

**Exploring Social Capital with Students from an Alternative School: A Mixed Methods
Network Ethnography in an Agricultural Internship**

By

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn, Alabama
August 4th, 2018

Keywords: Social Capital, Ego Networks, Ethnography,
Pragmatic Social Justice, Agriculture

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Abstract

This study involved the exploration of the first year in an agriculture internship with four students from an alternative school. In the first chapter, I provide the reader an overview of my study outlining the research problem, research questions, and a brief introduction of Op Grows; the agriculture program that hired the interns. Chapter two outlines a conceptual framework of pragmatic social justice to show how I believed the Op Grows staff attempted to engage with the interns. In chapter three, a literature review is presented to further show what research has been done beforehand and where this study fits. Certain things are presented such as how individuals attempt to define and measure social capital, adolescent social capital, and agriculture projects. In chapter four, a detailed explanation of the methods is presented, outlining study boundaries, a description of each intern, and data collection and analysis procedures, specifically discussing the use of a convergent parallel mixed methods design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

In chapter five, I build on Van Maanen's (2011) notion of a confessional tale. In this chapter, I document how I did not live up to a pragmatic social justice framework by confronting my own privilege while working with the interns. In chapter six, data from the ethnography and networks are portrayed and discussed to indicate how the interns navigated their social resources related to academics, employment, and citizenship. The ethnographic portion of this chapter is told through Van Maanen's (2011) notion of realist tale. In the final chapter, I write on things that have been presented in the previous chapters as well as review my findings. Then, I discuss the significance of the study, limitations, and future directions from this research.

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank my family. Without your constant support, this dissertation would never have been possible. From a young age, each of you always wanted the best for me. Mom you always offer constant wisdom in the face of hardship. Dad you are the one I can go to anytime I need a laugh. Greg, you always call to check up and somehow, we always talk sports. Just remember the Cubs are better than the Braves....World Series 2016. Kristen, you inspire me to always improve my life. I see you wanting to be healthy and have such a desire to try new things and am always in awe on how hard you work. To Mel and Erick, I am so happy you are part of my family. Being so close to my brother and sister, I always want the best for them and I know you want that for them as well. To Grayson, Lucas, and to any future nieces and nephews, I will strive to always be a great uncle. To my future wife and children, I hope to take what I learned in my time in graduate school to be the best husband and father. Zoey, you are the best dog in the world. You have taught me what it means to love something beyond myself.

The second group I would like to thank are my friends. You have all kept me sane. From playing disc golf to grabbing a beer, you made graduate school fun. For those friends that weren't from Auburn, I was always thrilled to have you come visit. It meant a great deal for friends to travel from across the country just to hang out. From the deep conversations to just playing video games, somehow, we are friends and I love that. As we move farther apart, it is with great pleasure, I know these relationships will survive.

Being so far from home when writing this dissertation was difficult. If I did not have a caring committee that helped develop my skills as a researcher and person, this dissertation would still be going on. Though being challenged by each of you, I take these challenges as a chance to grow. From your expertise, I am better. Moving forward, I am happy to be able to call you all colleagues.

My first semester in the program, I was looking for guidance. I was given an opportunity to work with an agriculture program that served the community. A special shout out is order for Dr. Forbes for believing in me at a time where I was still trying to find direction. You have reinvigorated a passion of serving a community that I got while I was at James Madison University. I can now see myself constructing school gardens and tying this into teaching and research as I begin my career. To all the individuals working for O Grows, I am thankful for such a welcoming, fun group that I can call my friends. I would never have thought to tie in agriculture to curricular objectives.

Thank you all for your engagement and support.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The right amount of soil, the proper amount of water, and the appropriate amount of sunlight can allow the plants in a garden to grow. Taken into consideration, this realization is embedded in educational endeavors. The gardening metaphor is used to reflect the growth we can experience given certain resources. Obviously, though, plants need more than just water, sunlight, and soil. Even more so, plants need an environment and climate in which they can flourish. The garden also needs to be maintained. Liberty Hyde Bailey suggested, “A garden requires patient labor and attention. Plants do not grow merely to satisfy ambitions or to fulfill good intentions. They thrive because someone expended effort on them (1903).” Failing to acknowledge that a plant needs a functioning environment and care does a disservice to the plant. More so, each type of plant requires differing amounts of water, sunlight, etc. Assuming any plant can grow in any type of soil fails to appreciate the specific growth patterns. For instance, cucumbers grow well in the red clay of Alabama, but carrots do not. Students, as much as plants, need functioning environments for growth.

This study involved the exploration of the first year in an agriculture internship with students from an alternative school. These students had limited opportunities for success related to academics, employment, and citizenship and considered dropping out. The gardening metaphor helped situate major events during the internship. Chapter one will help outline the entirety of this dissertation. I will first discuss the aspects of alternative schools, with specific regard to those schools that enroll students with academic and behavior problems. I then provide the reader with a quick overview of the consequences of not finishing school, with emphasis on future employment opportunities and delinquent activity. This is to help ground potential ramifications of not finishing school. Moving along, I highlight Op Grows (pseudonym), an

agriculture program which attempted to understand social resources, i.e. social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship for the four students hired as paid interns. These three areas were of relevance because these four students had limited success in those areas while attending the alternative school.

To tell the story, I briefly highlight my methods specifically describing a year-long ethnography working alongside the interns. Also, I discuss how the story is broken up into three checkpoints where I gather the individuals' existing social networks and resource opportunities. The students were selected as participants in the internship because they were identified as those at the school most likely to benefit from the agriculture program. I conclude this chapter with how I attempted to build validity/credibility in my research and an acknowledgment of ethical considerations while working with the four students who had all considered dropping out with limited opportunities for future success.

Background

Taking the gardening metaphor into consideration, it is essential to describe foundational elements that allowed this research to be conducted. This research was situated within an agricultural program, Op Grows. Op Grows was started with the understanding that education can occur in many environments and some are better suited for specific students' needs. This organization is an agricultural program that attempts to beautify schools and community while trying to combat local food insecurity. Recognizing learning should not just occur in the classroom, the initiative was a way to get students outside while continuing to present curricular objectives. The beautiful thing about gardening is how you can modify the ways in which you can try to grow plants. Each failure becomes a lesson. Gardening is both a vehicle and a metaphor for education. In the program's four-year history, there have been six school gardens,

a community garden, and a farm established. Different educational needs were attempting to be met at the various schools. There were students in enrichment-track classes, those with physical and cognitive delays, and those that had been sent to an alternative school because of academic and/or behavior issues. Most poignant to this study involved those that were sent to the alternative school.

Alternative Schools

To give a proper introduction, most students who attend alternative schools because of disciplinary reasons were unsuccessful in traditional school programs and exhibited poor grades, truancy, behavior problems, or experienced special circumstances that impede their learning (Lagana-Riordan et al., 2011). Citing Becker (2010) and Carver et al. (2010), Schwab et al. (2016) wrote that the typical alternative education population consists of students who: (a) live in poverty, (b) have a disability, (c) experience language barriers, (d) earn poor grades, (e) have poor school attendance, and (f) frequently engage in disruptive behaviors. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, roughly 7% of high school students in 2013 did not complete their schooling with a degree or equivalent regardless of ethnicity (United States Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). Additionally, alternative settings that feature the “problem” students are sometimes seen as a remediation route (Caroleo, 2014) that offer special interventions to correct the problem behaviors so that they can continue their academic progress with the possibility of returning to their home schools (Poyrazli et al., 2008).

Within this study, a pseudonym is used for the school. I will be referring to the alternative school as the Carson Learning Center. At the time of the study, the school housed approximately seventy middle and high school students. Most of the students at the alternative

school had academic and/or disciplinary problems in their previous school(s). Though, to clarify, not all alternative schools deal with behavior issues. Some alternative education settings are a function of choice, such as schools for the performing arts or career/vocational training centers. Even the Carson Learning Center has the option to attend willingly to engage with smaller class sizes or to get assistance with an assortment of issues such as teenage pregnancy. However, the four students who were the focus of this study were mandated to attend. Each of these individuals had previous behavioral issues on top of struggling academically, so were sent to the school after one or more incidents.

Statement of Problem

Education for these four students became a forced burden. Dropping out then became a very real possibility. One intern suggested the alternative school is, “A dump that gives us busy work and did not allow us to talk in the lunchroom.” This was a shared sentiment with all the interns. The four individuals also suggested multiple times that teachers and administrators did not seem to care about the students’ success. This was amplified when the school setting was not a conducive environment for these students’ success, thus limiting their potential. When in school, these specific individuals often disengaged and found that it was more entertaining to participate in problem behaviors.

Furthermore, in meeting these four students, each was facing challenges regarding academics, employment, and citizenship. The alternative school had little to no success building these students’ social resources. This then impacts later facets of their life making it even more difficult to obtain resources for their future success. Dropping out of school can have severe consequences for a person’s future, explicitly related to future work-related opportunities and delinquent behavior (Lochner, 2004). Below, I include literature that highlights how dropping

out can influence future employment and career earnings. I additionally highlight the implications of dropping out on delinquency behavior.

“Those who say they drop out for other more passive reasons (including expulsion, poor grades, moving, and not liking school) do substantially worse than otherwise similar high school completers on success in the labor market and get in more trouble with law enforcement” (Bjerk, 2012). These students on the cusp of not finishing school were at great risk of hurting their opportunities for future employment. Related to employment, drop-outs are more likely to be unemployed or receive lower salaries compared to those who finish school (Martin, Tobin, & Sugai, 2002; Prevatt & Kelly, 2003). This means that if these students are not receiving an effective education, their potential for employment is stymied later in life (Aron, 2006; Caroleo, 2014). With the reduced employment opportunities, Belfield & Levin (2007) indicated dropouts are more likely to rely on public assistance and generate other social costs from taxpayers. Though, while in school, employment has been found to be a factor that limits dropout. George, Cusick, Wasserman, and Gladden (2007) found that participating in employment after school was related to lower absenteeism, fewer course failures, and higher graduation rates. A similar study conducted by D'Amico and Baker (1984) indicated that part-time employment was related to a reduced probability of dropping out and above average school performance.

Lochner (2004) emphasized the role of education as a human capital investment that increases future legitimate work opportunities, which discourages participation in crime. Incarceration during adolescence is associated with lower educational attainment and decreased future earnings (Hjalmarsson, 2008). Related to delinquency behavior, Ikomi (2010) reported that students who drop out are more likely to commit violent acts. Anderson (2012) indicated that policies designed to keep kids in school longer, such as minimum drop-out age, may be

successful at decreasing delinquent behavior. An effect of school is that it keeps youths occupied, leaving less time and opportunity to commit crimes (Jacob & Lefgren, 2003; Luallen, 2006). Additionally, Lochner and Moretti (2004) estimated a 10%-point increase in high school graduation rates would reduce arrest rates by 7-9%; appreciating the idea that schools can limit delinquent behavior in adolescence.

The students had limited capital, or those investments and returns, involving their education. This, in turn, could impact their capital gains related to employment and staying out of trouble. To clarify, this means by not getting the most effective return on investment in their education, it can impact other facets of their life.

Social Capital

Personal connections could be established to increase these students' capital. In a more precise notion, these personal connections could build a specific form of capital known as social capital, or those social relationships that can give access to various resources especially in the three areas of academics, employment, and citizenship. I now define social capital then distinguish what it looks like in the three areas.

Related to social capital, Lin (2001, p. 19) described it as, "An investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive actions." Another way to think about this is modifying the classical expression of 'it is not what you know, it is who you know'. The expression as it relates to social capital in a simplistic sense would read: 'It is what you know, who you know, what they know, and who they know'. By investing in certain relationships, the individual can gain valued returns through various resources (Carolan, 2014). By having certain people in a network, a person can gain positive outcomes from those people. Social capital is

like the concept of capital, except the outcome involves resources that are obtained through social processes.

Bourdieu (1986) suggested that social capital is 1) cumulative, 2) possesses the capacity to produce profits or benefits in the social world, 3) is convertible into tangible resources and other forms of capital, and 4) possesses the capacity to reproduce itself in identical or in an extended form. Building relationships is central to resource mobilization (Glover, Parry, & Shiness, 2005). Bourdieu (1986) suggested differential access to capital shapes both economic and social worlds.

Through this project, academic, employment, and citizenship social capital were conceptualized by our own interpretations of potential needed benefits for the individuals. Various stakeholders can help to increase the relevance and quality of education (Acar, 2011). Academic social capital then focuses on those connections with people that offer resources to improve schooling. Academic social capital would be understood in terms of who could help increase the interns' GPA, have them see potential benefits of obtaining an education, and establish better relationships with those that work in schools.

Another form of social capital relevant to this study was employment social capital. Employment social capital involves those social relationships that strengthen the organization and garner better work opportunities (Boyas, Wind, & Ruiz, 2013). Employment social capital in this study involved knowing certain people that might allow for better job opportunities and the development of unique skill sets. In this study, employment social capital took into consideration those people that wanted the interns to be employed, as well as those that wanted to make the interns more marketable for future employers by establishing specific skill sets.

The third form of social capital relevant to this study was citizenship social capital. I acknowledge the term citizenship is quite broad. The term was used because it supports the best notion related to the goals of the agriculture program. The program was intended to have the interns learn more about community issues, especially related to food security. This program also aimed to keep the interns out of trouble. Citizenship engenders the notion of civic virtue or the idea of doing “good” in a community (Rothblatt, 2010). Davies (2006) mentioned that citizenship plays an active role involving a social justice issue. Being a citizen entails being responsive to community needs. In this case, the need was food insecurity. Regardless of religion, political affiliation, etc., we all need healthy food.

Citizenship further encompasses staying out of trouble. If one is imprisoned, for instance, the opportunity to voice concerns on issues are lessened. For instance, a felony conviction can lead to disenfranchisement or the restriction of voting rights (Chung, 2016). The ability to live with civic virtue becomes more difficult when liberty is taken away (Rothblatt, 2010). A person’s citizenship remains strong when that person continues to have the rights of a citizen. By this understanding, citizenship social capital within this project involved having those resources that prevent the individual from getting in trouble and contribute meaningfully to society. Putnam (2000) suggested civic virtue becomes more powerful when part of a network of reciprocal social relationships. Print and Coleman (2003) indicated:

“In general, the more a society ‘invests’ in and accumulates social capital, the better the ‘returns’ and enhanced condition of members of that society. Given that social capital is concerned with the norms and networks within groups which facilitate collective action for the mutual benefit of the group.”

Notwithstanding, there are certainly social factors that play into getting in trouble. In this study, delinquency social capital is what allows individuals to find support in getting into trouble. Interacting with certain people might be a proxy for delinquency. For instance, at the Carson Learning Center, it was often seen that students get in trouble because it was uncool to pay attention in class. It was also seen as a way to show mutual disdain for teachers.

Social Network Analysis

A strategy to better understand one's social capital is using social network analysis. Social network analysis is both a tool and method to empirically understand relationships through visualization techniques (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Relationships can help shape a person's behavior and/or attitudes beyond the influence of his or her own individual characteristics (Carolan, 2014). Social networks show how resources move within a network. Researchers often examine phenomenon through strictly an attributional lens. For example, a common theme in education is to utilize individual characteristics and make statements, without ever acknowledging the individual's personal relationships (Daly & Ferrare, 2015, 2016). This may produce a limited view of the reality of how one's resources are obtained.

Social capital, as determined by networks, takes social phenomena to a more relationship-based approach. Utilizing social networks to understand social capital is much more specific than the examination of other social phenomena because one can effectively identify how exactly resources spread through a network. Social network analysis can specifically map the most and least important entities and connections in a network by graphically presenting this data, rather than making assumptions of a social process (Carolan, 2014). Networks allow one to see exactly from whom social resources are obtained; thus, having more empirical data.

Networks create interconnections between people. That said, knowing a person's friends is important, but what is also relevant is if the friends all know each other as well. We all have our own networks and are part of other people's networks. As quoted from Boissevain (1974):

“A network-analytical model of socialization and youth development not only allows us to address directly structural constraints on young people's access to institutional privileges and resources, but it also allows us to consider the role of the individual and cultural agency.”

Social network analysis acknowledges people live in a social world where relationships with others matter and building those relationships can give access to novel resources (Carolan, 2014). One cannot study an individual without acknowledging there are socio-cultural influences at work. A social network is a group of individuals and the relation or relations defined on them (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). “An actor's position in a network determines, in part, the constraints and opportunities that he or she will encounter, and therefore identifying that position is important for predicting actor outcomes such as performance, behavior, and beliefs” (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Studying social capital is an important accolade in social network analysis because it suggests what a person has access to in the immediate and overtime related to many things (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014). There are multiple ways to comprehend networks.

Whole networks and ego networks are often described in social network analysis to determine the aforementioned relations. A basic description of whole networks is that they examine every actor and their subsequent ties within a given network (Carolan, 2014). In whole networks, every person and each connection is important to examine. This would be like a

classroom, where there are certain people connected to one another, but everyone in the class is in the network.

Ego networks, on the other hand, examine a particular entity (one person, for instance) and that entity's immediate connections or ties to alters (or other entities) (Carolan, 2014). Additionally, ego networks not only assess the ties between egos (an entity of interest) and named alters (or others), but the ties between each of the named alters (Johnson, 2016). This shows how connected the network is for the ego. The main entity in ego network designs is called an ego. In ego networks, only a specific person and the immediate connections of that person is of importance.

Ego networks can be extracted from whole networks by identifying a specific entity (also called a node in graph theory) or using the construction technique taking individual actors and building a network (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). When extracted from whole networks, you are only looking at one person and their immediate connections, not the rest of the network. The construction technique, also called an ego network cognitive social structure (Marcum et al., 2017) asks individuals who are in his or her network. When constructing the network, an individual is asked to identify people in the network by asking specific questions, such as: "Who do you go to for advice?". By answering those questions, the person can identify those individuals that most reflect the question. It is the building of a network rather than examining a preexisting network as you would with whole networks or ego networks extracted from whole networks. The ego network cognitive social structures are based on the perception of a person's own network.

From an ego network cognitive social structure framework, the individual determines what resources are available by identifying certain people in a network and how those people are

connected (Marcum et al., 2017). From the network perspective, it can be seen how well a person's network fosters resource attainment and if there are multiple people in the network that give support (Carolan, 2014). For ego network cognitive social structure perspectives (Marcum et al., 2017), the individual determines the size, structure, and composition of the network (Johnson, 2016). What this entails is how well a person is aware of resources within the network and how resources are obtained when observing that network. These three factors of a network act as a visualization tool (Casquero et al., 2015), in this case, to better understand the social capital related academics, employment, and citizenship for the interns.

The size of the network involves the number of people in a person's network. The structure of the network involves how people are connected within the network, i.e. the shape, openness (Burt, 2000), and closeness (Coleman, 1988) of the network. The composition of a network involves who is in the network and what resources are being offered. Taken together, size, structure, and composition inform one another as they all help indicate the constraints and opportunities of a given network. Networks can and do often change with these three features over time (Johnson, 2016). Adolescents are choosing how to invest their time, and the choices depend greatly on the social system surrounding them (Coleman, 1994). A further breakdown of these processes will be revisited in chapter 3.

Purpose

Recognizing the limited access to resources, Op Grows opted to establish a paid internship with some of the students from the alternative school. Four interns would eventually get hired. Each of the interns attended this school at some time during the internship. The internship was an attempt to give these four students opportunities for success through on-the-job training. The interns were selected on a needs basis; meaning those that could benefit the most

were identified by the principal. The interns were further selected after each demonstrated a willingness to work diligently in the previously established school garden. Op Grows is a different learning environment that attempted to bridge that gap between education and work-related skills. It was a balance between the lack of interest these students show with school and Lochner's (2004) pointed out that education can increase future legitimate work opportunities while discouraging participation in crime. Taken with the gardening metaphor, we wanted to try a different soil that could support growth.

This study then looked to better understand the interns' social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship from the start to the conclusion of one year working in the internship. Given the amount of time spent with the interns and the desire to visualize their access to social resources, social networks and an ethnography helped with this understanding. This study utilized an ego network cognitive social structure design (Marcum et al., 2017) as the interns' individual or personal networks were being examined. The ethnography and the interns' ego network cognitive social structures would be compared to determine how each intern perceived his access to social resources. To examine the outcomes, the research focused on the questions and methodological techniques listed below. It is important that the purpose of the research, questions, data collection, and data analysis all align (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, Morgan, 2014a; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2013).

Questions

Research questions are derived from and extend a study's purpose (Ridenour & Newman, 2008). In mixed methods, there needs to be a central question related to mixed methods and sub-questions related to both the qualitative and quantitative strands (Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010). The central research question was: How did the intern's lived experiences related to academics,

employment, and citizenship reflect the intern's ego networks and resource attainment while participating in an agricultural program?

Quantitative Question: How do the interns' social networks account for different levels of social capital over time?

Qualitative Question: What are the lived experiences of the interns that help to understand changes in social capital while they worked for an agricultural program?

Addressing the Questions

More detail will be elaborated in chapter 4, but for this study, I utilized a mixed methods design. A study's purpose describes the researcher's primary intent, objectives, and goals for the study (Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010). The general purpose of a mixed methods study indicates the need for and use of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) suggested it is the researcher's decision about which approach or combination of approaches should be used in a specific study because each is superior in different circumstances. Qualitative and quantitative methods are techniques for collecting and analyzing data, thus both provide well-developed matches between a set of research purposes and a corresponding set of research procedures (Morgan, 2014a). The mixed methods design utilized a concurrent parallel aspect where quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis occur jointly (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

While in a mixed methods course, I pilot tested the first of three checkpoints with the participants. This course paralleled the beginning of the internship process. During the summer class and initial collection of data, reflection was given on how to track the interns' social capital during their time working with Op Grows. The pilot study consisted of an interview and survey related to social capital. Three checkpoints were believed to be adequate to garner enough data

to track the intern's social capital over the one-year period. These checkpoints would occur approximately every 4 months within a year repeating the same survey and semi-structured interview.

Relationships are a way to better understand how behaviors manifest (Carolan, 2014). Knowing about an intern's relationships helped mitigate the access to resources and evaluating that access helped show how an intervention facilitated or constrained opportunities with these individuals. The interview was conducted with support from Egonet (McCarty, Killworth, & Rennell, 2007); a computer based-program to help construct individual's personal social networks. The Egonet interview helped construct the intern's personal networks. To better understand the intern's networks, connections were then transformed from Egonet to the Ucinet/Netdraw computer visualization program (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). This was done for sake of comfort with the Ucinet/Netdraw program over the Egonet program. Using these were an easier way to visualize networks compared to Egonet, in my opinion, because of its user-friendly aspect to manipulate nodes such as the color, size, etc. The survey asked the interns to identify specific resources that were available such as knowing someone who owns a car. The checkpoints were direct ways to measure social capital.

The day-to-day engagements involved the ethnography which was situated within Op Grows. Here was where case notes, observations, conversations, and personal reflections took place. These were used to better understand the lived experiences of the interns on the day-to-day work in the internship and further indicate the importance of personal resources discovered in the checkpoints. The day-to-day engagements with the interns allowed for continuous measurement for the first year of this newly started internship without overwhelming the interns with the number of formal measurement tools. An ethnography focuses on a complex, complete

description of a culture-sharing group utilizing extensive field work (Creswell, 2013). Through the ethnography, I engaged in active participant observation, which is a methodology that assumes immersion in a setting (along with observation, reflection, and interpretation) to develop knowledge of others' ways of thinking and acting (Schwandt, 2007). I was actively engaging with the interns as well as taking field notes on things done and said by the interns.

Within this study, ethnographic data, network data, and survey data were used to help answer the research questions. These data helped to better understand the lives and social capital of the interns. Throughout the year-long internship, the ethnography was used to confirm or disconfirm the interns' social networks at the various checkpoints. The ethnography was also used to compare the interns with their prior selves as well as the other interns. Both the day to day operations of the internship and network data helped to understand the intern's social capital. Specific to this research, triangulation was used to compare the networks and ethnography. Triangulation studies seek convergence or corroboration of results across different methods (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

Utilizing a mixed methods design helped to align itself with the fact that there are multiple ways to teach given the culture and history of the different students' learning, motivation, and development. Mixed methods is the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative methods. There are multiple ways to conduct research as there are multiple ways to educate. There are numerous ways to grow plants. By engaging in mixed methods, this research had practical value in how we engaged with the interns and how to critically assess the benefits of having the interns work in the program. Op Grows aimed to form a group and because of this, relationships could support the processes we were attempting to understand with the interns.

Furthermore, by engaging in both quantitative and qualitative aspects, I could garner more data needed for a compressible assessment of the internship.

Implications

Social capital allows access to community and cultural resources. Schools provide implicit opportunities to increase adolescents' social capital in a variety of areas (Croninger & Lee, 2001; Daly et al., 2014; Hill, Bregman, & Andrade 2015). Less consideration has been given to those students that do not do well in traditional education settings. Considering that social network analysis is still a new and developing technique in education (Daly & Ferrare, 2015), this study supported the use of networks in schools, especially those conducted utilizing ego network designs, to better understand social capital. Most notably, this study attempted to appreciate the lived experiences of students navigating their social sphere. Social capital needs to be studied so we as educators can further understand what resources our students have access to and how the students navigate the social world. To garner support, knowing about available resources is especially prevalent for those students with limited resources at their disposal. Though this study did not look to generalize, the concepts are relevant in education.

Much is known about adolescents, but this research helped to explore how high schoolers create or constrain opportunities for themselves. It also had the potential to begin understanding more on the lives of students at an alternative school that houses those students that are deemed troublesome. The utilization of ego networks gives a greater appreciation of the individual.

Validity and Credibility

To effectively answer my research questions, I needed evaluation criteria from both quantitative and qualitative frameworks. In sticking with the mixed methods tradition, I used both validity and credibility. Creswell and Miller (2010; 2000), suggested to build validity and

credibility, one should use strategies that help reflect the lens of the researcher, researched, and audience. I needed to be transparent. Transparency inspired me to be open to how I collected and analyzed data, my thought processes throughout the project, and personal relevance with Op Grows. Researchers determine how long to remain in the field, whether the data are saturated to establish good themes or categories, and how the analysis of the data evolves into a persuasive narrative (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Appreciating the convergent parallel mixed methods design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), validity was associated with the quantitative aspects of the dissertation, while credibility was associated with the qualitative aspects. This was especially relevant when validity dealt with more objective measures while credibility dealt with more subjective measures.

The lens of the researched focus on portraying the participants involved (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The lens of the audience focuses on those individuals outside of the study who are brought into the study to help examine the narrative account and attest to the credibility or validity (Creswell & Miller, 2000). One thing that crosses each is the utilization of multiple strategies in data collection and analysis. This allowed me to build a reflective audit trail, stronger relationships with the interns, and an understanding for my readers, especially my committee, on how I came to warrant certain beliefs.

The Lens of the Researcher:

Engage in reflection – In building credibility, I needed to be reflective as to my position within the research process and provide reflections on the daily workdays and what I examined on the intern's experiences. These reflections focused on the intern's behaviors and interactions at the various sites. Additionally, I acknowledged my desire to build community. The reflection on both relates to Dewey's (1933) notion of inquiry.

Rich, thick description – In building credibility, every aspect of the research design included detailed descriptions of the how and why decisions were made. This supported the notion of transparency (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The Lens of the Researched:

Prolonged Engagement – To have a fuller appreciation of the interns and to also build credibility, I picked them up and dropped them off almost every time there was work and worked alongside them for the duration of the day. This prolonged engagement allowed me to get to know the interns on a personal level and build a relationship. I was an active participant-observer.

Member Checking – In building validity and credibility, each method of data collection helped get a better sense of the researched. Throughout the process, following-up with the interns occurred after each collection strategy to be able to paint the most complete picture of the individuals and their social capital. Member checking also occurred through the prolonged engagement of the ethnography.

Triangulation of Data – In building integrity within my data through validity and credibility, I compared the ethnographic data with the interns' social networks looking for aspects that may or may not be representative of the interns' lived experiences as well as my own. Through this, I looked for disconfirming evidence that would challenge my thinking about the interns to a more positive manner. I also looked for potential constraints the interns' identified when navigated their social resources.

The Lens of the Audience:

Peer Debriefing – In building validity and credibility, I utilized the perspectives of my committee members to obtain feedback on the overall design and quality of the research helping to audit my work.

Inter-Observational Reliability – In building validity and credibility, I also sought out those that worked with the interns on an intimate level to confirm what I experienced was also experienced by others.

Delimitations of the Study

Delimitations in research refer to choices that the researcher makes for the study that is under the control of the researcher. The scope of the study refers to the parameters under which the study will be operating (Simon & Goes, 2013). I am writing these intertwined within one another.

Population

It has been mentioned that the research was collected from four interns from an alternative school. In the fall of 2014 and spring of 2015, each of the interns was enrolled in an agriculture class at the Carson Learning Center for the 2015-2016 school year alongside other students. This class was a product of the partnership Op Grows had created with the school. The principal of the Carson Learning Center later identified four specific individuals that not only involved themselves in the lessons but could benefit the most from working with Op Grows. These four individuals were then hired as interns. As my focus for this project was on the specific interns that were hired, I researched the entire population. More will be discussed on each intern in chapter 4. Each intern was also enrolled in the same agriculture class the following school year with other students after the internship had started. Functionally, I was only evaluating one year of the agriculture internship with these four interns. I did not look to generalize to other groups nor other interventions.

Timeframe

The study was an assessment of the first year involved with the internship. The time frame was from May 2015 through the summer of 2016.

Ego Networks rather than Whole Networks

Both ego networks and whole networks are ways to visualize the access to resources in a network (Carolan, 2014). As I mentioned whole networks examine every entity present, so it might have made sense to conduct this type of social network analysis being there was already an intact group within Op Grows. Ego networks were chosen as it was believed this gave better appreciation to the interns themselves rather than the project. Though the interns engaged in the project, there was much more than this project on how they built their own social capital. It was appropriate to know these other connections or outside factors.

Ethical Considerations

Each of the four interns knew they were part of a research study. By that very nature, I was gaining something from working with the participants that could have been exploitive. The individuals could see this as my own individual gain. I attempted to address these feelings by being transparent with the interns about my motives for conducting the study and the potential benefits I foresaw as a result of the study. These benefits for participating in research related to creating an effective group dynamic. This was how I benefit. They could have benefited in the research perspective by helping to better improve an internship program.

Another consideration was if the interns were not involving themselves in the group dynamics of Op Grows. This directly impacted the potential level of social capital the individuals obtained through Op Grows. It also impacted the nature of what can be accomplished during work days. The work days become more difficult if there was constantly

someone undermining the group or was someone not willing to listen. One of the things to reflect on was how interns might constrain their social capital.

In chapter two, you will see how I believed Op Grows attempted to inspire leadership for the interns. It was an attempt to be advocates for social justice. This role did bring up a referral to hierarchy that always existed. “Positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subjects (Madison, 2005). In this, the concept of social justice was potentially not attainable. The hierarchy existed as there are more expectations of older staff members. The staff, excluding the interns, were the ones responsible for keeping everyone else on task. We had to be careful in this regard. Social justice allows freedom, but in a workplace setting there is someone always giving orders; always someone “in charge”.

Another consideration was how the research involved adolescents. The Op Grows staff had to be mindful of the developmental differences. There were age differences and different life experiences that the Op Grows staff had that the interns did not. These factors had to be considered when navigating the relationships with the interns. A brief literature review on adolescence is provided in Chapter 3.

Forward

In the following chapter, a discussion will be presented on the conceptual framework informing this study, specifically, discussing the notions of pragmatism, social justice and, how these concepts are blended. I then provide context on how I believed Op Grows attempted to engage in pragmatic social justice. Chapter three consists of literature specifically pertaining to social capital attainment. Chapter four is a detailed description of how this research will be conducted. Chapter five places emphasis on my changing perspectives while working with the

interns and how I did not live up to a pragmatic social justice mindset. In chapter six, I attempt to tell a story of the interns' experiences in the internship with an emphasis on how social capital was understood in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship. Finally, in chapter seven, I review my findings and discuss the significance of the study.

Key Terms

Active Participant-Observers- a person who uses a methodology that assumes immersion in a setting (along with observation, reflection, and interpretation) to develop knowledge of others' ways of thinking and acting (Schwandt, 2007).

Ego Network Analysis- a strategy used in social network analysis that examines a particular entity (one person, for instance) and their immediate ties to the alters (or other entities) (Carolan, 2014).

Ethnography- a methodology that focuses on a complex, complete description of a culture-sharing group utilizing extensive field work (Creswell, 2013).

Mixed Methods- a method incorporating qualitative and quantitative data and analysis (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010).

Pragmatism- the philosophical position acknowledging there is no mind/body split, there is an active mind and is based in functionalism by acknowledging context and history (Hookway, 2015; McDermid, 2006).

Social Capital- an investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive actions (Lin, 2001, p. 19).

Social Justice- a concept advocating for human rights that acknowledges social inequalities and how certain populations suffer at the expense of these inequalities (Adams, 2013).

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

In the first chapter, I outlined the potential risk of dropping out for the interns specifically related to their immediate academic obtainment and their later employment and delinquency behaviors. I also mentioned how I believed this research sought to understand the interns' social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship through an agriculture internship. In this chapter, I discuss my philosophical framework of pragmatism and my theoretical framework of social justice. I then indicate how these concepts were blended to make sense of my conceptual framework of pragmatic social justice. This chapter alludes to how I believed the Op Grows staff would work with the interns. Though, this chapter does not include my background and my personal attempt to utilize a pragmatic social justice framework while working with the interns. In chapter five, I include a personal narrative related to pragmatic social justice. The difference is that this chapter has a decidedly optimistic attitude working with the interns where I only recognized Op Grows as a unit, not a collection of different people. In chapter five, I explore pragmatic social justice from an individual standpoint.

Philosophical Orientation: Pragmatism

The philosophical orientation for this research involves pragmatism. Initially, pragmatism acted to relieve the tension between the body, i.e. empiricism and the mind, i.e. rationalism. Empiricism uses experiences to justify truth, while rationalism uses intuition (Hookway, 2015). Where rationalism and empiricism look to determine truth, pragmatism looks to determine practical notions; or rather accepting practical consequences and not accepting unpractical ones (McDermid, 2006). Therefore, pragmatism functions under three assumptions: 1) there is no mind/body split, 2) there is an active mind, and 3) is based on functionalism (Hookway, 2015).

Pragmatism concentrates on whether knowledge is useful; to guide behavior that produces anticipated outcomes (Morgan, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Inquiry comes from reflection (Dewey, 1896; James, 1909). Justification of knowing comes from the Deweyan notion of warranted assertability (Dewey, 1920). Assertions can only be warranted in specific inquiry contexts and that their value must be reestablished in new inquiries (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Whatever action(s) taken is (are) rooted in human experience and occurs within historical and cultural contexts and certain behaviors have practical outcomes for everyone (Morgan, 2014). With a criticism of skepticism, pragmatism argued not for a complete denial of all beliefs, but an understanding that some beliefs work better given context (McDermid, 2006).

As James (1907) said, “We have to live today by what truth we can get today and be ready *tomorrow* to call it falsehood.” This idea established the notion of fallibility. Fallibility suggests nothing can truly be known when the world is constantly changing (James, 1907). It makes sense to keep using a theory if it functions practically, but there should be the possibility that the theory will eventually have to be replaced by some other theory that works better (Hookway, 2015; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; McDermid, 2006). It became relevant to appreciate those theories or the varying historical and cultural contexts to have the most practically ran program. Dialogue occurred in an attempt to understand each person’s context. A key point in pragmatism is the notion of dialogue across parties (Morgan, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Dialogue is also a needed component in social justice (Freire, 1970). Continuing from dialogue, I now turn to a brief discussion on social justice before describing pragmatic social justice.

Theoretical Framework: Social Justice

As mentioned in chapter one, these four students were marginalized in their education, which didn't allow them the best possible resources involving their schooling and other areas. For an appreciation of the interns, social justice needed to be discussed. This section helps present general tenants of social justice. Social justice is a concept advocating for equity and human rights. This concept acknowledges the existence of social inequalities and how certain populations suffer at the expense of these inequalities (Adams, 2013). A social justice framework also recognizes that the ones with power can often oppress those without, even unintentionally, through exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence (Young, 2013). Engaging in a social justice framework appreciates that power differences exist because of certain social structures. Marginalized populations have more challenges that have been constructed in a historical context (Adams, 2013).

To understand and appreciate the general tenants of social justice, it should be understood in terms of both a process and a goal (Adams, 2013). It is a process because of the very evolutionary nature of society. As society changes, so too should the principles associated. Social justice is a goal because there needs to be something to strive for and something to want to achieve. With the constant changing, the previous goals build a foundation for newer goals. The concept of social justice recognizes the continued effort for those that have limited power (Terry, 1993). Just like in research, answering one question creates many more questions. More difficult goals can be accomplished following initial goals.

Conceptually, social justice needs application. The concept of social justice is presented below in an applied format tying in the philosophical concept of pragmatism. It is here, where I expand on the notion of social justice. Following my discussion on pragmatic social justice, I

present ways in which I believed Op Grows attempted to utilize this conceptual framework when we worked with the interns.

Pragmatic Social Justice as a Conceptual Framework

I now turn to the notion of pragmatic social justice. This section will focus on how pragmatism is used when attempting to engage in social justice. Social justice advocates understand there are problems in the world that create disadvantage to certain populations (Adams, 2013; Young, 2013). A pragmatic social justice framework lends itself to finding workable solutions for individuals and communities in different contexts and with different histories. Pragmatism also appreciates people as whole organisms highlighting someone's biological, psychological, and sociological features. It allows the ideas of social justice to become applicable and attainable.

“Pragmatism is more likely to bring social context to the forefront of philosophy, allowing for realities that are in flux and that are always being shaped and reconstructed by their context. Pragmatists emphasize that we must include particular and individual experiences in a pluralistic discussion of multiple realities and that all parties involved in the issue be involved in any creation of a solution” (Whipps, 2013).

Recall, that pragmatism has three assumptions: 1) there is no mind/body split, 2) there is an active mind, and 3) is based on functionalism (Hookway, 2015). Each point helps lay the foundation for how to engage in pragmatic social justice. Regarding not having a mind/body split; there is no separation between person and the environment. This means that people can engage and potentially change an environment to the degree that it is physically possible. I write cautiously however because those in power can amend the environment to suit personal needs. From a social justice perspective, an amendable environment means dismantling oppressive

constraints for those that have been historically oppressed. Obtaining social justice is an uphill battle that can become a reality. The oppressed can become actors that act in ways that change society (Freire, 1970). If an agent could not change the environment, subjugated populations would still suffer greatly at the hands of the ones in power. Considering this idea, an outlet a person can amend the environment is through a participatory democracy.

Towards a Participatory Democracy and Pragmatic Social Justice

Pragmatism as a philosophical framework includes a commitment to values of democracy, freedom, equality, and progress (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). At the heart of any democracy, people lend a voice to processes they deem necessary to change. The concept of democracy started in ancient Greece to satisfy the needs of all the people, rich and poor, when the dominating aristocracy created significant social and economic problems (Pomeroy, Burstein, Donlan, & Roberts, 1999). In talking about social justice, a functioning democracy gives more power to the people (Freire, 1970). Pragmatic social justice can use a participatory democracy or one that allows for decisions to be made by the people affected by them (Polletta, 2014).

Though a participatory democracy only works if people involved in the process are informed of the issues alongside potential strategies to deal with those issues (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). To be involved in the process requires effort, skill, and knowledge. Active citizenship is a choice of expression. Most notably people can express their concerns through voting. Change requires an understanding of what is occurring in and around a community to find the most appropriate, workable solutions to the problem at a given time (Polletta, 2014). I now move to the second point of pragmatism as it relates to social justice.

The second principle of pragmatism suggests there is an active mind (Hookway, 2015). The active mind will be discussed as it relates to the process of inquiry. Dewey suggested (1933)

inquiry can allow people to become informed on the various issues. Inquiry is also used to facilitate the process of a participatory democracy. Someone wishing to engage in social justice advocates for everyone to be involved...to have a say in the betterment of society through democratic means (Polletta, 2014). Social justice at the heart is making people aware (Adams, 2013). Utilizing pragmatic inquiry as a template, workable solutions to problems can be found. Taking the first and second principals of pragmatism, both reflection and dialogue are strategies to inform the process of inquiry.

Reflection and Dialogue

Reflecting and dialoguing are catalysts for social change. Reflection can be used to clarify direction and make aware of how one might be presenting him or herself. Reflection allows for clarity in thoughts (Gay & Kirkland, 2010). Reflection from an individual standpoint allows for clarity in potential biases and one's strengths or weaknesses. These are important because it helps to know about one's self before that person can influence others. Reflection in a communal sense creates a partnership where dialogue can occur. Social justice cannot exist without an acknowledgment of others' beliefs (Hackman, 2006). Relationships beckon the understanding and appreciation of what others offer. These strategies are used for purposeful engagement in interaction to appreciate personal beliefs and another's perspective. Both from the individual and communal sense, reflection better equips what has been done, what can be done, and what is currently happening. Building from pragmatism, an important notion in social justice is being able to understand every person involved.

Dialogue in a social justice framework gives voices to the voiceless (Freire, 1970). This allows others to have an identity (Hackman, 2006). Dialogue offers the potential to hear a better idea from someone else, thus leading to a possibility of modifying previously held notions.

Again, as William James (1907) on pragmatism suggested: “We have to live today by what truth we can get today and be ready *tomorrow* to call it falsehood.” Dialogue and reflection encourage members of a community to come together for the growth of the community. There is a shared responsibility of everyone to promote social justice for effective social change (Adams, 2013; Young, 2013). There should be an understanding of functionality through these interactions and engagements. This is important in understanding that populations are different. This takes me to the third point in pragmatism that ties back to social justice.

The third principle of pragmatism is that it is based on functionalism. This acknowledges certain things work given the circumstance (Hookway, 2015). To understand community change, one must become aware of the history and context. What might work somewhere, might not necessarily work somewhere else. There cannot be an ascribed way of addressing conditional community needs with a general system. “Developing a more robust analysis of community points toward pragmatism’s potential contribution to understandings of social inequality, power, and politics as well as how making these ideas more central within pragmatism itself might enrich the field” (Collins, 2012).

Forming community means the community is connected and each community member can understand the needs of others (Coleman, 1988). Additionally, this community building lends itself to a pragmatic nature because one is required to listen to another person’s experiences (Morgan, 2014b). The community is redeveloped through inquiry. Thus, the community is a foundational piece of building social justice. “Because the idea of community is ubiquitous, versatile, multifaceted, and able to marshal emotions that move people to action, community supports democracy” (Collins, 2012). Jane Addams, an early supporter of

pragmatism and founder of the Hull House theorized a continually evolving democracy based on social association which was particular to each generation and locality (Whipps, 2010).

As the pragmatist maxim states, ideas are only meaningfully different if they move people to act in different ways (Hookway, 2015; McDermid, 2006). Social change is only meaningful if people are informed and have reflected and dialogued how to act. There is a cycle of understanding social justice (Hackman, 2006). One should be aware to be able to act. Additionally, these actions need to help inform future inquiries. These experiences allow for further awareness. Pragmatic social justice acknowledges the constant change of beliefs and actions that impact a community as that community and the networks within change. A social justice lens finds common experiences and common ground within differing populations.

This idea of pragmatic social justice has been utilized before with instances such as Jane Addams' Hull House, the rise of and support of feminism (Whipps, 2013), and a better understanding of people of color (West, 1994). Addams' said it beautifully, "As an ethical system, it placed on each person 'a moral obligation' to choose experiences of 'mixing on the thronged and common road' where we can 'least see the size of one another's burdens' (1902)."

Inquiry on the Interns with Op Grows

Considering the idea of pragmatic social justice, the relationships between the staff of Op Grows and the interns had to be appreciated. The reflective inquiry will help present the nature of the research, especially when working with the interns. Dewey (1933) suggested reflection is key to understanding the [research] problem and how to address the problem [methods] in his notion of inquiry. I will discuss, from my assumption, how the Op Grows staff approached work with the interns, the potential to be a member of the intern's in-group, and how staff members attempted to build relationships through dialogue. Additionally, I revisit Op Grows'

expectations for social capital attainment and tie that into a social justice mindset. Reflection and dialogue are the strategies that will further attempt to link pragmatism, social justice, and my research together. Though, pragmatic researchers have to be aware that we might fail to provide a satisfactory answer to the question: 'For whom is a pragmatic solution useful?' (Mertens, 2003).

Op Grows using Pragmatic Social Justice

I believed there was potential for Op Grows to foster community with members involved and to establish a functioning relationship between other community members. This again was a goal of the Op Grows program: to tie community, schools, and a university together to have a participatory democracy for a positive change. That said, the interns would participate in something they had a say in.

A clearer understanding of the interns allowed a better navigation of the social dynamics. The internship was not intended to be overly controlling. This was because of the potential to reify the governing role in the working relationship. It might have also reinforced the status of outsider. When working, it was not a boss/worker duality. Anything being asked of the interns, the Op Grows staff was also doing. If the interns were planting, staff members were planting right alongside them. This was an attempt to limit the hierarchy and espouse to a social justice framework even though this hierarchy still existed. It was assumed that the organization as well as its members benefited by having the interns participate in the project. Though, the Op Grows staff had to acknowledge the young men as adolescents on top of other social factors that may influence these individuals. Further elaboration is given on each of the interns in chapters four and six.

I believed Op Grows worked for social justice to establish long-term relationships with these young men attempting to see the interns in a positive regard as hard workers, not so much

as troublemakers. As relationships are key in a pragmatic social justice framework, working closely with the interns was a key to building respect. From my perspective, respecting the interns helped support the desire to be an advocate for each of the young men. I did not want to assume I knew better than the interns because they have not had as much experience working with plants or constructing. It was from my understanding that Op Grows' hoped to have the interns feel supported and provide opportunities for everyone involved.

It was assumed that by working alongside the individuals, Op Grows staff could meet these students on a personal level. All the undergraduate staff members were paid the same amount of \$10 an hour. The only difference was the undergraduates were given more responsibility because of their experience. The staff took on a leadership role with the interns. I suggest a leader because my notion of leadership helps give guidance, but also inspires others to take a leadership role. Warner and Evans (2006) suggested that leaders shouldn't focus on control, but rather should spread resources to others. By allowing the interns to become leaders themselves, it was a push to have the interns obtain social capital and not simply "work for someone else's agenda". The program attempted to give job training skills and knowledge related to agriculture. The interns had the opportunity to learn about selling and transporting produce. It was an attempt to teach about tools and strategies to effectively get a job done.

Another way I saw Op Grows attempting to advocate for social justice was having the interns appreciate aesthetics. It allowed the students themselves to build something they could be proud of. It also was meant to have the community see how diligent these individuals could be in work. If the community could see how hard these individuals were capable of working, it might be a catalyst to change assumptions about students from an alternative school. On that, Op Grows encouraged the interns to interact within the community. This was done by having the

interns donate food to the Community Market and work with community members that leased plots from the community garden. The interns could work collectively in combating food security issues.

Additionally, the interns could learn about how the environment is being impacted by humans at a micro and macro level. As Lowenstein, Martusewicz, and Voelker (2010) suggested, tying in social justice with the environment allows participants to become better acclimated as to what impacts their communities and gets in touch with the human world and with future generations. This is the basis for a democratic society. The internship had the potential to increase the sociopolitical development of the interns because the environment is becoming an even bigger political issue. Utilizing the environment is an effective way to promote social change and understand what is occurring locally and globally (Bowers, 2001).

