychological or emotional crises, who are the main people that you would call to assist you in dealing with the crisis?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

5. Legal Assistance:
- If one of your students has legal issues or questions, who are the main people that you would access to gain resources that would help your student in dealing with their legal matters?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

6. Law Enforcement Support:
- If one of your students needs assistance with specific law enforcement concerns, who are the people you would most likely call upon or refer to for assistance?
- In the past year, which of these people have you actually called upon or referred someone to for assistance?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

7. Community People:
- If you need information on the community or assistance with arranging activities in the community, who are the main people that you would call for assistance with this situation?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

8. Social Services:
- If one of your students need assistance with arranging social services, who are the main people that you would call to help you with handling this matter?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?

- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

9. Financial Information and Support:
- If one of your students needs information or assistance regarding financial matters, who are the main people that you would call to help you with this matter?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

10. Leadership
- If one of your students needs assistance and/or information from a person in a leadership position (e.g., Principal, Superintendent, government official, etc.), who are the main people that you would call upon for assistance in figuring out how to help your student
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

11. Career, Internships, and Employment Opportunities Support:
- If one of your program participants needs assistance or information regarding career, internship, or employment opportunities, who are the people you would most likely call upon or refer to for assistance?
- In the past years, which of these persons have you actually contacted and/or referred to receive assistance?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past years?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

12. Marketing/Public Relations:
- If you are trying to gain media coverage for the program, who are the main people that you call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

13. Funding Opportunities
- If you are trying to gain funding for the program, who are the main people that you call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?

- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

14. Sponsorship/Donations

- If you are trying to gain sponsorship or donations for an activity, who are the main people that you call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

15. Computer Technology

- If you are trying to set up a computer program or need technical assistance with your computers, who are the main people that you call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

16. African Centered

- If you are in need of Black History or African Cultural information or activities, who are the main people that you call for help?
- In the past year, which of these people have you accessed for help?
- Is there anyone who you would not normally rely upon for this type of assistance, but who actually did help you in this way during the past year?
- Have you ever been in a position where you either directly provided this resource to one of your students, or directly provided this resource to one of your program colleagues?

Codes for Name Generator Relationships

Immediate Family		Fictive Kin	
1.	Mother	37.	Godmother
2.	Father	38.	Godfather
3.	Sister	39.	Comadre/Sister/Good women
4.	Brother	40.	Compadre/Brother/Good men
5.	Daughter	41.	Mentor/Kinship
6.	Son		
7.	Step-Daughter	**Friendship**	
8.	Step-Son	42.	Friend
9.	Wife	43.	Acquaintance/Colleague
10.	Husband	**Work**	
11.	Ex-Wife	44.	Work Associate
12.	Ex-Husband	45.	Supervisor
13.	Girlfriend	46.	Program Associate
14.	Boyfriend	47.	Mentor
15.	Step-Mother	**Organizational/Fraternal**	
16.	Step-Father	48.	Peer
17.	Step-Sister	**Residential Community**	
18.	Step-Brother	49.	Landlord/landlady
19.	Half-Sister	50.	Neighbor
20.	Half-Brother	**Church**	
Nuclear Family		51.	Priest/minister
21.	Sister-in-Law	**Business Relationship**	
22.	Brother-in-Law	52.	Attorney
23.	Niece	53.	Accountant
24.	Nephew	54.	*Other (***Write in title of relationship***) _____
25.	1st Cousin		
26.	2nd Cousin		
27.	Aunt		
28.	Uncle		
29.	Grandmother		
30.	Grandfather		
31.	Granddaughter		
32.	Grandson		
33.	Great Grandmother		
34.	Great Grandfather		
35.	Great Aunt		
36.	Great Uncle		

APPENDIX IIC2:

Ethnicity Coding Sheet

Interviewer's Instruction: In completing the information needed for the ethnicity columns (e.g., Eth 1 and Eth 2) in the Social Network Survey ("Name Generator"), ask the subjects to identify what is their ethnic background. Place the letter code found next to the ethnic label (e.g., A1) in the column labeled Eth 1. If the subject identifies a second label, then place the corresponding code in the column labeled Eth 2.