A participatory democracy could help lay the foundation for the interns to think critically in different areas, such as school, work, or behavior using nature as a vehicle. This framework had the potential to tie in the benefits of school gardens as Blair (2009) and Williams and Dixon (2013) indicated. Chawla (2007) indicated that people can learn about the world first hand by their actions in it. A person must act upon and transform their world, especially if the world is not a static entity (Freire, 1970). Thus, working out in nature can broker transformative experiences. Youth participating action can help build social capital and lend a voice to those with limited power through inquiry and action (Kornbluh, Ozer, & Allen, 2015). This then attempted to give power to students. Freire (1970) mentioned this is necessary to overcome oppression.

I believed Op Grows acted in support of the interns' academics, employment, and citizenship social resources. This related to the willingness to be advocates and offer

opportunities in the three domains. For academics, it was the hope to increase the interns' GPA, have them see potential benefits of obtaining an education, and strengthen relationships with those that work in schools. For employment, the expectations were to foster a strong work ethic and to build work-related skills. For citizenship, the expectations were to create an awareness of local food insecurity and have community engagement, while encouraging the interns to not get in trouble in and outside the classroom.

A final goal I believed the Op Grows staff sought out was to form a tight-knit group. Geary (2007, 2008) argued and Muller (2010) reiterated that people are actively forming groups. This helps to explain the foundation of in-groups and out-groups. Students that see teachers as disrespectful would easily be represented in the out-group and mismanaged. A social justice advocate lens would attempt to be adopted as a member of the in-group showing respect and listening to what the people have to say. This is in accordance with pragmatism and how I thought the Op Grows staff viewed social justice; wanting to build trust so everyone benefited from the project. Humans have evolved to create culture, that is, a common system of beliefs that facilitate cooperation, a division of labor, formal and informal expectations for the behavior of in-group members, and the sharing of information and resources (Geary, 2008). Relationships are social resources that can enhance survival (e.g., support during times of social conflict).

Summary of Chapter

To engage in pragmatic social justice within this project, each person had to be willing to be a part of the group. This project was also built on the notion of support for one another. Common language had to be used, at least in the project, to understand the tasks at hand. By the very nature of working in gardens, aesthetics can have a functional value. It is functional to arrange plants in an ordered pattern for beauty and making harvesting easier. Though aesthetics

is an inherently personal value, the group had to demonstrate a somewhat collective notion of this to produce results and move the project forward. Another piece that was of utmost importance was engagement within the community. This was a project built for the good of a local community. The group could suffer if there was not the willingness to engage in the community. Finally, there had to be an appreciation that the project continuously grows. In support of pragmatism, the program had to constantly evolve with the changing ideas and mindsets of its members. This chapter provided a conceptual framework combining the ideas of pragmatism and social justice. Through that, I discussed how I believed Op Grows attempted to engage with the interns throughout the internship. Moving forward, chapter three discusses the relevant literature related to social capital; an inherent social justice concern.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

In Chapter one, I attempted to give a general overview of my study. Explicitly, I discussed trying to understand social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship for four interns working with an agriculture project. I also began to introduce social network analysis as a tool and a method. Chapter two featured a discussion on pragmatic social justice as my conceptual framework. This framework works within the project allowing a greater appreciation for the interns' lived experiences. In this chapter, I present relevant literature on social capital that is of utmost importance for this project.

In highlighting relevant literature, I will discuss the brief, but general tenants influencing gains in social capital for adolescents. Then, I move into a more detailed review on adolescent social capital, with specific emphasis on academics, employment, and citizenship/delinquency. Following the section on adolescents, I reference how social capital has been studied using network analysis. The conversation is geared to how the size, structure, and composition of a network help dictate opportunities for individuals, like what Johnson (2016) suggested. Next, I write about how social capital has been explored through ego network analysis and ethnographies. I conclude this chapter with relevant literature on gardening interventions in school and community gardens, as well as with offenders. To better understand social capital, I must first outline how the concept has evolved.

History of Capital as a Social Construct

Defining social capital begins with the concept of capital. Karl Marx (1933) took capital to mean the surplus value captured by those in control of the production. Marx believed those in control would retain control by their position in society. Gary Becker (1964) defined capital as an investment (e.g. in education) with certain future expected returns (e.g. earnings). Both Marx

(1033) and Becker (1964) suggested capital gains are highly tangible. Thus, the more physical capital someone has, the more success that person has. Marx and Becker understood the class system as both rigid and fixed, so those that have capital continue to have capital (Lin, 2001).

To modify or eliminate class based-systems, neo-capital theories including human capital, cultural capital, and social capital formed (Lin, 2001). Johnson (1960) argued against Marxian capital suggesting laborers can gain capital through the acquisition of knowledge and skills that have economic value. In human capital, it is the individual themselves rather than the labor performed (Lin, 2001). Human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways (Coleman, 1988). Human capital consists of those factors that include knowledge and motivation (Borgatti, 2016). In the sense that motivation is seen as a human capital, the individual would be motivated to seek out new skills and knowledge to increase his or her personal capital. If someone is being motivated, they can become capitalists as they are enjoying a surplus value of their labor (Lin, 2001). Human capital is more focused on individual gains though.

Cultural capital is the next neo-capital theory. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) expanded the notion of capital to cultural capital, where capital was no longer seen strictly as an individual gain. Cultural capital involves the resources captured through social identification and reciprocal recognition (Lin, 2001, pp. 15). Like Marx, Bourdieu believed capital is what is at stake in the social field (Wacquant, 1989). An example of this is when someone maintains a position of power. Cultural capital is gained in this sense by being part of a historically dominant group. Unlike Marx however, Bourdieu had a less rigid form of capital because he believed society acts as a network of positions rather than a fixed entity (Lin, 2001, pp. 16). Bourdieu also did not rule out purposive action or choices of behavior seen with human capitalist (1972). He did

suggest that those below a boss such as laborers can gain returns on their investment due to building their cultural capital (Lin, 2001). Culture obviously has a social component, so Bourdieu is typically credited as one of the founders of social capital. Though cultural capital is a more robust form of social capital. Further, Lin (2001, pp. 18) explained:

“Human capital theorists take into account family and other individual characteristics (gender, race, etc.). Cultural capital theory, in fact, emphasizes the role of the class structure in society and what it does to individual actions. Not only do structural or class positions defines the types of capital having differential values in the marketplace, but, more importantly, they dictate what actions the underprivileged must take to acquire such valued skills and knowledge.”

In its history, capital was built from an economic standpoint. Max Weber (1906) saw relationships as an instrument to influence the formation of entrepreneurial activities, thereby facilitating the economic development of a particular area. These networks of social relations were to engage economic activities in positive terms. As Trigilia (2001) summed up, the function of social networks was to enable the circulation of information and trust, leading to economic consequences for development. This understanding of economic networks suggests relationships can build capital. Relationships are of utmost importance for the concept of social capital (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2016), even if the gains are not based on financial return.

Social Capital

“Rather than focusing on an investment in the education on the highbrow cultural products, as is the case with theories of human capital and cultural capital, social capital focuses on the investment in social relations” (Carolan, 2014). Social Capital is described as an investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded

resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive actions (Lin, 2001). Social resources are captured through social relationships, where people live within social networks (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Social capital also understands that certain people offer different resources (Van Der Gaag, Snijders, & Flap, 2008). Furthermore, Burt (2000) suggested some people enjoy better connections than others, differentiating the amount of social capital a person has. I now highlight relevant literature on social capital related to this project.

Social Capital and Adolescent Development

To have a better understanding of the population at hand, I first provide a brief overview of common experiences of adolescents then lead into how these experiences potentially impact social capital attainment. There was an understanding while working with these students that they would be appreciated as adolescents first, rather than students from an alternative school. The experiences discussed will lend itself to both the building/maintaining and the constraining of adolescent social capital. Adolescents' brains are still developing. During puberty, there is a process of synaptic reorganization (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006). Furthermore, adolescents are searching for an identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). Both are important factors for adolescents in a time where there is great navigation of their social sphere. During childhood and adolescence, key aspects of development involve, and rely on, positive relationships (Damon, 1983; Hartup, 1982). The aspects are not certainly the only features of adolescence, but provide a structure to better appreciate those within this study.

Brain Development

Adolescents are in a developmental state that can impact their gains in social capital. Adolescents' brains on average are still developing (Albert, Chein, & Steinberg, 2013; Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006; Kelly, 2012; Steinberg, 2013). A level of egocentrism exists

within this population that could explain how adolescents are sometimes unable to understand others' perspectives (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006). In this sense then, brain development can constrain social capital because adolescents may not be physically capable of making the best decisions for themselves when navigating the social world. This perspective is similar to how adolescents take greater risks (Galvan et al., 2006).

There is the upside of the developing adolescent though. Through the development of the brain can lead to a strengthening of self-regulation. Older adolescents, for instance, are less susceptible to negative peer pressure because of their developmental brain connections (Steinberg, 2013). Another relevant association with the brain and social capital is that early social bonding had an impact on the brain's threat detection. This means the biological workings of anxiety with stranger interactions has an influence on social capital (Coan, Beckes, & Allen, 2013). Because of the brain's complexity, group interactions both constrain and build adolescent social capital. Though brief, the biological domain needs to be considered with adolescents, especially as this is a time of great inner and outer change. This leads to the next part about how adolescents form individual and social identities.

Identity and Peer Groups

How peer networks are defined and supported or not supported in schools and communities exerts a substantial influence on social capital (Fisher & Shogren, 2015). Adolescents are forming their individual and social identity. The navigation of the social sphere can build and constrain resources. Adolescents tend to interact with like-minded individuals (Hartl, Laursen, & Cillessen, 2015; Henrich et al., 2010). Burt (2000) argued that only interacting with like-minded individuals constrains access to social resources. Though a person's group can certainly have relevance if the network is fairly connected and encouraging (Coleman, 1988).

The group dynamics play a large role in obtaining social capital (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014).

Peer groups are said to be a source of instrumental and emotional support, offering a sense of belonging during a period of physical, emotional and cognitive adjustment (Coles, 1995; Gavin & Furman, 1989; Jackson & Bosma, 1992). The degree to which an individual is considered in a peer group is relevant. Adolescent peer groups of varying structure provide members with the opportunity to form positive self-evaluations through social comparison processes (Tarrant, 2002). Furthermore, an individual's self-concept derives largely from social group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This is especially relevant when individuals construct his or her own social network (McCarty, 2002). When examining adolescent peer groups, Ellis et al. (2012) used centrality scores to determine within and between group statuses. Those that had a higher status within the group tended to control group processes such as who would be welcomed into the group and engaging in prosocial behavior. Those with the higher status also had great influence between groups. Different resources and a different level of social capital in various areas are acquired by associating with various peers.

Though, obtaining resources may be harder for some. Peers rejected by the group often face a heightened level of anxiety and change in brain chemistry (Lau et al., 2011). Scholte and Van Aken (2006) and Richards (2001) understood that rejected peers use avoidance strategies in social situations. Hobfoll et al. (1995) claimed that losing social support resources might be enough to cause traumatic stress. Personal resources of socially rejected adolescents were found to be lower than the levels of those not rejected (Beeri & Lev-Wiesel, 2012). If one perceives social rejection, the level of resources, then, can be diminished.

Adolescents are still developing. The developing brain and the establishment of both the individual and social identity are relevant to observe when studying adolescents. By being in a state with a developing brain (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006), building relationships with adolescents can be more cumbersome. The relationships adolescents develop can benefit or constrain the level of social capital. Understanding these can better inform academic social capital, employment social capital, and citizenship/delinquency social capital.

Academic Social Capital

I provide this section on academic social capital as a further appreciation that those youths who had considered dropping out face greater challenges to obtaining academic social capital. Academic social capital involves those social investments related to school that help a student succeed and look for future opportunities (Acar, 2011). Researchers have suggested that people with higher academic social capital have greater access to education opportunities (Calvo-Armengol, Patacchini, & Zenou, 2009; Maroulis & Gomez, 2008). Gaining academic social capital will be discussed.

Croninger and Lee (2001) found students who obtain social resources from teachers reduce the probability of dropping out by nearly half. They also found students who come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and who have had academic difficulties in the past find guidance and assistance from teachers especially helpful. Collective leadership within the school has a stronger influence on student achievement than individual leadership (Louis et al., 2010). Daly et al. (2014) suggested those teachers with higher social capital in their current school was associated with better student performance. Students with more favorable educational profiles (e.g., higher grades and higher educational expectations) had access to social networks that could provide higher quality information resources related to education and employment (Stanton-

Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Hill, Bregman, and Andrade (2015) mentioned that social capital had an influence on college destination.

The intersection of family and school is an important factor in obtaining social capital. Families and schools are ways adolescents can obtain social capital to help with academic achievement especially where families and schools interact (Crosnoe, 2004). Family and school environments characterized by low levels of social capital will be insufficient to transmit necessary information and knowledge to children, leading to lower levels of achievement (Dufar, Parcel, Troutman, 2013). Plagens (2011) suggested parents and teachers that come to an understanding can create an obligation for the student by forming a community. This is especially true in rural communities where everyone knows everyone (Wright, 2012). Having a partnership between the family and classroom benefits the student. Parents, teachers, and the community must work in conjunction to help children succeed in school (Schlee, Mullis, & Shriner, 2009). For children to succeed in school, not only do they need the resources that are allotted to them through their family but also through their family involvement with school and teachers. These relationships are important for the obtainment of academic social resources.

Friends are another source to build social capital. Viewing friends as resources, Crosnoe, Cavanagh, and Elder Jr. (2003) identified those who had friends who liked school or did well in school had fewer academic problems than those whose friends were less academically orientated. Friendship networks matters for academic achievement (Delgado et al., 2016). Though conducted in higher education, Beattie and Thiele (2015) demonstrated peers can impact the access to academic resources and spread of information. The school, family, and friends can provide access to academic resources.

Employment Social Capital

Another important research endeavor in this dissertation is understanding the intern's employment social capital. Social capital has been researched on how individuals obtain employment for themselves or others, as well as maintaining employment status after being hired. Hagen, MacMillan, and Wheaton (1996) understood that family support can buffer educational and employment outcomes for recent college graduates. Fengqiao and Dan (2015) found social capital has a positive effect on college graduates' job placement, starting salary, and job satisfaction. Though these examples discuss college students, it is still relevant to know that family ties are beneficial in finding work. It is poignant when adolescent students might not have strong family support. Additionally, employment-based social capital is a helpful explanatory dynamic for assessing the quality of relationships in the workplace and how they might be used to safeguard against job stress and burnout (Boyas & Wind, 2010).

An interesting study was conducted by Krackhardt. He attempted to determine the most influential individual within a union to determine the most appropriate leader to support organizational change (1992). This was done through a cognitive social structure focusing on people's perceptions of the network. Why this study was interesting was because it determined who could be the most influential, but people's perceptions of the most influential person were not always best represented upon follow-up testing. When working, one might think someone can offer resources but are mistaken. For instance, if one believes the person with the most money has the most capital, it might underserve the social processes. People get paid differently and the payment may not necessarily be financial.

Understanding this perspective, I present some hope with unrepresented youths. Financial capital, then, is not the only escape for those typically faced with greater challenges.

Below are ways social capital can out-weigh financial circumstances such as generational and community poverty. This is especially true if youths with difficult living arrangements have limited adult connections to foster employability, as suggested by Hook and Courtney (2011). Stanton-Salazar (2011) understood that certain institutional agents can empower low-status students and youths in education and work because of their given position. Fortunately, those identified as homeless have benefited from employment services (Barman-Adhikari & Rice, 2014).

For young people, social capital is a vehicle through which goals and career pathways are created, sustained, and achieved (Stokes et al., 2003). Innovative careers and transition programs for young people can help plan for their future (Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Papadopoulous, 2012). Vorhies et al. (2012) suggested encouragement by managers and others play a role in motivating “at-risk” individuals. Through qualitative means, Graham, Shier, and Eisenstat (2015) identified three important aspects for youths related to employment: 1) interaction and experiences with employers; 2) personal life and familial relationships; and neighborhood social dynamics. For youth employment, Yeung and Rauscher (2014) noted:

“Youth employment may become increasingly important to a successful transition to adulthood, particularly if it provides opportunities for youth to acquire human capital including technical, organizational, and social skills (e.g., responsibility, punctuality, diligence, and independence). Early employment can also expose youths to adult role models and social networks that can ease their integration into the adult world.”

Strickland (2016) established that it is possible for former inmates to find and build employment social capital. Social networks can improve the personal development of youths (Graham, Shier, & Eisenstat, 2015). This leads to building social capital related to citizenship.

“As adolescents make the transition into young adulthood and into the full-time labor market, working may serve as a key turning point away from crime because it exposes them to coworkers who may replace prior delinquent peer associations” (Wright & Cullen, 2004).

Citizenship/Delinquency Social Capital

Obedying or breaking the law can be influenced by relationships. Young adulthood is also typically associated with the disruption of already established social networks (Warr, 1998). This suggests networks change as individuals grow older and have different experiences. Peer associations play a central role in crime and delinquency during the transition from adolescence (Elliott & Menard, 1996). As networks change, peer pressure can be thought of as both positive and negative (Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2007). It is then relevant in understanding how social capital associated with peers leads into or disrupts delinquency behavior.

Hagan (1991) implied that group structure is important to the consequences of rule-violating behavior during adolescence. Kreager, Rulison, & Moody (2011) showed group-level delinquency related to drinking seems to be associated positively with group cohesion. Moreover, they mentioned drinking groups had a higher peer status in school friendship networks, as reflected in the higher popularity and centrality within the networks, which indicates that members of these groups have a higher visibility among peers and greater social capital. Being a member of a delinquent peer group makes adolescents far more likely to offend than they would on their own (Haynie 2001; Warr 2002). Having social capital can also lead to delinquency behavior. It depends on how the person is obtaining social resources. De Coster, Heimer, Wittrock (2006) found that individual or family status characteristics influence violence largely because of the communities in which disadvantaged persons and families reside.

The social capital perspective does a play role in pro-social behavior. Positive peer pressure can build social capital to prevent or limit delinquent behavior (Padilla-Walker & Bean, 2009; Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2007). Peers influence adolescents greatly. Weiss (2011) researched how adolescents, rather than adults can limit delinquency behavior. He indicated the adolescent's neighborhood and school social capital are tied to decreases in violent behavior. When controlling for personality traits and parents' social capital, well-connected youth with good friends and quality teachers commit significantly fewer property offenses (Nakhaie & Sacco, 2009). Brokers between two well-connected peer groups were found to engage in less delinquency behavior than those members of a single peer group (Mangino, 2009). Another aspect associated with peers is the involvement of oneself in extracurricular activities. McNeal (1999) showed that social capital and the individual's experience of school is increased when an individual is involved in extracurricular activities.

Although peers, psychosocial attributes, and contextual factors play a large role in the etiology of delinquent behavior, research continues to show that families matter a great deal in regulating and controlling delinquency (Hoffman & Dufur, 2008). Sampson and Laub (1993) documented that childhood family processes, including parental supervision, attachment, and discipline, are intimately connected to juvenile offending. Schroedera, Giordano, and Cernkovich (2010) found strong relationships with parents are a significant predictor of criminal desistance or the lessening of those behaviors. Going back to how delinquency is related to academics (Deming, 2011; Ikomi, 2010); parental involvement in their children's educational experiences has myriad influences on academic achievement and other outcomes, including delinquency (Amato & Rivera 1999; McNeal 1999; Parcel & Dufur 2001a). Children who attend schools characterized by high levels of social cohesion among teachers, parents, and

students experience fewer behavior problems than children who do not, especially when they have close relations with their parents (Hoffman & Dufur, 2008; Parcel & Dufur, 2001a; Parcel & Dufur, 2001b). Parental social capital can reduce delinquency behaviors by building social control directly or indirectly (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson et al., 1999), even though Weiss (2011) believed parents lose this social control when adolescents start becoming more independent.

Social capital in this realm could also be thought of as knowing others who can help in difficult situations, has knowledge of the law like lawyers and judges, or those that can provide a more positive outlet. Those familiar with the law can potentially build youth social capital by helping those in trouble. Van der Gaag, Snijders, & Flap (2008) had this notion when asking if a person knew a lawyer or judge in their position generator measure. Van der Gaag & Snijders (2005) also understood that certain positions in society have different resources that can build social capital as indicated by their resource generator measure. To avoid getting in trouble, knowing those that have access to those that are familiar with the justice system is foundational to the concept of social capital.

Employment and delinquency behaviors can interact. Employment may be a risk factor in delinquency behavior partly because the places in which youths work, i.e. fast food and service jobs (Lochner, 2004). These jobs tend to not build social capital and are populated by teenage coworkers who may not be committed to conventional values (Staff & Uggen, 2003; Wright & Cullen, 2004; Wright, Cullen, & Williams, 1997). Further associated with employment, labeling individuals as criminals has been found to decrease the opportunity for later employment (Davies & Tanner, 2003). Social capital is as much about knowing certain

people, having resources, and having others want to give their resources. This becomes difficult if the individual is stigmatized.

All-in-all building social capital can prevent people from getting into trouble. Though it is certainly possible to have social capital while involving one's self in delinquent behaviors (Kreager, Rulison, & Moody, 2011). Additionally, social capital can help find and maintain employment and strengthen academic opportunities. Those relationships and networks matter. Most of the discussion above focused on youth navigation of social capital within academics, employment, and citizenship. Families and friends were included in each of the sections, especially since these are two common interactions for adolescents that help shape their social identity. Resources can be obtained by adolescents. In the following section, I discuss how social capital has been studied from a network perspective. The discussion will focus on size, structure, and composition of networks.

Social Capital and Social Network Analysis

Size of Networks

A simple way to assess the availability of resources is by looking at the network size or degree of a particular individual. Degree is simply a count of the number of connections an individual has (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson 2013; Carolan, 2014). Research has been done on the relevance of the size of a network related to social capital. The size of one's own network is correlated with socioeconomic status (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Brashears, 2006). Size is also determined by habitat-specific features (Dunbar, 1996). School size is said to be related to math achievement (Carolan, 2012). Though size, might not be the most beneficial aspect of a network to know. Knowing how big something does not lend itself explicitly to a deeper understanding of the network. Sometimes a bigger network is beneficial; sometimes it is not

(Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). A larger network might constrain a network (Roberts et al., 2009). Size should be understood as the number of connections, but if there is limited knowledge about those connections, size becomes irrelevant (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). The structure and composition of the network can help indicate what resources are available and how those resources are obtained by the individual. The size, structure, and composition of a network should all be taken together (Johnson, 2016).

Structure of Networks

As DeJordy (2015) is quoted, “A network can have a similar make-up, but structure matters. It is like the words ‘evil’ and ‘live’. Both have the same letters, but the structure of the word is different, thus making these two words quite different.” Researchers are then prompted to ask who has the most meaningful connections within a network. What follows is a description of different perspectives of structural measurements for social capital. This deliberation often falls into two camps; social capital via structural holes or social capital via social closure (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014). A structural holes perspective is sometimes referred to as bridging social capital; a social closure perspective is sometimes called bonding social capital (Geys & Murdoch, 2010).

Burt’s Structural Holes

Ronald Burt suggested social capital occurs when the person fills a structural hole (2000). Information diffusion underlies the social capital of structural holes (Burt, 1992). To fill a structural hole, the individual must act as a broker to the rest of the network. Burt defined a structural hole as the “separation between non-redundant contacts”, “a relationship of non-redundancy between two contacts”, “a buffer that enables the two contacts to provide network benefits that are in some degree additive rather than overlapping” (1992). Burt's approach to

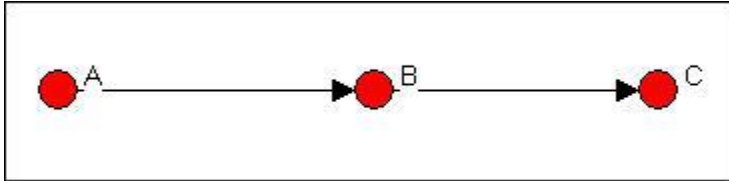
understanding how the way that an actor is embedded in its neighborhood is very useful in understanding power, influence, and dependency effects (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). With this perspective, however, there is a natural addition of competition that can be harmful to a network (Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000).

A structural holes model was adapted from Granovetter's strength of weak ties (1973) and Freeman's (1977) betweenness centrality. Granovetter understood that if person 1 and person 2 share a strong connection, the other people around those individuals will typically be connected as well, so persons 1 and 2's connection becomes less meaningful. All those connections become redundant. He argued instead that weak ties allow two separate networks to be connected by a limited number of people and those people can act as brokers to different parts of the network (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Freeman's betweenness centrality is a measure of how often a given node falls along the shortest path between two other nodes (1977). The specific person bridges two networks, versus two people acting as brokers in Granovetter's interpretation. A node with high betweenness centrality is the one with the highest amount of bridging opportunities. Bridging opportunities connect two strong networks.

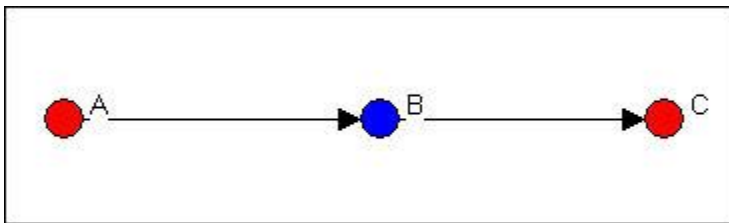
Burt's method allows for access to diverse information (Carolan, 2014). A more disconnected network will utilize a structural holes approach to social capital and would include more diverse resources in this type of model (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Access to other social networks are only obtained through a specific individual, so by being that individual, you have much more control over the network (Burt, 2000). Brokerage opportunities are those in which an individual is in a position in which he or she can broker the flow of information and control the tasks that bring different people together (Burt, 2001; 2007). There are five types of brokerage roles that can give a person more social capital: coordinator, consultant, gatekeeper,

representative, and liaison (Gould & Fernandez, 1989; Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). I include a diagram of each below.

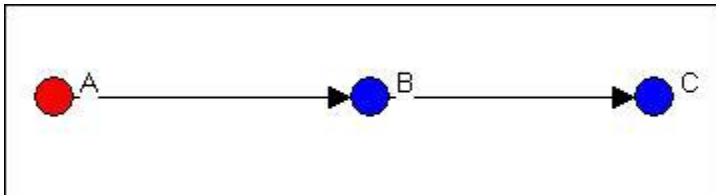
Figure 1 (a, b, c, d, and e): Brokerage Roles



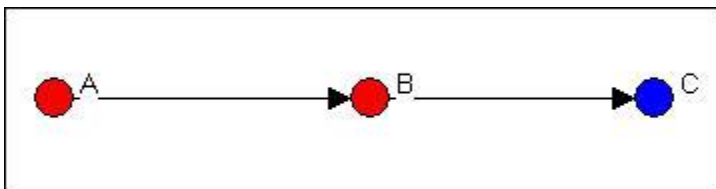
Coordinator (Figure 1a): Node B is the source and destination for members of the same group.



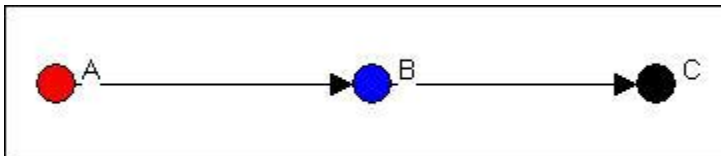
Consultant (Figure 1b): Node B is brokering a relation between two members of the same group, but is not itself a member of that group.



Gatekeeper (Figure 1c): Node B is a member of a group who is at its boundary, and controls access of outsiders (A) to the group.



Representative (Figure 1d): Node B is in the same group as A, and acts as the contact point or representative of the red group to the blue.



Liaison (Figure 1e): Node B is brokering a relation between two groups, and is not part of either.

A structural holes model has been used to explore novel ideas (Burt, 2004). From this perspective, those who are bridging two groups are said to have social capital. This has been used in medicine (Mascia & Cicchetti, 2011) and law (Bennett, 2006). A practical use was determining individuals who bridged groups to further prevent the spread of HIV through needle sharing behaviors (Weeks et al., 2002). Those individuals that had high betweenness centrality in that study could be identified as those that should be educated to prevent the spread of HIV. By gaining exposure to a greater variance and novelty of information, actors embedded in brokered structures will be creative and successful in their endeavors (Burt, 2004; Fleming, Mingo, & Chen, 2007; Sosa, 2011). Filling structural holes bridges groups together. Identifying those that are the bridges can also be the ones that can have a great impact on the network with little effort.

Coleman's Social Closure

A different approach to assessing social capital is the social closure approach. In the structural holes model, the individual with social capital was a bridge or broker to other groups (Burt, 2000). In a network closure model, someone gains social capital by being part of a well-connected network (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). James Coleman is one of the main proprietors of social closure as social capital. Social cohesion is used interchangeably with social closure in the literature. He offered that social capital needs to be defined by its function (1988; 1990). The more connected a network, the more one can find support and be held accountable by that network. In this case, networks consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of the individuals who are within the structure (Coleman, 1990). Social closure operates when there are connections between most or all the individuals in the network to have community. By having community, one can draw upon the resources that

are shared by each member. Each member, then, can mutually benefit from having reciprocal connections (Carolan, 2014).

Putnam describes the social closure method as an enhancement of collective norms and trust; both being essential for the production and maintenance of the collective well-being (2000). This is the main difference with the social closure model from the structural holes model. From a structural holes approach, the individuals with social capital are the sole benefactors in resource attainment because of his or her position in the network (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). A social closure approach offers a sense of togetherness, belonging, reciprocity, trust, and cooperation (Carolan, 2014). Though Coleman and Putnam's view is functional if it "works". Social closure can encourage positive and negative group behaviors (Thorlindsson, Bjarnason, & Sigfusdottir, 2007). Closed networks can only be beneficial if the resources obtained within are beneficial (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). This perspective would not be beneficial if a given action limits the group. A good example of a non-beneficial closed network would be when the group values something harmful. However, if the entire group encouraged one another, this perspective has merit (Coleman, 1988). Homogeneous groups support one another and the individuals within the group benefit from the comradery (Carolan, 2014).

In determining the level of social closure, Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson (2013) suggested using network density. Network density is a percentage of the number of ties present divided by the number of potential ties. Dense local structures exhibit high social closure indicating one's behaviors or attitudes are unlikely to escape the observation or critique of others (Carolan, 2014, p. 149). $Density = \text{Actual Connections} / \text{Potential Connections}$, where the potential connections is calculated by $[n(n-1)/2]$ for one-mode data, with n being the number of

nodes (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014). The closer to 1.0, the denser the network. Though, as density decreases, there is a greater chance of structural holes (Burt, 1992).

As suggested by Latora, Nicosia, and Panzarasa (2013), numerous studies have been conducted on social closure and social cohesion suggesting:

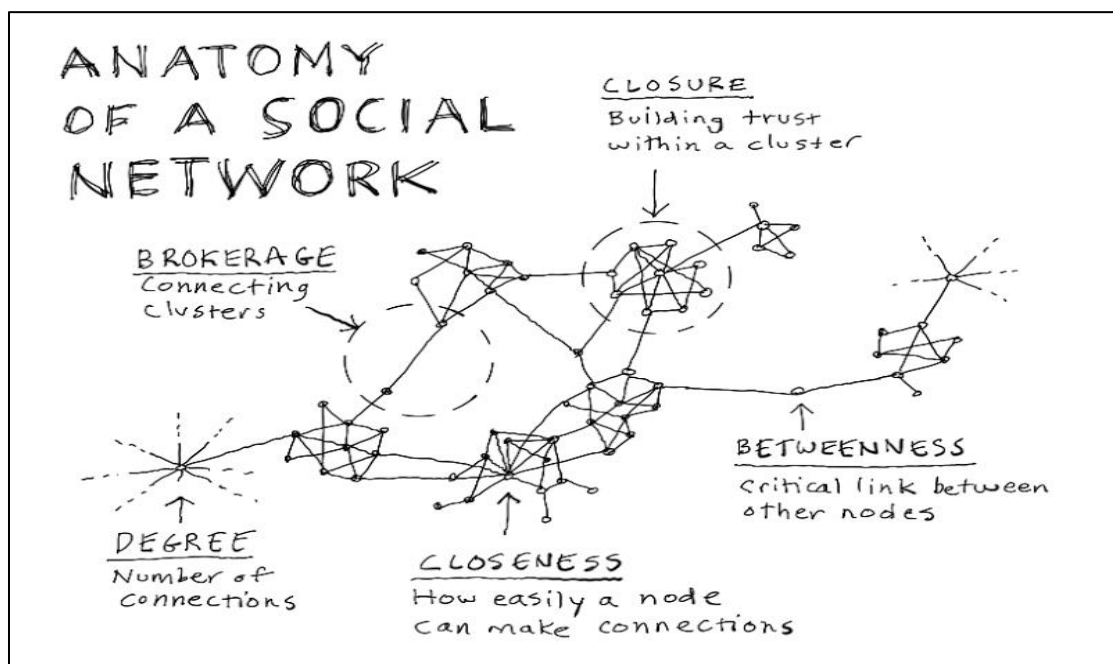
“It has been documented that being part of a close-knit group engenders a sense of belonging (Coleman, 1988), fosters trust (Burt & Knez, 1995; Coleman, 1990; Reagans & McEvily, 2003; Uzzi, 1997), facilitates the exchange of fine-grained, complex, tacit, and proprietary information (Hansen, 1999; Uzzi, 1997), enables the creation of a common culture and the emergence of a shared identity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), and helps sustain a high level of cooperation (Coleman, 1988; Ingram & Roberts, 2000).”

Within education, social closure was seen to be effective in Maroulis and Gomez’ (2008) study of achievement through network density and Morgan and Todd’s (2008) study of Catholic school children’s success attributed to parent connections. Higher levels of social closure are related to positive well-being for children (Fletcher, Hunter, & Eanes, 2006; Fletcher et al., 2001). Especially relevant to this study is Fasang, Mangino, and Brückner’s research on parent closure on student educational attainment (2014). This study focused on how low-income parents form social closure for adolescents. Even further, it can be beneficial to have a socially cohesive classroom. Regarding this study, it can be beneficial to have a close-knit group when those in the group know each other and offer encouragement. This creates a team of support.

A social closure model focuses on the group cohesion, with most or all the group benefiting from those connections (Coleman, 1988). A structural holes perspective focuses on how groups are connected by bridges or brokers, with only a limited number of individuals in the network benefiting (Burt, 2000). Both the closure model and structural holes model strike at the

investment in social relationships. Many empirical studies have attempted to reconcile the two positions on social capital providing an integrative account of social cohesion and brokerage (Aral & Van Alstyne, 2011; Fleming, Mingo, & Chen, 2007; Perry-Smith, 2006; Rodan & Galunic, 2004; Tortoriello & Krackhardt, 2010). Below, I include a network to portray important features such as brokerage and closure during the study of social relationships (Gray 2012).

Figure 2: Anatomy of a Social Network



Composition in Networks

A third way to determine network effectiveness is through network composition.

Composition examines how social capital is obtained, who a person knows, and what resources are offered (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Typically, composition is assessed through either resource or position generators. Though both approaches can inform each other as well as used to further see a person's perception of their own social capital. In ego network cognitive

social structures, the ego identifies people or resources that are currently being utilized (Marcum, et al., 2017; McCarty, 2002).

Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005) suggested social capital can be identified through a resource generator. Resource identification measures suggest certain opportunities and actions are afforded to the individual. Questions asked include knowing someone who can ‘manage their own money’, ‘can give advice on matters concerning the law’, ‘keeps a spare key to one’s house’, ‘works at a college or university’, and ‘has the ability to hire people’ (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). For example, knowing someone who can hire people puts that individual in a position to potentially get a job easier. Van Der Gaag, Snijders, and Flap (2008) suggested social capital can also be identified through a position generator. Measures like this understand certain jobs in society offer differing resources. For example, a teacher offers academic advice, a lawyer offers knowledge of the law, and a doctor can help with ailments. Through the position-based perspective, it is understood that resources are obtained by knowing certain kinds of people that hold positions with capital. Both the position and resource perspective, hint at what is offered through a network.

Composition can also be determined by homophily, heterophily, homogeneity, and heterogeneity (Johnson, 2016). Each of these measures determines how similar or dissimilar the individuals are in the network. Homophily (same) and heterophily (different) determine similarity and dissimilarity of a specific person and the rest of the network (Borgatti, 2016; Johnson, 2016). In ego networks, this would be how similar or dissimilar the ego is to his or her alters. Homophily measures often impact the information people receive from their personal social networks, the attitudes they form and the interactions they experience (Lozares, Verd, Cruz, & Barranco, 2014). Homogeneity (same) and heterogeneity (different) determine how

similar and dissimilar the rest of the people in the network are to each other, not including the specific person that is the focus (Borgatti, 2016; Johnson, 2016). In ego networks, this would be how similar and dissimilar the alters are to one other. Understanding how similar and dissimilar a network gives support to how to navigate resources (Johnson, 2016).

Knowing who is in a network and what resources are available to have afforded researchers a better understanding of networks. Size, structure, and composition are all taken together to better appreciate the study of social capital (Johnson, 2016). While presenting networks, each of these factors is relevant to better know how one gains social resources. Regarding networks, social capital can be studied through a variety of methods. Most notably in this study ego networks were used to understand the interns' social capital. Size, structure, and composition are especially prevalent in one's personal network. To further appreciate social capital, I now turn to a discussion on ego networks.

Ego Networks

A way to study networks has been the utilization of ego networks (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). As mentioned in chapter one, ego networks are the focal point of this study. Ego networks examine a particular entity (one person, for instance) and their immediate ties to others, also called alters (Carolan, 2014). Previous research using ego networks in education focused on first-year teachers building a support network (Fox & Wilson, 2015), schools and alumni collaboration (Hall, 2011), and academic tracking of students with disabilities (Fisher & Shogren, 2015) to name a few. Limited studies focus on students' ego networks. When networks are conducted on students, ego networks are not typically used as there are usually set parameters (i.e. classrooms) so it is easier to conduct whole network analysis in schools because of those parameters (Daly, & Ferrare, 2015; 2016). However, one might want to know what is

occurring with specific individuals in the classroom. Personal networks and employment have studied employment team efficacy (van Emmerik et al., 2011) and teacher job hunts (Cannata, 2011). To prevent delinquency behaviors, personal networks were used as a support to treat substance abuse (Panebianco et al., 2016).

Ego networks can be extracted from the whole networks or constructed from selected individuals (Borgatti, 2016). The use of ego networks tend to be extracted from a whole network as opposed to constructed from specific individuals (Borgatti, 2016; DeJordy, 2015). If the network is constructed from individuals, an individual is perceiving their own social capital, thus making this type of ego network a Cognitive Social Structure (C.S.S.) (Johnson, 2016). C.S.S. networks typically ask someone's perception of someone else's network (Krackhardt, 1987). However, ego networks are more localized C.S.S. networks, where someone is asked how he or she perceives his or her own network (Johnson, 2016). The use of ego network cognitive social structures is still in its infancy. Ego network cognitive social structures (Marcum et al., 2017) focus much dedication on specific individuals. If ego networks are constructed, it is best to learn about the ego, the alters, and the alter-alter connections (Johnson, 2016). Doing all three gives a better understanding of each person in the network. Ego network cognitive social structures also allow individuals to determine the size, structure, and composition of that network (Johnson, 2016).

A point made by Krackhardt's (1987) seminal piece on cognitive social structures discussed the perception of networks. Heath, Fuller, and Johnston (2009) highlighted the potential disconnect in perceptions versus actuality with those navigating their access to social resources. They used the term shadows to describe those that could have been identified in a personal network but was left out. An informant may guess at the size of their network without

trying very hard to remember specific alters; they may forget one or more alters; they may omit alters because they do not know their names or identities; or they may intentionally or unintentionally conceal (or invent) some alters (Bell, Belli-McQueen, & Haider, 2007). Smith, Mennon, and Thompson (2012) suggested individuals only activate a certain subset of their ties within the full set of contacts at their disposal at any one time and thus only access a portion of the social capital available to them.

The cognitive social structure perspective helps us understand differences in returns to social structure by highlighting that cognitive processes render certain ties more salient than others, affecting the likelihood that individuals will mobilize the social capital available to them (Brands, 2013). Though there has still not been a lot of work done on the perceptions of personal networks. Most of the work on cognitive social structures deal with the perception of a whole network (Brands, 2013). Social network perception should consider the effect of both situational factors and individual differences (Casciaro, 1998). In appreciation of the situational factors and individual differences, I transition from ego networks to ethnographies.

Social Capital through Ethnography

The Op Grows staff engaged with the interns for an extended period. For this project, I focused on the social capital attainment of interns through ethnographic means. An ethnography focuses on a complex, complete description of a culture-sharing group utilizing extensive field work (Creswell, 2013) and assumes immersion in a setting to develop knowledge of others' ways of thinking and acting (Schwandt, 2007). Then the social capital could be studied over longer periods of time because of these prolonged engagements. Additionally, if one is engaged with people for a long period of time, there can be relationships established to better inform outcomes

(Berthod, Grothe-Hammer, & Sydow, 2016), in this case, social capital. I could give depth to the network dynamics of the interns.

Coined by Howard (2002), a network ethnography combines social network analysis and field research. Network ethnographies allow one to see changes in the networks through day-to-day activities (Berthod, Grothe-Hammer, & Sydow, 2016). An ethnography, in part, entails an exploration of the practices and meanings given to the lives of the social agents that perform them (Barker, 2012). Ethnography is also described as a personal and intimate interaction, referring to the ‘ongoing relations’ developed with the participants during ethnography (Emerson et al., 1995). Social capital is understood to be a process or an effect of practice that stems from the engagement of individuals in social relationships (Ooi, Laing, & Mair, 2015).

When discussing the relevance of studying social capital with ethnographic means, Domínguez and Watson (2003) suggested:

“We look at the experiences of our respondents not as snapshots in time but as processes through which the respondents develop and utilize relationships for the acquisition of resources. We are able to see how participants alter their social networks as their circumstances change. Additionally, ethnographic data, collected through participant-observation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews, is multi-dimensional in that it reveals behavioral patterns over time and allows us to capture not only what respondents say but also what they do.”

An ethnography provides deep insight into the study of social practices that account for a network’s emergence, structuration, and transformation over time, while social network analysis allows a more general understanding of the structural properties of the network (Berthod, Grothe-Hammer, & Sydow, 2016). In a dissertation, Johnson (2014) explored the nature of

social capital in a network ethnography by examining two schools and the work of supporting students' college planning. Extensive fieldwork was conducted to better understand the relationships and network composition and structure. The two years the researcher spent in the field allowed for better understanding of the relational dynamics. Borges (2016) also conducted a dissertation on social capital through ethnographic means. Extended time in the field indicated more on culturally responsive teaching. The interesting note from both dissertations is that they explored social capital through an ethnographic lens.

The ethnographer advocates for the emancipation of groups marginalized in society (Thomas, 1993). Advocacy in this sense allows one to be engaged and offer support. The participants may identify the researchers as building their social capital throughout the process. This would be a testament to the time within the field to build the relationships. Still though, limited ethnographies focusing on adolescent social capital have been conducted. The current ethnography explored adolescents working for an agriculture initiative. What follows is a literature on school and community gardens and other agricultural-based interventions related to offenders.

Social Capital and Agricultural Interventions

Related to social processes and social capital, garden-based interventions can build connections. Most of the research has focused on social capital within community gardens rather than in school gardens. The idea of a community garden is to bring people together; to build community. This supports Coleman's (1988) idea of social closure. A community will always have different individuals interacting, allowing for different insights which mean community gardens also garner support for brokerage opportunities connecting different people (Walter, 2013). This supports Burt's (1992) structural holes model. By virtue, community gardens act in

a way to increase individual and group social capital (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006). Welton (2002) suggested:

“The social relationships formed in imagining change, making collective decisions and taking action to transform privatized urban land holdings into a shared community space clearly promotes ‘communicative interaction’ among citizens and strengthens civil society.”

Community gardens can benefit individuals and in turn, the community. Having a household member participate in community gardening/beautification and/or neighborhood meetings associated with gardening was associated with more positive perceptions of bonding social capital (closure), linking social capital (bridging), and the existence of positive neighborhood norms and values (Alaimo, Reischl, & Ober Allen, 2010). Poulson et al. (2014) suggested that community gardens are in place to strengthen social bonds. Communities with public garden partnerships were perceived to 1) potentially increase public service provision, 2) bolster economic development, and 3) lend legitimacy to public initiatives (Gough & Accodino, 2013). Regarding social justice advocacy, Levkoe (2006) examined community gardens as one among several sites of transformational learning in the food movement. Community gardens are places to learn and become eco-conscious (Walter, 2013). Though notwithstanding, other gardens, especially school gardens are places where social capital attainment can be examined. Even still, school gardens are microcosms for what could be attained in the wider community (Ralston, 2014).

Alexander et al. (1995), Brunotts (1998), Brynjegard (2001), Canaris (1995), Faddegon (2005), Moore (1995), and Thorp and Townsend (2001) all indicated school gardens provide environmental stewardship, can increase motivation and school pride, and have a strong

community-building component. Blair (2009) reviewed school gardening articles and outlines how school gardening teaches students about food systems while engaging in experimental education. Williams and Dixon (2013) reviewed articles and indicated science, then math, then language arts were the three highest subject areas benefiting from school gardens. School gardening not only builds stewardship but enhances knowledge in various contents.

Phibbs and Relf (2005) said the learning outcomes most often studied were health and nutrition (69%), environmental education (30%), and self-esteem or self-concept (30%). Ohly et al. (2016) conducted a later review of school gardening discussing the overall benefits of health and well-being associated with school gardens. The health and well-being domains included things such as healthier eating habits (Ahmed et al., 2011; Block et al., 2012), confidence and self-esteem (Block et al., 2012; Ming Wei, 2012; Chawla et al., 2014), relaxation (Block et al., 2012; Chawla et al., 2014), building relationships (Alexander, 1995; Block & Johnson, 2009; Block et al., 2012; Chawla et al., 2014; Passy, Morris, & Reed 2010), and group cohesion (Block et al., 2012; Block & Johnson, 2009). Most notably there is potential for school gardens to build relationships and group cohesion.

Elsewhere gardening programs have been used as bridge programs for those that have gotten in trouble. Juvenile offenders were found to appreciate a gardening intervention and were something where the individuals learned new skills (Twill, Purvis, & Norris, 2011). Gardens in correctional facilities can increase nutritional knowledge of youth offenders (Wallace, 2006). Horticulture helps offenders raise their self-esteem, improve their confidence and social skills, and improve their overall quality of life (Hopkins, 2003; Sandel, 2004). These articles understood the potential benefits to the social dynamics of gardening on youth offenders.

Jenkins (2016) found that inmates participating in agricultural bridge programs increased their self-worth and reduce anxiety and depression.

Prison work programs are beneficial if they can improve vocational interests, aptitudes, and skills (Bushway, 2003). The types of jobs that offenders can get upon release are often limited (Khatib & Krasny, 2015). According to the U.S. Department of Justice (Feldbaum et al., 2011; Khatib & Krasny, 2015), about a third of U.S. prisons are already integrating green education and training programs, and another third are developing strategies for how to integrate such programs into their facilities. Riker's Island Prison designed an inmate gardening program to increase job skills (Jiler, 2006). San Francisco county jails also created a gardening system to enhance skills related to horticulture (The Gardening Project, 2000). Philadelphia's Roots to Reentry program gave the inmates a better understanding of local food production and landscape management (Khatib & Krasny, 2015).

There was an attempt to build human capital which in turn could be used to build social capital (Coleman, 1988). Prisons are seeing the potential of having individuals work in a vehicle related to agriculture. A goal of prison work programs then is to prevent recidivism or repeating an offense, while maintaining a job when the inmate gets out (Bushway, 2003). Baskin and Sommers (1998) suggested old networks need to be abandoned and entirely new networks of friends and social supports need to be constructed when the individuals get out of incarceration. Agriculture is a vehicle to build social capital. School and community gardens work to educate various populations of the benefits of gardening. There is also potential to improve the quality of life for offenders. Gardening has the potential to build access to social resources. Studying social capital through agricultural programs provides a unique opportunity to build skills while learning about community needs.

Summary of Chapter

Limited research has been conducted on youth social capital through gardening programs. The importance then of this study can further explore gardening interventions with these adolescents, especially related to academics, employment, and citizenship. This is especially relevant with how the interns gardened inside a classroom and out in a community. The novelty of this research is that it explores social capital through a gardening program utilizing social network analysis with those that struggle academically, have limited job training skills, and have gotten in trouble. Additionally, this research fits to expand the literature on how to monitor social capital while working with individuals on an intimate basis for a long period of time. Gardens, whether in schools or communities, were centers of solidarity, generating public space for communication and the cultivation of what is common (Dewey, 1996). This is reflective in social capital whether it is based on closure or brokerage.

Sonti et al. (2016) wrote on an urban farming internship program for youths. “The ability to learn unique and valuable physical job skills in the context of one’s own community contributes to the positive impact of urban environmental training programs” (Sonti et al., 2016). This chapter consisted of literature relevant to my current study. Moving forward, it is my intention to inform literature especially relevant to youth social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship/delinquency. This dissertation is further intended to inform social capital through gardening based-interventions. Finally, I intend to build the literature on ego network analysis with the concurrent use of ethnographies. In the next chapter, I will outline my methods discussing my data collection and analysis strategies used in this research, along with a justification for mixed methods. The organization of Op Grows, as well as a deeper description of the interns, will be provided.

Chapter 4: Methods

In the first chapter, I outline how dropping out has the potential to negatively impact an individual's future in the areas of academics, employment opportunities, and citizenship behavior (Lochner, 2004). I then highlight an agriculture program that hired four interns from an alternative school that considered dropping out of high school. With an appreciation of the interns, my second chapter outlines a conceptual framework of pragmatic social justice to appreciate how the program would work with those who had considered dropping out. Chapter two shows how I believed Op Grows attempted to interact with the interns. My third chapter focuses on relevant literature related to social capital attainment. In this chapter, I present the ways I sought to understand the interns' social capital. I first discuss my use of mixed methods, then continue to the specific data collection and analysis strategies.

Mixed Methods

Pragmatism suggests there are multiple ways to think about social science research and suggests each should be judged by the range of actions that it makes possible (Morgan, 2014a). The purpose of this study looked to better understand the interns' social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship from one year working in the internship. It is important that the purpose of the research, questions, data collection, and data analysis all align (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Morgan, 2014a; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2013). Various steps in the collection and analysis phase were needed to accomplish the research endeavor. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) suggested what we obtain daily in research should be viewed as provisional truths. Justification comes from the Deweyan notion of warranted assertability (Dewey, 1920). I aimed to warrant assertions supported by data. Assertions can only be warranted in specific inquiry contexts and that their value must be reestablished in new inquiries (Johnson &

Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Pragmatism, then, gives mixed methods researchers a shared view of how to conduct research (Morgan, 2014a).

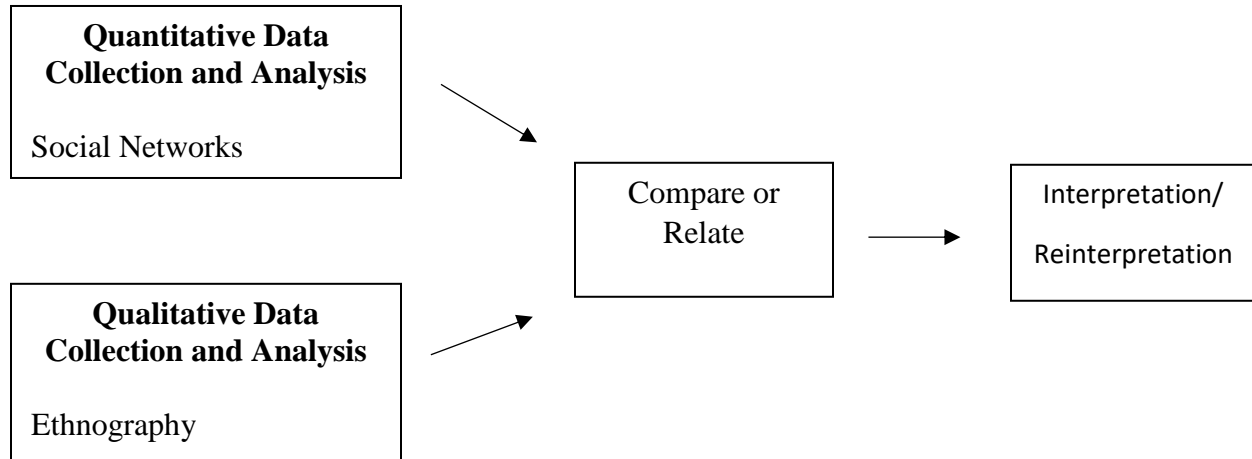
Mixed Methods Design

The study was guided by the central research question: How did the intern's lived experiences related to academics, employment, and citizenship reflect the intern's ego networks and resource attainment while participating in an agricultural program? I designed a study utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis strategies. With these, I could provide more detail of the interns' experiences and changing networks while working for Op Grows. In a study like this one, qualitative and quantitative, or more paradigmatically speaking, constructivist and realist perspectives had to be mutually relevant (Morgan, 2014a). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) suggested an approach or combination of approaches should be used in a specific study because each is superior in different circumstances; going away from the paradigm wars outlined by Denzin (2010).

While designing a mixed methods study, three issues need consideration: priority, implementation, and integration (Creswell, Plano Clark, Guttman, & Hanson, 2003). Priority refers to the weight given to each form of data. Implementation refers to the sequence the researcher uses to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. Integration refers to the combination of quantitative and qualitative research within a given stage of inquiry. This integration may occur within the research questions, within data collection, within data analysis or interpretation. Specifically, I used Teddlie and Tashakkori's (2009) notion of parallel mixed designs, also called convergent parallel designs. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009), this design uses both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously for interpretation and

reinterpretation to answer related aspects of the same questions. The convergent parallel mixed methods design for this research looked like this:

Figure 3: Mixed Methods Design



In convergent parallel designs, both the quantitative and qualitative aspects are given equal priority (Hollohan & Barry, 2014). Convergent parallel designs collect and analyze different strands of research then compares the strands. For implementation, then, quantitative and qualitative collection and analysis occur at the same time. In this dissertation, the integration of quantitative and qualitative research occurred within the interpretation stage. I have previously mentioned this research occurred with three checkpoints. I thus compared the two strands of research at multiple junctions. I compared the results of the ethnography and the networks up to each checkpoint, then compared how each phase remained the same or changed related to previous data. Specific to this research, triangulation was used to compare the networks and ethnography. Triangulation studies seek convergence or corroboration of results across different methods (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

The quantitative portion of this dissertation involved the social networks for the interns' personal connections and social networks for resource availability. The question that related

specifically to the quantitative portion of this dissertation was: How do the interns' social networks account for different levels of social capital over time? The purpose of the networks was to visualize the interns' perception of their own connections and resources over a year. This was done by examining the size, structure, and composition of the academic, employment, and citizenship networks for each intern at each checkpoint. It was also done by visualizing how those people identified do or do not provide resources to the interns. Each type of network was compared to each intern's previous networks as well as to the networks of the other interns.

The qualitative portion of this dissertation involved the ethnography and semi-structured interviews. The question that related specifically to the qualitative portion of this dissertation was: What are the lived experiences of the interns that help to understand changes in social capital while they worked for an agricultural program? It was my intention to explore the interns' social capital over time. I used the ethnography to find similarities and dissimilarities with the resources identified by the interns, especially from their social networks. As Johnson (2016) suggested, "We need to understand the social context of our participants to fully understand their social networks." This was to give a holistic interpretation of the interns' social capital.

Setting

Approximately one year was used to assess the interns' social capital. For clarity, the research on the interns started at the beginning of the summer in May 2015 and went until the end of summer in July 2016. This was the first year of the internship. Multiple locations allowed for data collection. The bulk of the data came from spending time with the interns while driving to and from work or at one of the work sites, including the farm, community garden, and various school gardens. Additionally, data were gathered when Op Grows hosted the agriculture

class at one of the work sites. At each checkpoint, a survey and interview were conducted with each intern at the alternative school in an empty classroom during the school day.

Op Grows

This research was situated within an agricultural program called Op Grows. Op Grows is a non-profit agricultural initiative started by Dr. Fox to bridge schools, community, and university together. This non-profit has established school and community gardens with the hope to build places where students and community members can come together to combat food insecurity. Currently, there are six school gardens and one community garden that grow produce. So-lo Farm was established as a teaching farm which allowed for a greater amount of produce to be grown while farming skills could be cultivated. Op Grows donates to a local food bank and sells produce to local restaurants to support further endeavors of the organization.

Op Grows hired four interns to build their academic and work-related skills, provide support to the students to keep them out of trouble, and build their citizenship behaviors. The interns worked at the various gardens and the farm with the understanding that produce would be cultivated to be donated or sold. The interns helped with the upkeep of the school gardens so students at those schools had the opportunity to have aesthetically pleasing places in and around their school. At the school gardens, including the one at the Carson Learning Center, the interns were responsible for managing small-scale gardens, mostly consisting of raised beds. The alternative school garden featured one large raised bed and an area to sit with picnic tables. The garden at the Carson Learning Center was designed to draw attention away from a chain-link fence on the school grounds.

At the community garden, interns had similar tasks but could interact with members of the community who had bought plots of their own within the landscape. Here the interns got to

see how a community garden supported the vision of Op Grows while working in a space of approximately 10,000 square feet. There were also times interns got to work with a local market selling newly harvested vegetables. A hope then was that the interns got to learn from community members and show how produce could teach about marketing. Halfway through the internship, the community garden moved. When this happened, the interns got to help assemble a large-production greenhouse next to the garden.

The teaching farm was where the bulk of the work occurred during the first summer. This location was a further way to support the mission to give job skills. At So-lo Farm, the growing space was approximately four acres. This was the largest space the interns worked. Given the size of the farm, much more production occurred. With the farm being nearly thirty minutes away from any other garden, the transportation and storage of produce became that much more important.

The Op Grows program and its many gardens had to be built and maintained by people. I now turn to those involved with Op Grows. Though not being studied, the staff worked closely with the interns. It was important to contextualize who from Op Grows the interns interacted with rather intimately. This intimacy was reflected by working together nearly every day during the internship. Discussing the staff of Op Grows better explains the setting and program. Each staff member is given a pseudonym.

Op Grows Staff (non-interns)

Myself

I am working towards a Ph.D. in educational psychology. I started with Op Grows in the fall of 2012 after asking Dr. Fox about potential opportunities. I was the primary investigator in

this study. It was my intention to establish relationships with the interns, getting to know them on an individual basis.

Dr. Fox

Dr. Fox is the executive director of Op Grows who had the idea to hire students from the alternative school. He is an Educational Psychologist using agriculture as a vehicle to educate. Through this vehicle, he has created a partnership between community, schools, and community.

Joe

Joe was a student of Dr. Fox studying agricultural education. With his vast knowledge of agriculture, he offered Op Grows the knowledge on the production of plants as well as the numerous ecological benefits from different animals.

Samuel

The next person to join the staff was Samuel. Samuel was also a Ph.D. student in educational psychology. He started with Op Grows in the summer of 2014.

Jason

Jason was a student of Dr. Fox studying social science education. Jason acknowledged this was an opportunity to work with local students and to also benefit a community. He also had the unique perspective of being in the military.

Bryce

Bryce was a student of Dr. Fox and myself studying special education. He grew up on a farm and was familiar with both agriculture and construction.

Dwight

Dwight was the owner of So-lo Farm. He was also the owner of a small business that provided work for numerous individuals including the brother of one of the interns. He partnered with Op Grows to give the interns an educational experience.

Gwen

Gwen was a friend of Dr. Fox, who eventually got an opportunity to teach the agriculture class at the Carson Learning Center. She worked with the interns daily and had been involved since the inception of Op Grows.

Recruitment Protocol

The interns were considered student staff members, but are being separated because I sought to understand their social capital specifically. It has been mentioned that each of the interns attended an alternative school. Before the start of the internship, each of the interns was enrolled in the agriculture class at the Carson Learning Center alongside other students. The class was a product of the partnership Op Grows had created with the school. The principal of the Carson Learning Center later identified four specific individuals from that class that not only involved themselves in the lessons but might benefit the most from working with Op Grows. These four individuals were then hired as interns. Given that each intern was under 18 years old at the time of the study, consent was received from parents and assent was received from the interns to participate.

Population (interns)

The interns hired were the focus of the study. They formed a specific population as this investigation focused on the original interns hired by Op Grows. The interns were four males all

enrolled at the Carson Learning Center at some point during the study. Each was from a lower socioeconomic status. Two were from single-parent homes. The other two were not currently living with a parent, but a relative. Op Grows hired each of these individuals for their first job. Fortunately, with the low number in the population, I can elaborate more on each intern. Again, pseudonyms are used for the interns.

Danny

At the time of the study, Danny was a junior at the alternative school. He was sent to the Carson Learning Center for stealing a vehicle and damaging school grounds. He was then not allowed to step foot on the high school, even if he performed well at the alternative school. He lived with his father at the time of the study. Throughout the program, he continuously indicated wanting to do something related to construction as a career. He left Op Grows because he wanted to find a job that had more consistent hours. Following his time with the internship, he still contacted members of Op Grows from time to time for support. Danny graduated in December 2016.

Malik

He was also a junior at the time of the study, though he did not attend school regularly. He was sent to the alternative school when someone threatened to attack him and he sought protection. At the time of the study, Malik was living with his cousin. A personality trait that is of utmost importance was Malik's charm and charisma. Malik stopped working for Op Grows in July 2016. Despite not attending school regularly, he took his final exams to graduate.

Rodney

Rodney lived with a lady he considered his grandmother. Rodney was a junior at the time of the study. He was sent to the alternative school for disciplinary reasons and suggested,

“My mind ain’t right.” Rodney’s time with the internship concluded in late September, a few months after the internship started, after not believing the program was a good fit. After he left, he was taken out of the agriculture class. Despite not working for Op Grows, he was still friendly enough to the members of Op Grows if he was seen in the hallway. Despite returning to the high school for two weeks during the study, Rodney was still at the alternative school when the year concluded.

Stanton

Stanton was a sophomore at the start of the study and was the quietest of the bunch. He was living with his mom and younger sister during the study. He had an older brother and sister that he often visited. Stanton was still new to the city. He was sent to the alternative school for stealing a girl’s phone, suggesting “This was a better alternative to hitting a woman after she had hit him.” While working with Op Grows, he secured a job at Simba Gastropub. After getting that job, Stanton worked less in the gardens. Something of note, Stanton was the only intern that would end up back at the high school long term while the study took place.

Ego Network Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection at Each Checkpoint

Personal social connections and availability to resources were gathered during three checkpoints. During my time working with the interns, I conducted a semi-structured interview and administered a survey at these three checkpoints. The same semi-structured interview protocol and survey were repeated at each of the three checkpoints for every intern. The interview was used to assess the interns’ access to social resources. Each checkpoint lasted approximately one to two hours for every intern. The survey took roughly five minutes to complete. The length of the interaction was determined, then, by how many individuals were

identified in each intern's network. Interviews were recorded with permission from the participant. The internship had been operating for close to a month by the time the first checkpoint occurred because I was still learning how to use the social network analysis software. The first checkpoint acted as a pilot, specifically to help me better navigate the interview process.

Resource Generator

During each checkpoint, I first administered one social capital survey assessing a person's access to resources. The Resource Generator (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005) is a survey that asked the interns if they knew someone that provides certain resources. The intern was instructed to circle all resources that were available to him. Included were things such as "has completed some college", "can give advice on matters of the law", and "knows how to handle money". The resource generator acted to explore an individual's perception of their own social capital. The full resource generator is posted in the appendixes. A separate document in the appendix identifies the resources specifically available related to academics, employment, or citizenship. After the interns circled their available resources they had access to, I conducted the semi-structured interview to see who was in the interns' networks.

Egonet Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with assistance from Egonet (McCarty, Killworth, & Rennell, 2007) to gauge the interns' social capital specifically related to academics, employment, and citizenship. Academics, employment, and citizenship behaviors helped guide the study. This was why the Egonet interviews asked the interns specifically about these areas. Egonet (McCarty, Killworth, & Rennell, 2007) uses name generator, name interpreter, and name interrelator strategies to generate individual (personal) networks. Egonet allows a person (or

ego) to generate a list of people that are directly connected to him or herself, creating a network of people. Additionally, Egonet is used to gather descriptions of those people and how all those people identified are connected to one another. Once an individual is identified by an ego, the program is set up to ask specific questions about the alter (or others) as well as the network dynamics.

Johnson (2016) suggested name generators allow individuals to compile a list of people that would fit a certain category. These were labeled “alter prompt questions” in the interview protocol. Names were generated by allowing the interns to identify people that matched onto a specific question. The Egonet interviews were set up so the interns could identify the people most reflective of the specific name generator questions. Those people could be identified once or multiple times during this phase of the interview. Egonet, however, recognizes the same person once to avoid asking the same name interpreter questions to the same person. The number of connections that could be identified by the ego were capped at 40 people to limit the length of the interview. This was because the interviews became Nth degree longer by Nth degree people. The specific questions asked to the interns to generate a list of people were:

- With whom do you spend most of your time?
- With whom do you believe helps you with your schooling?
- Who do you go to for advice?
- With whom do you get in trouble?
- With whom do you talk about your future?
- Who do you go to for help?
- Who are your confidants or those you tell secrets?

Johnson (2016) suggested name interpreters allow individuals to better explore the individuals identified by a name generator. Name interpreters allow the ego to identify characteristics of his or her alters. These questions followed the alter prompt questions and were

labeled “alter questions” in the interview protocol. The intern answered these questions regarding the people identified in his network. The specific questions asked to the interns were:

- How do you know ___?
- When did you meet ___?
- To the best of your knowledge, how much education does ___ have?
- Does ___ value his/her own education?
- Does ___ encourage you to finish school?
- Does ___ work? If yes, where?
- How much does ___ value his/her own employment?
- Does ___ encourage you to work?
- Has ___ ever been in serious trouble?
- Has ___ tended to stay out of trouble?
- Does ___ encourage you to stay out of trouble?

Johnson (2016) suggested name interrelators allow individuals to construct a network by asking if one identified person knows another identified person. In the protocol, these were labeled “alter pairs questions”. The intern answered these questions with his alter connections in mind. If the intern identified someone in his network as knowing someone else, the next question asked was how these individuals knew each other. If the intern did not identify two people knowing each other, the program skipped the second question and asked the third question. The third question pertained to the alters’ values. The specific questions asked of the interns were:

- Does ___ know or spend time with ___?
 - (If no, skip to question 3)
- Where does ___ know or spend time with ___?
- Does ___ and ___ share similar values on
 - Academics?
 - Employment?
 - Staying out of trouble?

During the interviews, I asked follow-up questions to the interns to gain further details on the alters. For instance, if the intern identified somehow as encouraging him to stay in school, I

was curious as to what that person would say to the ego. If the intern identified two people as knowing each other, I wanted to know more about that relationship. Though it should be mentioned, that these were not asked after each of these questions to limit attrition with the interns. The interview was quite repetitive and, if it became cumbersome, I believed the interns would lose interest in the research.

Following the completion of the Egonet interviews, I asked the interns to take those people that were just identified and write down who from the network offered those previously identified resources from the Resource Generator. The Egonet interviews were conducted after the Resource Generator to compare if those resources identified matched onto those identified in their personal networks. This did not guarantee that people from the personal networks offered every resource that was identified.

Data Analysis at Each Checkpoint

Graphing the Personal Networks from the Egonet Interviews

Again Egonet (McCarty, Killworth, & Rennell, 2007) allows personal networks to be created. To show relationships, the intern indicated a “yes” or “no” if two people he identified knew each other or not. It was important to show these connections graphically. To offer better manipulation of networks, I opted to move the data from Egonet and create networks in Ucinet/Netdraw (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). In my opinion, visualizing networks in this computer program was easier because of its user-friendly aspect to manipulate properties of the nodes such as the color, size, and shape.

To transform these data, connections were inputted into a Microsoft Excel file as a square matrix with the number 1 being entered in the document if two alters shared a connection and a 0 if there was not a connection. The alter-alter connections were the connections identified by the

interns during each ego network construction. It was under the assumption that this matrix was symmetrized or symmetric in nature. This means that alter-alter connections identified were shared by both people. Netdraw portrays this with an arrow facing both individuals (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). Each person was inputted on the X and Y-axis. For instance:

Table 1: One-Mode Sample Network

	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
Person 1	1	1	0
Person 2	1	1	1
Person 3	0	1	1

Person 2 shares a connection to persons 1 and 3. Person 1 and 3 are not connected to one another. This is an example and not indicative of any of the interns' networks. For more on coding in more complex ways beyond the scope of this dissertation see (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014; or attend the Links Center workshop on Social Network Analysis).

These Microsoft Excel files were then copied into Ucinet/Netdraw (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). Ucinet/Netdraw are programs that allow for the manipulation of social networks. Each intern had their own networks for academics, employment, and citizenship created and compared at each checkpoint. This means each intern had a total of 9 networks presented because of the three checkpoints and three categories. Netdraw, however, cannot portray things 3-dimensionally. To account for this, the nodes are spread out for sake of clarity. In the graphs, the length of the lines is not reflective of anything.

Following the insertion of data into Ucinet/Netdraw (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002), it was seen graphically how social networks were used to identify social capital for these

individuals. You will not find the ego present in his own network as the ego would be connected to everyone else being that he constructed his network. This strategy was suggested to me by Jeff Johnson (2016), who is a leader in the field of ego networks. This method is one of a few strategies used to explore an ego network (Crossley et al., 2015).

Each alter identified was designated with a specific pseudonym. The same pseudonym was used if that individual was repeated during the study by either the same ego or another ego. I could track the dynamics of the network over time. Above the networks, there is a description of each of the alters featured in a given network. The description comes directly from what the interns suggested about the person during the Egonet interviews including their relationship with the ego, level of education, if they worked, etc. An appendix will feature the complete list of the alters' descriptions. When inspecting the second and third set of networks, individuals in the network will be identified as being "Newly Identified" or "Repeated from an Earlier Checkpoint". As new alters were identified by the interns in their later networks, new pseudonyms were created. The names Danny, Malik, Rodney, and Stanton were reserved for the interns in case one of the interns was identified by another intern in a network. When an ego and alter is mentioned in the story from the ethnography, the same pseudonyms were used.

The personal networks not only show who was connected to one another, but also certain characteristics of the people identified. Again, this was why I opted to use Ucinet/Netdraw. The first feature was if the alter valued a given activity (schooling, work, or staying out of trouble). This was denoted by the color of the node. If an alter valued one of those activities, the node was changed to black. If the alter did not value the given activity, the node was changed to white. The second characteristic was if the alter encouraged the ego to stay in school, stay employed, or stay out of trouble. This was denoted by the shape of the node. If an alter

encouraged the ego to stay in school, to continue to work, or to stay out of trouble, the shape of the node was displayed as a triangle. If an alter did not encourage the ego in one of those activities, the shape of the node was displayed as a circle.

The final characteristic for the alters was related to the amount of schooling completed, work, or delinquent behavior. This was denoted by the different sizes of the nodes. The node size in every network is increased for each alter with the more schooling, work, or delinquent behavior. The size of the node was increased by one interval as one of the relevant categories increased. The smallest node possible in the Netdraw program was size 1. Below I contextualize each size.

Related to academics:

Size 1 represented an alter who had dropped out of high school or was not yet in high school.

Size 2 represented an alter who was still in high school.

Size 3 represented an alter who had graduated high school or had completed some college.

Size 4 represented an alter with a bachelor's degree.

Size 5 represented an alter with a master's degree or had completed further graduate school.

Size 6 represented an alter who had obtained a Ph.D. level of education.

Related to employment:

Size 1 represented an alter who did not have a job or was not old enough to work, though this did not include someone who had retired.

Size 2 represented an alter who had one or multiple jobs, without an established career.

Size 3 represented an alter who had a career or taking steps to have a career.

Size 4 represented an alter who had multiple careers or major responsibilities.

Related to citizenship/delinquency:

Size 1 represented an alter who had not been in serious trouble.

Size 2 represented an alter who had been in serious trouble.

*This was because the question during the interview asked if the person had been in serious trouble, indicating more of something rather than less.

Graphing the Resource Availability Networks from the Resource Generator

To assess the Resource Generator (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005), I examined who in the interns' networks offered certain resources. Taking what the interns said about the people in their network, I built networks that showed these various connections between people and resources. Unlike in the personal networks, the resource availability networks utilized a two-mode data set. Two-mode data sets look at people relative to things (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). An example of a two-mode data set would be who attended certain events. I built these networks again using Excel. Instead of the X-axis including the same people from the Y-axis, it included resources. Ucinet/Netdraw were again used to visualize these networks. For two-mode data sets, there is only one arrow instead of two to indicate what resource was received by each person (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). For instance:

Table 2: Two-Mode Sample Network

	Resource 1	Resource 2	Resource 3
Person 1	1	1	0
Person 2	1	1	1
Person 3	0	0	0

Person 1 offered the first and second resource. Person 2 offered all three resources. Person 3 did not offer any resource. As networks change in a dynamic fashion (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013), these people and resources changed over time. If an intern had identified a resource at a previous checkpoint, it was assumed that this resource was still available. There were times no resource was accounted for by a person from the personal networks, despite being identified. The lack of connections indicated a disconnect between

people identified and resources available. The resources were present, but the interns' networks would thus be incomplete. This is like what Heath, Fuller, and Johnston (2009) discussed always having more people in a network than what is perceived.

Discussion of the Networks

After the personal networks and resource availability networks were displayed, I highlighted major features of the networks. For the interns' personal networks, I included the network density. Again, network density can help show social closure or lack thereof within a network (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013), in this case, how connected the alters were to one another. The density measure showed how the structure of the network influenced resource navigation. The structure of the network was then taken with the size and composition of the network to explore social capital for each intern at the various checkpoints. A discussion was included for each checkpoint for each intern. Within this discussion, I highlighted the level of homophily/heterophily and homogeneity/heterogeneity. Recall, homophily and heterophily would be how similar or dissimilar the ego is to his or her alters (Borgatti, 2016; Johnson, 2016). Homogeneity and heterogeneity would be how similar or dissimilar the rest of the people in the network are to each other, not including the specific person that is the focus (Borgatti, 2016; Johnson, 2016). The resource availability networks were discussed regarding those resources gained and maintained by the people currently or previously identified from the interns' personal networks. Only counts were used for the changing resource attainment.

Ethnographic Data Collection and Analysis

Given that I worked alongside the interns for nearly 1000 hours, there was practicality in using a method that could help describe the culture and give more support on the changing network dynamics throughout the year. An ethnography consists of continuous observations and

interactions with prolonged engagement in a specific culture while exploring the lived experiences of a specific group (Berg, 2009; Creswell, 2013). I explored the broad lived experiences of four individuals related to their social capital.

Data Collection for the Ethnography

Data collection is typically broken up into four strategies: observations (ranging from nonparticipant to participant), interviews (ranging from close-ended to open-ended), documents (ranging from private to public), and audiovisual materials (including materials such as photographs, compact discs, and videotapes) (Creswell, 2013). For this study, I utilized observations, conversations, field notes, and audio reflections to explore the lived experiences of the interns. These are in addition to the interviews conducted related to the interns' networks.

Observations, Conversations, and Field Notes

Observations and conversations with the interns were recorded in a field notebook each time I interacted with the interns. In the field notebook, I highlighted events and conversations that occurred throughout the day. I kept my field notebook in my pocket while working with the interns and would take notes at any available opportunity. The field notes were shorthand versions of the observations and conversations. Throughout the day, I specifically took notes on anything related to academics, employment, and citizenship. For instance, I would document how the interns discussed school. Outside of those three areas, I attempted to take notes on anything mentioned that would give depth to how the interns built or constrained their social capital. This included taking notes on the interns' lives in and outside of Op Grows. Overall these strategies were used to record the day while working with the interns. These quick notes were then used for the daily audio recordings.

Audio Recordings

The notes I took in my field notebook were used as primers for my audio recordings. These audio recordings were recorded after the conclusion of the interaction with the interns to make sure my shorthand notes were not forgotten when I was away from my data. The audio recordings were expansions of the field notes, along with my personal reflections on the interactions. In these, I would say the date, the length of the workday, who worked/participated, various things that occurred during the day such as how well the interns worked, the revisiting of conversations, my personal reflection on the daily tasks, and continual reflections from past recordings. I also provided further elaboration on conversations or observations relating to academics, employment, or citizenship.

Specifically, I am using Dewey's (1933) notion of inquiry to provide a foundation for my reflections. Through this methodology, I could purposefully engage how working with the interns challenged my assumptions and shaped my understandings of their culture. My personal reflections consisted of my thoughts and feelings working with the interns as well as my ever-changing perspectives on relationships. In addition, I reflected on the culture of Op Grows throughout the internship.

“The full meaning of reflexivity in ethnography refers to the ineluctable fact that the ethnographer is thoroughly implicated in the phenomena that he or she documents, that there can be no disengaged observation of a social scene that exists in a “state of nature” independent of the observer's presence, that interview accounts are co-constructed with informants, that ethnographic texts have their own conventions of representation. In other words, “the ethnography” is a product of the interaction between the ethnographer and a

social world, and the ethnographer's interpretation of phenomena is always something that is crafted through an ethnographic imagination" (Atkinson, 2006).

Data Analysis for the Ethnography

Coding

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously. Each audio reflection and interview was transcribed. Taking the audio recordings, I organized and labeled my data by month in Atlas T.I. Trial Version 7 (2016). Each interview was its own document. I initially read each transcription to get a general overview of what took place during the internship with myself and the interns. While reading the documents a second time, I began creating initial codes to see what stood out during the internship. Initial coding was, in part, guided by a priori notions related to academics, employment, and citizenship. The codes found in earlier months were used for later transcriptions.

Once these codes were determined, I reread each document a third time to group the codes into themes to further organize my data. DeSantis and Ugarriza (2000) suggested, themes are abstract entities that bring meaning and identity to a recurrent [patterned] experience and its variant manifestations, thus themes capture and unify the nature or basis of the experience into a meaningful whole. A codebook was produced for even more clarity. The codebook identifies the themes, codes, description of each, a data exemplar, inclusion and exclusion criteria, disconfirming evidence, and memos if needed. This codebook will be found in the appendices.

Resource Availability Networks Revisited

To further compare the ethnographic and network data, I revisit the changes in the resources identified from the Resource Generator (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005) and resource availability networks. The resource availability networks were then used to offer further insight

into who and what resources were represented or not represented in the interns' personal networks related to staff or affiliates of Op Grows. Those people and resources were those that were observed during the ethnography by myself and other members of Op Grows. Someone not represented might include a restaurant manager that an intern met, that offered the resource [could sometimes hire people] but was not included. This modeled the potential disconnect in perceptions versus actuality with those navigating their access to social resources (Heath, Fuller, & Johnston, 2009).

Summary of Chapter

This chapter attempted to disseminate the ways in which data collection and analysis were used to better understand the experiences of the interns. I offered how each collection and analysis strategy related to the convergent parallel mixed method design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). It was discussed that the lived experiences of the interns were used to confirm or disconfirm the interns' social resources through their social networks on top of providing depth to how the interns built or constrained their social capital. In the following chapter, I discuss my experiences in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship. Then, I discuss how I did not live up to a pragmatic social justice framework while working with the interns. I conclude with an acknowledgment of my own privilege shaping the research. This then leads into chapter six. Chapter six presents the lived experiences, social networks, and social resources of the interns to understand their social capital while they worked for Op Grows. The uniqueness of all persons is found in the individual experiences they have lived (Hale, Snow-Gerono, & Morales, 2008).

Chapter 5: My Changing Perspective

In this chapter, I reflect on the experiences of working with the interns. I highlight specific ways in which I have grown as a person and researcher during the first year of the internship. I explicitly use the fifth theme found from my data: “Changing Perspectives based on Reflection”. The tone of the writing is influenced by Van Maanen’s (2011) notion of the confessional tale. The confessional tale provides a subjective, first-person account while working in a culture (Van Maanen, 2011). Ghodsee (2016) said using the first person “I” acts as an invitation to the reader, exposing the human being lurking behind the words on the printed page.

Confessional writers are forthcoming with accounts of errors, misgivings, limiting research roles, and even misconceptions (Van Maanen, 2011). I first revisit the second chapter of my dissertation that introduced pragmatic social justice as a conceptual framework. Then, I discuss my previous academics, employment, and citizenship. Following that, I reflect on how my own privilege enabled me to fall short of a pragmatic social justice mindset while working with the interns. While acknowledging my own privilege, I highlight parts of the internship that shifted my thoughts and emotions while working with the interns.

Revisiting Pragmatic Social Justice

In chapter two of my dissertation, I introduce my conceptual framework of pragmatic social justice. It specifically focuses on why I believed hiring the interns matched onto this notion from a program standpoint. Briefly, a pragmatic social justice mindset utilizes three assumptions of pragmatism as a philosophical approach to find workable solutions to individual and community problems. Pragmatism appreciates people as whole organisms highlighting someone’s biological, psychological, and sociological features. The three assumptions of

pragmatism are 1) mind and body cannot be split, 2) the mind is active, and 3) context defines the relationship between mind and body (Hookway, 2015).

From those assumptions, a pragmatic social justice mindset suggests people can actively change their environment to dismantle oppressive constraints. As Freire (1970) suggested, the oppressed can become actors that act in ways that change society. Social justice inherently involves making people aware of the various issues around them (Adams, 2013). The active mind in pragmatic social justice involves individual and communal dialogue and reflection. As Hackman (2006) stated, social justice cannot exist without an acknowledgment of others' beliefs. Achieving social justice then welcomes different opinions. However, history and context need to be acknowledged for individuals and communities to find workable solutions to problems. Thus, solutions are only solutions if the change involves individual and communal reflection and dialogue, while also appreciating that certain things only work given the circumstance (Hookway, 2015).

In chapter two, I discussed the broad goals of Op Grows while using a pragmatic social justice framework. The Op Grows staff thought to use pragmatic social justice to build the interns' social capital in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship. Related to those areas, the initial goals were to build job training skills, build a cohesive group, prevent the interns from dropping out, and keep the interns out of trouble. I believed the Op Grows staff wanted to connect meaningfully with the interns to build lasting relationships. What I did not write about in chapter two, however, was my own experiences with academics, employment, and citizenship.

I wanted to include this reflection here, as opposed to when I introduced pragmatic social justice in chapter two. The reason I did not include a personal reflection in chapter two was

because I first needed to discuss how I believed the Op Grows staff would work with the interns under the assumption that Op Grows would function as a unit whereby the group was more important than the individual. In this chapter, I have a unique opportunity to explore pragmatic social justice utilizing personal reflection. Most importantly, I write about how I was humbled when confronted with my individual privilege as it related to the project.

Personal Background with Academics, Employment, and Citizenship

Given that I interacted with the interns, I first needed to situate myself in the research. I wish to write briefly about my past experiences in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship. For starters, I grew up and attended school in Virginia Beach. I was fortunate that I did not change cities like many military children do. I have always enjoyed school because most of it came naturally. It was a foregone conclusion that I would attend college. My parents believed higher education would provide many opportunities for success and would make my life easier in the long-run. Upon graduating from high school, I attended a community college and a four-year university. Even before I finished my Bachelor's degree, I believed I would obtain further education. I would eventually get accepted into an Educational Psychology Ph.D. program, where I will conclude my formal education.

As for work, my first job was at the Navy Exchange. My brother worked there previously and had told one of the managers to hire me. I went in for an "interview" and was hired on the spot. It was a job I had until I left to attend the four-year university. Growing up as a military child, I "fit" the mold of who else worked there given how many of those employees had family members in the military. My second job was my first related to education. I worked as an American Reads tutor. This experience would provide a lasting impact on me because I got to experience what it was like working with students that need extra academic assistance.

My third job was as a Graduate Assistant, with most of my time dedicated to Op Grows. Since I was legally allowed to work, I have always had money in my bank account. Through that, I am fortunate to have never felt the burden of financial hardship. After my bills were paid, I usually had money left over to put into savings and to use for personal expenditure.

Related to citizenship, my mom and dad always told me I should lend a helping hand when I could. My beliefs on what it means to be an engaged citizen were strengthened while at the four-year university. These beliefs include a willingness to engage and learn with and from a community, that reflection is a key to growth, and partnerships must be established with individuals and community if change is going to occur. That said, I typically befriended those who did similar activities, similarly allowing me to “fit” within a given culture. I went on a few service trips to West Virginia and Tennessee sponsored by my undergraduate’s College of Education. When given the opportunity to do something similar with Op Grows, I was excited to start working. I saw an organization that was willing to get its hands dirty, literally and figuratively, to build community.

My interest in education and citizenship was reinforced when I was given a leadership role at one of the primary schools in which Op Grows was working. I would help teach gardening to kindergarteners, first graders, and second graders. As the Op Grows program progressed, the next step involved hiring students from an alternative school to build job training skills. Though, I had limited experience with adolescents before working for Op Grows. I was nervous at the start of the internship because I did not know what to expect. Fortunately, Op Grows was an organization that included people I believed could teach me how to better engage with adolescents.

Being Humbled: Personal Privilege and Changing Thoughts

Engagement with anyone can be humbling though. While interacting with the interns, I saw within myself how easy it was to dismiss someone else's beliefs and lifestyles because they were different than my own. Through that, I did not fully ascribe to a pragmatic social justice mindset. The interns had a lot of challenges that I did not have to deal with. Part of me not living up to a pragmatic social justice mindset was my failure to acknowledge my misconceptions and privilege. Johnson (2013, pp. 15) said, "Privilege exists when one group has something of value that is denied to others simply because of the groups they belong to, rather than because of anything they've done or failed to do. In research, especially related to community outreach, I often only read about the good work people did. Rarely, do I see personal reflection on how a researcher might have closed him or herself off to not being effective in their endeavors. In thinking about my failures, I am reminded of Robert Terry's (1993, pp. 61-63) "A Parable: The Ups and Downs":

[What makes an up an up and a down a down is that an up can do more to a down than a down can do to an up. That's what keeps an up, up and a down, down. The ups tend to talk to each other and study the downs, asking the downs about what's up, or what's coming down for that matter. The downs spend a lot of time taking the ups out to lunch or dinner, to explain their downness. The ups listen attentively, often in amazement about the experiences of being a down. They contrast one down's experience with another down's experience and at times don't worry too much about what the downs are up to because the downs never get together. If they did, the ups would have to shape up.

After a while, the downs grow weary of talking to the ups. They tire of explaining and justifying their downness. They think, "If I have to explain my downness one more time, I'll throw up." And so they form a process which they call "networking and support groups." This act makes the ups nervous. Three ups together is a board meeting; three downs, prerevolutionary activity. Some ups hire downs, dress them up, and send them

down to see what the downs are up to. We sometimes call this "personnel and affirmative action." This creates a serious problem for the down who is dressed up with no sure place to go. That down doesn't know whether he or she is up or down. That's why downs in the middle often burn out.

Sometimes what the ups do to smarten up is to ask the downs to come into a program one at a time to explain their downness. The ups call this "human relations training." Of course, the ups never have to explain their upness, that's why they're ups rather than downs.

There's good news and bad news in this parable. The good news is, we're all both ups and downs. There's no such thing as a perfect up or a perfect down. The bad news is that when we're up it often makes up stupid. We call that "dumb-upness." It's not because ups are not smart. It's that ups don't have to pay attention to downs the way downs have to pay attention to ups. Downs always have to figure out what ups are up to. The only time ups worry about downs is when downs get uppity, at which time they're put down by the ups. The up's perception is that downs are overly sensitive; they have an attitude problem. It is never understood that ups are underly sensitive and have an attitude problem.

I used to think that when downs became ups they would carry over their insight from their downness to their upness. Not so. Smart down--dumb up.]

In this chapter, I am diving head first to portray my 'dumb-upness'. Using the social network language, my cognitive social structures were changed. The aspects of the "dumb-upness" are those things I overlooked such as various systemic factors that impact others or the way I used language without considering others. My initial failure started by assuming the interns could be put in a novel environment and immediately get something out of it. Before and during the internship, I felt as though any issues that would be challenging would quickly get

resolved because of how I believed the group would function as a cohesive unit. After all, I was always able to navigate my environment but I recognize that I “fit” with the cultures I was working with. This misguided optimism did not allow me to value the interns’ life experiences as well as I could have.

Something that was often overlooked during my time with the interns was my ability to get to work each day. The interns did not have a ready means of transportation, so I had to pick them up most days. I often saw this as annoying because it took a lot of time and cost a lot of money in gas. However, what I saw as annoying and a money drain was a necessity for the interns to make money. When we worked at the farm, it was a thirty-minute drive, so walking and biking were not possible. While working with the interns, I did not see having a car as a privilege. It was only after reflecting that I began to see this as such. There was a disparity in what I had versus what the interns had and that influenced the access to employment resources.

Another thing that cannot be ignored was how I associated feeling sorry for the interns because of their living conditions. I learned through the program the danger of calling someone “at-risk”, “marginalized”, etc. because of financial issues. When I first started working with the interns, I would tell my friends I was working with “at-risk” youths in need of support. I was humbled when observing and interacting with the interns. They never thought of themselves as “at-risk” despite coming from a lower socioeconomic household. By referring to them as such, I was not seeing the interns’ potential; only their limitations. The interns just wanted to work and not be disrespected. Even further, I realized that I was projecting what I thought the interns needed from an “I know best mentality”. This created navigational challenges when working with the interns because I was not listening to what each was saying about his needs. Again, a major portion of a pragmatic social justice mindset is listening to others.

My notion of the interns was further challenged when I was asked why the interns were at the Carson Learning Center. With confidence, I said each had done something stupid. Though, by suggesting it was the fault of the interns, I dismissed many of the societal challenges that may impede success for the interns. Above, I mentioned public education was by-and-large a pleasant experience for me. However, the interns indicated on multiple occasions that they did not see the value of school and did not always have the best relationships with teachers and staff. An example of this is how most of the interns had expressed how they have dealt with some form of racial prejudice while in school. Stanton told me a story where he believed his former principal never thought he could perform well in school because of his skin color. Stanton also mentioned that after he previously got in trouble, he was pegged as a disruptive black student by teachers and administrators even when he had not done anything wrong. This carried over to the Carson Learning Center. For example, a staff member at the Carson Learning Center called Stanton “sneaky” because he thought Stanton would be one to cause trouble but had a difficult time catching him in the act.

I am not fighting racism daily, especially while in school. I also do not have to speak for every person who has a similar skin color. That said, I cannot turn a blind eye to race/ethnicity and I must acknowledge its very existence. When working with the interns, I did not live up to a pragmatic social justice mindset because I did not realize there were more issues working against the interns in education than I was aware of. Upon hearing how the interns experienced racism, I started realizing that schools might not be enjoyable because of some people involved and the challenges the students faced.

A further realization was associated with how the students at the alternative school were treated. I often examined how the interns and the rest of the students were treated as criminals. I

cannot recall a time where a teacher or administrator treated me with blatant disrespect. This is what I feel often happens in school for these individuals. At the Carson Learning Center, the students are not allowed to talk in the lunchroom, nor in the hallway when changing classes. The students get awarded a degree from the high school if they graduate, but are still not allowed do things such as attend prom if they were at the alternative school for disciplinary reasons. There is a camera in each classroom where the students are constantly being watched for misbehavior. Each of the interns expressed how school felt like a prison.

Admittedly, there were times I also saw the interns' in a negative light. A major example of this is when the interns were telling me about how they all had been in a fight. My first reaction was silent judgment. Then, I attempted to tell them they should not start fights. What I failed to realize was fighting was a way to survive at the alternative school. On multiple occasions, the interns suggested that fighting gave a sense of belonging at the Carson Learning Center because of how many students there had been in one or more fights. Admittedly, I struggled grasping how fighting could give a sense of belonging. It presented the tension between acknowledging the interns' reality and not wanting them to get in trouble in school or with law enforcement. By not attempting to understand why the interns fought, I further established a disconnect between the interns and myself. I was putting myself on a moral high ground just because of what I deemed as "correct behavior".

Through that, I often associated delinquency behavior as a character flaw. I have never been in trouble with the law so it was easy for me to have this rationalization. This belief stemmed from a story when I was younger. My mom was stressed from running her three children to various sports practices. She worked at the courthouse at the time and a judge approached her upon seeing her stressed. He mentioned, "At least your children are not having

to come in front of me.” Though there are aspects of that statement I very much appreciate, I am beginning to see the how I rarely had to acknowledge consequences for my actions. My misdeeds were seldom observed and never highlighted as part of my character. For instance, I rarely got a detention or a referral in school so I did not think of myself as the “bad” student, even though there were times I deserved both, especially given the number of times I showed up late to my first block classes. Thus, I associated me not getting in trouble with having higher character. Unfortunately, that blindness undermines those who have less access to social resources and limits my contextual understanding of others.

My background with community engagement created a skewed version of what it means to be an active citizen. I interpreted being an active citizen as simply trying to “do good” and “be good”; making citizenship and civic mindedness the same thing. Now, I recognize a key difference between the two concepts. Having citizenship includes aspects of being an active member within a community, especially one that a person is living in. Here in lies the importance of localism. My position in society as a privileged individual allowed me to assume that if the interns did not engage with community the way I did, somehow, they did not care about the area in which they spent most of their lives. However, I was the outsider to this community. After I finish school, this community will have taught me much about connectedness and gaining access to different entities, but it will no longer be my community. With the interns growing up here, it would still be very much part of their lives. I missed an opportunity to ask the interns about their interpretation of citizenship. In thinking how citizenship might relate to the interns, I think it would involve fighting against oppressive constraints. Thus, sticking to the status quo, or “being good” is not always in line with being an

active citizen. From an insider's perspective, the interns have the potential to challenge the status quo to better their community.

My language was also something that limited the way in which I lived up to a pragmatic social justice framework. I was confronted with my understanding of the interns by how I talked about them. A story from October stands out. When talking to a family in the community garden, I mentioned Op Grows had hired interns from the alternative school because they had gotten in trouble at the high school and needed help with work-related skills. Without realizing it, I immediately portrayed the interns as delinquents. To make matters worse, I said this in front of Danny; further demonstrating my poor judgment about the relationship between misbehavior and character. Danny tried laughing this off. Though, I knew he did not like the comment. To try and right my wrong, I apologized and told him it would not happen again. Through this short interaction, I learned that it was still very possible to insult even if unintentional. I needed to better understand how respect should be reciprocated, not hierarchical.