Racial/Ethnic/National Origin Background Categories

The boxed racial/ethnic/national origin designations are the categories and definitions detailed in "Standards for Maintaining, Collecting, and Presenting Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity" (Federal Register, 62FR 58781 – 58790). The categories under the boxed categories include those that are specified in the box, as well as the racial/ethnic reporting categories specified in AB 813, which created Section 8310.5 and an amendment to Section 19799 of the California Government Code. The CSU provides employees, prospective students, and current students with the opportunity to self-identify. Individuals are not required to specify a race/ethnicity/national origin.

AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKA NATIVE: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal or community attachment.

Alaska Native	A1
North American tribal affiliation or community attachment	A2
Central American tribal affiliation or community attachment	A3
Other South American tribal affiliation or community attachment	A4

ASIAN: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asian, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Asian Indian	B1
Cambodian	B2
Chinese	B3
Filipino	B4
Japanese	B5
Korean	B6
Laotian	B7
Malaysian	B8
Pakistani	B9
Thai	B10
Vietnamese	B11
Other Asian	B12

APPENDIX IIC2: continued

BLACK or AFRICAN AMERICAN: A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of African. Terms such as "Haitian" or "Negro" can be used in addition to "Black or African American". Obtained from http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000phc-2-a-B.pdf

African American	C1
Caribbean/West Indian	C2
African Continental	C3
Other African American/Black	C4

LATINO or HISPANIC: A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

Central American	D1
Cuban	D2
Mexican, Mexican American/Chicano	D3
Puerto Rican	D4
South American	D5
Other Latino/Hispanic	D6

NATIVE HAWAIIAN OR OTHE PACIFIC ISLANDER: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.

Guamanian	E1
Hawaiian	E2
Samoan/Chamorro	E3
Other Pacific Islander	E4

WHITE: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

White European	F1
White Western European (e.g., French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese)	F2
Eastern European (e.g., Greek, Albanian, Czechoslovakian)	F3
Middle Eastern	F4
North African	F5
Jewish Heritage	F6
Arabic	F7
Other White	F8

DECLINE TO STATE

| Decline to state | G1 |

APPENDIX IIC3:

Code Sheet for Name Generator: Settings Where Main Social Interactions Take
Place
(Note: We will only ask for the top three settings)

Date	
Name of Respondent	
Location of Administration	

Instructions:	Codes
1. **What is the <u>most</u> important setting in which you interact with this person?** 2. **What do you see as the <u>second</u> most important setting in which you interact with this person?** 3. **Are there any <u>other</u> settings in which you interact with this person?**	**Set 1 = <u>most</u> impt.** **Set 2 = second** **Set 3 = other**

Setting A: Intervention Program/Context

#	Examples	Label
1	Program staff meetings	A
2	Meetings pertaining to outside evaluations	A

Setting B: Collaborative Meetings with Outside Entities

#	Examples	Label
1	Cross-program participation in planning and organizing activities	B
2	Program-community collaborative meetings (e.g., church/temple; social service agencies; recreation center)	B

Setting C: Community Context/ "personal network"

#	Description	Label
1	Residential Neighborhood	C1
2	Church	C2
3	Volunteer Organization	C3
4	Community Civic Organization (e.g., political lobby)	C4
5	Social Circle/ Personal Network (e.g., film club)	C5
6	Health and Fitness (e.g., gym, bicycle club)	C6
7	Children/oriented activities (e.g., soccer games)	C7
8	Children/oriented activities—School gatherings (e.g., plays, science fair)	C8

APPENDIX IIC3: continued

Setting D: Professional Context/ External to intervention program (related to professional role as "youth worker"/ 'institutional agent' for students

#	Description	Label
1	Attendance and participation in Professional Associations (including committees)	D1
2	Departmental staff meetings (wider institutional context in which program is situated)	D2
3	Staff training and development activities (wider institutional context in which program is situated)	D3
4	Union activities	D4

Setting E: Professional Context/ External to intervention program (NOT related to professional role as "youth worker"/ 'institutional agent' for students