Another example of my thoughtless language was how I previously referred to Malik as toxic to the program after he left. Fortunately, I have a dissertation committee committed to making me a better practitioner. I was asked about Malik's perception of this comment, specifically if I thought he would like to be called toxic. I do not believe anyone would think about his or her self this way. If I were to see Malik again, I would own up to this and apologize for my carelessness. I have made claims that I cared about the relationship with the interns, but that language showed how much I still needed to improve. How I talk about the interns and the program matter. I must be mindful of the story I want to tell and how it may be portrayed to any audience.

A final societal challenge faced by the interns was being forgotten by a school system. The Carson Learning Center is not listed on the school district website. I think about the message it sends to the students attending the Carson Learning Center. This is especially relevant when the school district approved a new scoreboard for the football team at the high school but did not maintain upkeep at the alternative school. Even further, this is worthwhile to mention given that the Carson Learning Center is the oldest school in the district. On separate occasions, the interns expressed how they never felt valued as individuals. I am reminded of something I overheard an administrator working for the school system say: “Those at the high school get the Cadillac version for their education while those at the alternative school get the Volkswagen version.” I used to think those associated with education always had every student’s best interest at heart. This experience made me realize how even school districts can actively choose to support some students’ learning and not others.

This chapter discussed times I was oblivious while working with the interns. It is rare that someone with privilege acknowledges its existence. If working with the interns taught me anything, it was that I must be reflective on the things that give me privilege. If I am going to do work with anybody that looks different or has different beliefs, I first must check my biases and beliefs, then attempt to understand different perspectives. This is the only way I can claim to live up to a pragmatic social justice mindset. The process of writing has given me a foundation on which to build that encourages me to consider how to engage with others.

Chapter 6: Interns' Social Capital

The purpose of the study, again, was to understand the social capital related to academics, employment, and citizenship for four paid interns. This study also looked to better understand how the interns' social capital in those three areas changed from the start to the conclusion of one year working in the internship. Gaining a better understanding of social capital came from documenting the lived experiences of the interns as well as evaluating social networks and social resources. In the previous chapter, I provided a detailed explanation of my methods outlining how I collected and analyzed my data.

In this chapter, I use the Van Maanen's (2011) notion of a realist tale to tell the story of my experience working with the interns. The realist tale provides a more objective, third-person understanding of a culture. Using the third person allows the researcher to present data from others (Anderson, 2006). The realist ethnography shows the native's point of view (Van Maanen, 2011). Major events from the internship are included to tell the story. I tell the story in a sequential, month-by-month order. For each month, I organize the story using four of the five major themes found from the analysis. These themes included "Op Grows Programming", "Academics", "Employment", and "Citizenship/Delinquency". There needs to be an understanding that these themes often overlapped, but I placed parts of the story under one theme or another by the number of codes found in each section. Overall, telling the story with much depth was my attempt to provide similarities and dissimilarities of the interns' social network and social resources.

To provide support to the interns' network and research data, each month is in one of four sections. The sections include Preface/May – Checkpoint 1; August to Checkpoint 2; January to Checkpoint 3; and Summer 2016. At the beginning of each major section, I include a metaphor

related to gardening to echo the events in the months included in that section. The checkpoints were used to assess the interns' network and resource data in the areas of academics, employment, and citizenship/delinquency. Immediately after each intern's networks, I discuss the available resources for each intern given the network data and resource generator.

Writing should balance art and science (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). I use a gardening metaphor at the beginning of every section to help situate major events. The preface highlights the willingness to start the internship. At the checkpoints, I outline each intern's network and resource data. A summary of each interns' networks and resources are provided. As I move through the story, I compare the intern's social capital at each of the three checkpoints as well as offer a comparison to the other interns. After I conclude the story, I provide a general summary of findings related to each intern and Op Grows' goals with the internship.

The Desire to Grow Plants (Preface)

Cucumbers grow well in the red clay of Alabama, but carrots do not. Certain plants thrive in different climates, soils, etc. In this vein, different conditions are necessary if you want a variety of crops to grow. The story of the internship begins at the point Op Grows started to conduct lessons related to agriculture at the Carson Learning Center. At the time, the only staff members were Dr. Fox, Joe, Samuel, and myself. Each of us would spend time out in the Carson Learning Center constructing the garden and preparing to plant. All the while the students from Gwen's first class explored basic tenets of agriculture. This school garden was a way to engage in a content often novel to most people but needed for everyone. In spring 2015, prior to the start of the internship, the class included ten students.

Most of the staff did not have previous experience working with students who had been in trouble or had fallen behind academically. There was a level of hesitation. Dr. Fox told us all that we must always mind our surroundings and never leave a student unattended. Truthfully this was to protect ourselves. It was the hope though to bring a program to a school that consists of many students forgotten by the system. Appreciating the systematic disadvantage many of these students faced, the Op Grows staff set out to establish relationships and try to present something in an engaging manner with an understanding that all adolescents can achieve success.

The class acted as an informal interview for those that would eventually be hired for the internship. These students had to match Op Grows notion of work and be seen to benefit from the program. This was further matched with the principal's recommendations to hire. The principal spent a great deal of time interacting with the four interns while at school and knew these students and the students' families and situations at home. The Op Grows staff trusted the principal's recommendations for whom Op Grows would hire for the internship. Op Grows eventually narrowed the choice down to four individuals. These individuals will be identified as

Danny, Malik, Rodney, and Stanton within the story. Prior to the start of the internship, the principal of the school gave a brief synopsis of the individuals Op Grows planned on hiring.

For Danny: “He is from a single-family background and is mischievous. Danny does not do anything too bad in the community but has had police contact. Danny is academically sound and does things if he wants to. Danny is also a leader that can get folks to do what he basically wants them to do.”

For Malik: “Malik transferred here. He has some behavioral problems in school that can be classified as being severe. Very argumentative, but you would not know it by his nature because he has learned how to say what he needs to say. Respectful, but if pushed, gets angry. There is no backing down. He takes a position and is solid on that position. If he gets mad, he gets mad and it’s hard to get him to calm back down. You have to talk him down and wait for him to come down. If he gets in trouble in class and actually got mad with the teacher, you could not send him right back because it would not work. Um...he is a leader. He has spent some time away from school playing hooky. But when he comes to school; academically he can do the work. I mean it’s no problem. He just needs that motivation. Why should I be doing it, etc.? He is not always pleased with his home life and the situation he is in. Sometimes that causes him not to function in school.”

For Rodney: “Related to academics, he is low functioning. Hard to get him to understand why he has to obey people and listen to adults and do what they say do. Um, good kid. Will do what

you ask. Quick tempered. He does try every day; comes to school every day. A bit of a wiener...likes to complain. He does certain things to get attention from other students.”

For Stanton: “He has had some dealings with drugs; participates with drugs. Has to be watched now. Stanton stays quiet but is sneaky. He is dealing with a single parent mother. Um...came from a good house and background. But has to be motivated to do his work, but he can do work. Not academically strong, but with motivation, he can do the work. Um... real quiet type, but sneaky type. Stanton does things but you will have a hard time catching him doing it. And...when he is caught, he puts up a defense mechanism that’s out of this world ha, so he is not going to take laying down.”

Putting the Seeds in the Ground (May-July)

The first seeds were planted. The ground was tilled, the seeds were selected and it was time to place the seeds in the new soil. The germination process can take time. It is even longer before there is visible growth above the soil. Patience is obviously needed. The notion of gardening is unique because it offers the ability to succeed or fail. Anyone that plants obviously hope to gain a big haul when harvesting, but those who garden also should be mindful of the care needed for different plants. To get the seeds to sprout, strategies had to be in place to maintain the environment. Something that had to be considered was how easy it was for things such as weeds to take over a garden. Cultivation can be difficult when nutrients are sacrificed.

May

Op Grows Programming

In the summer of 2015, Op Grows took on the project of expansion. Despite working with Danny, Malik, Rodney, and Stanton in the class, May 2015 marked the start of the internship. These four adolescents were at work by eight in the morning during their summer. Much of this summer was spent at Dwight's farm. Work would still occur in the school and community gardens, but more production could occur at the farm. The farm was about 30 minutes away so getting there was the first obstacle. The Op Grows staff acknowledged how difficult it would have been for the interns to get to a location without ready means of transportation. Initially, the plan was to meet at a central location and take one truck to save on gas. This was balked though for two reasons. There was reluctance in having the interns know where Dr. Fox lived. The second was that there was an opportunity for me to collect more data. I was tasked most days picking up and dropping off the interns. This was an extra hour a day I would get to spend interacting.

Working on the farm was anxiety provoking, because the Op Grows staff was weary of tools getting stolen. We were working on Dwight's farm and anything that went missing or got damaged would directly impact his business. The Op Grows staff was now directly responsible for any problem behavior. The programming of Op Grows would either be benefited or hindered from hiring the interns. The staff at Op Grows held strong beliefs on academics, work, and community outreach and wanted the interns to value those notions as well. In conversations with the Op Grows staff, it was assumed with great certainty this project would give work-related skills and amplify academic success. The initial expectations were that the interns would work, be off their phone, and be willing to have a decent experience learning about agriculture. In part,

the Op Grows staff held idealist notions for this project at the start and blinded ourselves to the notion that this program had the potential for drawbacks.

It was also under the assumption that a group would form rather easily with the interns. Given that this internship would occur outside of school and there would be a prolonged engagement with the interns, relationships could be built over time. In school, the Op Grows staff members were afforded a fixed structure and fixed time; while being relatively school appropriate. During the internship, the conversations were much more casual. This was to acknowledge that a relaxed environment would occur in the gardens rather than the very structured one the interns were used to in school.

The internship was only two weeks old when this month ended. Admittedly, there were challenges when trying to collect the initial network data from the interns. I did not know how to empirically study network connections. That said, it was hard to judge what the interns got out of the project in the first month. It was not until I attended the workshop on social network analysis in June that introduced me to ways in which I could better gather personal network data. The first collection checkpoint would not occur until after I attended this seminar. Because of this, early engagement acted to get to know the interns and have the interns become familiar with the workings of Op Grows. It was a navigation of the relationship with each intern.

June

Op Grows Programming

In June, work began to pick up. Dr. Fox and I left for a week to attend a workshop to better understand how to study social capital from a network perspective. This introduced us to the formal study of networks. At this point, I was still navigating the relationship with the interns, but at least I would have a better understanding of how to assess social connections. I remember the Op Grows staff did not want work to be miserable, especially given that gardening can be difficult work during an Alabama summer. Most importantly, the staff wanted to form a functioning group. Everyone was always sweating; always wishing for more shade, but there were few complaints about working. Everyone embraced the heat to finish the task at hand.

On a very special day, we would get a nice reward for our efforts. Dwight promised us that we would get to swim in his pool after a good week of work. By letting us swim in his pool, he wanted to build a conducive work environment; ‘a family’ as he said. While swimming, it was the most talkative Stanton had been all summer. Stanton, Rodney, and Malik were all there with Dwight and me. Dr. Fox, Joe, and Samuel had to venture elsewhere. Unfortunately, Danny missed work and the pool party and the other interns let him know what he missed.

Employment

In May and into June, the first major task was to prep the ground at the farm so we could plant. In June though, I saw how the Op Grows staff begun recognizing challenges that would be faced throughout the internship. Some early experiences reflected a lack of awareness among the interns. When Danny first learned how to use the weed eater, he nearly broke a window at a nearby house. He also cut some plants in half at the community garden. On multiple occasions,

staff had to tell Malik to not spray near plants to avoid killing them. At one point on June 9th, Malik and Rodney were playing catch with green tomatoes that could have still been eaten. There was a lack of awareness that they were damaging food. Despite being in the agriculture class, all four interns had limited knowledge on the care needed for plants. They would carelessly drop plants rather than gently placing them in holes.

A few days after the pool, Danny did not show up to work again. He even texted Dr. Fox saying it was not a big deal that he had done this. This was the third workday he missed without any indication beforehand. On that day, I asked the other interns what it was like from the staff's perspective to miss a day. I even asked them how many strikes Danny should get. This prompted the question of how to get the interns to not only come to work but also work effectively. Working effectively was a challenge early on. For instance, nearly every day, Rodney was on his phone.

In June, there were glimmers of hope where the interns would work all day without mishaps. For instance, on June 19th, Danny and Rodney ran behind a tractor for twenty minutes helping spread seeds. This was extremely labor intensive. I remember thinking that these moments show the worthwhile investment in the interns, though just needed better structure and guidelines to have the most effective work environment. Additionally, there still needed to be an investment in building relationships with the interns, with special appreciation that these were individuals who had been sent to an alternative school in part because of their behavior. With such a new project, there were growing pains balancing the interns' lives and lack of knowledge about agriculture with the Op Grows staff's expectations of work. If the interns were going to gain anything from the internship, there needed to be patience.

Within the project, the Op Grows staff wanted the interns to gain tangible skills related to gardening. Each intern learned how to till, use the weed eater, post-hole digger, sledgehammer, and lawnmower by the end of June. Various trellis methods were experimented with and different planting methods were utilized. Over 500 tomato plants, including a variety of heirlooms, were put in the ground. The interns were also given the opportunity to plant different types of peppers, squash, bush beans, and pumpkins. The pumpkins were the first plants where we direct sowed. The others were transplants. There was a willingness to have the interns see how a variety of plants grow.

Some intangible skills gained were reflected by the interns on the last day in June. Malik and Rodney said because the farm was so massive, that working together was needed. The Op Grows staff worked alongside the interns in the heat as well. Danny suggested he built a stronger work ethic. Stanton suggested the value of organization when planting. Working for Op Grows had given the interns an opportunity to learn. Overall, however, the learning curve was steep. At first, digging the holes and setting the lines for the rows was not easy for the interns. On numerous occasions, the lines had to be corrected.

In talking with the other Op Grows staff, we all agreed that Malik was out working every other intern. There was even a conversation with Malik on how to get the others more engaged and to work more effectively. Danny and Rodney wanted to slack off most days. Stanton was not bad, but no one worked harder than Malik. Op Grows was seeing more return on investment with Malik and Stanton. Even further, Malik and Stanton indicated their desire to work for Dwight. Malik mentioned Op Grows was a good outlet that taught him things he wasn't learning in school. Malik even indicated working for Op Grows kept him out of trouble with law

enforcement when he had otherwise would have been doing nothing during the summer. This was one intention of the program. It was intended to be an outlet for growth.

To improve everyone's work habits, the Op Grows staff thought it would be a good idea to have a competition between the interns. A small bed was set up so the interns could grow their own crops. Each intern would select what crop to grow and sell what they grew to make some side cash. The competition consisted of who could grow and sell the most produce. On the days, when work was slow, the interns could tend to their own garden. The interns would be able to build their employment social capital by being able to learn marketing skills, not otherwise obtained.

Citizenship/Delinquency

One day in June, Rodney messaged Joe asking how to get 'noise'. 'Noise' is slang for drugs. Joe responded in a very professional tone making sure Rodney knew who he had accidentally texted. Rodney never realized who he was texting until the next workday. Dr. Fox and Joe had to sit him down for an hour on the next workday. His actions took away from three man-hours that could have been used elsewhere. For that, Dr. Fox made Rodney work off his naiveté, hoping he would learn a lesson.

Another instance made the Op Grows staff question the long-term investment, was when Danny showed up to work hungover. Malik later confirmed Danny was still drunk. Now giving the interns much more leeway might have given Danny the impression that this was going to be O.K. A lived experience of these interns that most of the Op Grows staff failed to appreciate was the fact that they enjoyed being under the influence. Now showing up drunk to any other job, would be grounds for dismissal. With Rodney, the Op Grows staff knew about his lack of

awareness ahead of time but wanted him to know explicitly why he got in trouble. With Danny, the Op Grows staff did not know until we were already on the farm, otherwise, he would not have been picked up. Staff members had talked to Danny already about not missing any more work. I suspect if there was not a talk about him potentially getting fired already, Danny would not have been present. Instead of firing him on the spot, Dr. Fox also made him work off his drunkenness. Danny suggested that he had learned a lesson to not drink the night before working.

The most unsettling thing happened on June 25th when Malik and Rodney threw tomatoes at the Op Grows trailer. First, the two forgot about the conversation on throwing food. Secondly, the interns were oblivious to the fact that they could damage something needed for the program. This was the first time where Dr. Fox yelled at the interns suggesting, “What dumbass hit the trailer?” With the interns still laughing, Dr. Fox asked more sternly, “Want to pay for the trailer because if you damage it, it will come out of your check?” I saw how the Op Grows staff had to question the role with the interns so the program could move in a positive direction.

To influence the interns’ citizenship social capital, the Op Grows staff had the interns interact with community members. By interacting, the Op Grows staff believed the interns could build their citizenship social capital and limit the negative perceptions of students with behavior issues. When working, there was an attempt to work with those community members that bought a plot at the community garden. The interns even got to meet a local family that had provided ample support to Op Grows since its inception. When the interns got to interact with the older gentleman, they were respectful. I saw how the interns are more than individuals wanting to get in trouble. By setting up the community garden, the interns were given access to more people that could care about their success.

As the internship progressed, the staff continued to learn more and more about how the interns. Working alongside the interns allowed us to have deeper conversations. One conversation shaped my understanding of how the interns were forced to survive in their daily lives. We began talking about fighting and soon realize at the Carson Learning Center, fighting and disrespect can give a person a sense of belonging. Each of the interns had suggested they had been in a fight. Danny mentioned he had been in multiple fights, where he has won some and lost some. It struck a chord because he challenged himself to be better for the next 'round' as he said. Rodney jokingly laughed about beating somebody up. It was later found out that Malik posted a video of him fighting on YouTube where he fought another student from the Carson Learning Center. Stanton suggested, "People do not want to fight him because they think he would be crazy in a fight". After the month we had worked together, he did not strike me as someone quick-tempered. That probably was related to the fact that he put his head down and worked.

As the month was closing, an event occurred that presented the interns relative to other students their age. Dr. Fox' stepdaughter stole the family car and ended up getting into a minor accident. To pay off the damages she had to work off the damage on the farm. As reflected in Danny's personal antidote, recall he also stole a vehicle. The stepdaughter suggested the interns are those that get into trouble, not seeing she had done the same thing. To Danny's credit, he corrected her immediately. This experience led Dr. Fox to describe the interns as 'adolescents without the privilege'. From what was learned, the interns did not like being considered troublemakers and wanted to be given respect.

June was a curious month. There were quite a few instances that would have gotten the interns fired elsewhere. Though, in talking, I knew the Op Grows staff did not want to give up on the interns. It was still early on and there was still much to learn from them. Now I remember conversations with other staff members in which we were hoping of not giving them more rope to hang themselves with later. Fortunately, we got to learn more about the interns' personal lives. This appreciation better helped show how the interns navigated their social sphere to obtain social capital.

July

Op Grows Programming

July marked the third month of the internship. Early in July, Malik suggested he was now closer with the other interns despite knowing them from the agriculture class. This was a sentiment shared by all the interns. Even further, it was seen that the interns were beginning to build trust with members of the Op Grows staff. Malik saw trust being built after Dr. Fox helped set up Malik's direct deposit account. Stanton continued to put his head down and work. It was fine for him to listen to music if he worked. I listened to music while working when I was in high school and it helped me focus. In July, Stanton believed everyone would benefit if we had a radio, so Op Grows now had a radio to play music. However, this did not take away from conversations.

All summer, it was a balance between Op Grows' expectations and the interns' work experiences. A story that stands out was an attempt to teach the interns a lesson. In agriculture and in life, there is always work that needs to be done. The story consisted of a bet made with the interns on their ability to weed around the tomatoes. If they pulled every weed the older staff would have to do push-ups. If the interns missed any weeds, the interns had to run two laps around the farm. Upon checking the space, the interns had to run. It was Joe's idea to make the bet. Joe could sense the interns wanting to only do fun activities, not the ones that involve the daily upkeep of a garden.

There was a bigger issue at hand. Like on July 14th, two months after the internship had started, the interns indicated that they were going to slack off because they had worked hard up to that point. To curb that, he made the interns redo lines for trellises that had been done incorrectly. Stanton scoffed at this fact. I could see the interns starting to turn on Joe because of

things like this. Even saying they did not like him at one point. But a guy like Joe was encouraging effective work strategies for now and in the future. However, the interns were not interpreting his end goal as positive.

In July, there was still the goal to form a cohesive group. There were days where the staff took a step back to build the relationship, hoping positive work habits would follow. There was a dance competition early in July all thanks to the radio. The interns showcased their best moves. Mid-July, all the interns, Dr. Fox, Joe, Dwight and his nephews, and I sat in a circle and shucked corn. We talked and joked around about the garden and other random aspects of their life. The most fun thing to build the group was watermelon homerun derby. A piece of bamboo on the ground and used for the bat. As if we were all kids playing stickball, we started taking swings at rotten watermelon. Malik went first. Then Danny, Rodney, and Stanton followed. Dr. Fox, Samuel, Joe, and I all finished hitting the bigger chunks. This was one of the last things we did before the interns went back to school.

Employment

After the interns could row plants, they impressed by building ten rows and dropping the necessary number of plants in each row. The fastest they did this was three hours. On these days, it really seemed like the interns enjoyed the work because they felt accomplished. While at the gardens, the interns walk through the fertilization processes. The Op Grows staff also wanted the interns to hypothesize on the effectiveness of the different trellis methods for the tomatoes. We were doing another section of tomatoes after losing an entire field. Unfortunately, we were out of tomato cages so we used string. Even further now, the interns were getting a better sense of how to harvest vegetables. If the interns could walk through the various

processes, it was believed they had learned something rather important while working for Op Grows.

Though July did not consist of all positives when discussing work. Malik had the biggest change regarding his work. July started out great for Malik. He continued to impress as he did in May and June. One instance stood out where he was at the hospital the night before a workday and only got an hour to sleep. Despite the lack of sleep, Malik still showed up the next day. Not only that, he worked hard. He got out of the car and immediately found something to do. However, this work mentality changed in middle of July. Malik stopped showing up to work and would not answer his phone. He was supposed to come speak to Dr. Fox's undergraduate class but never showed up. At first, we thought there was something wrong. After a while of staff reaching out, we started to see it as insulting. The staff would have been flexible if he at least contacted us. It was the beginning of a trend with Malik.

Members of the Op Grows staff took it personally that Malik did not come speak to the class. This marked the first time where Malik was almost fired. When Rodney and Danny came and spoke it showed some level of dedication. The talk consisted of academic and delinquent behavior. Dr. Fox and I wanted Malik to show up because he could have offered some realistic insights. Malik not showing up was not the big issue. Stanton did not either. It was the fact that Malik said he would then ignore phone calls. Dr. Fox and I knew Stanton could not attend. As this project moved forward, Op Grows needed dedicated individuals.

On July 24th, Malik answered his phone again and returned to work. He said he was dealing with family drama. When Malik returned, the other interns welcomed him back as if no time had passed. Following that, the Op Grows staff asked the interns if there was anything that

could be done to make the job more enjoyable. All the interns wanted more time to work so they could get more money.

By the end of July, Danny had started to trend upwards and was working better. One example of this was Danny's willingness to till an entire day at the farm. Tilling can be a tough job that makes every muscle in your body sore. Without complaining, he tilled almost the entire farm. He was earning better status with the staff. Danny even wanted to earn extra money and helped Jason with his service project. Danny wanted to impress and, more so, wanted to learn. While Danny trended upwards, not much had changed with Rodney. He was still the least productive intern. Rodney was still on his phone and had to be told constantly to work, even after promising more hours. Stanton had been the most consistent worker up to this point in the program because he always showed up and was ready to work. Some days were better than others, but often, Stanton did what was asked.

Citizenship/Delinquency

Another continual growing facet with was wanting to have the interns move away from the garden to experience other facets related to food insecurity. It was not just about growing things in this project. It was appreciating other issues related to food. In the month of July, it was the first time, the interns were taken to the Community Market and worked. It was also the first time the interns were taken to local restaurants to help sell produce. Joe took Malik to the food bank to donate produce and to meet the lady in charge so he could hear another side of the project.

Though Op Grows was not the only organization to send people to the community market. It was also used as a site for those that have gotten in trouble with the law to complete

community service hours. The difference being, when the interns would work at the community market, they were getting paid. However, this does take me to a point on delinquency behaviors. As we were driving back one day from the farm, Rodney gave the finger to police officers as we passed them. I asked him about it and he just said he did not like them. Rodney did not give a reason beyond that.

One thing the Op Grows staff learned about Danny up to this point was that he struggled with impulse control. This trait was apparent in two situations. While discussing the notions of delinquent behavior to Dr. Fox' undergraduate class, he told the story of how he picked a fight with a stranger. He said that after he left, he believed the guy had a gun and was on drugs. There was no regard for his safety and did not think of potential consequences. On another instance, he was discussing his sex life when we were all shucking corn. Again, Dwight's young nephews were there and Danny seemed oblivious to this fact. The Op Grows staff got to see a lot of adolescent behavior during the internship. Danny still had more to learn despite getting probation, a 9:00 curfew, mandatory drug and alcohol class, and having to pay \$600 for court fees for underage drinking prior to joining Op Grows. I saw that the Op Grows staff hoped to keep every intern out of trouble.

Academics

As summer was closing, the conversation was turned to school and I asked if the interns were ready to start back. Even before asking, I knew all the interns were not looking forward to going back. They did not enjoy school up to that point and truthfully, nothing Op Grows did this summer built a greater appreciation towards school. Each of the interns had suggested the Carson Learning Center was not a conducive learning environment. Danny said he was upset

when he was told he had to go back to the Carson Learning Center because it was rundown and old. Malik believed every time he would talk at the Carson Learning Center he would get a referral. Following a harvest of some watermelon, Danny said it would be a good idea to bring some to the administrators at the Carson Learning Center to make his last year more manageable. This was one of a few instances that reflected the interns trying to obtain academic social capital.

Stanton and Rodney were the only interns that went back to the high school. Stanton indicated he wanted to join the track team to keep himself occupied. I knew Dr. Fox was excited to see a substantial change in their work habits. Going back to school, the interns now would have the opportunity to tell their peers about what they did over summer. These conversations could be used as a form of bridging social capital to impact more individuals. July consisted of further group formation and relationship navigation.

May – July Summary

The internship had finally started. May through July focused on building the initial relationships with the interns to help build their social capital. In the first two months, it was a challenge to get Rodney and Danny to work consistently. Stanton was consistent, but the Op Grows staff agreed that Malik was the hardest working intern Op Grows had hired. Though in July, there was a slight drop-off with Malik. Regardless, I remember how the Op Grows staff felt like there was going to be a lot of promise with the internship. During the first few months, the interns had learned how to plant and cage tomatoes. The interns also learned how to plant a variety of other plants. Though it took time, the interns did get experience setting lines for the rows. They even got some idea on how to transport vegetables.

At times the summer was frustrating. At times, it was rewarding. Many instances reflect the notion that Op Grows hired adolescents, though it was seen how these individuals needed to be treated as young men first, before associating their delinquent behaviors. To form the group, the Op Grows staff worked with the interns on a much more personal level. This was quite different than when we worked with them in school. It was the foundation to form a cohesive group. A few things that helped this were watermelon homerun derby and swimming in Dwight's pool. There was still much work to be done. If we were to continue building a group, there had to be a balance between Op Grows' expectations and with the intern's lives. Towards the end of the summer, the interns wished they did not have to go back to school. It was assumed that it would be more challenging to get the interns the number of hours they were working during the summer.

Checkpoint 1

Danny

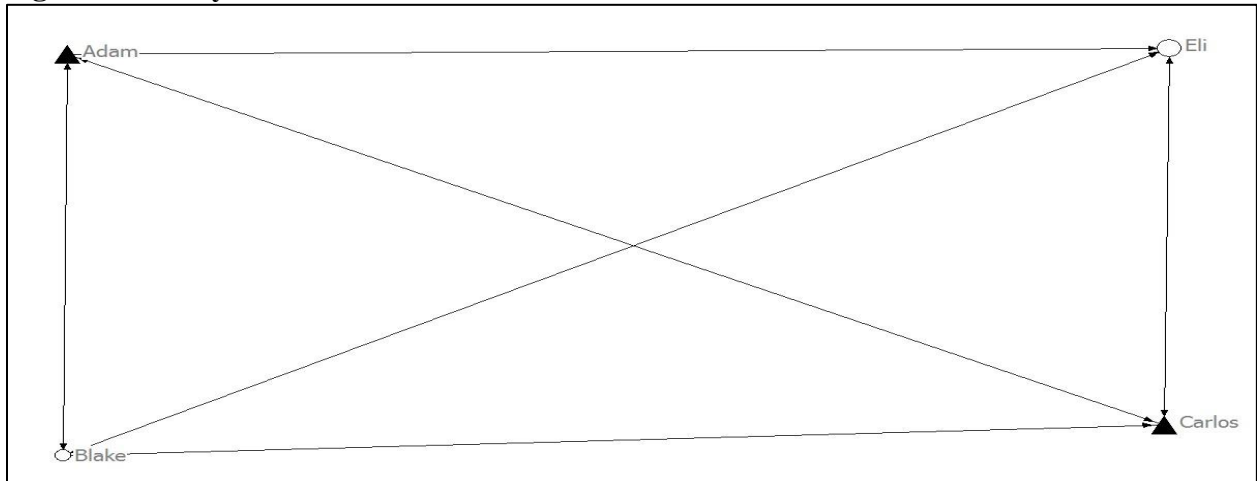
Table 3: Description of Danny’s Connections at Checkpoint 1

<i>Adam</i>	A friend of Danny, has known him for 4 years, skated with him, was in high school, had been in serious trouble, eventually secured a job at Op Grows later in the year because of Danny.
<i>Blake</i>	A friend of Danny, skated with him, had known him for a few years, dropped out of high school, did not have a job.
<i>Carlos</i>	A friend of Danny, lived in the same apartment complex previously, had known him for about 5 years, got him into skating, was in high school, too young to work, had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Eli</i>	A friend of Danny, skated with him, had known him for a little while, was in high school, too young to work, had been in serious trouble.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>

Figure 4: Danny's First Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Danny to stay in school:

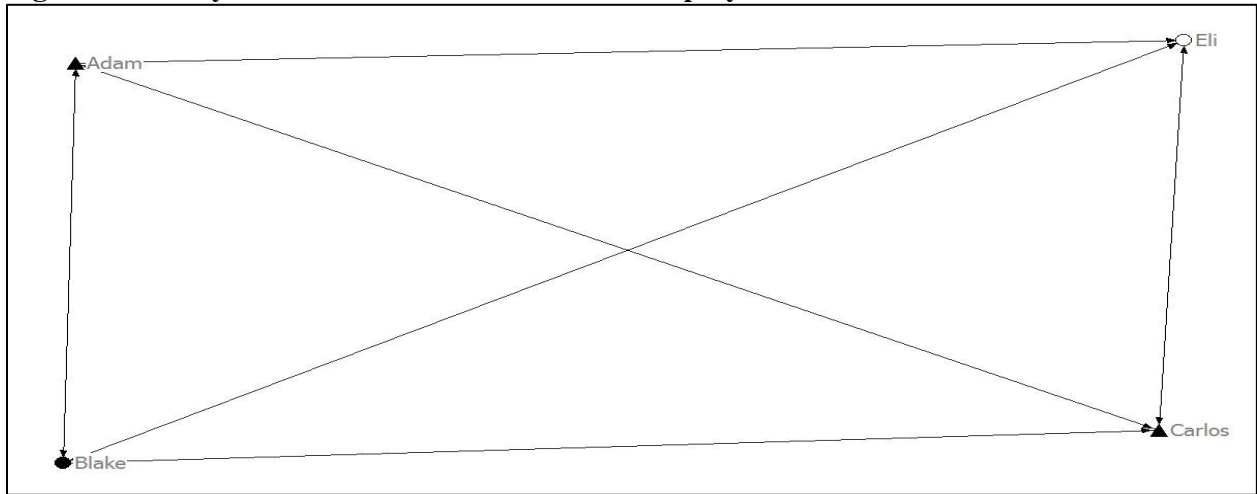
Adam: I have told (Adam) a couple of times that I wanted to drop out and he was like no.

Carlos: (Carlos) does not say anything, but I know he cares.

Figure 5: Danny's First Network for Academic Resource Availability



Figure 6: Danny's First Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Danny to stay employed:

Carlos: (Carlos) does encourage me because he keeps asking for stuff.

Figure 7: Danny's First Network for Employment Resource Availability

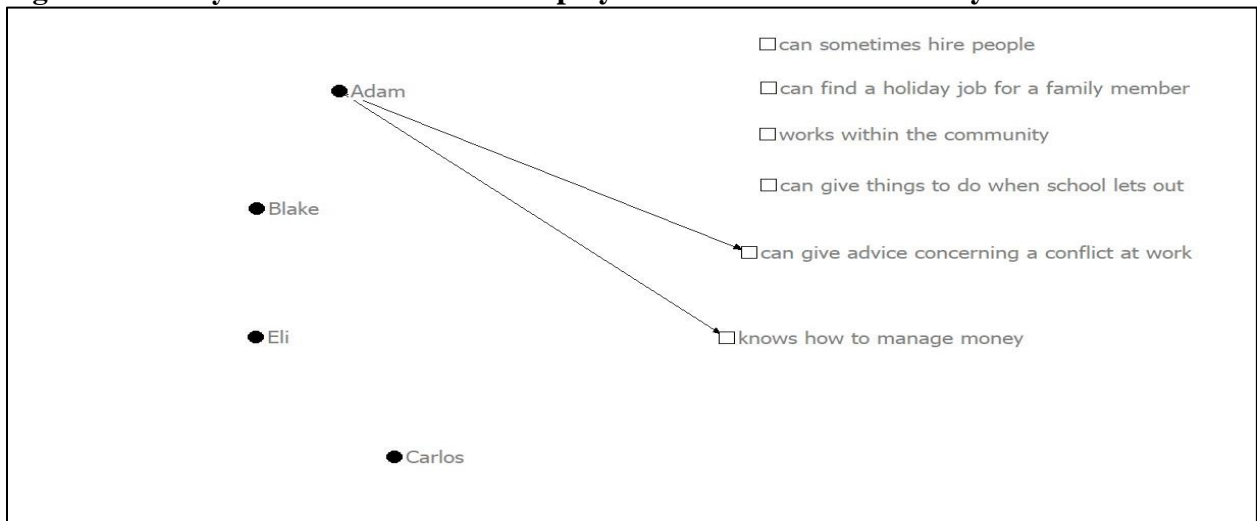
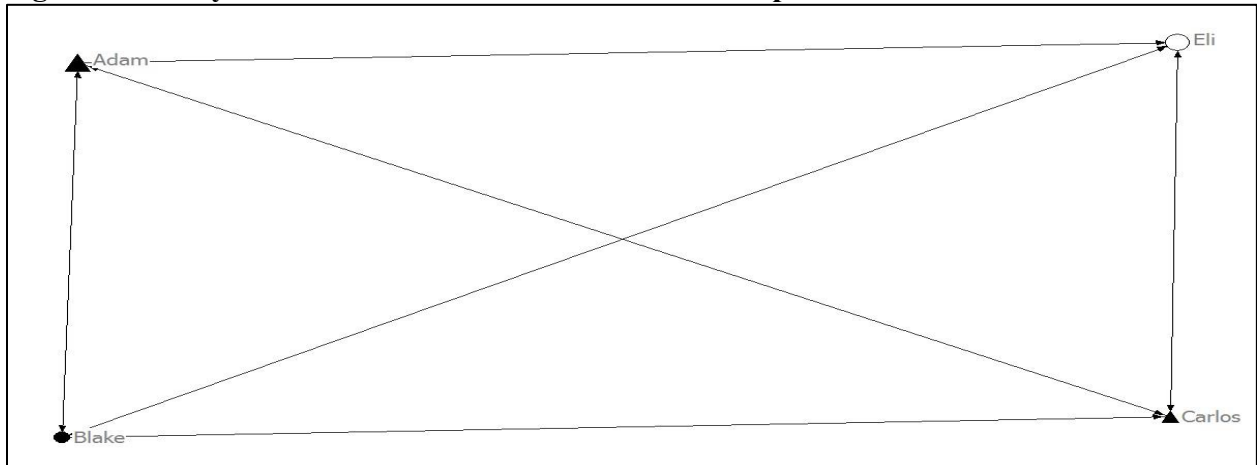


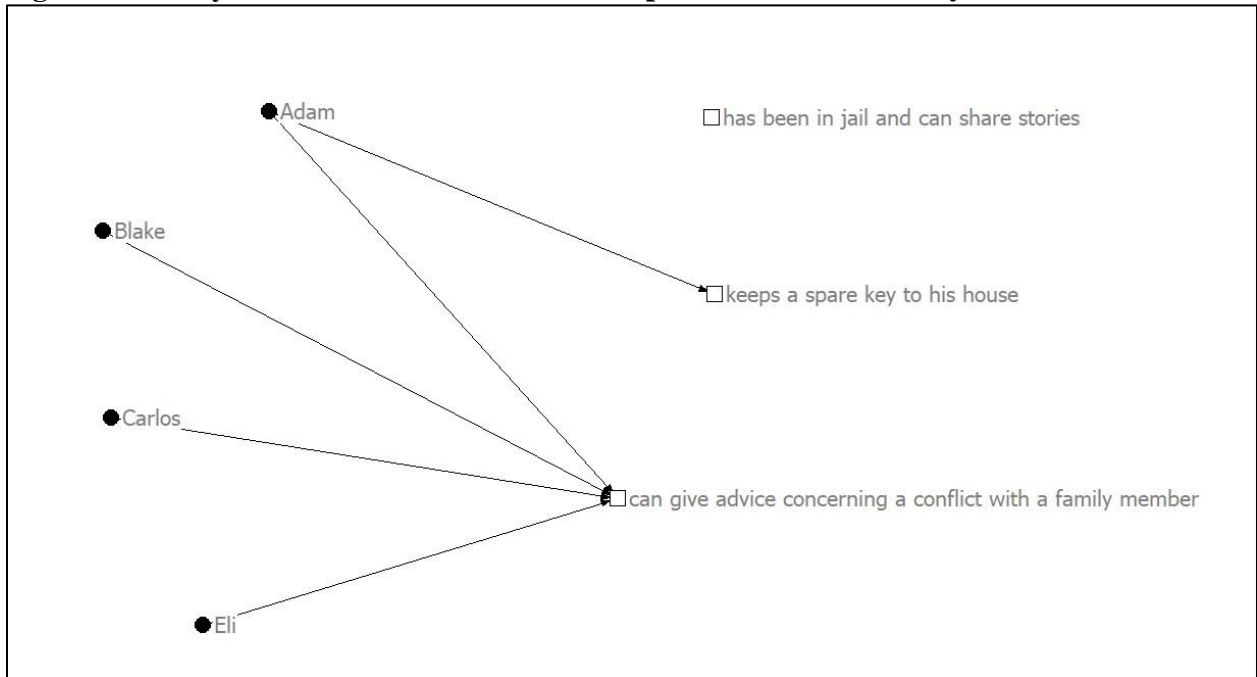
Figure 8: Danny's First Personal Network for Citizenship



Encouraging Danny to stay out of trouble:

Adam: Sometimes I want to do something stupid and (Adam) will set me straight.

Figure 9: Danny's First Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 6 / Potential Connections= 6 / Density= 1.0

This was a relatively small personal network but had the highest possible density. Related to structure, each person in the network was connected. Danny identified 4 people in his network, all of whom were his friends. Danny and his friends all skated together. Danny identified a network that had both homophily and heterophily aspects. Adam, Carlos, and Eli were still in high school like Danny. Dissimilar to Danny was Blake, who had dropped out of high school. Regarding employment, Danny did not identify anyone that had a job at the time. Adam later became an intern but did not have the position at checkpoint 1. Danny had people in his network that had also been in trouble with the law, most notably Adam and Eli. Danny's friends were also on the cusp of dropping out if they had not already.

Regarding his academic network, Adam and Carlos showed a positive impact on Danny because they valued their own education, encouraged him to stay in school and were both still in school. Adam and Carlos both encouraged Danny to continue working. Related to heterogeneity in the network, Eli did not value work nor staying out of trouble unlike the rest of the alters. Within the network, Eli was the only one that did not value these tasks. In Danny's citizenship/delinquency network, Adam provided another perspective on delinquency. Even though he had been in serious trouble, he encouraged Danny to stay out of trouble. It had been reflected that Adam did not want Danny to face similar situations. At least Danny had people who cared enough to say something. Danny did elaborate upon encouragement within his network. He mentioned those that were identified as not encouraging just did not tend to have those types of conversations with Danny.

In Danny's resource availability network for academics, there were no resources connected to people. This produced a disconnect between what resources he believed he had

access to and who was in his network. Many of the resources for employment were not utilized and Adam was the only person in the network that offered resources. Danny's resource availability network related to citizenship had the most connections, though there were only two resources that were attributed to someone from his network. Up to checkpoint 1, Danny had worked with Dr. Fox, Samuel, Jason, Joe, Dwight, and myself for a few months, yet no one from Op Grows was identified. A few notable resources that reflect this disconnect was [can sometimes hire people], [works within the community], and [has completed some level of college]. Each intern had been hired and was working within the community with members from Op Grows. Though, Danny did not identify anyone from Op Grows in his first network. As the program was still novel at this checkpoint, these relationships with the Op Grows staff had not had enough time to be built. Additionally, there were times where Danny did not attend work.

In thinking of what resources could have been identified by Danny, absent resources included: [has a ready means of transportation] and [has higher vocational education]. The interns were picked up and driven to work every day. Additionally, while working at the farm, the interns got to work in a setting that encouraged vocational training. Taking the personal networks and resource availability networks together, the alters are all connected but do not offer many resources to Danny.

Malik

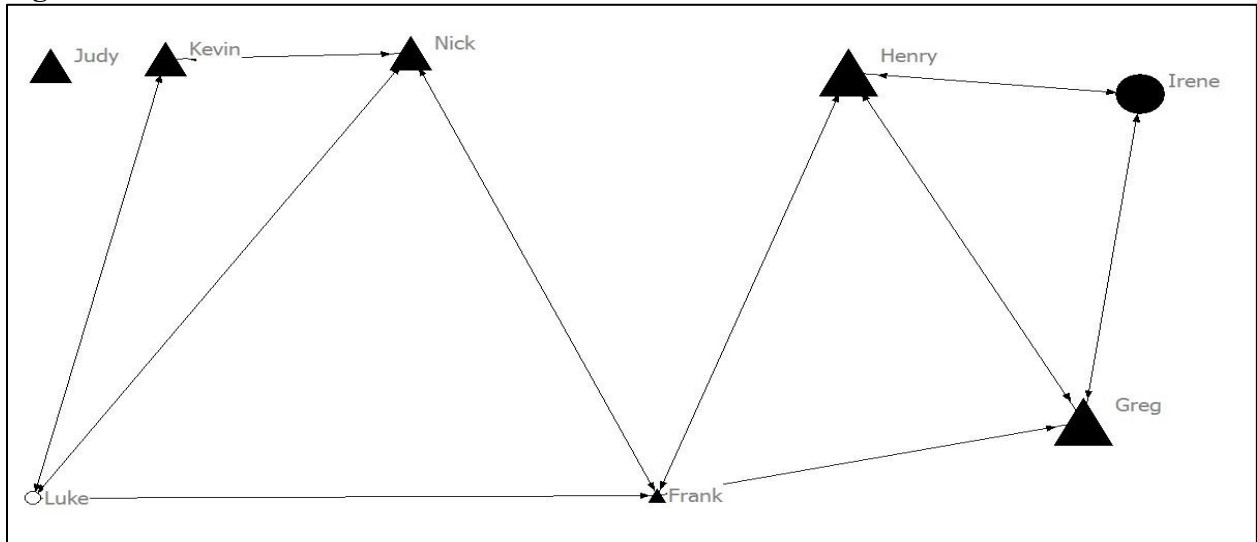
Table 4: Description of Malik’s Connections at Checkpoint 1

<i>Frank</i>	Cousin of Malik, lived with him, had known him since 2012, dropped out senior year, worked as a paper router at OA News, had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Greg</i>	The principal of Carson Learning Center, worked at a church, had known him since sophomore year, much education, and had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Henry</i>	Assistant Principal at Carson Learning Center, had known Malik since his sophomore year, Master’s degree, business license, believed he had been in serious trouble.
<i>Irene</i>	A teacher at Carson Learning Center, a lot of education, believed she had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Judy</i>	9 th -grade business teacher of Malik, Malik took three of her classes at the high school, had a lot of education, and believed she had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Kevin</i>	Cousin of Malik, had known him since 2010, high school graduate, worked as a paper router for OA News, believed he had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Luke</i>	Nephew of Malik, had known him since 2010, in first grade, too young to be employed, had been in serious trouble.
<i>Nick</i>	Father of Malik, 2 years of college, worked as a Marine, had never been in serious trouble.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 10: Malik's First Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Malik to stay in school:

Frank: (Frank) tells me to finish school because he wants me to be somebody. This is my last year so (Frank) really wants me to push harder than I ever had in school before to get out of there. So basically what (Frank) is telling me is push the hardest I have ever pushed myself and see the outcome in the end. Just drive myself harder than before cause it's my last year.

Greg: (Greg) sees me in school and he knows that I am in need of some type of advice. And (Greg) pulls me to the side and feels like something be bothering me and comes up with something that is uplifting and I will be fine.

Henry: (Henry) encourages me to finish school by doing the right things and telling me things that would get me trouble that I should not do and I should already know.

Kevin: (Kevin) encourages me to just focus on you know life. (Kevin) tells me do not focus on life threatening things, but to focus on positivity and help people that need help and just try to have a successful education in life.

Figure 11: Malik's First Network for Academic Resource Availability

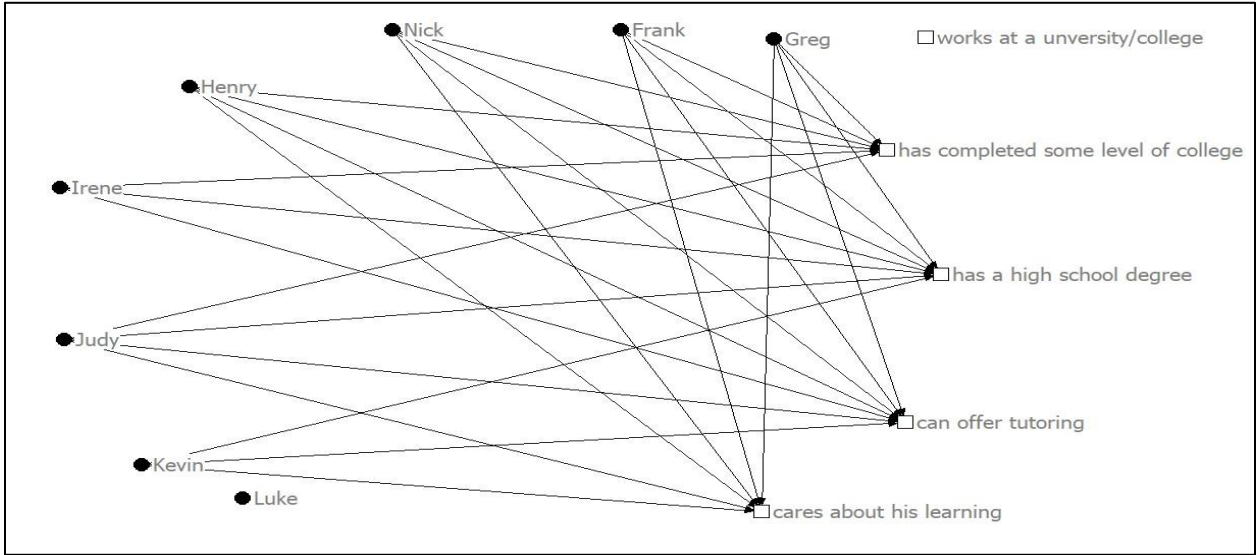
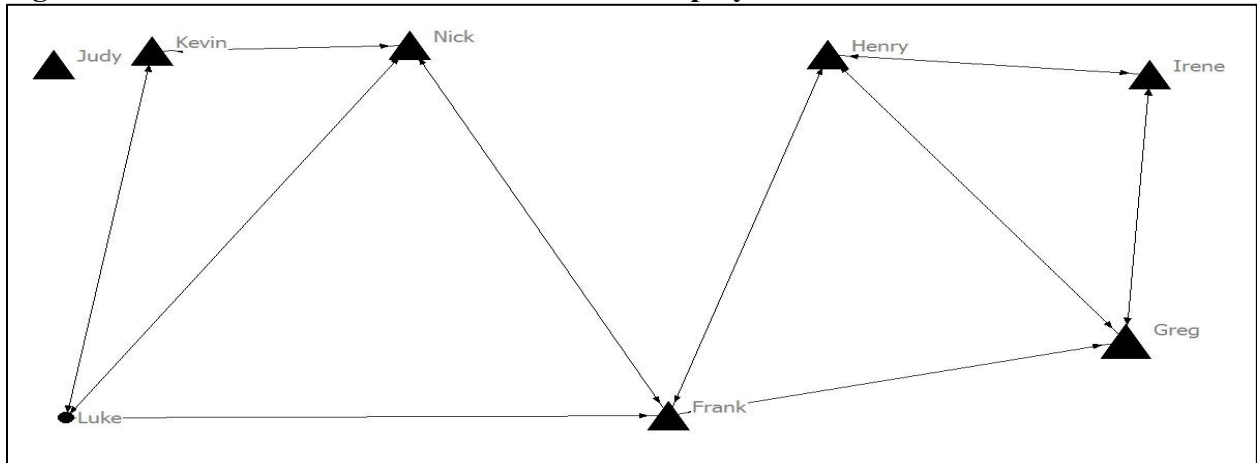


Figure 12: Malik’s First Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Malik to stay employed:

Irene: We did the gardening job every Tuesday right? They basically analyzed who to trust to get the job done against who would play in the job.

Judy: (Judy) would say “Malik” are you working? And I will say Op Grows with Dr. Fox. He is well known.

Figure 13: Malik’s First Network for Employment Resource Availability

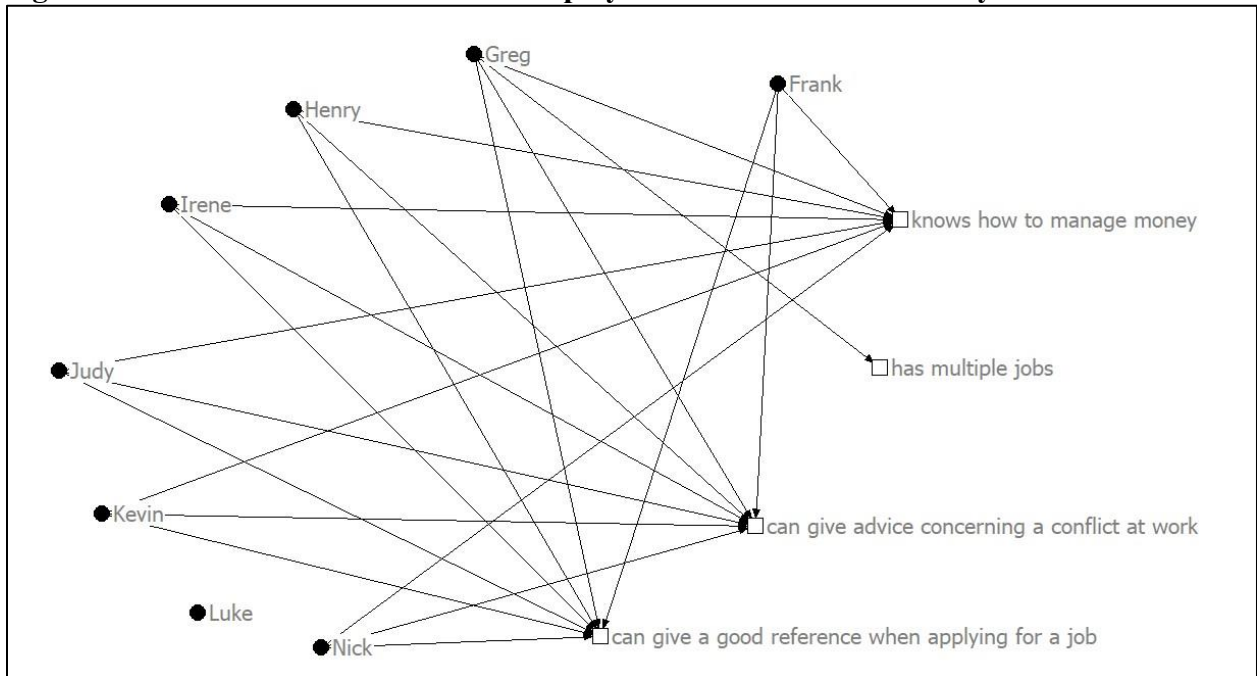
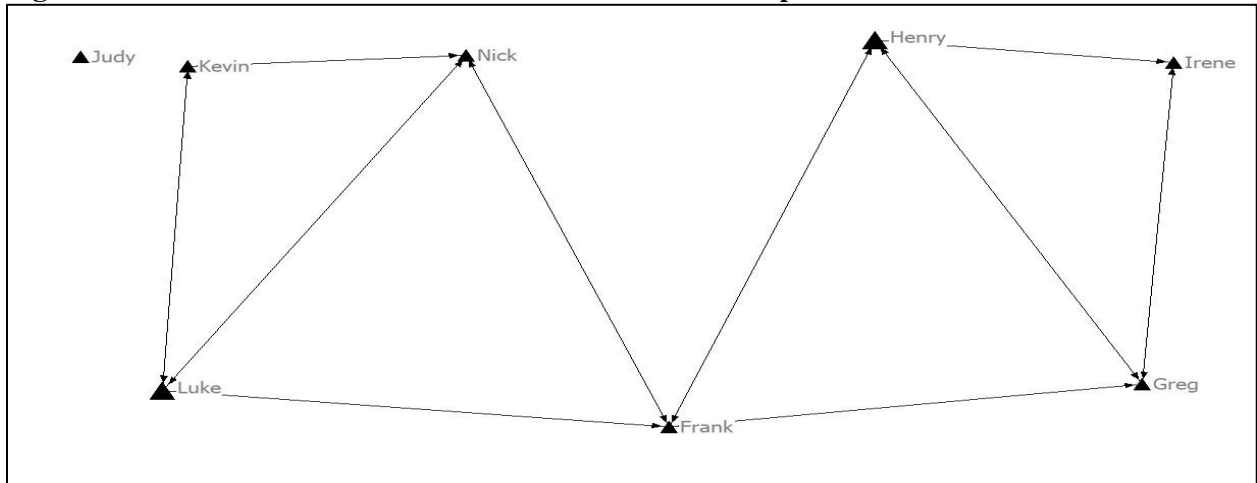


Figure 14: Malik's First Personal Network for Citizenship



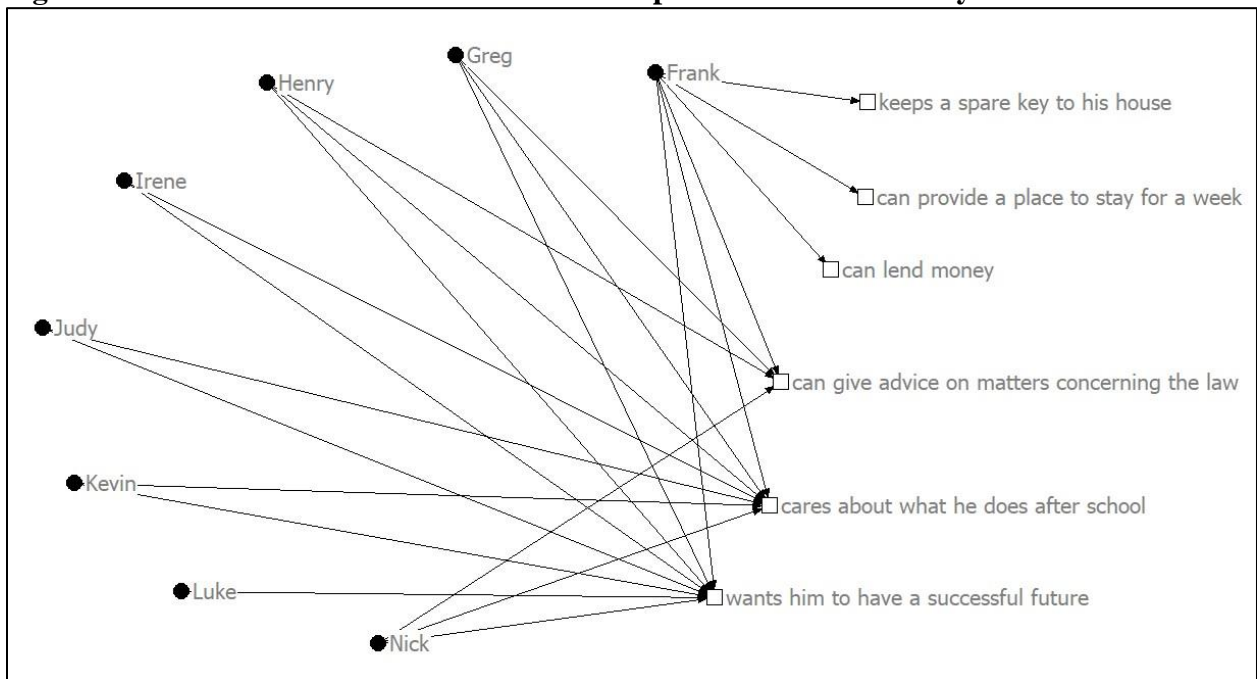
Encouraging Malik to stay out of trouble:

Frank: I was falling into the wrong life. Things I used to do like waking up every morning, I cannot do anymore so basically (Frank) did not upgrade my brain but basically made it clearer.

Greg: (Greg) tells me to keep a good head on my shoulder. Worry about the positivity. Do not worry about the knucklehead boys.

Kevin: (Kevin) encourages me by saying do not hang around fake people, always hang around people that I can feel myself around with.

Figure 15: Malik's First Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 10 / Potential Connections= 28 / Density= 0.35

Malik identified 8 people in his personal network, though there was a low overall density. Unlike Danny, the individuals identified were not all of Malik's friends. Four were family members and four worked at a school either as a teacher or administrator. Greg, Henry, and Irene all worked at the Carson Learning Center. With him having multiple people that worked in a school, it suggested Malik was navigating his social sphere with something that was in the immediate; graduating from high school. Most notably, not many people in Malik's network shared similar lifestyles to Malik, suggesting Malik had built a network using heterophily. Those in Malik's network had mostly finished school and had full-time jobs. Malik only worked for Op Grows at the time and was still in school. The only one that was not working was not of age. The most intriguing part of Malik's network is how he did not identify any friends.

Frank helped connect two parts of Malik's network; the school and family. Frank was his cousin who often came to the school to discuss issues Malik was having. By doing so, Frank engaged with others from Malik's network. Most of those identified by Malik had finished high school and obtained a college degree. All but one in his network encouraged him to finish school. The one that did not encourage Malik to finish school was his nephew. Malik mentioned that he and his nephew never had those types of conversations. His nephew was a good case for heterogeneity because of his youth and inexperience. Judy did not share a connection with anyone in Malik's network, though Malik still sought out advice from his former teacher. All individuals in Malik's network encouraged Malik to work. The ones that Malik elaborated upon with encouragement discussed how he should continue working for Op Grows. Those identified by Malik all valued staying out of trouble and encouraged Malik to stay out of trouble. When discussing the encouragement, some knew what it was like to be in

trouble and did not want Malik to follow suit. Others wanted Malik to succeed in life. Those Malik elaborated on when offering encouragement wanted Malik to focus and find positive things in life.

Each of the people in Malik's network offered the resource [wants him to have a successful future]. All but Luke offered the resources: [cares about what he does after school], [knows how to manage money], [can give a good reference when applying for a job], [can give advice concerning a conflict at work], and [can offer tutoring], [has a high school degree]. All but one resource had a clear connection to someone identified in Malik's network. That resource not connected was [works at a university/college]. Malik did not identify anyone from Op Grows in his network. Dr. Fox, Samuel, and I all work at a university or college. Again, this was due in part to the novelty of the internship. Other people that could be identified included Jason, Joe, and Dwight.

Resources that could have been identified by Malik included: [has higher vocational education], [works within the community], and [has ready means of transportation]. Each intern was picked up each day for work. Additionally, the interns got to work in a setting that encouraged vocational training that also worked in a community. There were some different resources offered by family members compared to teachers and administrators. For instance, Malik's cousin Frank was the only one that [can provide a place to stay for a week], [can lend money] and [keeps a spare key to his house]. Frank offered novel resources and connected those from the school with family members.

Rodney

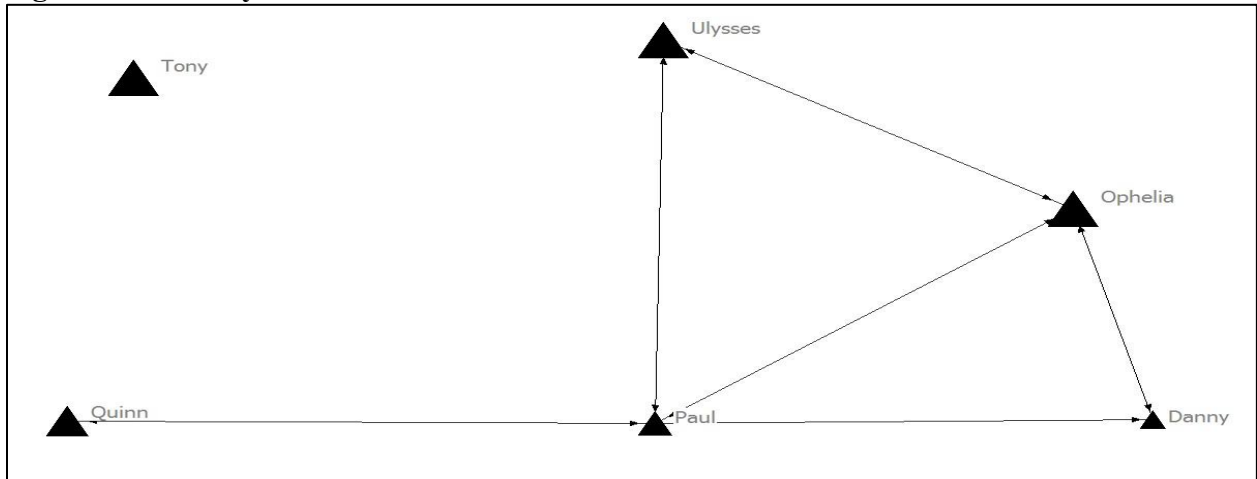
Table 5: Description of Rodney’s Connections at Checkpoint 1

<i>Danny</i>	Danny was one of the interns.
<i>Ophelia</i>	Grandmother of Rodney, adopted him, lived with her, had met her a few years ago, a lot of education, did not work anymore, used to work in medicine, and believed she had never been in serious trouble.
<i>Paul</i>	Older brother of Rodney, lived with him, finished high school, used to work for Dwight, was potentially going into the army, believed he had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Quinn</i>	Taught Rodney math at the middle school, met Rodney when he was in 6 th grade, had a college degree, believed she had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Tony</i>	Met Rodney at the mall, a recruiter for the army, met Rodney less than a year ago, a lot of education, and did not believe he had been in trouble.
<i>Ulysses</i>	The Pastor of church Rodney attended, a lot of education, did not believe he had been in serious trouble.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 16: Rodney's First Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Rodney to stay in school:

Danny: (Danny) told me to come to school. (Danny) said come to school because you will fail and the alternative school tries to get us in the right grade.

Paul: Well (Paul) told me the same thing my grandma does. To ask questions when I do not understand something.

Ulysses: (Ulysses) tells me to just keep going to school and not drop out.

Figure 17: Rodney's First Network for Academic Resource Availability

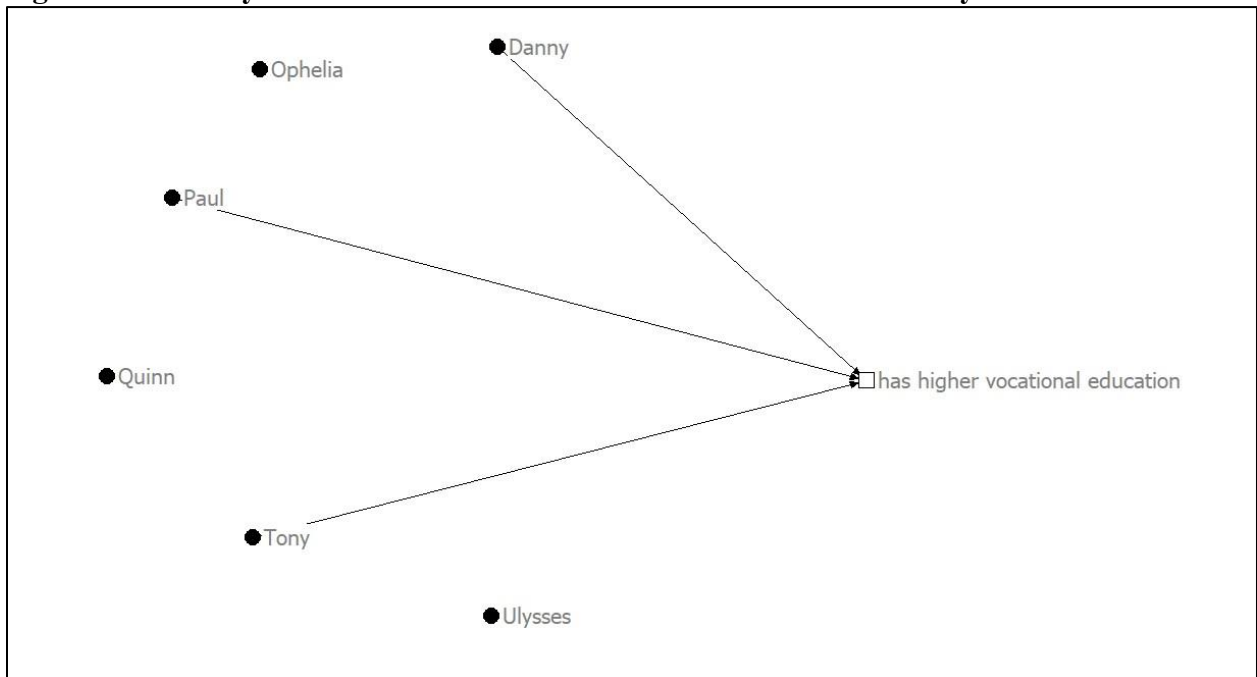
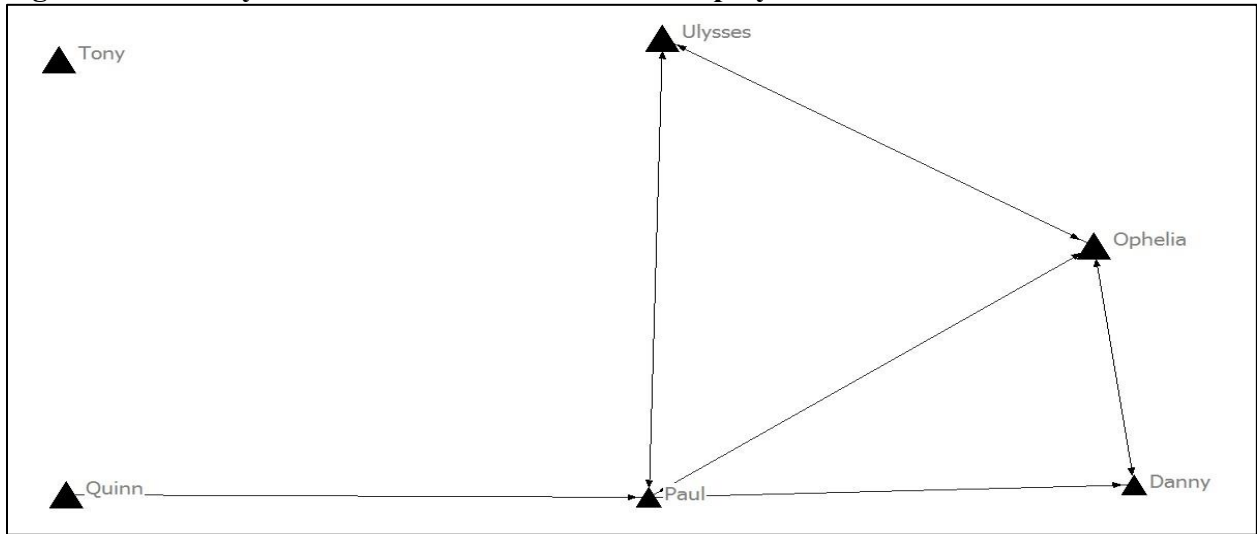


Figure 18: Rodney's First Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Rodney to stay employed:

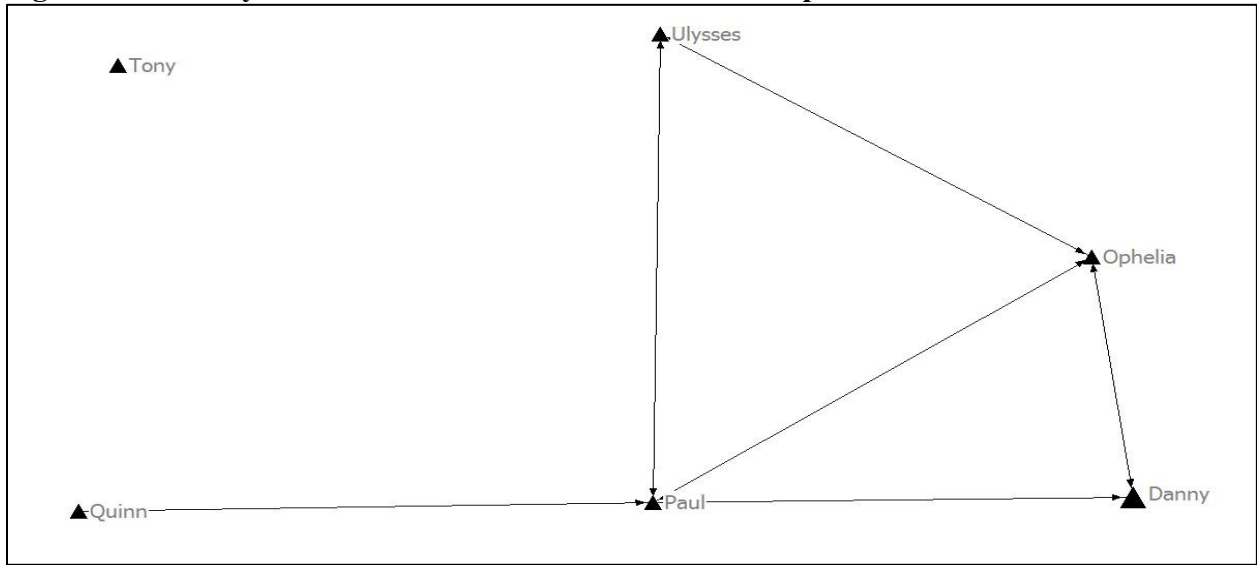
Danny: (Danny) tells me not to miss days of work. It's important because if you miss a day of work, you cut out money from your paycheck.

Tony: (Tony) encourages me because he wants me to join the army.

Figure 19: Rodney's First Network for Employment Resource Availability



Figure 20: Rodney's First Personal Network for Citizenship

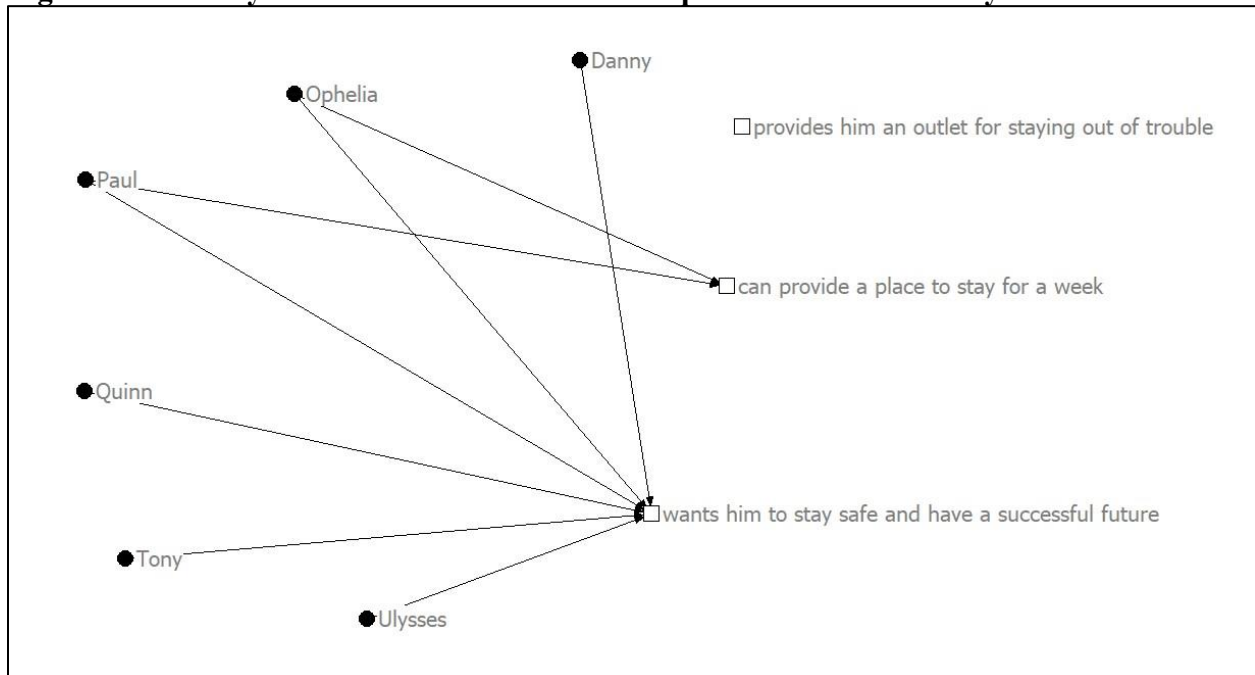


Encouraging Rodney to stay out of trouble:

Paul: (Paul) says to mind your own business and stay out of trouble.

Quinn: (Quinn) encouraged me to just focus on my work.

Figure 21: Rodney's First Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 6 / Potential Connections= 15 / Density= 0.40

Rodney identified six people in his personal network, yet had a low density. The structure of this network would be classified as a pendant with an isolate (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). The flow of resources is possible, but a bit difficult. Those identified by Rodney included two family members he lived with, a friend, a teacher, a pastor, and an army recruiter. Rodney interacted with people in his network quite different than himself, demonstrating heterophily. Danny was identified in the network, even though Danny did not identify Rodney in his network. This did not suggest Danny was not close to Rodney, but rather Danny did not think to identify Rodney. Rodney's brother Paul did share similar living situations with Rodney as both lived in the same house. Rodney's brother was also connected to the most number of people in Rodney's network.

Related to academics, most finished high school and had some level of college, despite having different jobs. Regarding Ulysses, Rodney was receiving knowledge outside of school in the form of religion. Danny understood the value of money and used that as an encourager for Rodney to not miss work. The individual in Rodney's network not sharing any connections with the rest of the alters was the army recruiter, Tony. This individual did offer Rodney a path for the future, however. Others in Rodney's network wanted him to succeed but did not necessarily offer opportunities. Tony demonstrated heterogeneity in this respect. By identifying a recruiter and pastor, this suggested Rodney was building his social capital by including non-family/friends in his network. Each alter identified by Rodney valued their own education, work, and staying out of trouble. Additionally, all encouraged Rodney to stay in school, continue working, and stay out of trouble. Regarding delinquency, Danny was the only one who had been in serious trouble.

Rodney identified the least amount of resources at checkpoint one. Ophelia and Quinn did not offer any resource for academics. Danny, Ophelia, Paul, Tony, and Ulysses did not offer any resources for employment. Though everyone identified by Rodney offered the resource [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future]. The resources [can find a holiday job for a family member] and [provided him an outlet for staying out of trouble] were not connected to anyone. Like Danny and Malik, Rodney did not identify anyone from Op Grows in his first network. The program was still new, but there were connections established with Ophelia and Paul. With that, Rodney identified Danny as [having high vocational education], but not anyone else he had worked with in Op Grows. Even further, Dwight owned his own business and hired Rodney's brother part time, but was not identified as someone that could hire a family member.

Resources that were notably absent that could have been included were: [has a ready means of transportation], [can sometimes hire people], and [works within the community]. As previously mentioned, the interns were picked up for work by someone from Op Grows. Additionally, Op Grows took place within the community. Dwight had the ability to hire people and Rodney could have seen that when Paul was hired. Rodney could have also seen that by working for Op Grows. The alters that offered the most resources were those that were also connected to one another. Tony was not connected to anyone. Quinn was only connected to Paul. Between them, Tony and Quinn only offered two resources. The remaining four alters offered three resources between them.

Stanton

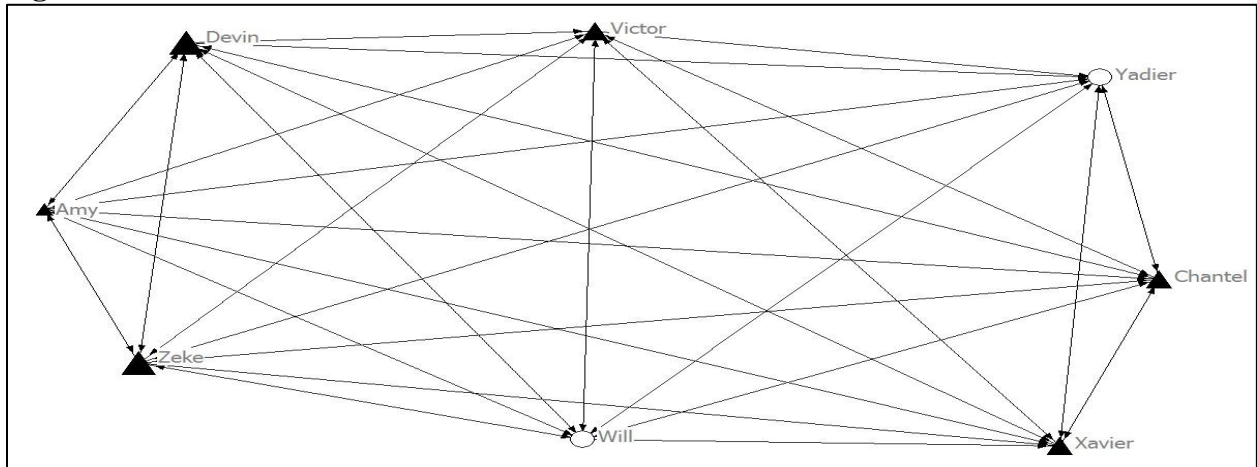
Table 6: Description of Stanton’s Connections at Checkpoint 1

<i>Victor</i>	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, was in the same grade, did not work, and believed he had been in serious trouble.
<i>Will</i>	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, should be in the same grade but fell behind, did not work, and believed he had been in serious trouble.
<i>Xavier</i>	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, was in the same grade, did not work, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Yadier</i>	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, should be in the same grade but fell behind, did not work, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Zeke</i>	Older brother of Stanton, graduated from high school, attended CSU, worked at Publix, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Amy</i>	Older sister of Stanton, expelled from high school, she worked with Stanton’s mom at Afni, and believed she had been in serious trouble.
<i>Chantel</i>	In a relationship at the time of the first collection with Stanton, was about to go into 9 th grade, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble.
<i>Devin</i>	A friend of Stanton, knew him through Zeke, had known him a few years, graduated from high school, might have been in college, worked at Publix, believed he had not been in serious trouble.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 22: Stanton's First Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Stanton to stay in school:
 Victor: (Victor) just says we gonna make it.

Figure 23: Stanton's First Network for Academic Resource Availability

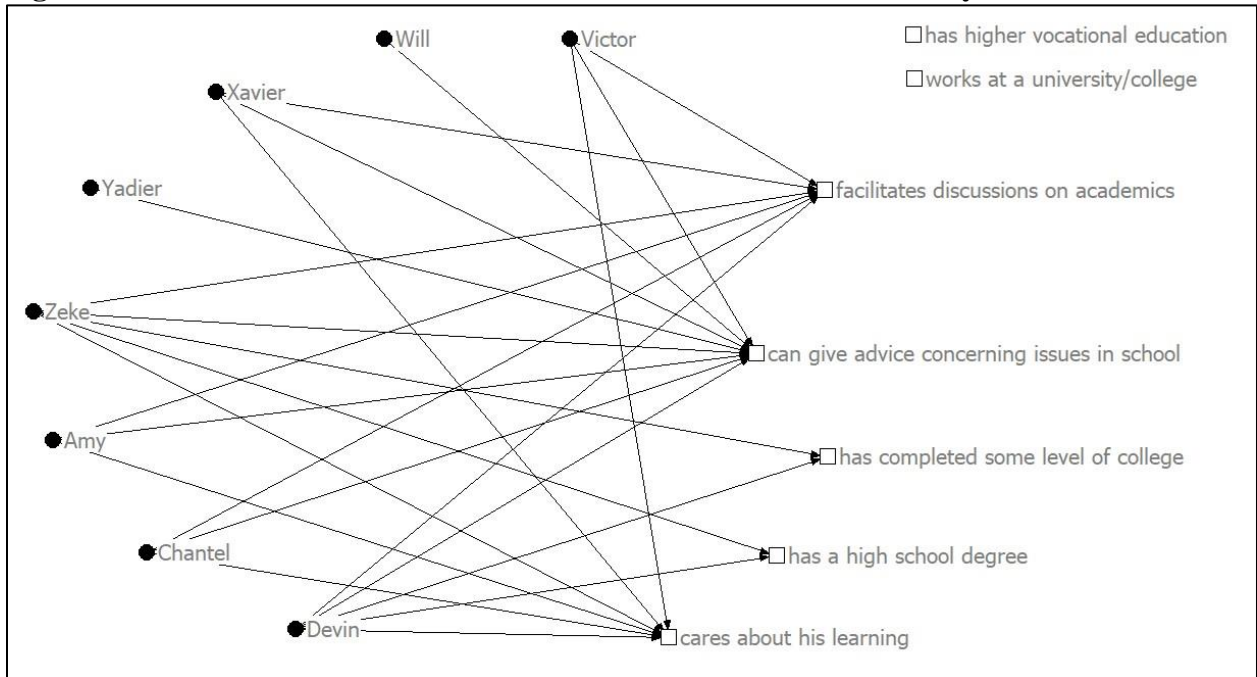
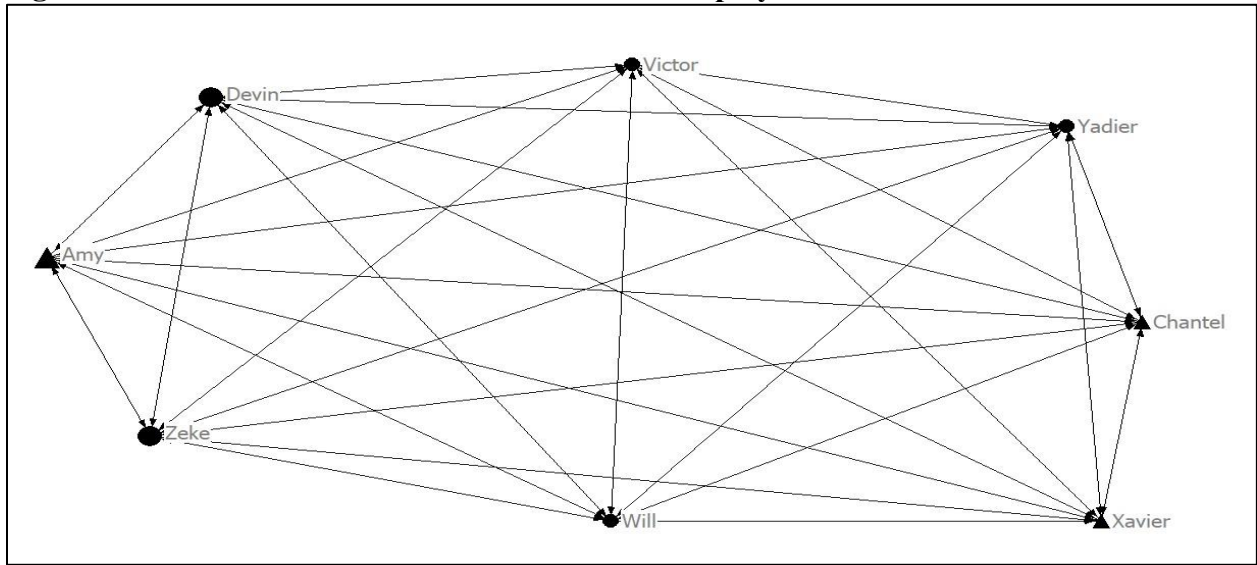


Figure 24: Stanton's First Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Stanton to stay employed:

Xavier: (Xavier) says make money.

Chantel: (Chantel) says you have to go to work

Figure 25: Stanton's First Network for Employment Resource Availability

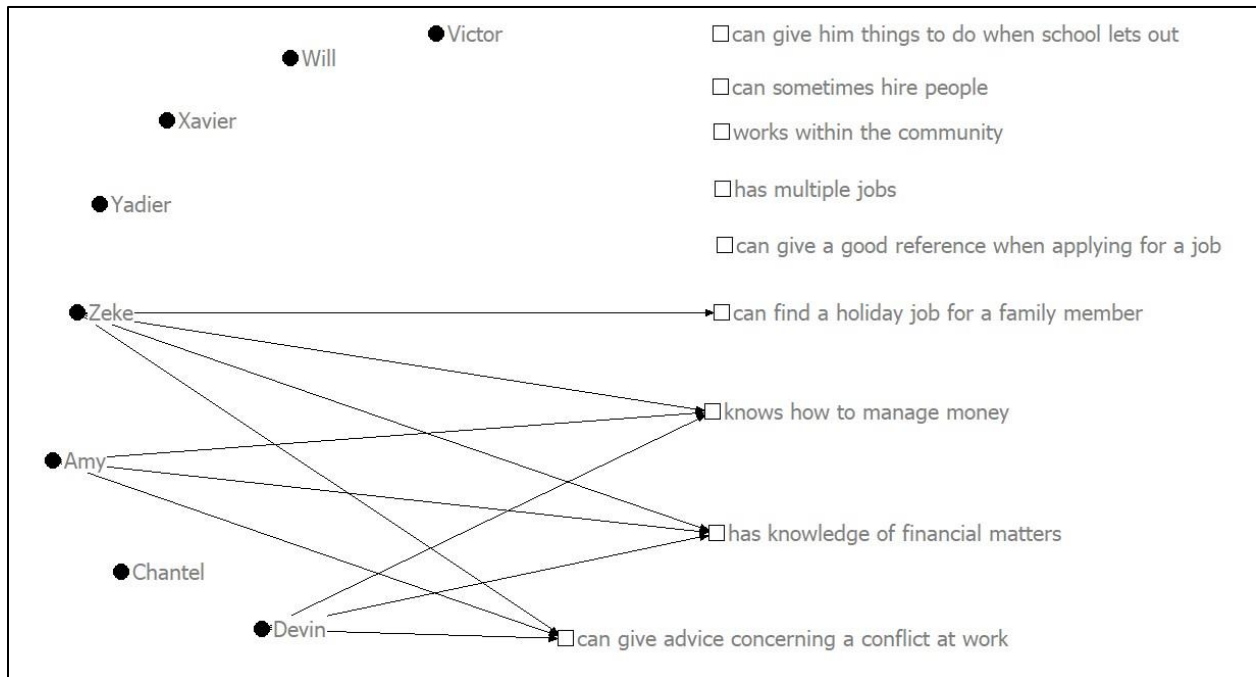
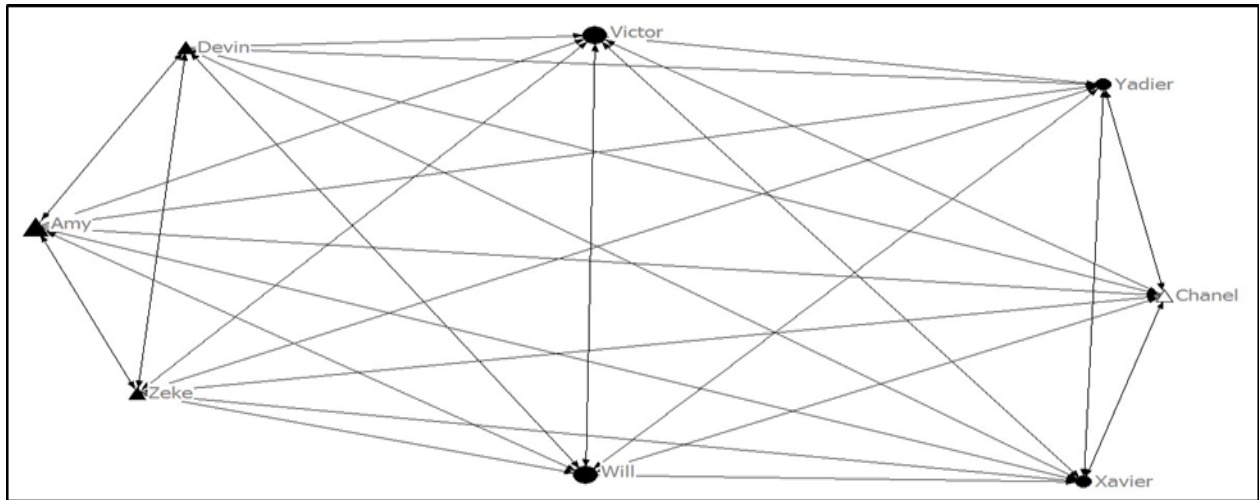


Figure 26: Stanton's First Personal Network for Citizenship



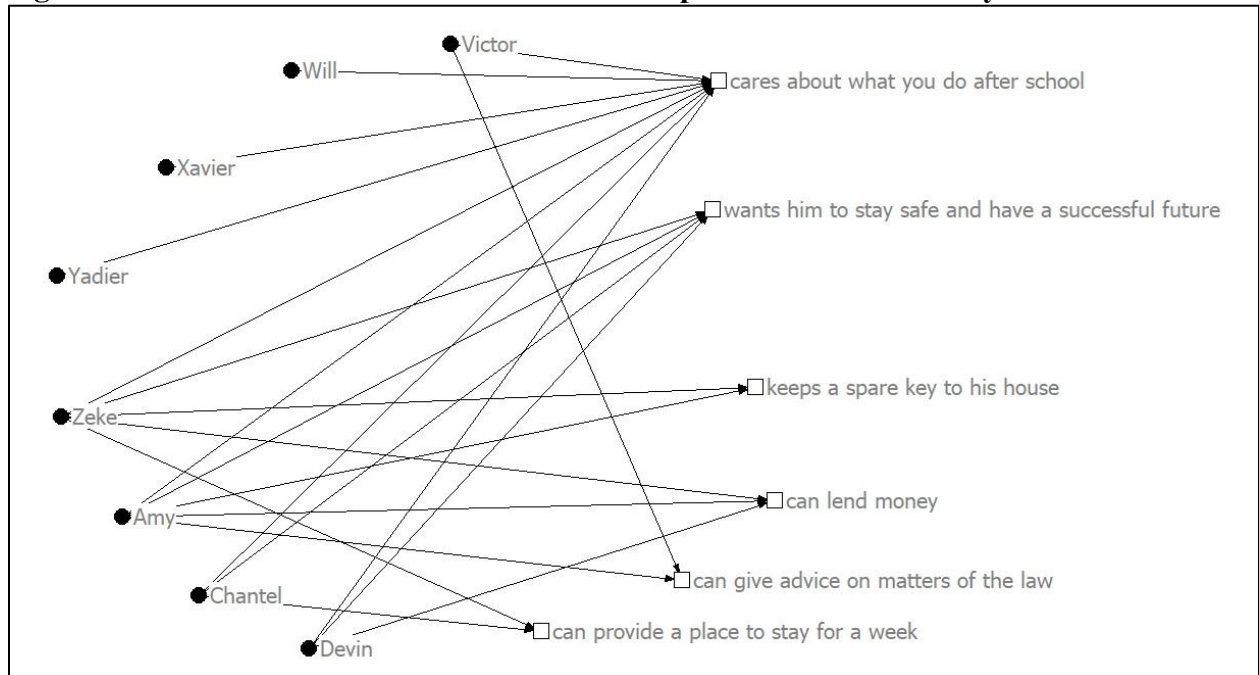
Encouraging Stanton to stay out of trouble:

Zeke: When I got in trouble and was sent to the alternative school, (Zeke) got mad at that.

Amy: (Amy) encourages me to stay out of trouble to not follow her path of being kicked out.

Devin: (Devin) be trying to preach to my friends about stuff.

Figure 27: Stanton's First Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 28 / Potential Connections= 28 / Density = 1.0

Stanton identified 8 people that all know each other. His personal network had the highest possible density. Stanton's network consisted of his older brother and sister and friends from Phoenix City. Chantel was Stanton's girlfriend at the time of checkpoint one. Everyone in this network hung out together at Zeke's house. Like Stanton, most of the people identified were still in high school, except for Zeke, Amy, and Devin. Zeke and Devin were in college. Stanton's sister, Amy, was expelled from high school. Stanton's friend Victor gave hope to Stanton in academics. Neither wanted to drop out of school.

Though deeply connected, Stanton's networks demonstrated heterogeneity. There was not much consistency with beliefs across the areas of academics, employment and citizenship/delinquency. Most individuals valued their own education and encouraged Stanton to stay in school. There were a few friends that had fallen behind academically, which was a call for concern, but it seemed like those individuals were still attempting to graduate. The majority of Stanton's network did not encourage him to work, even though they valued their own employment. Stanton indicated that employment was not really a topic of conversation, especially when most were not of age to work. Only three individuals in his network had jobs. Even still, Stanton indicating working at Publix was not anyone's career goal. Most everyone in Stanton's network encouraged Stanton to stay out of trouble. Though, only half valued staying out of trouble themselves. Noteworthy was his sister Amy, who had been in serious trouble and wanted Stanton to stay out of trouble. She offered personal experiences, especially after being expelled. An important area to watch was Stanton's relationship with his girlfriend, Chantel, who did not value staying out of trouble.

Stanton identified having access to the most resources with 22, but also had the most amount of resources not accounted for by people with 7. The resources not associated with people include: [has higher vocational education], [works at a university/college], [can give him things to do when school lets out], [can sometimes hire people], [works within the community], [has multiple jobs], and [can give a good reference when applying for a job]. Zeke, Amy, and Devin offered the most resources. Like the other interns, Stanton did not identify members of the Op Grows staff because of the novelty of the program, despite suggested he had access to many resources. Dr. Fox, Dwight, Samuel, Joe, Jason, and I all worked with Stanton for a large portion of the summer. Each of the staff had higher vocational training, worked within the community, and wanted him to be safe and have a successful future to name a few.