#	Description	Label
1	Attendance and participation in Professional Associations (including committees) (e.g., actors guild)	E1
2	Departmental staff meetings (e.g., theatre)	E2
3	Staff training and development activities (wider institutional context in which professional role is situated) (e.g., acting classes)	E3
4	Union activities (not related to program)	E4

Setting F: Family/Kinship Context

#	Description	Label
1	Gathering/reunion for special occasions (e.g., weddings, baptisms, funerals, camping)	F1
2	Children/oriented activities (e.g., soccer games)	F2
3	Children/oriented activities—School gatherings (e.g., plays, science fair)	F3
4	Adult-kin-oriented activities (i.e., concerts, dinner, theatre, baseball)	F4

Setting G: Electronic/Technology

#	Description	Label
1	E-mail	G1
2	Cell Phone	G2

APPENDIX IIC4:

Code Sheet for Frequency Column
(Interviewer Only)
Prompt for Respondent: **How often do you interact with person _X_? (If**

respondent needs prompting, then read the possibilities listed below—beginning

with #9   and

moving   up the

scale.)

Description	Code
Everyday	1
Bi-weekly	2
Once a week	3
Every 2 weeks (bi-monthly) (more or less)	4
Once a month (more or less)	5
Every 2-3 months	6
Twice a year (more or less)	7
Once a year	8
Every couple years (or less frequently)	9

The Development of the Position Generator

The positions listed in the generator are divided into three categories: high, middle, and low status. The categories were developed using the Socioeconomic Index Scores for Major Occupation Groups (Duncan's SEI – revised versions: Weighted Prestige, Education, Income) and by the U.S. Bureau of Census, *1970 Census of Population Classified Index of Industries and Occupations*. Scores that are 75 or higher on the Duncan Scale signify high-status, 74 down to 53 signify middle-status, and 52 and below signify low-status. For this instrument, the range of the middle status is being altered to 74 down to 60. The 59 down to 53 range (lower middle class) is being omitted, so that the instrument includes positions with higher SEI scores (This omission is a built in bias).

Prior to each group of positions (high, medium, and low), there is a legend that details how the positions within each strata, of the generator, were chosen. See the Legends A, B, and C in the position generator below. Also, in the generator, the positions are listed in a pattern, so that the statuses are staggered throughout the generator. The pattern has three stages and within each stage there are six items.
The pattern is as follows:

1) Stage One (Numbers 1 through 6): #1 = High Status (HS), #2 = Middle Status (MS), and #3 = Low Status (LS). The pattern repeats for numbers 4 through 6.
2) Stage Two (Numbers 7 through 12): #7 = MS, #8 = LS, #9 = HS. The second stage of the pattern continues for numbers 10 through 12.
3) Stage Three (Numbers 13 through 18): #13 = LS, #14 = MS, #15 = HS. The third stage of the pattern continues for numbers 16 through 18.

1a) Stage One repeats (Numbers 19 through 24): #19 = HS, #20 = MS, and #21 = LS. The first stage of the pattern repeats for numbers 22 through 24.
2a) Stage Two repeats (Numbers 25 through 30): #25 = MS, #26 = LS, #27 = HS. The second stage of the pattern repeats for numbers 28 through 30.

	Job/Function	Score	H	M	L	Related	Ed
	LEGEND A FOR 1-10 High Status = 10 items *7 items related to running of youth interventio* *3 non-related* 7 related items = 5 in education, 2 non-education						
1.	Physician	92	X			No	
2.	Public Relations Agent	82	X			Yes	
3.	Bank Officers & Financial Manager	80	X			No	
4.	School Administrator, College	78	X			Yes	E
5.	Lawyer	92	X			Yes	E
6.	College Professor	84	X			Yes	E
7.	Architect	85	X			No	
8.	Psychologist	81	X			Yes	E
9.	Statistician	81	X			Yes	E
10.	Accountant	77	X			Yes	