A notable resource missing was [has a ready means of transportation]. Again, the interns were picked up each day to go to work. Stanton's network was completely connected so the resources that all were identified were all redundant. Though, with the closed group, the resources that were shared by most or all the network were made stronger. For instance, every person in Stanton's network cared about what he did after school and could give advice concerning issues in school. Both of which are important in navigating academics and citizenship.

Some Plants Grow; Some are Lost (August – December)

After the summer, the crops had to be monitored closer. The plants thus far did not seem to be as big as expected. We believed we had good soil and the plants were getting enough water and sunlight. Something, however, was still not right. It seemed like there was a constant battle with things limiting the growth potential of those plants still living. We were consistently seeing the same insects; squash bugs and aphids. One-fourth of the crop was lost from insect damage. If we failed to reevaluate growing strategies, the entire crop would be lost. We just had to remember we reap what we sow. It seemed fruitless at times, but gardening always presents challenges that can be overcome.

August

Academics

School started back the first week of August. To give the interns time to adjust being in school again, the first day the interns worked was August 12th. Now there had to be a balance between work and school schedules. In the summer, there was much more flexibility in getting the interns hours. The fall would be more difficult as the staffs' schedules had also gotten busier. Like the year prior, there was an agriculture class. At the start of the semester, Malik and Danny were the only ones in Gwen's class. Stanton and Rodney started back at the high school but returned to the Carson Learning Center and in the agriculture class within two weeks. The interns indicated that if they were allowed to go back to the high school, they could not misbehave or they would be sent back to the Carson Learning Center. Stanton and Rodney were sent back to the Carson Learning Center because they refused to snitch on another student who had brought drugs to school.

While in school, the interns were bussed to the community garden every Tuesday and Friday. With the interns back at the Carson Learning Center, I myself and other Op Grows staff quickly realized the interns were going to do less work in school than at any of the gardens over the summer. One thing I will say on the interns was that they were not afraid to get sweaty and dirty over the summer. They often did. They do not like getting dirty and smelly in the second block of the school day. On one instance, Danny suggested the interns would work better if the class was the fourth block so they could go home after. Though it, unfortunately, was not an option to move the class to another time slot. Other classes took precedence.

Each intern believed Gwen cared about their future success. According to the interns, no other classes were enjoyable. Stanton and Danny would sleep through most classes because they

were not having fun at the alternative school. As the interns said other teachers did not respect them and believed they did not have to give respect back.

When the interns complained about getting their clothes dirty, it was suggested to bring a change of clothes if the students did not want to get smelly and dirty. For some reason this created barriers. Danny made the excuse that he would have to bring a bag and did not like wearing bags while working. Malik skipped school towards the end of August because he said he did not have other clothes to change into. Yet, he had worn clothes all summer that could get dirty in the garden. This was especially confusing, given that Dr. Fox had bought each intern a pair of \$65 steel toe, waterproof boots. On occasion, the interns would say off-color comments about them not getting paid while in class. They were doing work like what they did when they got paid. With it being a part of the class, however, the interns were not allowed to receive financial compensation. The interns saw this as unfair.

Employment

To get the interns more hours, the Op Grows staff was open to the interns taking leadership roles and working on their own time. During the summer, there was limited time for the interns to work on their own given how far the farm was away. After work one day, Dr. Fox and I sat down with the interns to discuss how to build leadership potential. It was discussed that the interns would have to be more involved in the agriculture class. The interns would also have to attend work or give the Op Grows staff a good reason in advance to let us know why they could not work. If the interns did all these things, they would be allowed to work on their own. This was an attempt to directly influence their academic social capital.

There were times when the interns would demonstrate leadership in class. For instance, Danny showed the class how to use the tiller. However, the leadership agreement was broken within a week. Malik skipped school again. Even when complaining about money, Malik went to the barber instead of working. In class, on the 28th, Stanton sat on his phone instead of working. None of the students in the class, including the interns, stepped foot in the community garden after it had rained. It was not until Dr. Fox yelled at the class to ‘quit their bitching’. Dr. Fox was frustrated about the unwillingness of the class and even more frustrated that the interns already broke the agreement. Stanton finally came into the garden after a good ten minutes. Danny followed shortly after. Malik never entered the garden, got angry, and eventually refuse to have a conversation with anyone. Most of the students did not end up entering the garden. At this point, it was believed that one of the staff members had to work with the interns always when working. The interns cost themselves from getting more unsupervised hours.

Upon seeing Dr. Fox get frustrated, Danny started to work harder and in late August the Op Grows staff saw an uptick in his work ethic. He showed leadership by encouraging Rodney to work one day. Rodney said he did not want to work and Danny told him to get his boots on because he should not be lazy and needed the money. It was still difficult motivating Danny in school, but at least we could see a desire to change. Once Danny picked up his work habits, he indicated the potential long-term benefits of working for Op Grows. He thought to explore jobs in construction where he could use his hands. Danny believed his time was better spent learning hands-on concrete activities. The extent other interns explored future opportunities was limited. Rodney did talk to a community member about the military as an outlet, but beyond that there were limited explorations.

Citizenship/Delinquency

One aspect the staff incessantly tried to accomplish was to support the interns if they got in trouble. Following Danny's sentencing hearing, he owed money to the courts and if he did not pay this back in time, he would be sent to a juvenile detention center. As Danny said, he would be one of a few white guys there and he would get jumped. To build support and maybe garner better work ethic, Dr. Fox decided to pay off the remaining money Danny owed. This was seen as high risk, high reward.

The Grows staff tried to keep the interns out of trouble in other ways. When I first heard that Malik's fight was on posted on YouTube, I suggested he take it down. He did not see why it mattered. Stanton was the most talkative when he discussed this kind of stuff. It excited him. Dr. Fox brought up the good point though that he did not fight the kid in school so he was smarter than he was given credit for. The fight was in his front yard. If it was at the Carson Learning Center, the police would have been called.

More and more interactions with these interns gave me greater insight into their lives. I continued to explore how these interns gain social capital. When the interns returned to school in August, it was now more assessable to see if Op Grows could influence the interns' academic social capital. Op Grows wanted to get the interns to work more to build their employment social capital. It was a challenge though to get the interns to take up leadership roles.

September

Academics

Four months had gone by since the start of the internship. As reflected in August, there were struggles to get the interns to take up leadership roles. It was the hope to directly beautify the schools Op Grows was working in. This included the Carson Learning Center. In the past, the interns had suggested the Carson Learning Center was a dump. Working for Op Grows would allow them to change the appearance of the Carson Learning Center campus. Instead, they kept throwing pinecones and rocks at the magnolia tree near the school. They thought it was funny that if they missed they would hit the school.

The interns still needed more incentive in school. Dr. Fox and I agreed that the lessons in the agriculture class needed to engage the students and always be enjoyable. In mid-September, I wanted to give the class a relatively easy endeavor to make them more comfortable with gardening. I wanted the class to measure out the entire bed at one of the schools so four smaller beds could be created. There was a realization that no one, including the interns, knew how to use a tape measure. In thinking back to the summer, I did not recall using a tape measure. What should have been five minutes, ended up taking the entire class. The Op Grows staff had to understand the limited knowledge these individuals, especially the interns had. If some of the interns wanted to get hired by Dwight, he would expect them to have this knowledge to build fences. After figuring out the measurements for the bed, I had the class lay stones to create four even beds. Rodney ended up throwing a stone down instead of placing it down gently. The stone cracked. That provided a good metaphor for the day.

Citizenship/Delinquency

During the internship, it was easy to attribute negative behavior to a lack of awareness. Though there was always more going on. Come to find out, the interns sometimes disengaged because they had a lot of other things going on in their life. Danny gave a more concrete reason he did not engage in the class. He feared he might be put in jail after making threats to another teacher at the school in the middle of August. He got kicked out of school and believed the teacher would file a police report. Danny saw it as pointless to be in school when there was the potential for expulsion. The Op Grows staff would find out in late September that the teacher never ended up filing a report because she believed Danny should finish school as a graduate. Given his stress, Danny did not work as well as he did in August. On the upside, Danny was beginning to recognize his own impulsivity. He was now seeing how his actions had consequences.

There were curious events that happened in September. On September 3rd, I went to go pick up Malik. Unlike other times before, there were close to ten people hanging out on the porch. I walked up like I usually did and asked if Malik was home to work. A few people from the group said he was not there. I walked back to the car somewhat defeated and the other interns asked if he was coming. I said I had no idea. Rodney then got out to see if Malik was home and was welcomed into his house. Then, Rodney and Malik came out of the house a few minutes later. When Rodney got back in my car, he said, it was because they thought I was a cop. That was rather intriguing considering I had stopped at his house for a few months at this point.

As we were driving away, Malik and Rodney could not stop laughing. They also smelled like smoke. I could not confirm this point, but I had a good suspicion they were under the

influence of something right before work. I thought about turning around and dropping them both off. I decided against this because a lot of help was needed that day. I also wanted Dr. Fox to see this to see what he would say especially since he continued to be frustrated with their work habits. The interns did work decently that day and Dr. Fox either did not notice or did not care.

Employment

Building the interns' employment social capital had been a goal of the project. The month of September saw Stanton and Rodney take different paths within the internship. Stanton got a second job through Op Grows. Rodney stopped working for Op Grows. Stanton was looking for a second job, so Dr. Fox told Stanton to apply to Simba Gastropub. This was a place where Op Grows sold produce previously and Dr. Fox was friends with the owner. Op Grows became a bridge for Stanton to receive further revenue. To continue the partnership with Simba Gastropub, Dr. Fox offered to pay part of Stanton's paycheck each week. At the time, Dr. Fox believed only Stanton was the only intern that could represent Op Grows in a different venue given his work consistency. The topic of money came up one day, so I asked Stanton what he wanted to do following high school. Stanton said he had a desire to go to college or potentially join the military. Staff from Op Grows were not alone when thinking about Stanton's future. Stanton and eight other young black individuals were pulled out of class because they were seen to have the potential to be leaders. This event made me wonder why Rodney and Malik were not invited.

While Stanton found a second job through Op Grows, Rodney stopped working for Op Grows. Of the four workers, the Op Grows staff thought Rodney was the least effective and Op Grows was not seeing a return on the investment with him. On September 30th, Gwen told Dr.

Fox and I that Rodney was no longer going to work for Op Grows. I would find out from Danny that he thought the Op Grows staff were too hard on him and that we did not respect him. By quitting, Rodney burned a bridge to come back in the future. Instead of working for Op Grows, Rodney started working at Captain D's. Rodney said it was a "real job". When the other interns saw him next, this prompted them to start making jokes that Rodney would be flipping hushpuppies and only making \$7.50 an hour instead of making \$10 an hour working for Op Grows.

In looking back, there were times where Rodney distanced himself from the group. For instance, when one of the other interns got in trouble in school, we would be told by that individual. When Rodney got in trouble, he never wanted to be open with any of the staff members. He did not have to share anything, but it just spoke to how the other interns felt more comfortable. On another occasion, Rodney thought he was being shorted on his paycheck. He texted me '\$22?' instead of coming into work. Dr. Fox and I had to tell him he had not been working as many hours which was the reason his paycheck was less.

The Op Grows staff wanted to continue to invest in the remaining interns, but each needed to improve their work mentality. As September concluded, the Op Grows staff had to figure out what to do now that Rodney was no longer working for Op Grows. We also had to appreciate that this project could have limited impact on the interns. On a positive note, Stanton received a second job at of the Op Grows partnerships.

October

Employment

Now that Rodney was no longer working for Op Grows, he was switched out of the class. There was potential moving forward to bring on additional interns. If this were to happen, Op Grows planned for the three remaining interns to show the new interns what they have learned thus far and how to work effectively. Up to this point, the Op Grows staff members had always worked right along the interns to build relationships trying to limit the hierarchy. The interns thought if Op Grows brought on more people, they could take a step back and have someone work below them. Given their seniority, the interns thought they could tell the new interns what to do. The interns justified their thoughts by suggesting they never saw Samuel doing any work. However, other than the summer, the interns rarely worked with Samuel. Samuel was primarily at the farm during the school year, but the interns just assumed Samuel was not working. Though, come to find out, this perception of Samuel had more to do with the interns not liking him.

At times though, each intern showed an appreciation for working with Op Grows, even if they did not like working with every member involved. Something that really caught my attention was when Danny took before and after pictures of work in the community garden on October 27th. The three remaining interns worked hard that day and saw the immediate impact of their efforts, even learning what organic and inorganic means. They were proud of their work. Danny further indicated Op Grows was an escape for him when things happen such as when his dad filed a police report against him for domestic violence. In October, I noticed how the interns were beginning to be more careful with plants.

Citizenship/Delinquency

October was a challenging month. Something that upset me in class one day was Malik blatantly lying. I asked Malik to do some work and he told me Dr. Fox said he did not have to do work for the day. I cannot recall a time when Dr. Fox would ever tell someone to not work. At the very least Dr. Fox would say to do something less strenuous. Malik's charm was beginning to wear off and the Op Grows staff started to see how he took advantage of others to get what he wanted. On top of that, Malik continued to miss work. There was even a time where I went to pick him up, but he yelled from the top of the stairs to say he was not working.

On a separate occasion on October 24th Danny and Stanton upset me while they worked at the community market. Working at the community market was a way to have the interns engage in another part of Op Grows while still finding hours for them to get extra cash. I was not working with the interns but had picked them up. Danny called me around 1:30 saying they needed a ride at 2:00. Little did I know they were supposed to work till 4:00. I found out they were supposed to continue working but were bored. When I picked them both up, Danny mentioned he needed to take care of his sick dad. As he was exiting my car, Danny mentioned that he was going to change into skating clothes. Danny was going skating instead of working. Even though October, the interns failed to demonstrate leadership ability. On October 28th for instance, none of the interns showed up to work despite it being a work day.

Academics

The interns also continued to have problems in school. It was reflected that none of the interns saw the value of being in school. Danny would watch movies and not care because he could sleep in class. Malik would play video games all night and have the same mentality. Malik

would miss a great deal of class and had trouble not getting suspended when he did go. An apparent example of this is when Rodney and Malik both got kicked out of school for mouthing off to one of the assistant principals in the lunchroom. It had something to do with acquiring an extra juice box from a friend and the assistant principal thinking Malik stole the juice. Either way, after Malik and Rodney yelled at the assistant principal, they were told to leave. Though, being sent home from a place they already did not enjoy reinforced those behavioral issues.

October featured a discussion of moving forward after losing Rodney. It also featured how the interns still got in trouble in and out of school. I am reminded that seeds do not sprout overnight. They need care. Related to that, a story stands out when the bus driver forgot to pick up the students to bring them to the garden. All I could think about was how another person was not caring about these students. I know the Op Grows staff did not want to be like the bus driver and forget these individuals. What separated the Op Grows staff and others was that willingness to work deeper with the “problem kids”. Op Grows continued to evaluate the project and ourselves.

November

Employment

At the start of November, there was promise for the three interns to be better employees and head into 2016 with a full head of steam. Malik returned to work November 4th after a long hiatus and immediately got back into rhythm. Without fail, Danny gave him a hard time for missing so much time. When Dr. Fox arrived, Malik walked up to him and gave him a hug and said he was glad to be back working. November 5th marked the first day in close to a month where I worked with all three of the interns. On that day, Stanton finally got a break from a short-staffed Simba Gastropub and decided to work in the garden.

When the interns worked, they were primarily harvesting kale, collards, and radishes. One day, a family across the street was unpacking stuff from their car and walked over. They started asking questions about the garden and the interns were quick to tell them what it was. The family complimented their efforts and told them they could see their hard work paying off. It made the interns feel accomplished and was one of the first times a community member had complimented their efforts.

Academics

More positives came when each of the interns agreed to speak in one of the university classes focusing on assessment. The interns brought up points of how they were not being challenged and were given busy work in school. It reminded me of the story when I was the substitute for Gwen's class. Gwen had something come up the day before, so did not have time to create a lesson. She had her class complete a worksheet related to the flowers found in Alabama. Malik and Stanton showed how they can outsmart teachers when they were able to

find the answers after searching online for the first question. The interns found an efficient way to be done with work faster.

Citizenship/Delinquency

The interns mentioned that since Rodney had left Op Grows, he had gotten in more trouble. Danny mentioned Rodney got fired from Captain D's for apparently yelling at the manager. Additionally, Rodney got into a fight at the Carson Learning Center. Stanton and Danny mentioned neither had been in a fight since starting to work for Op Grows. I was not sure how much of that could be attributed to them working for Op Grows though there were instances where members of the Op Grows staff tried to keep the interns out of trouble. Even further, Danny suggested he wanted to continue the internship another year and was actively trying to stay out of trouble. Danny recognized the Op Grows staff respected him where others did not.

November was promising at the beginning of the month for academics, employment, and citizenship. Just as fast as I think Op Grows was contributing to the interns' growth, things happened in the middle and end of the month. Danny skipped school and tried to convince me it was an off day. Danny mentioned that there was another teacher workday. It was disputed when Gwen was driving to the school and saw him walking down the street. When confronted, Danny told Gwen he did not feel like going to school. Danny also missed work over Thanksgiving break because he did not want to work around his birthday.

On November 30th, after Danny and Malik skipped work, I got to have a one-on-one conversation with Stanton. During this time, Stanton mentioned he had been caught with weed by his mom and that he might get kicked out of the house. He mentioned he was stressed and all he wanted to do was smoke more. He ended up asking me if I could purchase him a Black and

Mild because he saw it as a suitable alternative. I was reluctant and ended up not doing so.

Though he did find someone from work to get one. Stanton later would tell me his mom did not want him to make dumb mistakes associated with drugs.

Malik got in the most trouble in November. He became the first intern to be arrested since being hired. A friend of Malik's cousin asked to borrow the cousin's car. That individual ended up driving to a store, robbing someone at gunpoint in the parking lot, and stealing the victim's car. He then drove back to Malik's cousin house to pick up Malik so he could bring the cousin's car back. He mentioned he had left Malik's cousin's car in a parking lot. Malik had no idea what the guy just did or why he did not have his cousin's car. Malik jumped in the car only to have the guy tell him on the way what happened. Malik said he wanted to jump out of a moving vehicle at that point. When they got to the destination, police were already on the scene. The police arrested the guy on the spot. Malik, however, panicked and decided to run. Malik was not thinking and thought he would become an accomplice. He was arrested within minutes of running.

I did not find out what happened until a few days after. I tried to get a hold of Malik, but the police took his phone as evidence to verify he was not an accomplice. He also did not attend school for days following the event. Malik mentioned he did not want his peers thinking he was a criminal. His aunt posted his \$500 bail. The next time Malik worked, he told me this story upon entering my car. Upon hearing it, I told him that when he ran, he made himself look guilty. Malik still needed to go to court to testify. He would not get his phone back until much later because of this so I acted in good faith that he would be available when picking him up. Most days he did not work.

I contrasted positive and negative habits the interns presented in November. November started off well but ended poorly, especially related to the interns staying out of trouble. The interns still did not find enjoyment in school. When the interns worked, they seemed to enjoy it, but it was difficult getting all three interns to work at the same time. A good that came from this month was community members got to see the interns in a positive light. Again, this was a major goal of the program.

December

Academics

Gathering data from the interns was difficult at times. It was taxing when the interns did not go to school. Malik said school was a way to obtain better employment for the future so he set academic goals to graduate. Then he did not attend school often; missing more days from school than the other interns combined. There was a strong disconnect between what he needed to do and what he did. Even when Malik attended school, he would find things to distract from work such as making chicken noises. In the class one day, I brought up his goals and he needed to be active in reaching those goals. Though given the school environment, Malik knew from years prior that he did not have to put in much effort and he would be passed along. On a positive note though, the Op Grows staff found out that Stanton would be back at the high school in January. The high school seems the favorable choice between that and the Carson Learning Center.

Employment

Of the three original interns, Danny worked the most consistently in December. A few months had passed, but Danny finally paid back the money he owed Dr. Fox after Dr. Fox paid off the court fees. At the time, Danny had been the only one that Dr. Fox loaned money. Granted Stanton already had the second job and never needed a loan. Danny showed his interest with Op Grows and held off getting a second job in case more time became available to work. In the month of December, Dr. Fox tried to get Danny more hours to keep him working diligently.

At the same time, Malik picked up an application for Simba Gastropub. Even though the Op Grows staff tried advocated for the interns, it would have been difficult to give Malik a good reference. The owner of Simba Gastropub expected a great deal from his workers and Malik had

not demonstrated his work ethic consistently enough since the summer. It was rare for Malik to work. Dr. Fox said before he is given a reference, he needed to prove his worth again. One way to improve his work habits was by helping with a major endeavor in the garden.

As mentioned, we planned to move the community garden. It was no longer visible from the main road, but it allowed Op Grows to have our own water and electrical systems. In addition to the utilities, Op Grows had the opportunity to build a greenhouse next to the new community garden. The greenhouse allowed plants to be grown year-round and give the interns tangible skills related to construction and plumbing. The first big task in December was disassembling and reassembling the fence for the community garden. Needing help, Op Grows decided to bring on another individual who once was a student at the Carson Learning Center. This new intern was a student in the original agriculture class but was expelled and put in a juvenile detention center for breaking into the school at night. Op Grows had not hired anyone new in October or November because there was limited work to be done. Danny mentioned that when Rodney found out Op Grows finally hired someone to replace him, there was some regret leaving the program. It was difficult for Rodney to find a job as flexible as Op Grows.

While reconstructing the fence, the interns learned how to build a fence that accounted for the change in ground elevation. Instead of leaving large gaps under the fence, the bottom of the fence rolled with the landscape. It was the first time the interns had used a line level. It was also the first time, they really got to use a drill. Constructing was meant to be a major facet of the internship and the interns got a chance to build something that needed a lot of planning. As the internship moved forward, there was still a focus on gardening, but the interns finally got to experience other things related to an agriculture program.

Op Grows Programming

Outside of moving the community garden, the other major thing to occur was the Op Grows' Christmas party. Every intern was invited because we wanted to continue fostering connections. Malik did not show, even though he worked the day and said he would attend. Danny did not work on that day prior to the party but showed up with his girlfriend. Of the original three, Stanton was the only one that worked the same day and attended. Dr. Fox, Gwen, Samuel, Joe, Jason, and I were also in attendance. It was meant to be the group eating steaks and being jovial. Instead, Stanton, Danny, and Danny's girlfriend left within twenty minutes. Come to find out Stanton had brought things to smoke and convinced the other two to leave. The three individuals were gone for about an hour. When they came back, it was noticeable they had just smoked. It always felt like there were navigational challenges in building a cohesive group.

The Op Grows staff did not interact with the interns much in December. For the remaining portion of the internship, Op Grows was going to continue to try and get the interns hours. The spring semester was less busy, fortunately. Weekends became much more open, so the interns had more of an opportunity to work. It was also Op Grows' hope to continue building relationships. By this time, the Op Grows staff had noticed the interns were not obtaining as much academic social capital as we would have liked during their time with Op Grows. It was still the goal of the project to build that source of capital, but those successes related to building employment and citizenship social capital became more realistic.

Summary of August – December

In these months, there was a balance between Op Grows' expectations and the lives of the interns. In August, school had started back again. It took some time to understand how the Op Grows staff was still going to get hours for the interns. During the summer, it was much easier to work. When starting in August, Stanton and Rodney started back at the high school, but unfortunately, this did not last long. Both were back at the alternative school within a few weeks. It was believed that working for Op Grows would have helped lessen behavioral issues, though it was not as much as previously hoped. Even further, Malik missed a great deal of school from August to December. This was disheartening. Like in May through July, there was constant relationship navigation. Rodney had left the program in late September. Out of the four interns, he had been the least productive worker. Another big thing that stood out was Malik's arrest for fleeing the police.

Though there were some positives that came from this timeframe. Utilizing Op Grows as a bridge, Stanton found a second job working at Simba Gastropub. The other thing that stood out was Danny picking up his work ethic despite missing a few days every month. There was progress in building employment and citizenship social capital for these interns. August through December presented much deeper experiences with the interns. Some were good. Some were troubling. All and all though, more was learned about each intern.

Checkpoint 2

Danny

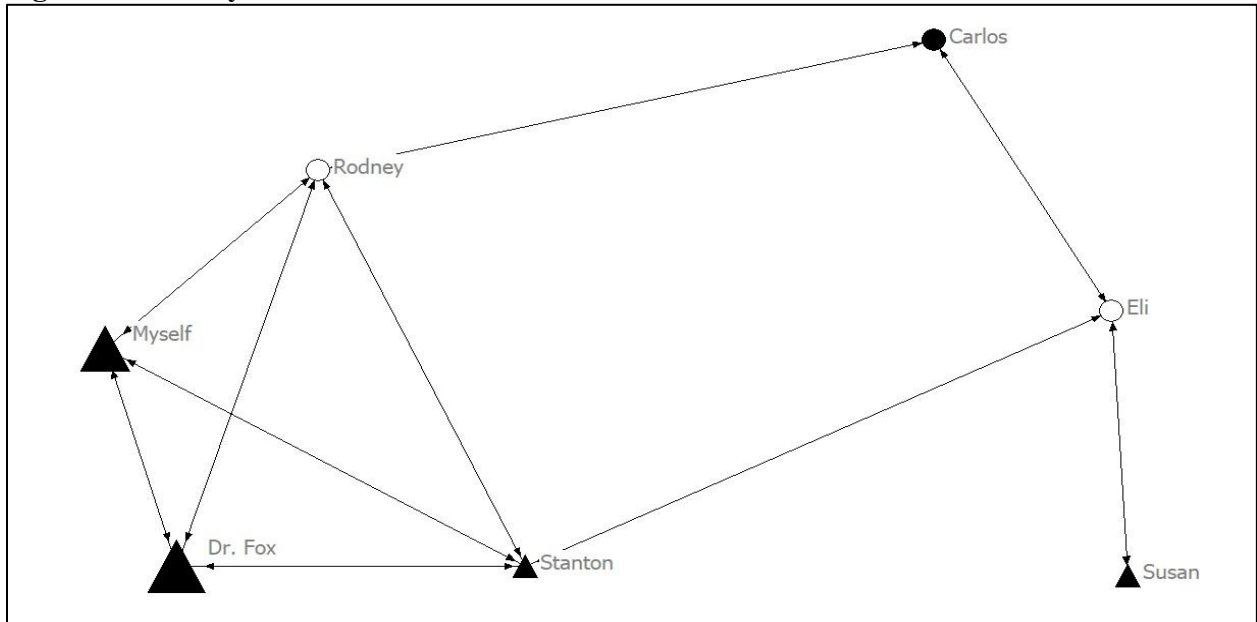
Table 7: Description of Danny’s Connections at Checkpoint 2

<i>Carlos</i>	A friend of Danny, lived in the same apartment complex previously, had known him for about 5 years, got him into skating, was in high school, too young to work, had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint1.
<i>Eli</i>	A friend of Danny, skated with him, had known him for a little while, was in high school, too young to work, had been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Rodney</i>	Rodney was one of the interns. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Stanton</i>	Stanton was one of the interns. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Susan</i>	The girlfriend of Danny at the second and third collection point, met 6 months ago, 10 th grade, failed once, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>

Figure 28: Danny's Second Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Danny to stay in school:

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) does not say much but he does not want me dropping out.

Figure 29: Danny's Second Network for Academic Resource Availability

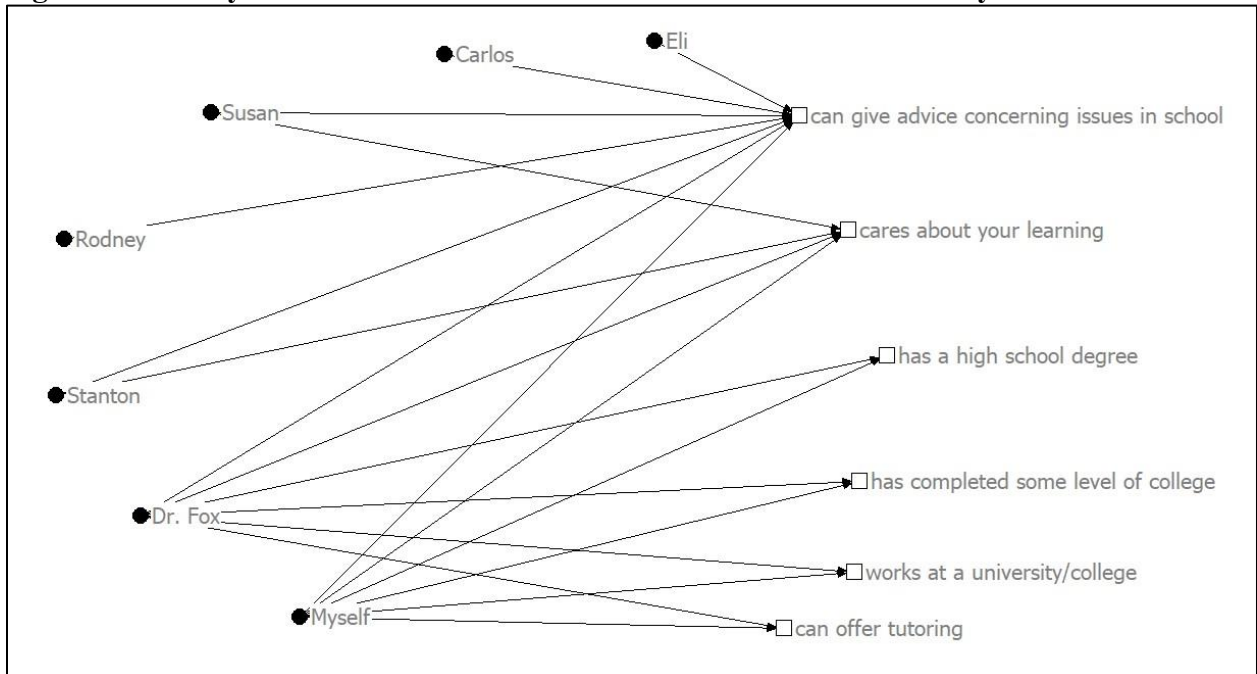
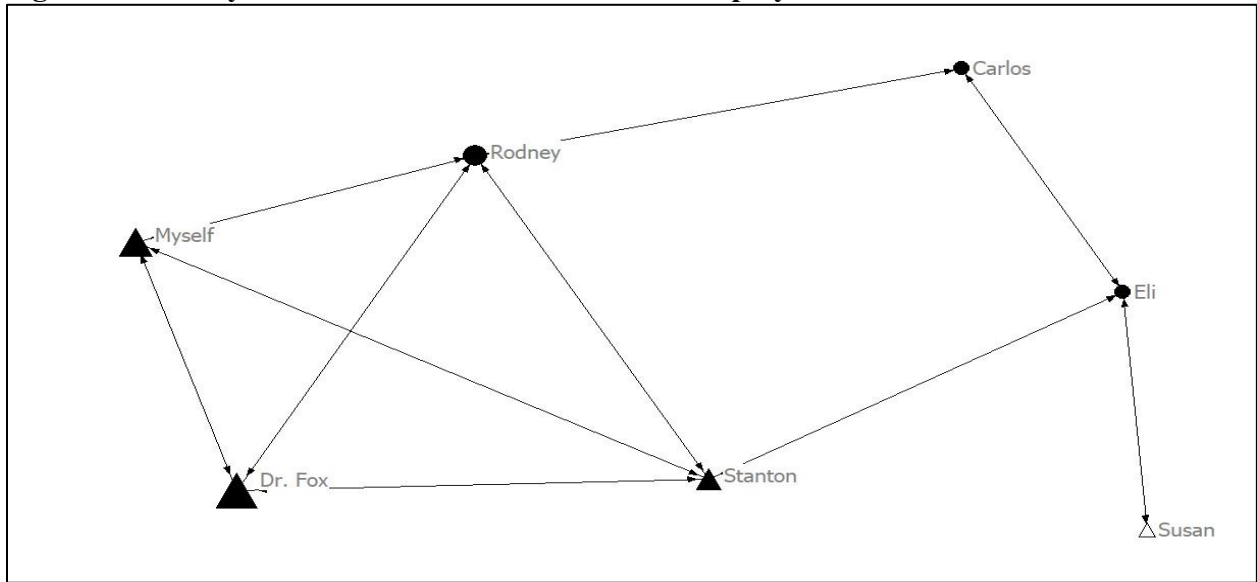


Figure 30: Danny's Second Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Danny to stay employed:

Susan: (Susan) is like you need money and I agree with her.

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) mentioned to me that hard work pays off after I asked him how he was able to afford multiple cars and multiple houses.

Myself: It is appreciative how you pick us up and try to get us hours. I like that you would find things for us to do to get hours.

Figure 31: Danny's Second Network for Employment Resource Availability

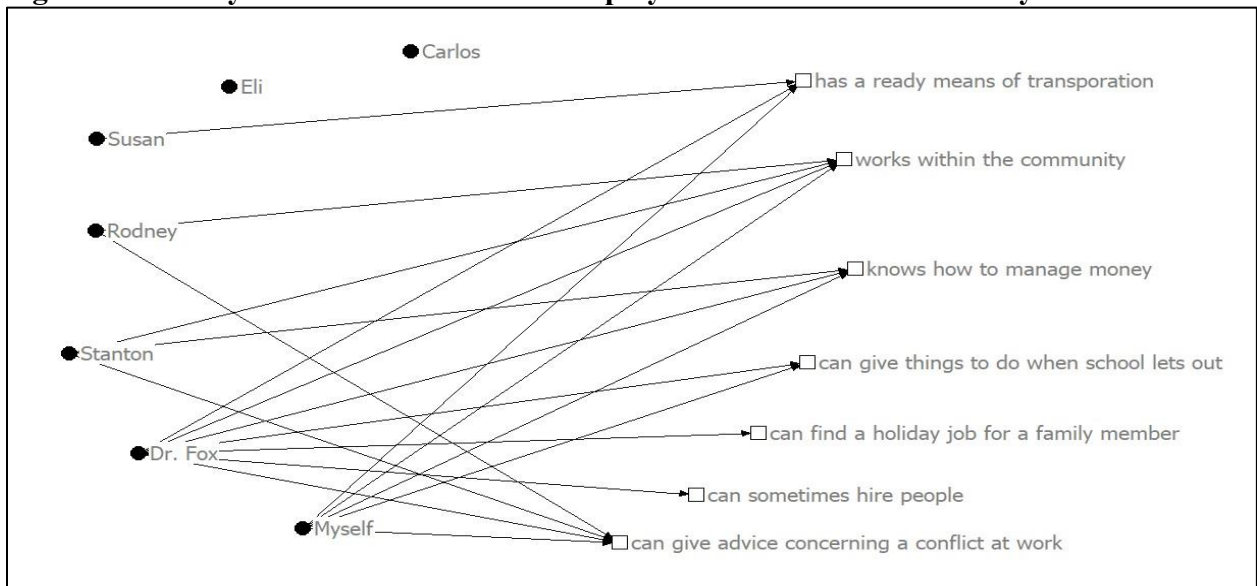
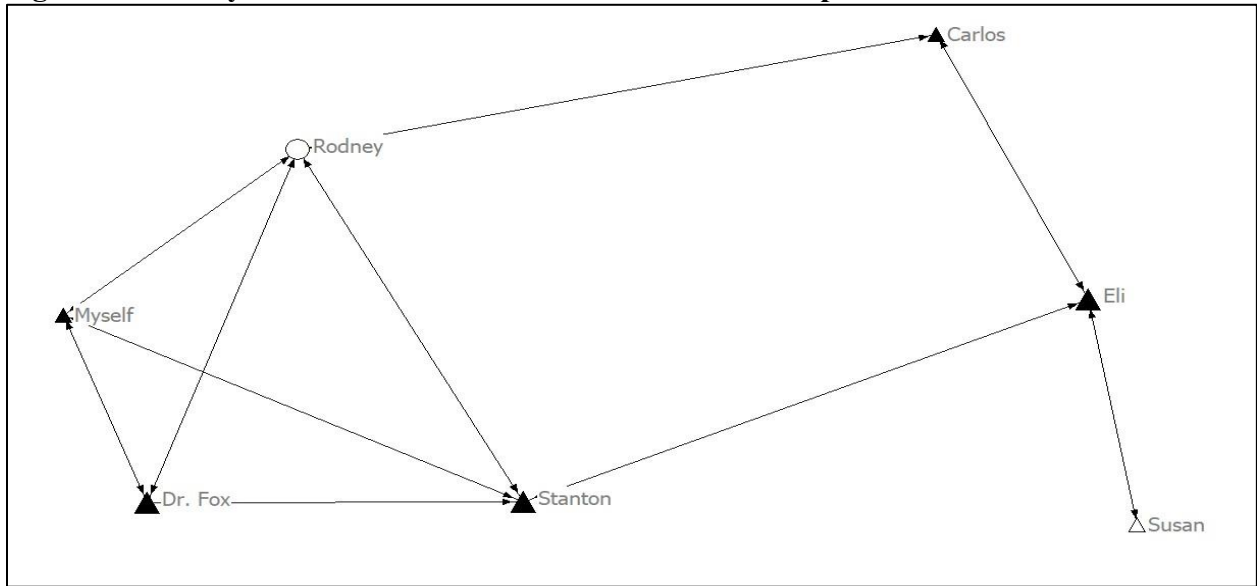


Figure 32: Danny's Second Personal Network for Citizenship

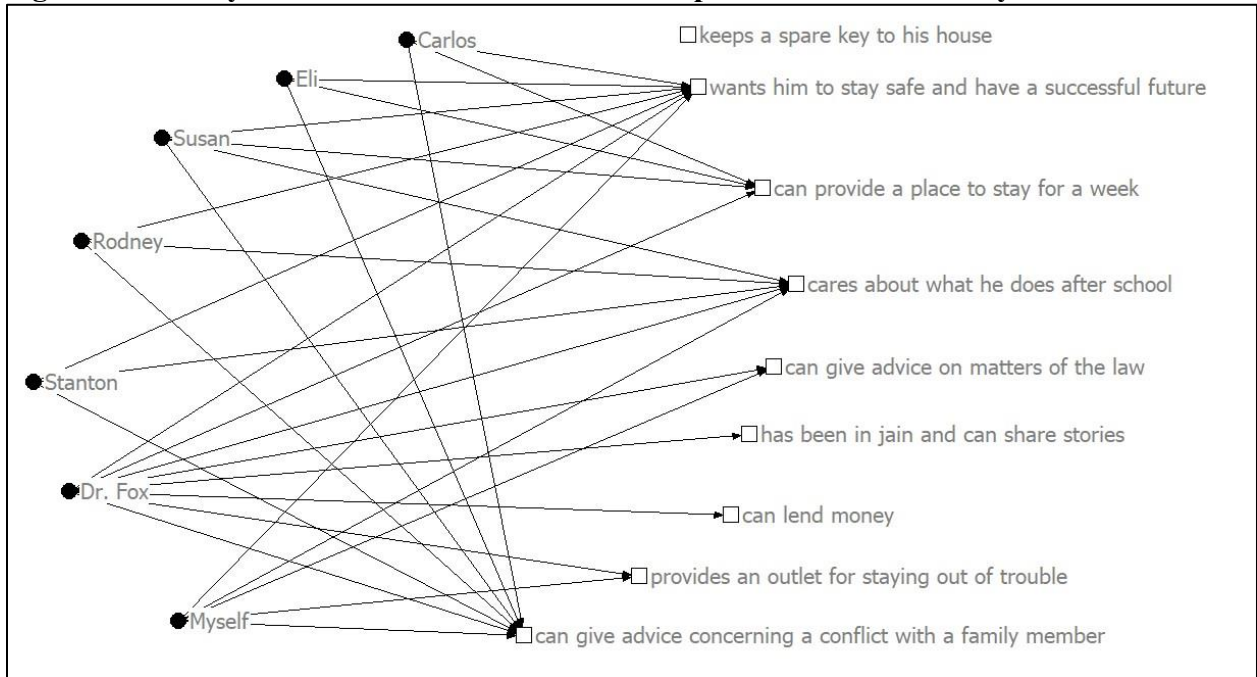


Encouraging Danny to stay out of trouble:

Susan: (Susan) say to not catcall other women haha.

Dr. Fox/Myself: You both ask if you can help and make sure I am not doing stupid stuff that would get me in trouble.

Figure 33: Danny's Second Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 10 | Potential Connections= 21 | Density= 0.48

Danny's network had increased with the number of people, though dramatically decreased in density. His second network included four friends, his girlfriend Susan, Dr. Fox and myself. Those friends share many homophilous qualities with Danny. Carlos and Eli were repeated from the first checkpoint. The other friends Danny added to his network were Rodney and Stanton. Danny still identified Rodney, despite Rodney leaving the program. According to Danny, he and Stanton had become better friends through Op Grows. Adam from his previous network was absent, but as Danny said there was drama between the two of them at that time.

Related to his academic network, there were two people with higher level education. This demonstrated heterogeneity. Both of whom encouraged Danny to stay in school. There was a strong case to say Danny's employment network offered the greatest social capital attainment. This was because Danny identified four individuals he worked with; all of whom were connected and encouraged him to work. Of the people identified in his network, the Op Grows staff offered Danny the best availability for financial gains. Additionally, all but one person in the network valued working. Related to homogeneity, most of Danny's network had not been in serious trouble.

The most important thing with checkpoint two was members from Op Grows were identified in the network. There were things through the story that may have contributed to Dr. Fox and myself being identified. Danny worked the most out of any intern. Danny especially worked closely with both of us. Since checkpoint 1, Dr. Fox had loaned Danny money for his court fees. Dr. Fox and I started seeing his potential when his work improved. Danny indicated not many people saw this in him. Danny did not identify any other staff members.

Per Danny's resource availability network, Danny added 11 new resources. For academics, the resources included: [can give advice concerning issues in school], [cares about your learning], [has a high school degree], and [works at a university/college]. The resource added for employment was [has a ready means of transportation]. For citizenship, the resources added included: [provides an outlet for staying out of trouble], [cares about what he does after school], [can provide a place to stay for a week], [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future], [can give advice on matters of the law], and [can lend money]. 7 of those 11 new resources were shared by Dr. Fox and myself. At checkpoint 2, Danny recognized how Op Grows staff drove him to work. The 7 resources not accounted for by people at the first checkpoint were now accounted for. He said Op Grows staff members provided him with an outlet for staying out of trouble and cared about what he did after school. This was a time where all the interns were back in school.

Everyone identified in the network wanted him to stay safe and have a successful future as well as could give him advice concerning issues in school. The only resource not accounted for by a person in his second network was: [keeps a spare key to his house]. From the first network, Adam was the one that offered that resource but was no longer identified in the network. Though, as discussed in chapter four, it was assumed that once the interns identified a resource, they did not lose that resource.

Between checkpoint 1 and checkpoint 2, Danny could have included a few other people that were involved with Op Grows. Most notably missing was Gwen and the administration from the Carson Learning Center. Given that the interns had started school once again, these individuals could have offered resources that were identified at the second checkpoint. Someone else that might have offered resources was the lady in charge of the community market. Danny

had worked there to earn extra money. Absent was Joe, Samuel, or Dwight. Danny mentioned on numerous occasions that he did not enjoy working with Joe and Samuel. The interns were not working on the farm, so there was limited interaction with Dwight.

Collectively those that worked for Op Grows offered more resources than those that did not. Looking at Danny's personal network, all four people who worked for Op Grows were connected to one another. The resources [can give advice concerning issues in school], [cares about his learning], [works within the community], [can give advice concerning issues at work], [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future], [cares about what he does after school], and [can give advice concerning a conflict with a family member] were all offered by people connected to one another. In thinking about Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure, with those from Op Grows, we all offered those resources together. Going further, Rodney and Stanton were connected to Carlos and Eli respectfully. Taken together, those from Op Grows and those directly connected to members of Op Grows all offer Danny a vast amount of resources.

Malik

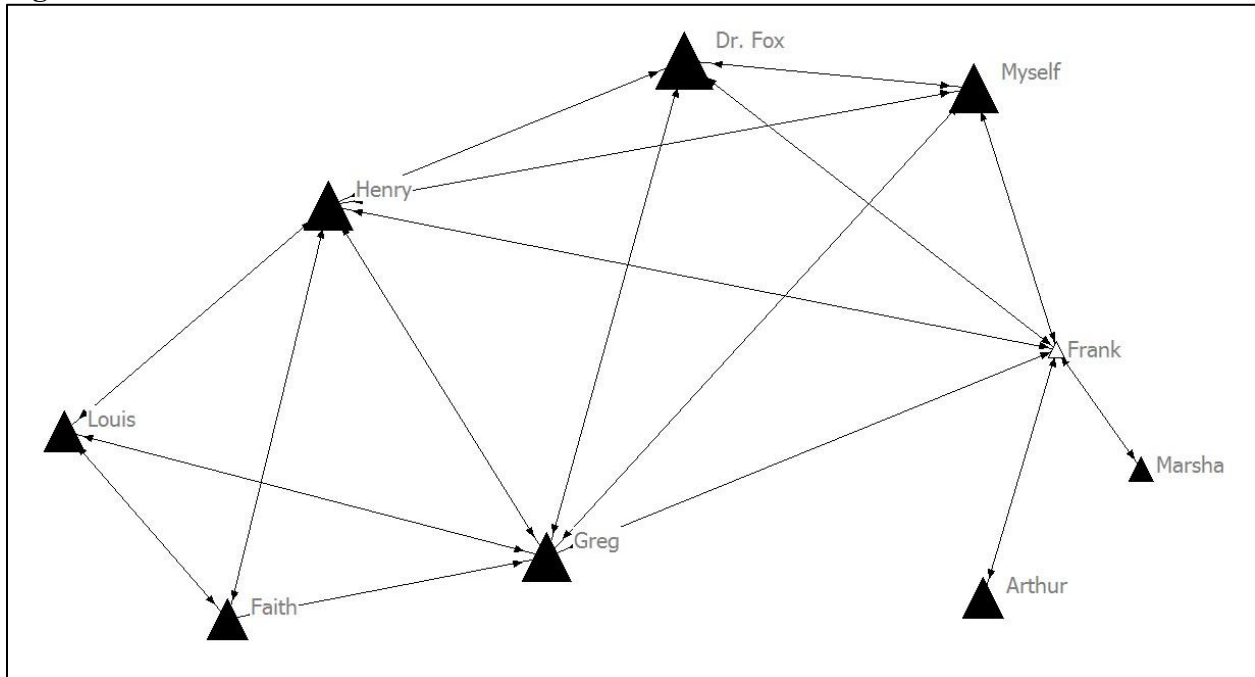
Table 8: Description of Malik’s Connections at Checkpoint 2

<i>Frank</i>	Cousin of Malik, lived with him, had known him since 2012, dropped out senior year, worked as a paper router at OA News, had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Greg</i>	The principal of Carson Learning Center, worked at a church, had known him since sophomore year, much education, and had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Henry</i>	Assistant Principal at Carson Learning Center, had known Malik since his sophomore year, master’s degree, business license, and believed he had been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Marsha</i>	The girlfriend of Malik at time of collection 2, had met her a few years ago, in high school, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Faith</i>	Taught math at Carson Learning Center, taught all the interns at one point, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Louis</i>	Taught science at Carson Learning Center, taught all the interns at one point, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Arthur</i>	Older brother of Malik, had known him since 7 th grade, college graduate, owned a mechanical shop, and had been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 34: Malik's Second Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Malik to stay in school:

Frank: (Frank) be like if you want to go to the Marines, you have to go. (Frank) be like I see a bright future ahead of you. You are very intelligent and use your wisdom. Start turning the wheel.

Henry: (Henry) says life is not a game and most things are not that funny. Calls it laughter out of order....laughing at what you do not know what you are laughing at....shadow laughing. Stupidity and success do not mix. Things will get hard. (Henry) tells me a lot of things to do.

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) says you are a good man, focus, and do not let obstacles get in your way and move if they do.

Myself: You say you get to have your life if you finish school.

Arthur: (Arthur) be like, man (Malik), you right. (Arthur) being real and means what he says. Do what you got to. There are some people that want to see you have nothing. I want to see you have something. Just get ready. Do it. Be prepared. Was like if you go to job everyday...that job expects you to do the job. If you come to work and play every day, then what....gonna have a job at home. Get all your stuff (Malik). Motivates.

Figure 35: Malik's Second Network for Academic Resource Availability

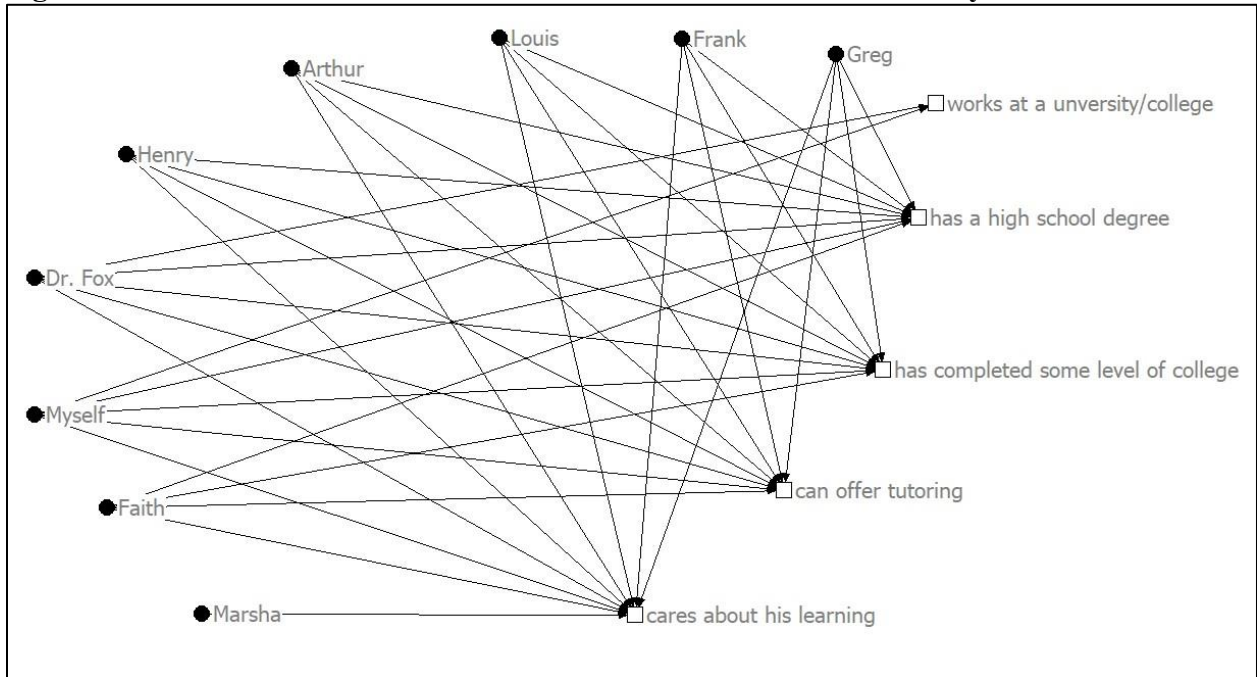
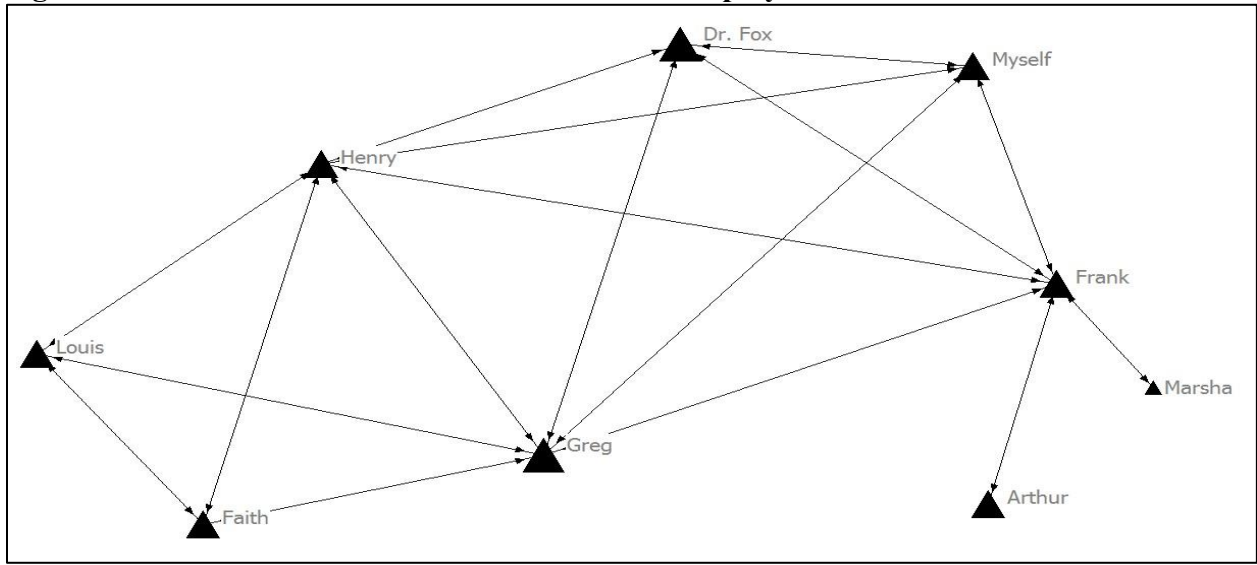


Figure 36: Malik's Second Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Malik to stay employed:

Greg: (Greg) be like, when he called me up yesterday, asked if I had been working. (Greg) asked if I had been working and I said no. Then he said you want to know why? Cause you do not come to school. He be like you can talk to me and tell me the problem. Says I do not care if you are hurt, just come to school. I understand the talk and this job is connected to the school. As long as we come to school, I can work. If I do not it is canceled. Hard if I miss a day and come the next day hard to catch up. Same time they limit the work they give me so I can catch up.

Figure 37: Malik's Second Network for Employment Resource Availability

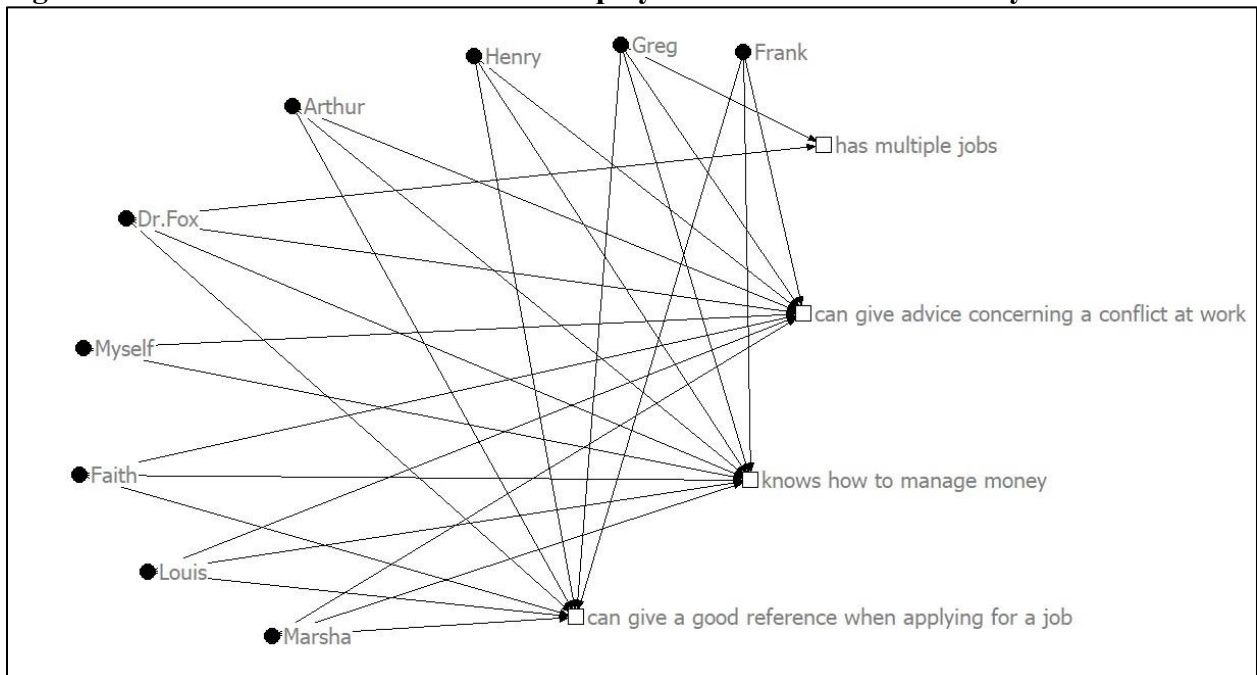
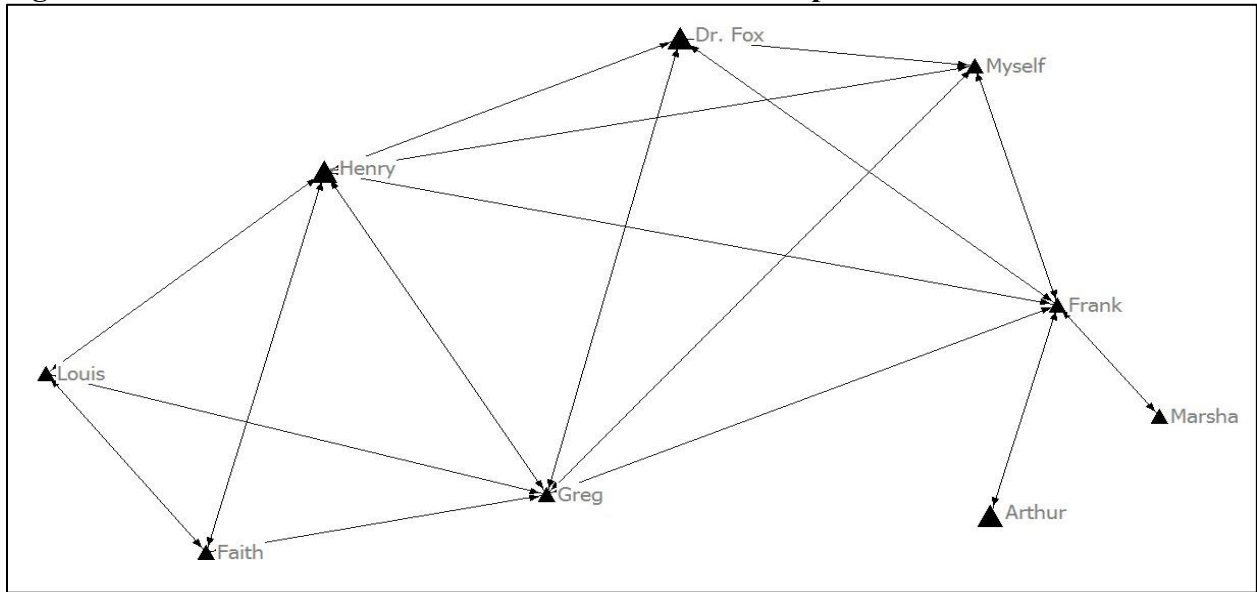


Figure 38: Malik's Second Personal Network for Citizenship

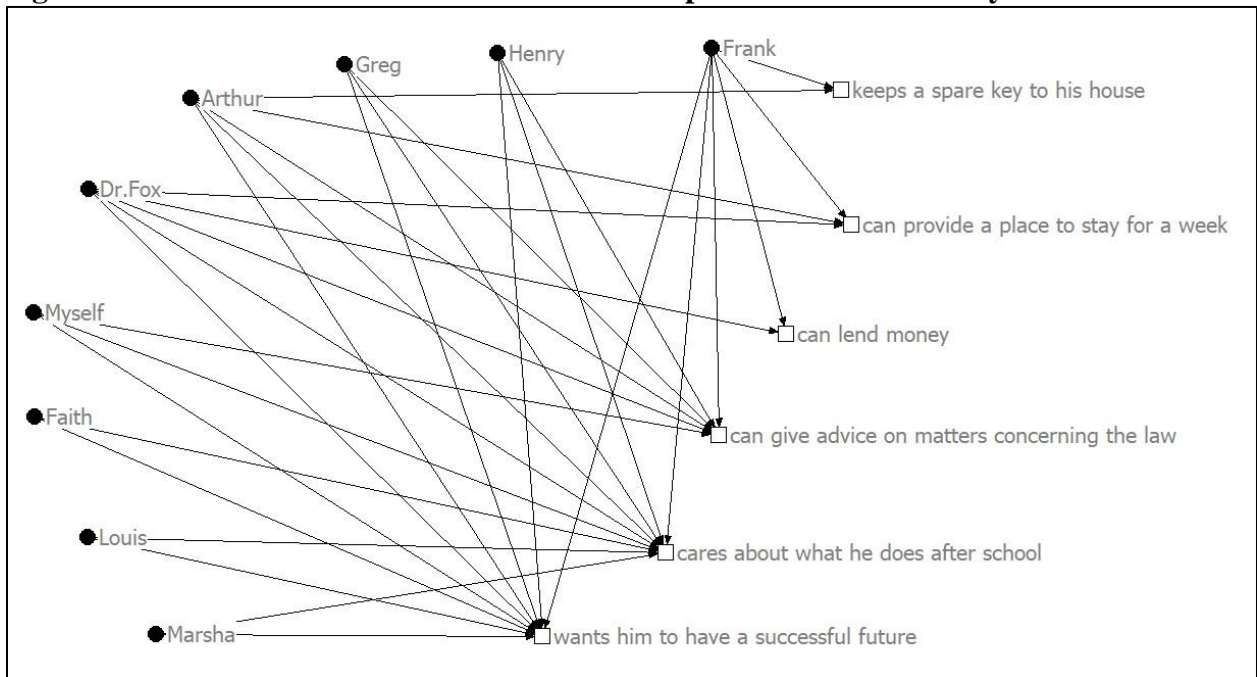


Encouraging Malik to stay out of trouble:

Frank: (Frank) tells me I do not want to go down that road.

Marsha: (Marsha) says if something is about to happen, I can stay at her house. Stays right across the street in Pleasant.

Figure 39: Malik's Second Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 16 / Potential Connections= 36 / Density= 0.44

A portion of Malik's second personal network was well connected, though had a low overall density. Malik's second network featured nine people. Of those nine, six were newly identified. His cousin Frank was still identified in the network given that Malik lived with him. Dr. Fox and I were also identified in the network. Most people identified in Malik's network had a college degree, one or multiple jobs, and had never been in trouble. This demonstrated heterophily because Malik was still in high school.

Malik's networks also had much homogeneity. Malik had much support from people encouraging him to stay in school, stay employed, and stay out of trouble. Especially relevant were the connections shared by the Op Grows staff with those working at the Carson Learning Center. Of the nine people in his network, seven had at least a bachelor's degree. Six of the nine worked in an educational setting. The encouragement from those in Malik's network focused on success, getting past obstacles, and having the freedom to make one's own decisions. Arthur suggested that Malik should relate school to the workforce. Again, Malik's connections mattered for his employment. The teachers and administrators all saw the benefit of him working with Op Grows. The only person that did not have a job was Malik's girlfriend, Marsha, but she still valued work. An outlet for Malik would have been for him to work at his brother's mechanics shop. Regarding Malik's citizenship/delinquency network, all wanted him to stay out of trouble.

Malik's charm played a large role in how he navigated his social sphere. His personality allowed him to find access to resources that would help him in his future endeavors. Since checkpoint one, the Op Grows staff felt like we had got to know Malik better, despite working few hours from August to December. For myself, I got to offer a listening ear when Malik was

arrested. Malik would later say he was thankful for that. Dr. Fox continued to offer support to Malik and always encouraged him to work. Others from Op Grows were not identified. Like Danny, Malik did not have the best relationship with Joe or Samuel. He did not enjoy school and the interns rarely visited the farm.

Malik did not identify any new resources available from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 2. Though, Malik did identify more people that offered those resources. Especially important is Dr. Fox and myself. Most of his resources identified could match onto Dr. Fox or me. Of those resources connected to Dr. Fox and myself, both of us offered 10 out of 14 resources. The only resource not accounted for in checkpoint 1 was accounted for by Dr. Fox and myself. That resource was: [works at a university/college].

Everyone in Malik's second network offered the resources: [can give advice concerning a conflict at work], [knows how to manage money], [cares about what he does after school], [cares about his learning], and [wants him to have a successful future. Most people had a high school degree, completed some level of college, can offer tutoring, and can give a good reference when applying for a job. Malik suggested Dr. Fox could give him a good reference for a job, but Dr. Fox did not think he could give Malik a good reference to Simba Gastropub after missing so many days of work. Something else that stood out was Malik again did not identify any friends in his network. Those identified had connections to the Carson Learning Center, despite not going to school often.

A person that also could have been relevant to Malik was a Judge that Dr. Fox knew. This Judge could have helped after Malik got arrested. In comparing his personal network with those that offered resources, each person associated with Op Grows was connected and offered a lot of resources. Though not staff, the administration and teachers at the Carson Learning Center

furthered the mission of Op Grows. Taking those that Dr. Fox and I were connected to, again, 10 out of the total 14 resources were offered together. Those resources were strengthened by all those offering and connected to one another. This supported Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure where many connections together can strengthen those resources offered.

Rodney

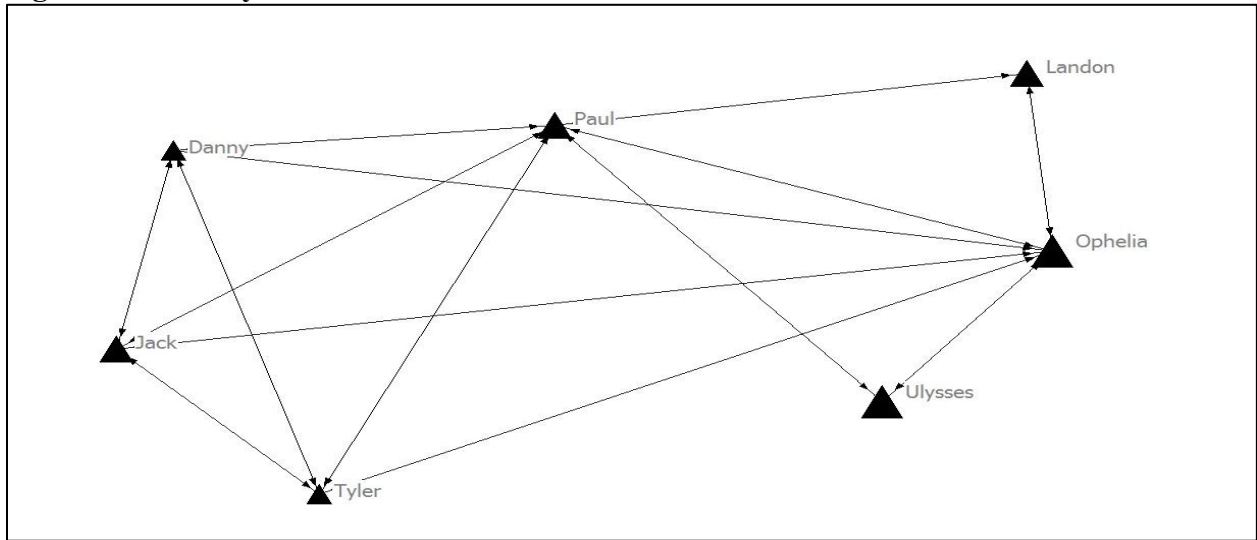
Table 9: Description of Rodney’s Connections at Checkpoint 2

<i>Danny</i>	Danny was one of the interns. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Ophelia</i>	Grandmother of Rodney, adopted him, lived with her, had met a few years ago, a lot of education, did not work anymore, used to work in medicine, and believed she had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Paul</i>	Older brother of Rodney, lived with him, finished high school, used to work at Turner Fencing, potentially was going into the army, believed he had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Ulysses</i>	Pastor of church Rodney attends, had a lot of education, and did not believe he had been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Tyler</i>	Cousin of Rodney, met when he moved down here, was in 11 th grade, worked at Hardee’s, and believed he had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Landon</i>	Sgt. in the army who talked to Rodney and Paul, had met him a year before, army recruiter, had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Jack</i>	Taught computer science and business at Carson Learning Center, had known Rodney for a year, had a college degree, had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 40: Rodney's Second Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Rodney to stay in school:

Paul: (Paul) encourages me and say you need to finish to get better jobs.

Ulysses: (Ulysses) says if you want to have a family, you need to be able to support them. Finish school.

Tyler: (Tyler) says to listen and you cannot miss nothing. So we take notes.

Figure 41: Rodney's Second Network for Academic Resource Availability

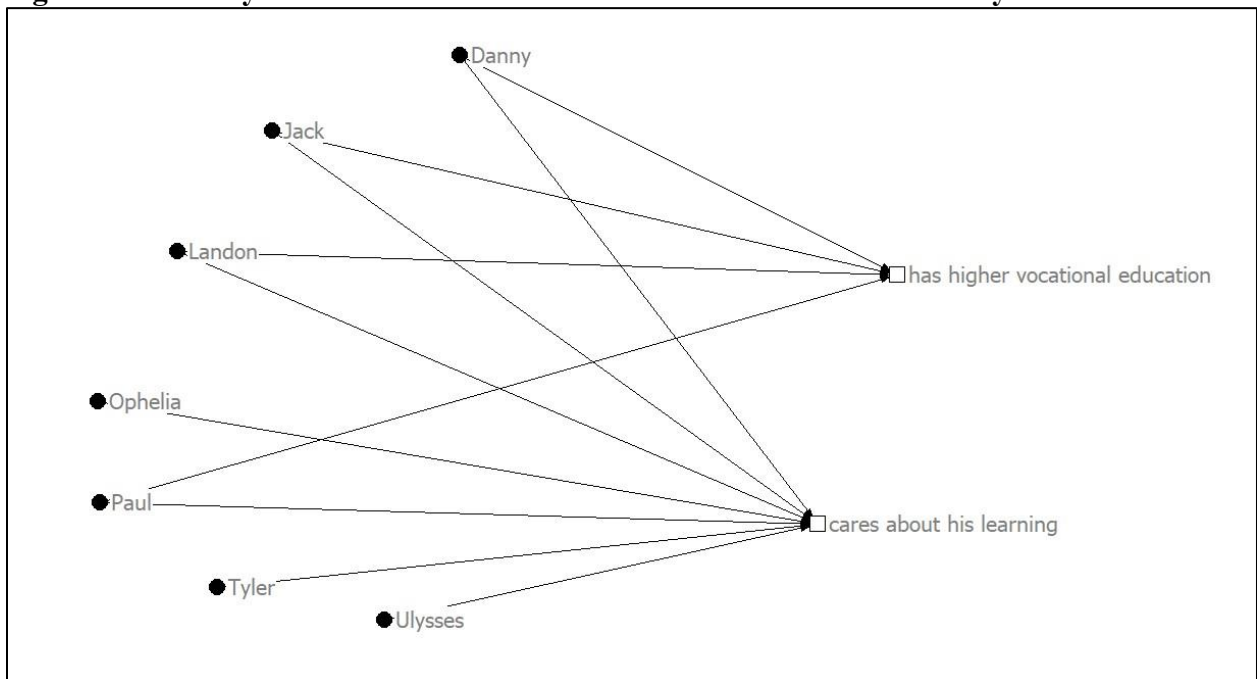
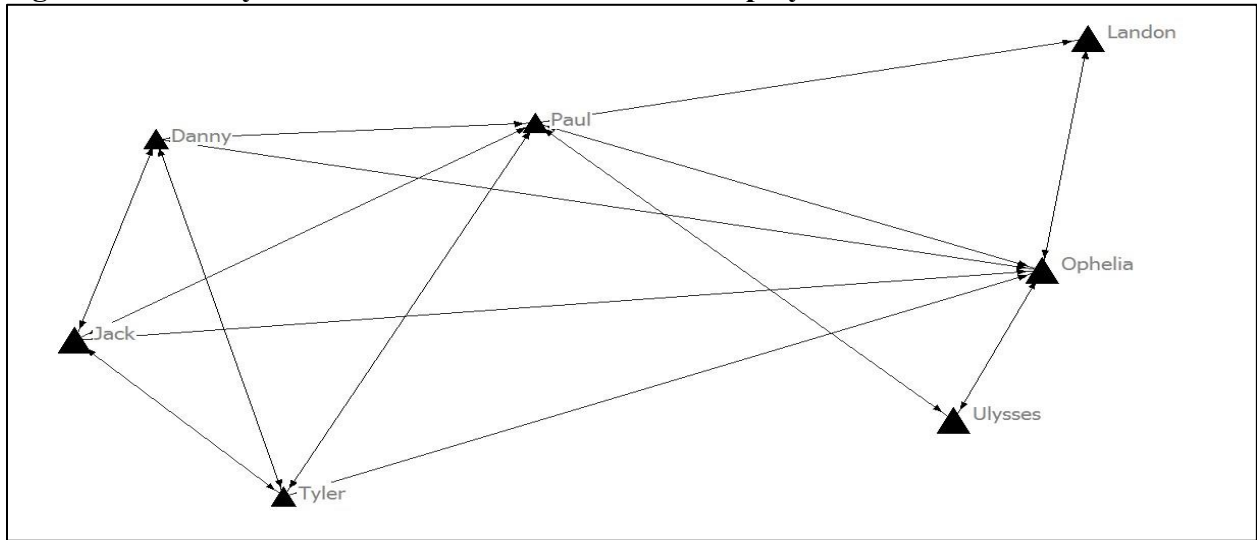


Figure 42: Rodney's Second Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Rodney to stay employed:

Ophelia: (Ophelia) says just do it.

Paul: (Paul) encouraged me to work so I do not have to rely on people for money.

Jack: In class, (Jack) tells everyone you cannot go without a job for a long time. You will get tired of not having money. (Jack) is the one that helped me put the Hardee's application in.

Figure 43: Rodney's Second Network for Employment Resource Availability

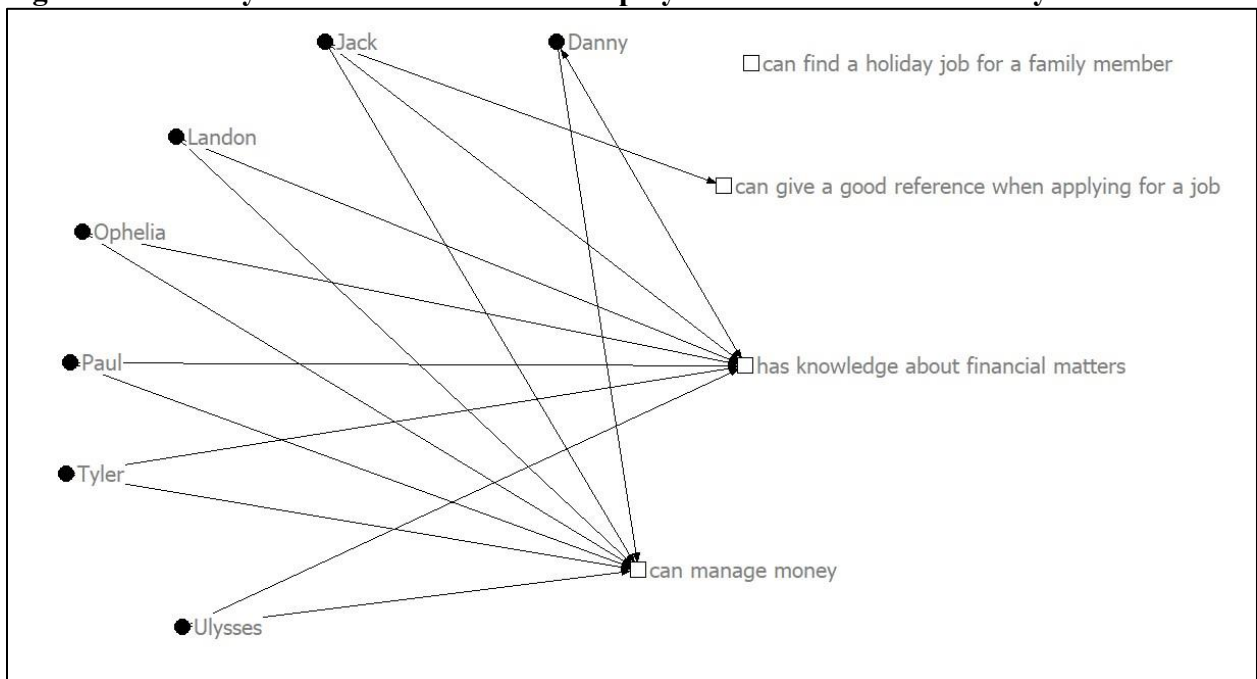
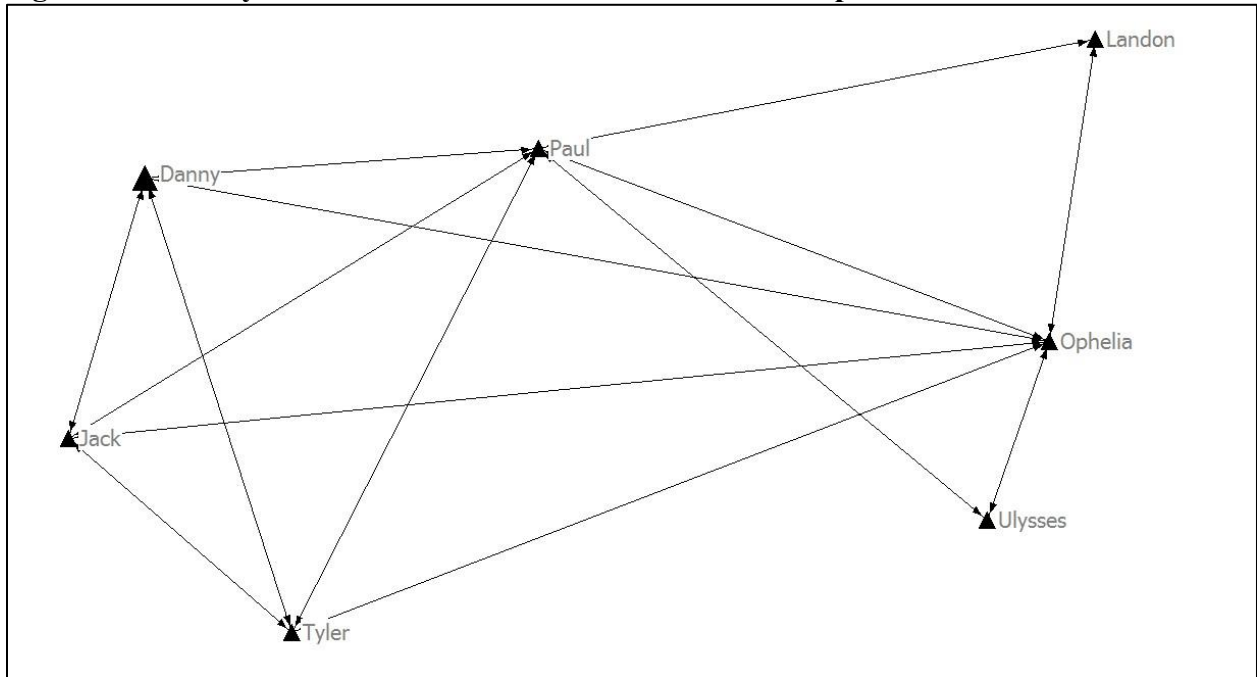


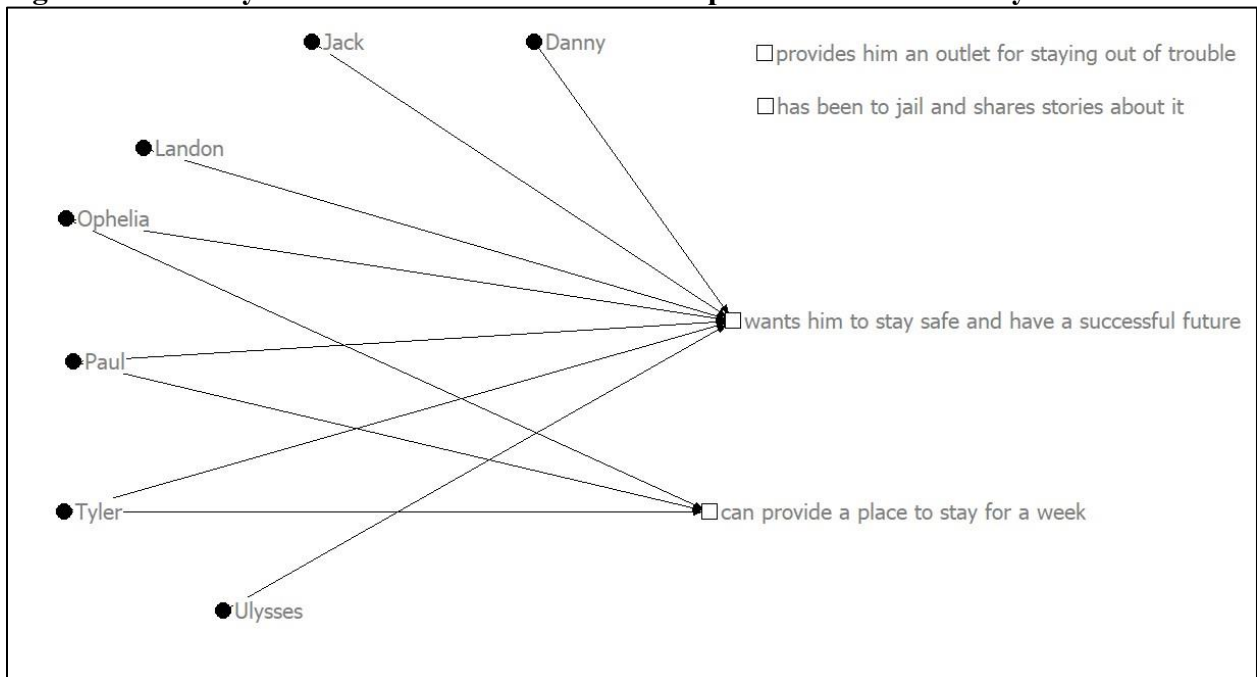
Figure 44: Rodney's Second Personal Network for Citizenship



Encouraging Rodney to stay out of trouble:

Tyler: (Tyler) says to do your work and put your head down after you finish.

Figure 45: Rodney's Second Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Network: Actual Connections= 12 | Potential Connections= 21 | Density= 0.57

Despite the shape of Rodney's network, it was moderately connected. Rodney identified Danny, his brother, grandmother, and pastor again. 4 of the 7 people identified were repeated from checkpoint one. Regarding Rodney's networks, he once again identified different people that lived different lifestyles. Outside his family, the only friends he identified was Danny. The other two people around Rodney's age was his brother and cousin.

All of Rodney's connections encouraged him to stay in school, stay employed, and stay out of trouble. Additionally, those individuals identified all valued their own education, work, and staying out of trouble. Rodney's academic network had a future orientation, especially how Paul related school to work. Most of Rodney's connections had graduated from high school. By identifying another recruiter, there was direction being offered to Rodney. Rodney's alters had different career paths, especially when thinking about the recruiter and pastor. Heterogeneously speaking, Danny was the only individual who had been in serious trouble, though Danny did encourage Rodney to stay out of trouble.

From checkpoint 1, Rodney identified 4 new resources. Those resources include: [can give advice concerning issues in school], [has knowledge about financial matters], [can manage money], and [has been in jail and can share stories about it]. Rodney did not identify anyone from his network that had been in jail and could share stories. Jack and Landon were added as people that had higher vocational training, though Tony was taken away. At the first checkpoint, Quinn was the only person that gave the resource [can give a good reference when applying for a job]. At checkpoint 2, Jack is the only person as Quinn was no longer in the network. At checkpoint 2, Rodney identified 3 resources, [cares about his learning], [has knowledge of

financial matters], and [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future] that were associated with everyone in his network.

Rodney was the only intern to not identify anyone from Op Grows at checkpoint 2. Recall that he left the program in late September. He did not identify anyone from Op Grows after leaving. The only person that he interacted with that could have been identified was Gwen. Though after leaving Op Grows, Rodney was also removed from the agriculture class. One month in her class was not enough time for Rodney to consider her part of his network.

Stanton

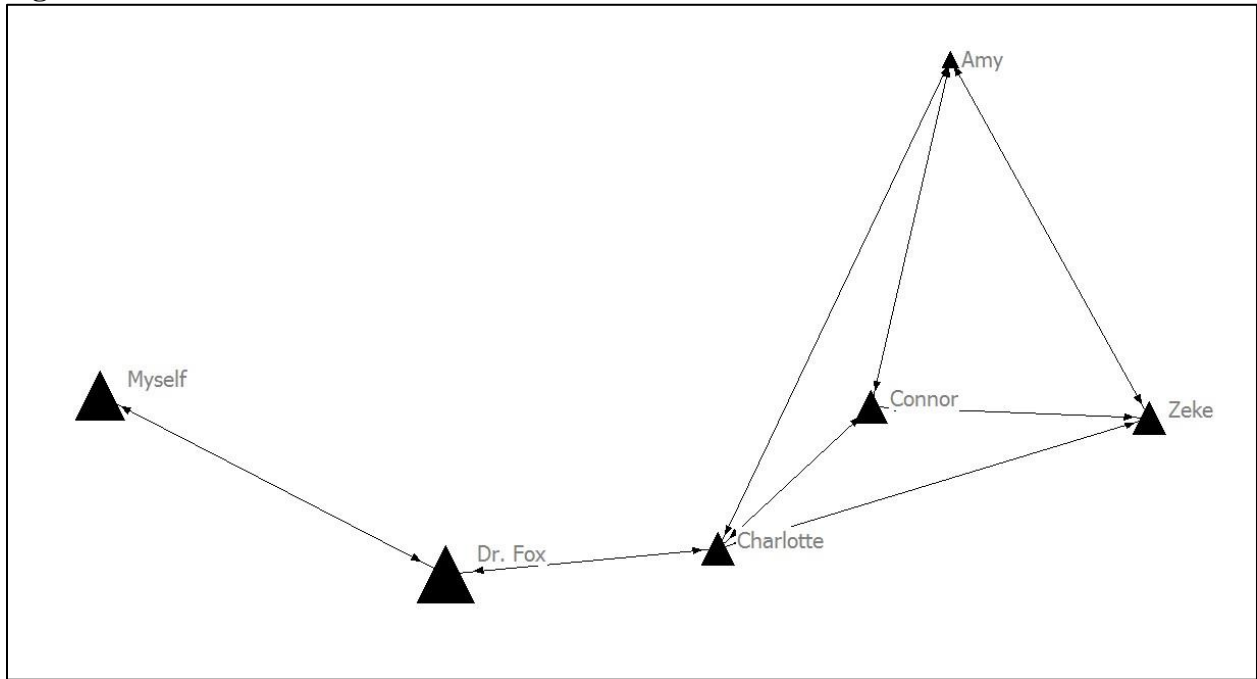
Table 10: Description of Stanton’s Connections at Checkpoint 2

<i>Zeke</i>	Older brother of Stanton, graduated from high school, attended CSU, worked at Publix, and believed he had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Amy</i>	Older sister of Stanton, expelled from high school, she worked with Stanton’s mom at Afni. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Charlotte</i>	Mother of Stanton, finished high school, worked at Afni, had never been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
<i>Connor</i>	Stepdad of Stanton, had met him in 8 th grade, finished high school, went into the military, worked at Mando, and did not believe he had been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 46: Stanton's Second Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Stanton to stay in school:

Charlotte: (Charlotte) says that I better finish and that I better not repeat what happened to my sister.

Figure 47: Stanton's Second Network for Academic Resource Availability

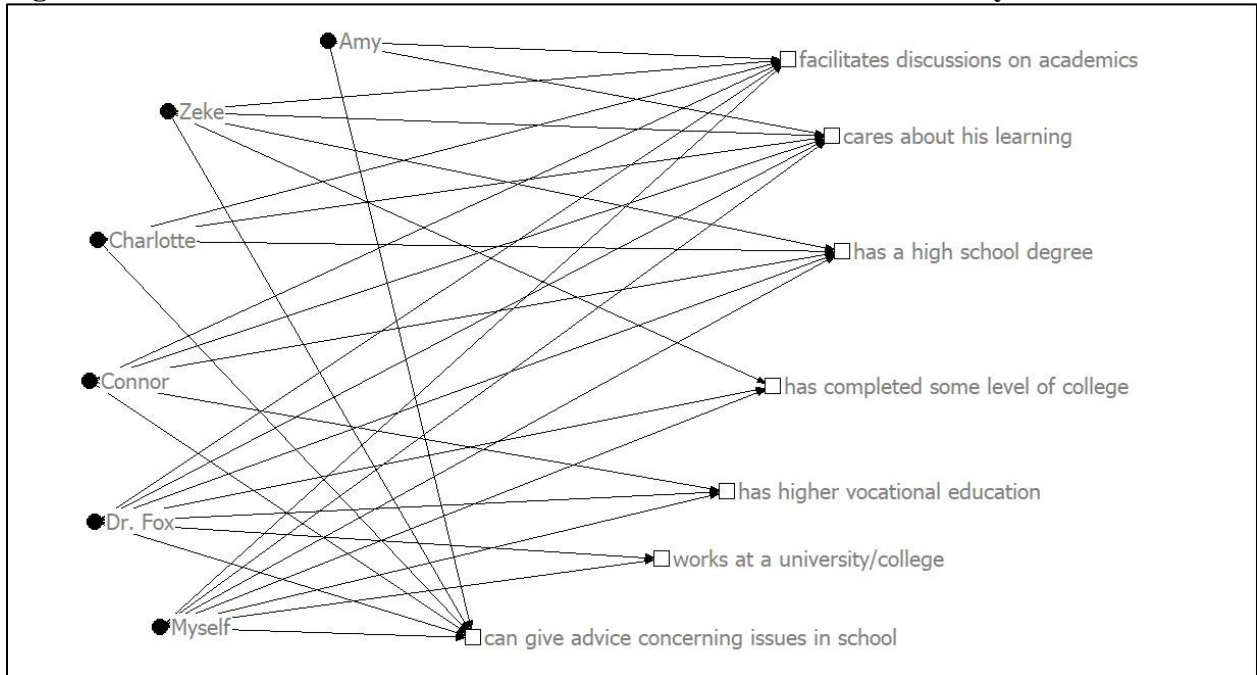
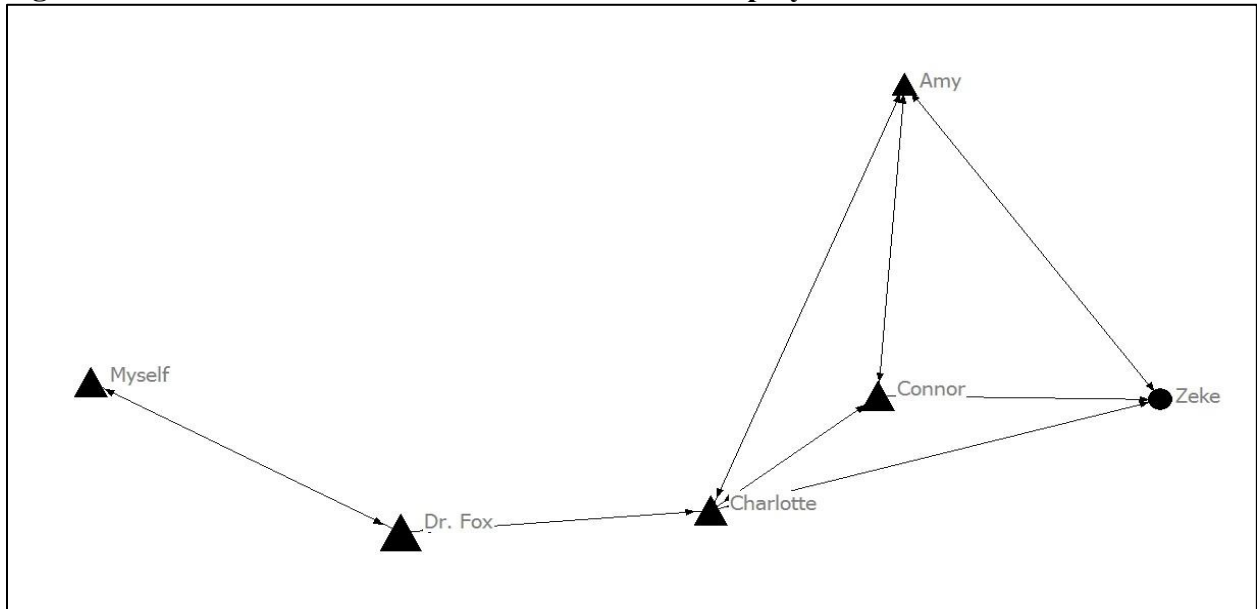


Figure 48: Stanton's Second Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Stanton to stay employed:

Myself: You encourage me to work because you pick me up.

Charlotte: (Charlotte) says make that money and do not get fired.