	LEGEND B FOR 11-20 Mid-Status = 10 items *8 items related to running of yip, 2 non-related* 8 related items = 5 in education, 3 non-education						
11.	Teacher, K-12	62		X		Yes	E
12.	Social Worker	64		X		Yes	
13.	School Administrator, Elementary & Secondary school	72		X		Yes	E
14.	Vocational & Education Counselor	65		X		Yes	E
15.	Real estate agent	62		X		No	
16.	Computer Programmer	62		X		Yes	
17.	Librarian	60		X		Yes	E
18.	Adult Education Teacher	61		X		Yes	E
19.	Urban & Regional Planner	65		X		Yes	
20.	Officials of lodges, societies, and unions	60		X		No	
21.	Welfare service worker	11			X		
22.	Former member of the armed forces	-4			X		
23.	Deliveryman	31			X		
24.	Plumber	13			X		
25.	Cleaning person	8			X		
26.	Electrician	44			X		
27.	Receptionist	44			X		
28.	Nurse	44			X		
29.	Construction laborer	7			X		
30.	Waiter	16			X		

APPENDIX III B:

The Development of the Resource Generator

The resources listed in the generator are divided into three categories: high, middle, and low status. The categories were developed using the Socioeconomic Index Scores for Major Occupation Groups (Duncan's SEI – revised versions: Weighted Prestige, Education, Income) and by U.S. Bureau of Census, *1970 Census of Population Classified Index of Industries and Occupations*. Resources with scores that are 75 or higher on the Duncan Scale signify high-status, 74 down to 53 signify middle-status, and 52 and below signify low-status. In addition to classifying the resources by status, they are also divided by categories (See the category column).

Prior to each group of resources (high, medium, and low), there is a legend that details how the resources within each strata, of the generator, were chosen. See the Legends D, E, and F in the resource generator below.

Also, in the generator, the resources are listed in a pattern, so that the statuses are staggered throughout the generator. The pattern has three stages and within each stage there are six items. The pattern is as follows:

4) Stage One (Numbers 1 through 6): #1 = High Status (HS), #2 = Middle Status (MS), and #3 = Low Status (LS). The pattern repeats for numbers 4 through 6.
5) Stage Two (Numbers 7 through 12): #7 = MS, #8 = LS, #9 = HS. The second stage of the pattern continues for numbers 10 through 12.
6) Stage Three (Numbers 13 through 18): #13 = LS, #14 = MS, #15 = HS. The third stage of the pattern continues for numbers 16 through 18.

1a) Stage One repeats (Numbers 19 through 24): #19 = HS, #20 = MS, and #21 = LS. The first stage of the pattern repeats for numbers 22 through 24. Since there are 25 items, the last item (#25) is HS.

	I. Do you know anyone who…	Category	H	M	L	Related
	LEGEND D FOR 1-9 High Status = 9 items 6 items related to running of yip, 3 non-related					
1.	…is a philanthropist, specifically, makes charitable donations to non-profit organizations?	Economic Capital	X			Yes
2.	…teaches in a university [holds a Doctorate degree and teaches courses related to child welfare and/or education)?	Human/ Cultural Capital	X			Yes
3.	…is a successful small business owner – 10 employees or more?	Economic/ Business/ Entrepreneur World	X			Yes
4.	…has knowledge about financial matters (wealth management, investments)?	Economic/ Business/ Entrepreneur	X			Yes

			Category	H	M	L	Related
		World					
		Category	**H**	**M**	**L**	**Related**
5.	…knows about how local bureaucracies work, and how to "work bureaucracies" (e.g., city hall; school district, school board; state assembly, etc.)	Law & Government "Funds of Knowledge"	X			Yes
6.	…can arrange media coverage (e.g., news reporter or editor (print or broadcast)?	News Media	X			Yes
7.	…has traveled to a foreign country for leisure or business (e.g., Europe; not returning to visit relatives in Mexico)?	Cultural Capital	X			No
8.	… holds political office [or has held political office in the recent past]?	Local/State &/or National Politics and Civic Affairs	X			No
9.	… makes a living in the 'fine arts' (e.g., symphony, professional dance company, playwright, visual artist/theater)	Special Talents	X			No
10	...works as an administrator at an elementary or secondary school?	Human/ Cultural Capital		X		Yes
11	…knows how to advocate for children with special needs?	'Funds of Knowledge' directly related to running youth/student intervention program		X		Yes
12	…knows about human resources related information?	Knowledge & Resources		X		Yes
13	…who has knowledge about the juvenile court system?	Law & Government 'Funds of Knowledge'		X		Yes
14	…has successfully secured a grant?	'Funds of Knowledge' directly related to running youth/student intervention program		X		Yes
15	…knows about how the social services and welfare system operates?	'Funds of Knowledge' directly related to running youth/student intervention program		X		Yes
16	…is a community activist (involved in civic affairs)?	Local/State &/or National politics and civic affairs		X		No
17	…who works in information technology (e.g., computer/software specialist)	Technical knowledge of electronic and computer technology		X		No
18	…who is licensed to do plumbing and household repairs?	Craftsmanship			X	Yes
19	…who is a member of a trade union?	Craftsmanship			X	Yes
20	…knows how to prepare a wide range of food (extremely good at cooking)?	Craftsmanship			X	Yes
21	…who is self-employed artist (writer,	Special Talents			X	Yes

		LEGEND F FOR 22-25 Low-Status = 10 items 6 items that you anticipate everyone will choose, 4 working class positions	**Category**	**H**	**M**	**L**	**Related**
22	…who can give advice on physical fitness and nutrition (e.g., trainer, nutritionist)?	Special Talents			X	Yes
23	…knows about community resources for youth?	Knowledge & Resources			X	Yes
24	…knows how to shop for bargains at retail stores, swap meets, close-out sales?	Knowledge & Resources			X	Yes
25	…is a "talented artist" (e.g., painter, muralist, poet, performance artist, writer	Special Talents			X	Yes

Position Generator Script
(Interviewer Only)

[Instructions for Interviewer]

1. Both interviewer and respondent will have a copy of the generator.
2. Stay in the location while the respondent is filling out the generator in case they have any questions.
3. Please suggest to your respondent the following:
    a. Tell respondent that thinking aloud is encouraged
    b. It is allowable to write in the margins, (i.e., notes, thoughts, etc.)

Script:

You will now fill out a survey. I would like you to indicate if any of your family members, friends, colleagues, or acquaintances hold any of the occupations listed and the number that hold those positions.

In the grid you may mark any of the categories that apply. Here are some examples that will help you to mark your answers.
 (Example):
1. If there is a family member who also happens to be a college professor, then mark 1 in the column of "Family".
2. If there are two friends who also happen to be college professors, then mark 2 in the column of "Friends".
3. If you cannot think of anyone then mark "X"in the column of "None."

When you name someone who is a colleague, please consider two types of colleagues: Someone who is employed in the same workplace and someone who is NOT employed in the same workplace. By the same workplace, I mean someone who is employed in the same institution/organization. At a minimum, they are someone that you have regular small talk or share opinions with (e.g., faculty member, campus administrator). By different workplace, I mean someone who is not employed in the same institution/organization, but that you attend meetings within a professional context (e.g., conferences, professional development) and have regular small talk or share opinions with.

Please do not name anyone on your program staff. If there are more than 10 persons that you can think of in a column, then mark "10+".

Preface survey with the following introduction:

1) I have here a list of different occupations. I would like you to go through the list and indicate if any of your friends, family members, or acquaintances holds any of these positions. What I mean by acquaintance is:

- Same Workplace = Someone employed by the same institution/organization. At a minimum, someone that you have regular small talk or share opinions with (e.g., faculty member, campus administrator)

- Different Workplace = Someone not employed by the same institution/ organization, but that you attend meetings within a professional context (e.g., conferences, professional development) and have regular small talk or share opinions with.

	Job Function	Family	Friend	Colleague or Acquaintance		None
				SW	DW	
1.	K-12 Educator					
2.	Academic Tutor					
3.	School Counselor					
4.	Superintendent or School Board Member					
5.	Psychologist/Therapist					
6.	Physician					
7.	Mentor/Community volunteer					
8.	Security Guard					
9.	Works with youth with special needs					
10.	Arranges social or welfare services					
11.	Grant Writer					
12.	Handy Man					
13.	Public Relations agent					
14.	Employee at another youth program					
15.	Government (city or state) employee					
16.	Employee at a Financial Institution					
17.	Civil Rights Activist					
18.	Sits on a Board of Directors					
19.	Holds a management level or above position at a Corporation					
20.	Trained in Cultural Competence					
21.	Philanthropist					
22.	Vice President or President of a Company					

APPENDIX III D: CONTINUED

cont.	Job/Function	Family	Friend	Colleague or Acquaintance		None
				SW	DW	
23.	Lawyer					
24.	Probation Officer					
25.	Civic/Fraternal Organizations					
26.	Janitor/Cleaning Person					
27.	Religious/Spiritual Adviser					
28.	College Admissions Counselor					
29.	College Faculty					
30.	Career Counselor					

Resource Generator Script
(Interviewer Only)

[Instructions for Interviewer]

4. Both interviewer and respondent will have a copy of the generator.
5. Stay in the location while the respondent is filling out the generator in case they have any questions.
6. Please suggest to your respondent the following:
   a. Tell respondent that thinking aloud is encouraged
   b. It is allowable to write in the margins, (i.e., notes, thoughts, etc.)

Script:

I would like to know what key occupations, essential resources, and experiences you have exposure to. I would like you to fill out this survey and indicate if you or any of your friends, family members, colleagues or acquaintances have any of the resources listed.

When you name someone who is a colleague, please consider two types of colleagues: Someone who is employed in the same workplace and someone who is NOT employed in the same workplace. By the same workplace, I mean someone who is employed in the same institution/organization. At a minimum, they are someone that you have regular small talk or share opinions with (e.g., faculty member, campus administrator). By different workplace, I mean someone who is not employed in the same institution/organization, but that you attend meetings within a professional context (e.g., conferences, professional development) and have regular small talk or share opinions with.

If you can answer "yes" to any of the following questions, please indicate so by marking the appropriate box in the last column, marked "Yourself."

APPENDIX III F:

RESOURCE GENERATOR

Preface survey with the following introduction:

1) The purpose of this survey is to find out what resources you have access too. I have here a list of key resources. I would like you to go through the list and indicate if *you* or any of your friends, family members, or acquaintances possesses any of these resources.

- Same Workplace = Someone employed by the same institution/organization. At a minimum, someone that you have regular small talk or share opinions with (e.g., faculty member, campus administrator)

- Different Workplace = Someone not employed by the same institution/ organization, but that you attend meetings within a professional context (e.g., conferences, professional development) and have regular small talk or share opinions with.

	I. Do you know anyone who…	None	Family	Friend	Colleague or Acquaintance		Yourself
					SW	DW	
1.	…works in information technology?						
2.	…can assist with obtaining medical services for youth?						
3.	…can write a grant proposal?						
4.	…will provide tutoring services?						
5.	…will volunteer?						
6.	…can act as an advocate for children with special needs?						
7.	…can speak and write a foreign language?						
8.	…can arrange media coverage?						
9.	…can perform youth counseling?						
10.	…can arrange bus, shuttle, or van transportation services?						
11.	…owns their own business?						
12.	…is knowledgeable about financial matters?						
13.	…has knowledge about employment opportunities?						
14.	…can navigate through the social services and welfare system?						
15.	…works at a rehabilitation center?						
16.	…teaches K-12?						
17.	…has worked with youth or in education for ten or more years?						

cont.	I. Do you know anyone who…	None	Family	Friend	Colleague or Acquaintance		Colleague or Acquaintance
					SW	SW	
18.	…has a graduate degree or higher in education, pedagogy, child psychology, or sociology?						
19.	…works in higher education?						
20.	…makes charitable donations to non-profits or youth programs?						

NAME INTERPRETING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Preface session with the following information:

Today, I were recording our session. If there are any questions that may be unclear, please don't hesitate to ask me to clarify anything.

1. Let's talk about your relationship with _____. How long have you known _____?
2. How were you acquainted?
3. How often do you get together or have personal conversations with _____?
4. Where does _____work?
5. What does _____do? Or can you describe the nature of _____ job?
6. Earlier you shared that _____was someone that you could go to in order to access resources for the youth program. Is the source of the resources related to _____ job, or are they personal offerings?
7. What type of resources does _____offer? (general response – financial, supplies, etc.)
8. Do you know if _____ asks others for resources on behalf of the youth program?
     a. If so, whom does he/she ask?
9. How often do you access resources for the youth program from _____?
10. Do you ever feel uncomfortable about asking _____for help?
     a. If so, what makes you feel uncomfortable?
11. (Applicable for providers of three or more types of support) It appears that_____ is an important source of support for you

     a. How would you describe your relationship with_____
     b. Tell me about the last time_____ helped you. What was it that you needed help with?
     c. How did you feel about the support he/she gave you?
     d. Has _____ ever asked **you** for help? If so, what kind of help?
     e. Have you ever been upset at, or had disagreements with _____? If yes, explain.
12. In question # _____, you indicated that *you* provided that type of support for your student/ program participant. Could you please describe how you provided that type of support?

     Note to self: Types of support as **direct

     • "sources of support" & direct/immediate sources of SC for their students;

     • [and as] "bridges" to other agents who are sources of SC

     • as "agents" who are **transitioning** from "bridges" [& help seekers] to direct providers of key resources

APPENDIX IV B:

ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW

Preface session with the following information:

Today, I were recording our session. If there are any questions that may be unclear, please don't hesitate to ask me to clarify anything.

[Researcher will ask certain question to particular respondents. Questions will correlate with each respondent's job role/function in order to generate rich data.]

    a. Describe the vision/mission of this program. (e.g., mission, processes, structure).
        i. Do you agree or disagree with either vision/mission? Why?
        ii. Do the students you serve influence your mission? Why?

    b. How do you see your general and higher purpose in this program?
        i. What circumstances/factors help you to carry out your purpose?
        ii. What circumstances/factors prevent you from achieving this purpose?

    c. What do you do to encourage partnerships and collaboration between program and corporations, institutions, and/or community-based organizations?

    d. What do you do to:
        i. Recruit students and get them to become invested in the program?
        ii. Help students overcome barriers or obstacles to success?
        iii. Help students develop essential skills that generate academic and social developmental success?

    e. Do you seek out opportunities for students to advance themselves academically or socially? Describe how…

    f. Do you use anyone in your *social network (job-related)* of contacts to achieve this? Describe a condition or situation in which you do so…
        i. What type of information, resource, or opportunity where you attempting to convey?
        ii. Characterize your relationship with this contact?
            1. How long have you known each other?
            2. How often do you interact with him or her?

   3. How many times has this person helped you in your efforts to convey essential information, resources, and opportunities to students?
  iii. Have you ever used the influence of anyone in your ***personal network*** to provide resources for your students?
    - Characterize your relationship with this person.
     a. How long have you know each other?
     b. How often do you interact with this person?
     c. How many times has this person helped you?
     d. Do you have cyber contacts?

g. What do you do to:
  i. Ensure that students effectively utilize acquired resources?
  ii. Help students utilize acquired skills and resources as sources of empowerment?

h. What are some of the factors that either facilitate or constrain your access and mobilization of resources on behalf of students?

i. What are some of the factors that either facilitate or constrain your access and mobilization of resources on behalf of self, program associates, and program agenda?

  i. Does the use of technology limit or facilitate access or mobilization of resources?

j. How are funds allocated to and distributed in the context of this program?
  i. What is your relationship with the person in charge of budget allocations?

k. Does the program have norms and sanctions (i.e., guiding principles/rules)?
  i. With students?
  ii. With program staff/other influential participants?
  iii. If so, how are they enforced?
  iv. Also, how are they are assessed for effectiveness?
  v. Are there rules for the use of technology to connect with others?

l. Describe the types of activities your program conducts for youth.
  i. Do you have sponsors that support particular activities?
  ii. If so, who are they, and what activities do they support?

      iii. How did you/the program secure this support?

      iv. What is the time length of the support, or do you have to re-apply each year to continue receiving the support?

      v. How is technology used to develop networks of students and/or staff?

m. What principles/theories guided the development of this program?

      i. What was your reasoning for offering those resources provided by the program?

      ii. How do you ensure that the program design matches the requirements students need to advance themselves academically and socially?

      iii. How do you assess the effectiveness of your entire program?

      iv. Is technology an direct or indirect indicator of success of the program?

n. Are students taught how to code switch between community, school, and/or industry expectations?

      i. Are students prepped before going on field trips how to conduct themselves

      ii. Is there discussion of African American life in relation to mainstream interactions

      iii. How do staff approach the question culture, race, and/or status for program participants who are not African American?

Definitions and Concepts from Chapters 1, 2, & 3

Achievement Gap

The United States Department of Education (2004) has now made closing the achievement gap a national priority. This study will go along with Singham (1998) that there is enough evidence to conclude Blacks are *not* genetically inferior to Whites and the academic achievement indicators, while they have remained low for the past 40 years, can be narrowed dramatically and even eliminated. For this study we were looking at programs that endeavor to close that gap for all the children and adolescents that participate in the program.

African American

"African American" refers to U.S. born citizens of African Ancestry. "Black" refers to Caribbean-Americans, Native Africans, and/or all other international students of African decent are consider in this definition. Both Black and African American may be used to speak to the specific American context or to the broader context for all people of African decent.

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Race continues to be a critical factor in American life. The right of property is the basis of U.S. society. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool for us to understand social inequity. For this paper it relates to the education of African American students (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Empowerment

Paulo Frerie (1970/1993) in his work with low status urban youth in Brazil observed that his students earned greater educational outcomes by helping each other achieve academic success as well as gain greater understanding of the forces that limited their opportunities. Frerie did not define empowerment directly. For Sadan, (2005) empowerment is a process by which people struggle for control of their lives and their environments. Some programs empower and some people are empowered themselves and these are two separate processes.

Institutional Agent

Stanton-Salazar (1997) states, "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to directly transmit, or negotiate the transmission of, institutional resources and opportunities (p. 15)" are institutional agents.

Social Capital

According to Lin (2001), "social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure, which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the likelihood of success in a purposive action (p. 24). Also, according to Stanton-Salazar (2001), social capital is a set of properties existing within socially patterned associations that, when activated, enable them to accomplish their goals or to empower themselves in some meaningful way. Such associations occur between individuals…, between individuals in a group…, and between groups within a community (p. 265)

APPENDIX VB:

Definitions and Concepts from Chapters 4 & 5

Extensity

Granovetter's (1973), "network extensity," refers to the actually size of an individual network. For this case study, the Resource Generator measured the size of extensity, while considering resources and their attributes, sources of support, status of contacts associated within the design of the programs. For Granovetter, the importance of "weak ties," and for this study purposes "college/acquaintances," can show the effectiveness of an individual network.

Maroonage

Hilliard (1995) writes about "maroonage" in lifelong learning among the West African scholars at Timbuktu. Each person was to mentor and to care for someone else. This tradition of mentoring and looking out for the welfare of others were passed down in the tradition of the Maroons who met in slave quarters, clearings in the forests, and places where White slave masters could not see. They met to plan acts of rebellion in overt, covert, and psychological acts of resistance and survival.

Multiplex (Contacts or Ties)

Multiplex tie indicates a contact which proves two or more sources of support out of the 14 indicated in the Name Generator's domains of support. The domains of support are: social integration and development; medical health and wellness; crisis response; educational or gateway; legal assistance; college services; financial information and funding; academic and student affairs; career, internships and employment; political; academic integration, mental health; law enforcement, program grant funding. For this study I added two more (i.e. technology and African Centered) based on Lin's (2000) suggesting in the literature to investigate issues with technology and the internet. Hilliard (1995) provided the rationale for me to consider contacts with African –Centered cultural or historical contacts.

Social Closure

For Coleman (1988) social capital makes possible achievement that in its absence would not be possible. And when a group takes part in decision making that group's members become familiar with each other and eventually achieves social closure. When this occurs the group has developed a social network that can sustain the development of its youth institutions that are important to society.

Uniplex (Contacts or Ties)

A descriptor of a contact within a person's social network that provided only one type of support out of the 14 or 16 indicated by a respondents answers to questions on the Name Generator.

Weak Ties (a.k.a. Dormant) vs. Strong Ties

For Granovetter (1982), his concept of "strong ties" and "weak ties" in which the strong ties (i.e. intensive daily contact with those of similar background, oft time family) serve to bond us together and our weak ties (i.e. people beyond our social networks) serve to expand our connections.