Figure 49: Stanton's Second Network for Employment Resource Availability

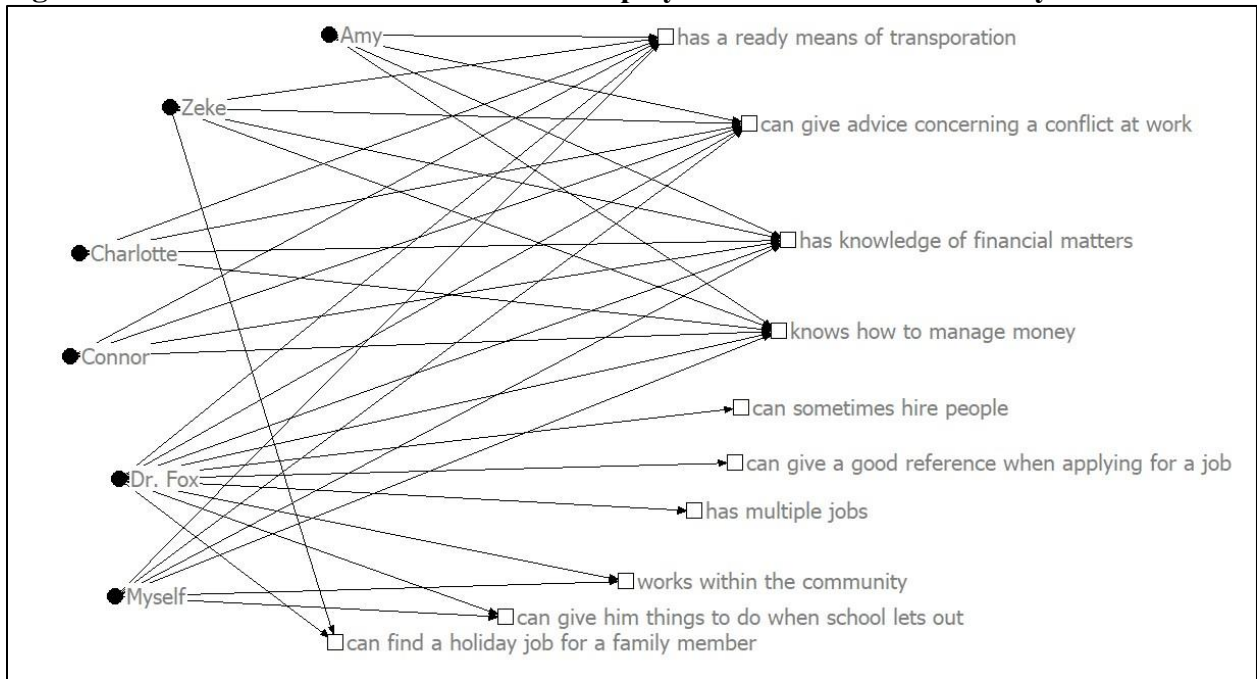
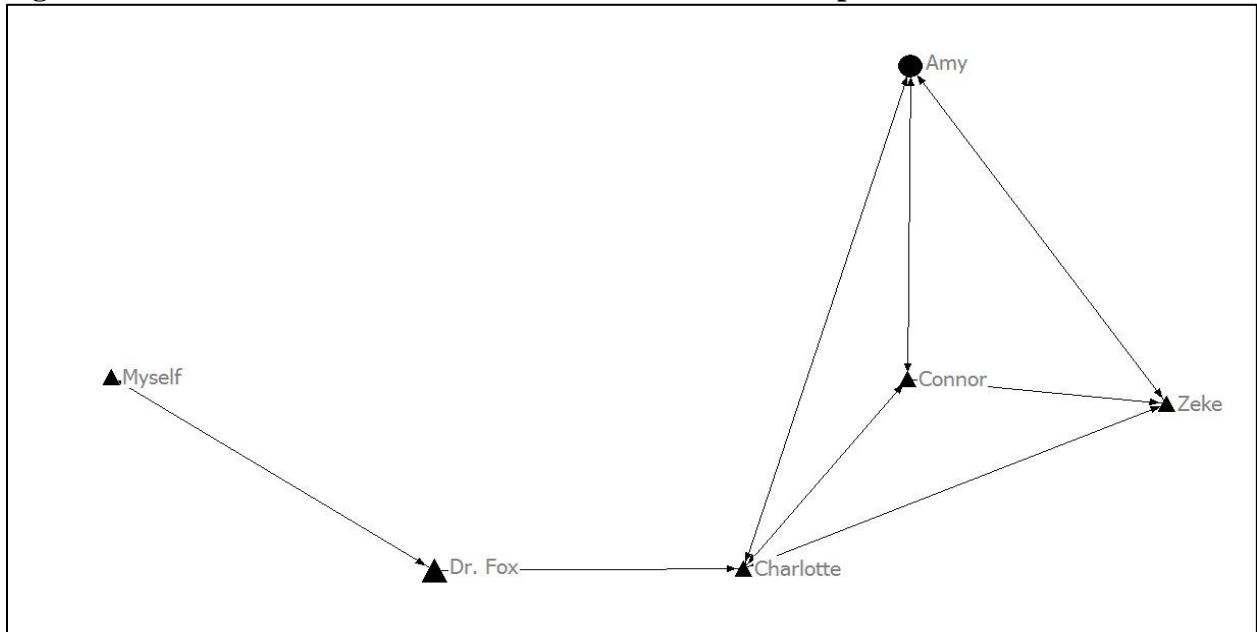


Figure 50: Stanton's Second Personal Network for Citizenship

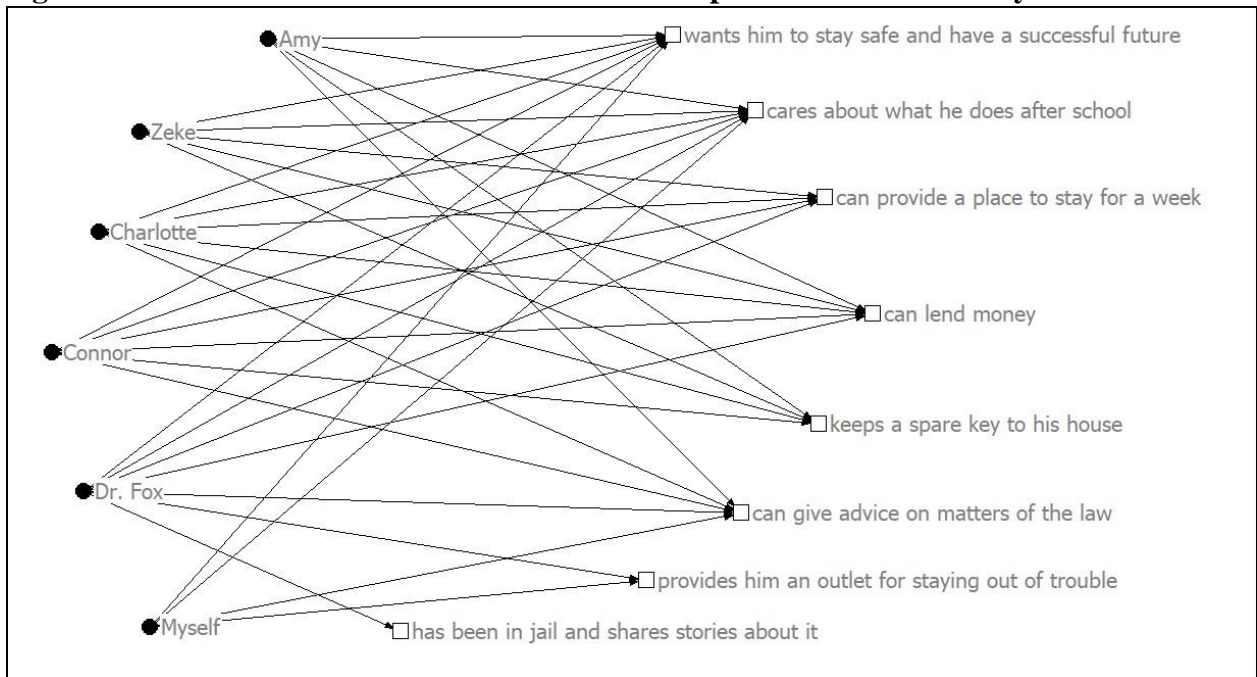


Encouraging Stanton to stay out of trouble:

Zeke: When I first got in trouble, (Zeke) smacked me and made me realize.

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) just says stay out of trouble.

Figure 51: Stanton's Second Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 8 / Potential Connections= 15 / Density= 0.53

Stanton's networks at checkpoint 1 were completely connected. Dr. Fox and I were identified in the network. Given Dr. Fox and myself were not well connected within his network the density measure lessened. Stanton's networks for checkpoint 2 was shaped like a kite with Zeke, Amy, Charlotte, and Connor knowing each other. Stanton's brother, Zeke and sister, Amy, were once again identified in his network. Related to homophily, four individuals were members of Stanton's family. Stanton mentioned that living in his current city made it difficult to see all his friends from Phoenix City he identified in checkpoint 1.

Stanton's networks had much homogeneity. All of Stanton's connections valued their own education, work, and staying out of trouble. Charlotte reflected what Stanton said in the first network; that Stanton should not follow his sister's path and drop out. All but Stanton's sister, Amy, finished high school, with some finishing college. All but Stanton's brother, Zeke, encouraged Stanton to work. Stanton's sister did initially encourage Stanton to stay out of trouble, but Stanton's suggested this was no longer a conversation they had, hence why she wasn't continuing to offer encouragement.

Stanton did not identify 6 of the 8 people from his first network. Though, he identified 4 new people that offered more resources. 3 new resources were identified. Those resources were: [has a ready means of transportation], [provides an outlet for staying out of trouble], and [has been to jail and can share stories about it]. Each of these 3 new resources was associated with members of Op Grows. Those resources not connected to anyone at checkpoint 1 were accounted for by people in Stanton's second network. Most notably Dr. Fox provides a reference Stanton applied for a second job. Stanton secured this second job at Simba Gastropub thanks to Dr. Fox's recommendation and how he knew the owner of the restaurant.

Dr. Fox or myself were the only two to offer the resources: [works at a university/college], [works within the community], [can sometimes hire people], [can give a good reference when applying for a job], [has multiple jobs], [can give him things to do when school lets out], [has been to jail and can share stories about it], and [provides him an outlet for staying out of trouble]. Of those 8 resources, 4 were offered by both of us. Dr. Fox was the only one connected to someone else from his network. Thus, Charlotte connected 2 heterogeneous groups that shared 9 resources between them. Those resources included: [cares about his learning], [can give advice concerning issues at school], [facilitates discussions on academics], [has a ready means of transportation], [can give advice concerning conflicts at work], [has knowledge of financial matters], [knows how to manage money], [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future], [and cares about what he does after school].

Those individuals that could have been identified, but were not included were Gwen and others from the Carson learning Center as well as the owner of Simba Gastropub. Stanton started back at the high school but was soon back at the Carson Learning Center. Each of those individuals that worked there could have offered resources related to academics. Stanton did not identify the owner of Simba Gastropub as someone that could, most importantly, hire people. If this was a job unrelated to Op Grows, it would not have been worth noting, but the restaurant bought produce to support the Op Grows mission. Stanton failed to see the relevance of those not working the gardens every day but still has some affiliation with Op Grows.

Reap what you Sow (January – April)

After losing one-fourth of the crops, adjustments had to be made. There were attempts to fertilize the remaining plants assuming they were short on nutrients. Two-thirds of the remaining were not really benefited. The growth of these plants had become stagnated in the garden. They were not dead by any means but had not started producing fruit either. The remaining fourth of the crop was where the most harvest occurred. Plants from this fourth volunteered to other sections of the garden. Now more than ever, the garden needed to be maintained. There could not be any weeds in the garden. If there were, we most certainly would lose what we have tried to accomplish. Even after hiccups and slow growth, it was important to keep moving forward.

January

Citizenship/Delinquency

Stanton stayed out of trouble and showed the staff at the alternative school that he could handle the high school once more. Stanton indicated he had no intention to return to the Carson Learning Center and would be joining the track team to keep himself occupied. On another positive, Danny was showing maturation following the assault charge against his dad. Danny received twenty-five hours of community service, though had the foresight to ask the Judge if he could do his community service with Op Grows. The Judge believed this to be a worthwhile endeavor, so he did twenty-five hours unpaid with Op Grows. The Judge even made the comment that he never thought he would credit Danny with something worthwhile. Fox would not make every hour Danny worked count towards his community service hours. Instead, he allowed Danny to make some money so he would not go a month without any income.

Employment

Stanton worked more hours at Simba Gastropub than the months prior. Because of this, I did not anticipate seeing him much given the fact that he was working elsewhere and was no longer at the alternative school. Stanton did say he still wanted to work in the gardens when he had time. For example, he messaged me one night and said he would work after his track practice if he was not too tired. Navigating work with Malik was more of a burden. In class one day, he got upset with Gwen because he believed the Op Grows staff refused to pick him up for work. Malik said he waited outside expecting a staff member of Op Grows to pull up. Given that Malik did not attend school regularly and still did not have a phone, it was difficult to

contact him and tell him there was no work for the day. Though there was a reason the interns did not work in early January.

Following the successful move of the community garden, Op Grows wanted to build the greenhouse. However, many of the pieces of the greenhouse arrived late, so there was much work to do until the structure could be assembled. Instead of having people stand around, most of the work was put on hold. When the remaining pieces for the greenhouse were received, I did go to Malik's house to pick him up. When I walked up to his door, he did not open the door fully. Malik asked if the staff had been refusing to pick him up. I was honest and told him no one was really working and that no one was going to forget about him. He understood and got in my car to go to work.

Though shortly after complaining about not working, Malik stopped showing up again. He barely worked in January. Dr. Fox made the comment that it was like only having one employee with how little Malik and Stanton worked in the garden. Malik suggested he got hired at McDonald's but to my knowledge, he did not work many hours. Having more time, Malik still did not show his desire to work. For instance, Malik texted me at 3:00 A.M. saying he was drunk and could not work because he would be hungover.

For Danny, work was sometimes not the priority. One day, he left work after his girlfriend picked him up. Danny indicated he was going to have sex even though he could have worked forty more minutes. He did not show up one day and that angered Dr. Fox to the point where he was about to end the entire project. Even further, Danny yelled at Gwen one day in class. Dr. Fox sat him down and told him to respect his people, i.e. do not bite the hand that feeds you. Dr. Fox told Danny that if he did not improve, he would be gone from Op Grows.

Shortly after the conversation, Danny became more dedicated to working. In January, the Op Grows staff saw great change in Danny's work habits. This was the first time was Danny parroting the language the staff members were using. He said he felt comfortable with the staff now to do this. Before the interns would sit back as the older staff members would come up with suggestions. Now Danny was willing to offer advice on projects. Good suggestions included using a cherry picker for the height of the top of the greenhouse and to build a bridge over the water at the front of the gate to the community garden. It was welcomed immediately and it showed what kind of leader Danny could become. This is what the Op Grows staff had been trying to get the interns to do throughout.

There was still an unsureness though with Danny because he was afraid to be wrong and wanted to impress everyone. The best way he thought to do this was to remain an assistant in the work. This was challenged when Dr. Fox was teaching him how to use the saw zaw. Danny messed up while cutting the tops of the posts off in the community garden so he asked if Dr. Fox would take over. Instead, Dr. Fox suggested he learn from his mistakes. In January, Danny learned to use the saw zaw and grinder and taught these skills to Malik and Stanton when they worked. I saw Danny mature in the garden as well. One day in class, I look up to see Danny by himself. He was checking to see if the plants or as he calls them "his babies" were O.K. It took a while, but Danny was now starting to make progress. This progress hopefully would be reflected in Malik and Stanton when they worked.

February

Employment

Op Grows moved forward with a lot of the construction of the greenhouse. Stanton was infrequent in the gardens. When Stanton worked early in February, he was on his phone constantly texting. It felt he had lost rhythm, even sitting back more as Danny engaged in the construction of the greenhouse. I remember talking to other Op Grows staff and being happy that Stanton was gaining experience at Simba Gastropub but did want him to continue engaging in all facets of the program. Outside of work, Stanton mentioned he was getting settled into the high school and told Dr. Fox and I about his first track meet. A few staff members from Op Grows attended.

By February, the Op Grows staff had gotten a sense of how these interns performed at work and in school. Malik continued to miss work and school. As it had been in the past, it was always difficult to know if Malik was going to work. I went to pick him up one day on the weekend and he was not at his cousin's house. Apparently, he was at his mom's house and Malik got mad that he was not picked up. Unbeknownst to any of the staff, Malik had moved in with his mom and only stayed at his cousin's on the weekends. I saw Malik at the Carson Learning Center a few days later and tried to explain it had been a collection of miscommunications and the staff still wanted him to work.

Danny continued to work more than the other interns. However, someone Op Grows temporarily hired made Danny question himself. The man suggested Danny needed to go to college. There was nothing malicious about this suggestion, but Danny had mentioned he had no desire to go to college. Thinking he had to go to college, to be successful made Danny feel incompetent. Admittedly, this man often approached work with a condescending tone. By the end of February, the guy was no longer working with Op Grows and the interns did not seem

upset. If the Op Grows staff had learned anything during the internship, it was that you had to give respect to get respect.

Without a desire to attend college, Danny expressed interest in a construction related field. Danny was somewhat engaged with gardening but had found a liking to the construction aspect of the program. It was fascinating watching the initial steps as he gained more knowledge. Danny learned how to tie in screws at an angle on a small cold frame. Even further, Danny learned how to crimp metal with a grinder. Before when he used the grinder, Danny only used it to cut off nails out of wood. Now he could cut metal grates so they can form angles along the greenhouse. These grates added support to the greenhouse and is a much more technical skill he got to practice. Danny also learned how to use the skill saw and would eventually teach both Stanton and Malik how to rip wood.

Still needing more help with the construction of the greenhouse, Op Grows would hire two new people in the month of February. The first was Bryce. He was a student of Dr. Fox and myself when we co-taught a class. With him growing up on a farm, we felt as though he could contribute meaningfully to build the group. The second person was another high school intern. This person was recommended to Op Grows by Danny. Danny utilized a form of bridging social capital for his friend. Identified as Adam in Danny's network, this directly utilized Danny's network for employment social capital.

On the first day, the Op Grows staff wanted to know how well Danny and Adam would work together. They worked non-stop on the outside of the greenhouse putting in windows, getting nine out of the twelve done. In writing, I cannot begin to express how impressive that was. Considering each window had different measures that needed to be cut and how gentle both had to be with the glass, it was amazing to watch how efficiently they worked together.

Adam already knew basic tenants of construction, which meant each intern could continue learning high-level skills.

Academics

Danny had also been improving in school. Gwen suggested Danny had been more days that were better as opposed to worse. At one point, Danny prepped for the cooking lesson when the chef was demonstrating how to make certain cuts. This was rather impressive because other class members did not enjoy learning from the chef. Malik was more difficult to work with. In one incident Malik remained on the bus instead of going into the garden. Gwen asked where he was. The class laughed. Gwen discovered Malik was still on the bus trying to sleep. The class was immediately taken back to school and the assistant principal had a conversation with all of them. I would later talk to Malik and tell him that at the garden the Op Grows staff had to know where everyone was for liability purposes. Malik seemed to understand and at least acknowledged why many of the Op Grows staff was upset.

February was much the same as January. Stanton and Malik continued to work sparingly. Danny continued to foster his own leadership ability. February introduced three people that worked for Op Grows. One was short lived. The other two became integral parts of Op Grows. A thing to note from this month is how the staff had to be aware of miscommunication. It was easy to have the interns get upset if the group was not functioning as a unit. From conversations, the Op Grows staff believed Danny was now getting the most out of the program.

March

Academics

After the interns worked with Op Grows for a few months, they at least knew how the program operated. A story stands out in class, where both Malik and Danny defended working after their classmates were asked to work a bit harder in the garden. Instead of working, multiple people from the class said they were doing “slave work”. Dr. Fox retorted that it was just work and the interns agreed. The Op Grows staff were seeing Malik and Danny demonstrate leadership potential. Malik and Danny said they felt more comfortable with Gwen because they knew what to expect. This is especially relevant to how the interns still got in trouble in other classes.

One day in late March, Danny was sent home for tardiness. He contacted Dr. Fox to come to the garden. Instead of going home, Danny worked and earned money. Given that Danny could do something more enjoyable than school, I was fearful this would give Danny more reason to drop out. Dr. Fox believed that students that were sent home for tardiness were a stupid reason to be sent home. Therefore, he allowed Danny to work instead. If he had gotten combative in the agriculture class, it would have been different. This went back to the conversation about respecting ‘our people’. Danny was comfortable, but I saw how the Op Grows staff had to balance the relationship between school and work and that it was still important for them to not drop out.

Op Grows Programming

Even still, we saw how the work relationship was not easily navigated. A small example of this was how all the interns felt as though they could go inside the building while working and

get sweet tea from the refrigerator. This tea did not belong to Op Grows. The interns felt as though because it was inside, they could take it. It took a few times telling them to not take anything from inside. Another instance involved a late-night text. In the text, Danny mentioned he and Adam could not come in the next day because they were fishing till two in the morning and would still be tired.

Furthermore, there were times where the interns undermined what was being asked of them. Dr. Fox wanted Adam to stay and keep burning wood. Instead, Adam hopped in the truck bed with Danny unbeknownst to Dr. Fox so both could ride to Lowe's to pick up supplies. Both Danny and Adam thought more help was required at Lowe's. Dr. Fox told them they were wasting time. Danny got angry at Dr. Fox for thinking neither he nor Adam were valued members of Op Grows. Eventually, Dr. Fox talked to Adam about the whole situation in private just to get on the same page. He would eventually do the same for Danny after Danny calmed down. Later Danny would say Dr. Fox handled the situation appropriately. It reified that if Adam was going to be a contributing member of Op Grows, he could not use Danny as a middleman. A positive that came from the misunderstanding is Dr. Fox and I saw a clear example of Danny wanting to contribute to Op Grows by doing what he thought was needed.

Employment

The structure of the greenhouse was finally in place. While working, Danny and Adam got to experience using a jackhammer when helping to put in pipes for the plumbing. Stanton did not work much in the gardens in March, though he did when he could. After seeing how much Danny had gotten from the internship, Malik seemed to have a stronger desire to work.

Malik even asked if he could drive himself to work to help navigate the complexity of picking him up.

Unfortunately, Malik had to help his family work through some issues. Malik mentioned how he did not know how to handle his mom being severely depressed. I suggested that he should help where he could. Malik also indicated he broke up with his girlfriend in late March. Multiple Op Grows staff members suggested work can be a good distraction from other things in life. Because of these life events, Malik did not follow through with his offer of driving himself. He barely worked again. On top of those straining events, Malik was balancing his schedule with McDonald's. Malik ended up quitting there in late March because he said the manager asked too much of him. Dr. Fox made the comment to Malik that, "Maybe his manager thought you were a decent worker so he knew you could handle more tasks".

A metaphor stood out in March. In a conversation with Dr. Fox, he said, "Relationships are like banks. You cannot just withdraw and expect to always have money available. There has to be some deposits." Sometimes it felt like the interns were only withdrawing. The Op Grows staff always needed to approach challenges professionally, and know how to diffuse situations. Handling situations negatively only led to negative reactions. At least there was an uptick in academics for Malik and Danny.

April

Employment

Stanton continued to work for Simba Gastropub. Unfortunately, Malik did not work that much in April. In the beginning of April, working with Danny was challenging. There were days the Op Grows staff struggled to get Danny to work the entire time. This aspect was apparent when the task was to clean the greenhouse. Everyone was moving things from the greenhouse and into the building for storage. I would bring the things to the door. Danny and Adam were then supposed to organize the things inside the building in a storage area. Instead, both had found a wheelchair and were pushing each other around in it. I had to go inside and tell them to keep working. There was another incident later when Dr. Fox, Bryce, Jason, Joe and myself were sitting down and sketching the next task. The interns were working in the beds while we did this. While the meeting occurred, Danny was not working. He stated he did not believe he had to work if everyone was not working. It was a long conversation with him to understand why planning ahead was important.

While working with Danny, I noticed multiple times how he made excuses for work. To attempt to overcome challenges, Dr. Fox, Adam, and I all tried talking to Danny about his personal expectations. I was impressed with Adam for helping Dr. Fox and me to try and break down those barriers. I acknowledged how the Op Grows staff believed Adam was a person that could help build social capital for Danny. Adam showed maturity and gave us a better appreciation that the Op Grows staff had to give more consideration to those in the interns' networks. This was a direct tie-in with why personal networks were chosen. The Op Grows staff would have never known about Adam if we did a whole network analysis of everyone who worked for Op Grows.

On a day when Danny was not performing up to par, Danny asked if the Op Grows staff was holding Danny to a higher standard compared to Malik and Stanton. We said yes because he was the one working the most frequently and learned the most skills. Of the interns, Danny had the best grasp on plumbing and power tools because of his time thus far with Op Grows. In the spring, Danny worked nearly triple the amount of time compared to Malik and Stanton. Danny was even trying to showcase his skills in class by showing everyone how to use a saw zaw. Danny mentioned the staff from Op Grows were some of the first people to really try and raise his expectations of himself. At times, the relationship was tricky, but up to this point, the staff had built the strongest relationship with Danny.

Academics

In April, there was a story from the class that needed to be shared. This incident caused a reevaluation of how Op Grows would teach the agriculture class. This day was by far the worst the class had performed. Multiple people were away from the group and were quite literally dancing on the picnic tables. These were the same people in the class that had been making the class difficult throughout the year. It was the end of the year and no one felt like doing work. Malik happened to be around those individuals when they decided to disengage. Dr. Fox was in the garden working and looked over at Malik. Instead of staying near the individuals, Malik walked over and picked up a shovel. Dr. Fox walked up to him and suggested Malik is not stupid. Knowing fully what Dr. Fox meant, Malik was smart enough to understand when Dr. Fox got so angry that he did not care about those individuals anymore. The principal of the school was notified of the other student's behaviors to get them out of the class. Malik stayed in the class until the end of the year.

Op Grows Programming

An opportunity presented itself to further build relationships with the interns. All the interns were invited to the Performing Arts Center to see an acrobatic performance. Only Danny and Adam could attend. Dr. Fox gave them free tickets. The performance was a traveling circus that did BMX stunts. Having an affinity for things like skateboarding, both Danny and Adam loved the performance. Joe joked that this might have been the most culture both had gotten. The Performing Arts Center was at the high school. At the time the Op Grows staff had forgotten Danny was not allowed on the premise. Fortunately, Danny was not escorted off the premises and Op Grows allowed the interns to have fun away from work.

In April, there was a continuation of certain trends. I did not get much data on Stanton. I might have seen him three times for the entire month. Malik said he was going to come into work in April, but that did not occur often. One of the biggest things was hiring another new intern. The Op Grows staff hoped Danny and Adam could guide him. It was also the hope that the new intern did not get influenced negatively by those two.

Summary from January – April

At the beginning of January, Op Grows finished the community garden construction and had now turned its sights on building the greenhouse. It was the first time the interns got hands-on experience learning how to build while working for Op Grows, hoping this would improve the outcomes for the interns. I think the Op Grows staff were suspecting that Danny would get the most from working with Op Grows. He had been the only one expressing interested in construction for a career. By and large, Danny would learn many skills and teach the other interns when they worked.

Malik hardly worked from January through April. Come to find out that he was dealing with personal issues. Stanton was getting more hours at Simba Gastropub. He was doing something productive but did not work out in the gardens as much. Stanton was also placed back at the high school, limiting the amount of data I collected on him. Danny worked the most number of hours in this time. Per Danny's request, Op Grows hired Adam to gain much-needed help. Navigating the relationship with Danny was rooted in how the Op Grows staff held him to a higher standard than Malik and Stanton. Adam was not the only other intern hired. Another worked during the day when the interns were at school. There was little interaction with him. At the end of April, another high school student was hired.

Checkpoint 3

Danny

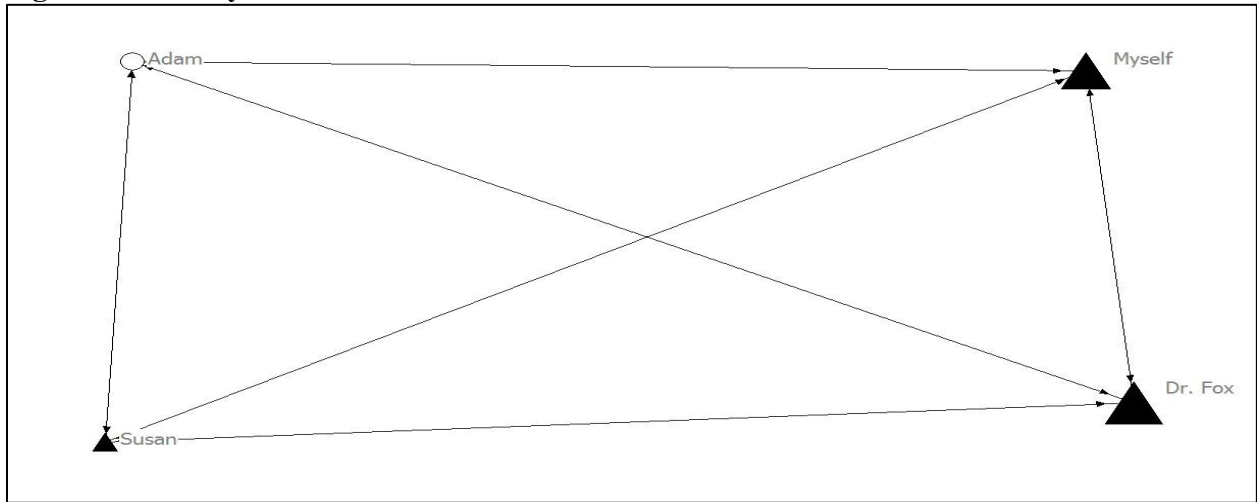
Table 11: Description of Danny's Connections at Checkpoint 3

<i>Adam</i>	A friend of Danny, had known him for 4 years, skated with him, still in high school, had been in serious trouble, eventually secured a job at Op Grows because of Danny. Repeated from Checkpoint 1.
<i>Susan</i>	The girlfriend of Danny at the second and third collection point, met her 6 months ago, 10 th grade, failed once, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>

Figure 52: Danny's Third Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Danny to stay in school:

Susan: (Susan) tells me to do my work and pass. (Susan) asks to see my report card and says I better pull them up.

Figure 53: Danny's Third Network for Academic Resource Availability

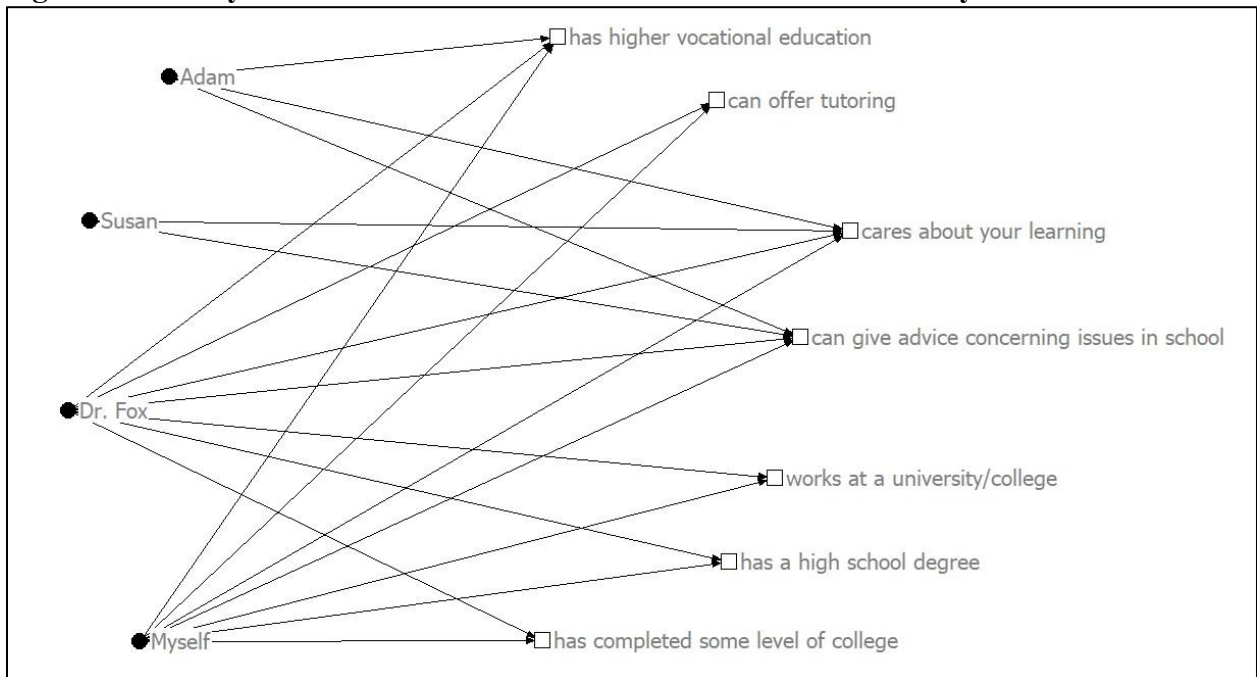
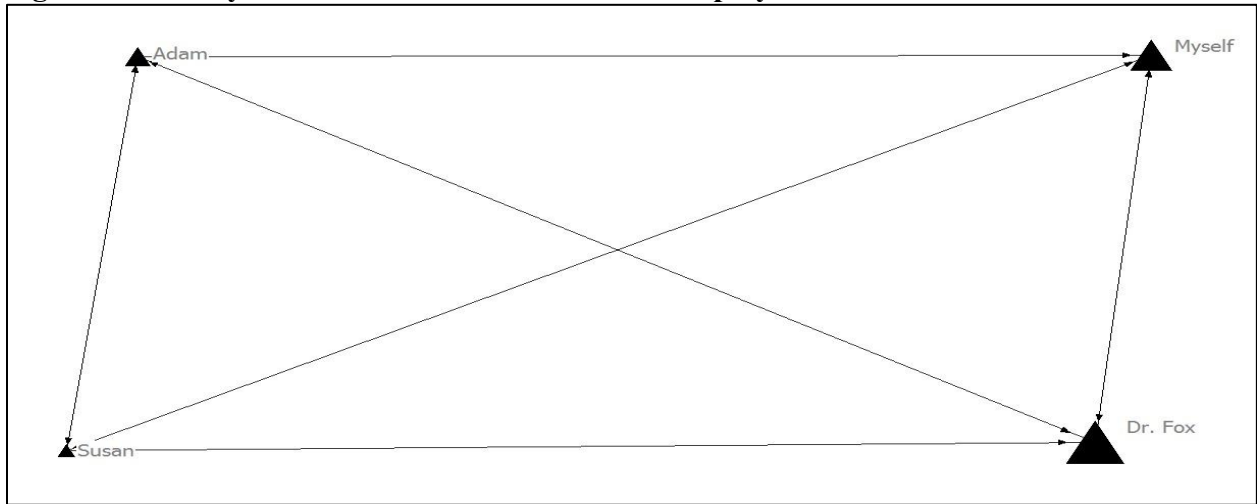


Figure 54: Danny's Third Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Danny to stay employed:

Susan: (Susan) wants to have more money or wants me to have money. She said I should ask y'all for more hours.

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) kept loaning me money and kept giving me hours which eventually helped pay off my legal fees. Not many managers would do that.

Figure 55: Danny's Third Network for Employment Resource Availability

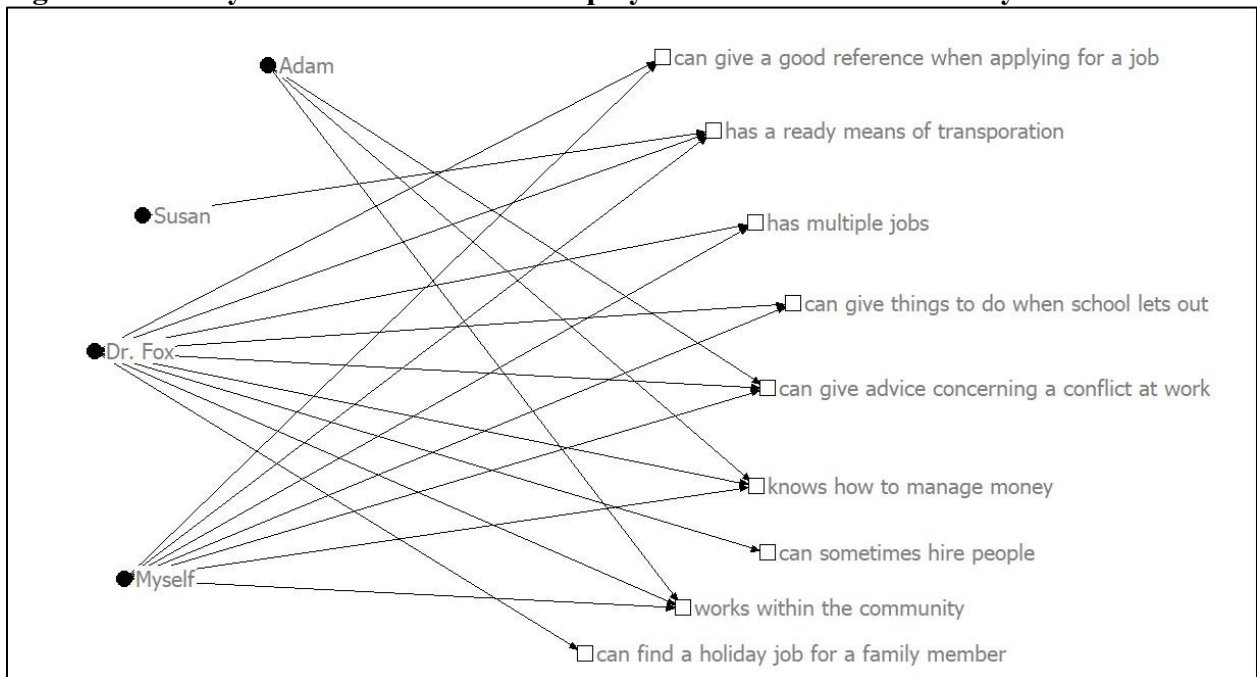
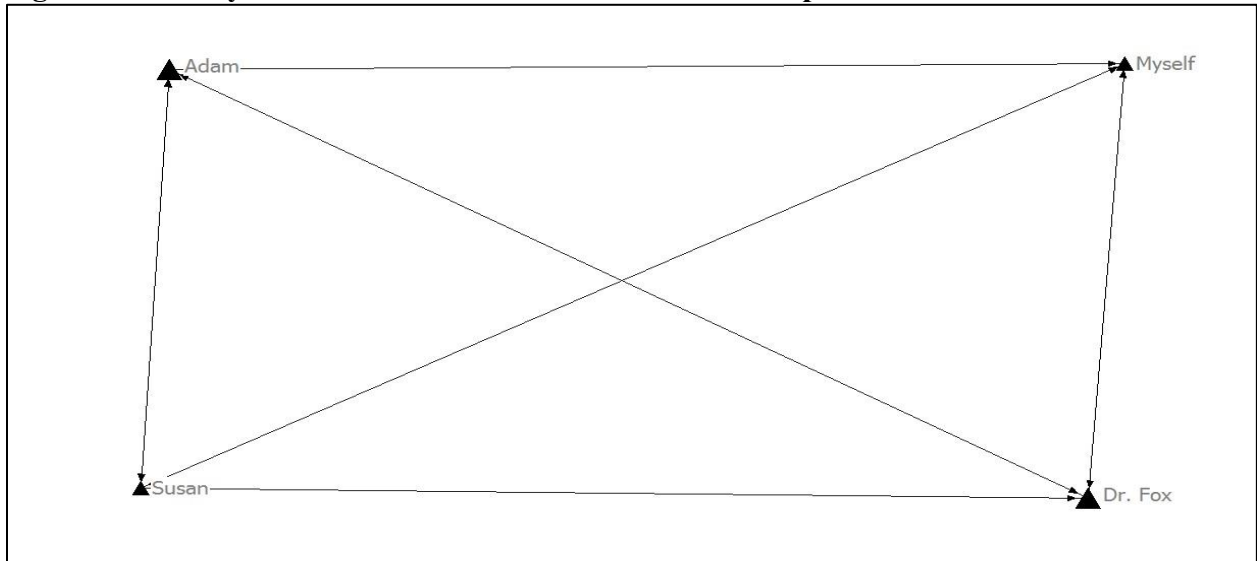


Figure 56: Danny's Third Personal Network for Citizenship



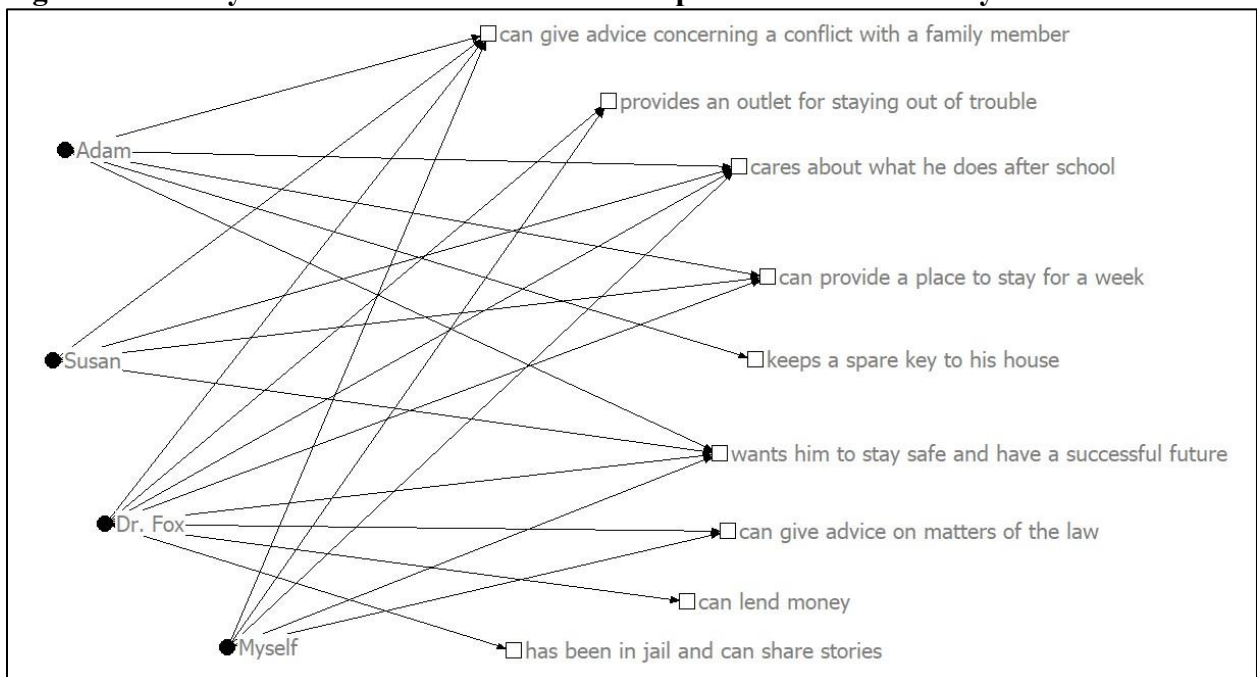
Encouraging Danny to stay out of trouble:

Susan: (Susan) changed me. All I used to want to do is go get drunk, smoke weed and do something stupid that will get the cops called. Now I just want to chill with her.

Dr. Fox: When I get sent home from school for acting up, (Dr. Fox) starts lecturing me.

Myself: You say I know you are happy to have your legal fees paid off. Now do not get in trouble again. You asked if I was staying out of trouble and cannot remember the last time I was in trouble so that is good.

Figure 57: Danny's Third Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 6 / Potential Connections= 6 / Density= 1.0

Danny's network at checkpoint 3 shrunk to only four people but again had a perfect density score. One person in Danny's network was his girlfriend. Again Dr. Fox and I were identified. Danny's friend Adam was also identified a second time. Danny's girlfriend and Adam were most like Danny in age. By checkpoint 3, Adam was also employed by Op Grows. Three of the four people worked for Op Grows showing a rather homophilious network. I asked why the others previously identified were not identified again and he suggested, that he was still cool with everyone but felt these four fit with the questions that were asked in the interview.

Everyone in Danny's network encouraged Danny to stay employed and stay out of trouble. Each of the four also valued working and staying out of trouble. These aspects of the network were rather homogeneous. Danny did not suggest Adam as an encourager of academics. Because that topic was not a big conversation he and Adam talked about. The most influential person for Danny's employment was Dr. Fox. Not only did he keep him on payroll but he would loan him money for legal fees. Work for Danny was directly related to staying out of trouble. As Danny said, "Not many managers would loan individuals money for legal fees." To Danny's credit, he had a desire to pay this money back from later paychecks. Danny suggested this was because he could do community service with Op Grows. Danny's delinquency behaviors were lessened as a result of being with Op Grows. I was happy to encourage Danny to stay out of trouble. I was appreciative that he listened to me spin the logic on why getting in trouble can be harmful for the future.

Carlos, Eli, Rodney, and Stanton were no longer in the network. Despite this, Danny added three resources. Those resources included: [has higher vocational education], [can give a good reference when applying for a job], and [has multiple jobs]. Dr. Fox offered the

employment resources. Dr. Fox, Adam, and I all had higher vocational training, which was important because Danny expresses interest in construction as a career. The three of us were members of Op Grows. Adam was once again in the network and was the only one that kept a spare key for Danny's house. This was the only resource unaccounted for at checkpoint 2. From checkpoint 1, Danny added 5 academic resources, 3 employment resources, and 6 citizenship resources. Additionally, no resource was unaccounted for.

Taking Danny's personal network, all 4 people identified knew one another. All 4 offered the resources: [cares about his learning], [can give advice concerning issues in school], [can give advice concerning a conflict with a family member], [cares about what he does after school], and [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future]. These were the strongest resources offered using Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure.

In looking at Danny's lived experiences between checkpoint 2 and 3, a few people could have been identified in his network because of the amount of time working with them. Recall that a major thing accomplished was building the greenhouse. Those that helped but were not identified in the network included Joe, Samuel, Jason, and Bryce. It made sense for Bryce to not be identified because he was still new to Op Grows. Additionally, Danny never had the best relationship with Joe and Samuel throughout the internship process. Jason, though, talked with Danny about the military. Jason offered many of the resources that Danny suggested he had.

Malik

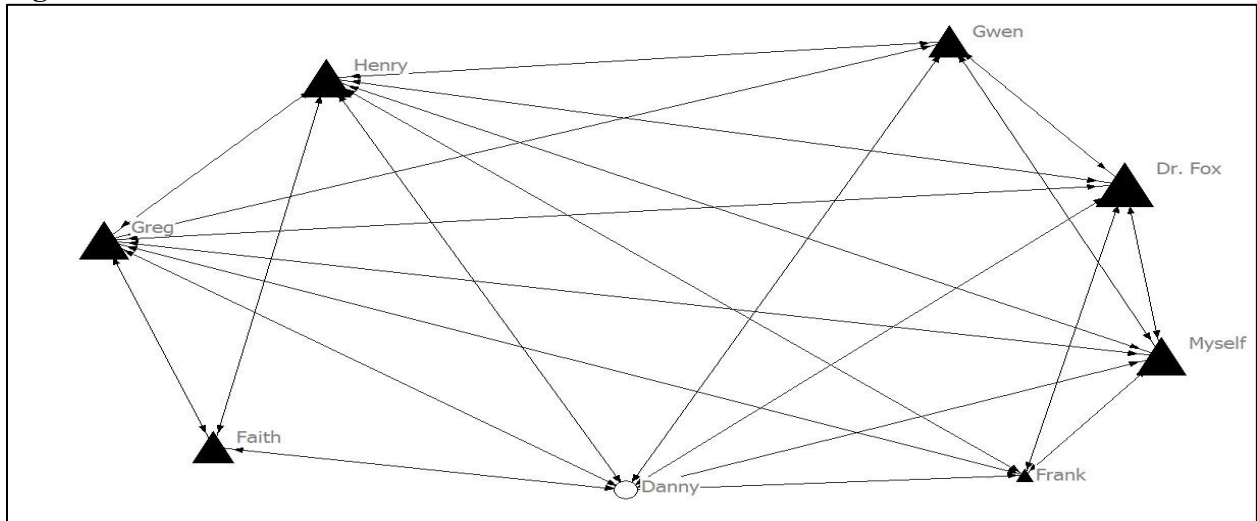
Table 12: Description of Malik’s Connections at Checkpoint 3

<i>Danny</i>	Danny was one of the interns. Newly identified at Checkpoint 3.
<i>Frank</i>	Cousin of Malik, lived with him, had known him since 2012, dropped out senior year, worked as a paper router at OA News, had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Greg</i>	The principal of the Carson Learning Center, worked at a church, had known him since sophomore year, much education, and had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Henry</i>	Assistant Principal at Carson Learning Center, had known him since his sophomore year, master’s degree, business license, believed he had been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Faith</i>	Taught math at Carson Learning Center, taught all the interns at one point, suggested she had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Gwen</i>	Taught the agriculture class at Carson Learning Center, a lot of education, met her a year ago, and did not believe she had been in serious trouble. Newly identified in Checkpoint 3.

Key

<p><u>Personal Networks:</u> <i>Larger the node</i> = alter with more schooling, work, or had been in serious trouble <i>Black</i> = alter values own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>White</i> = alter did not value own education, work, or staying out of trouble <i>Triangle</i> = encouraged ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble <i>Circle</i> = did not encourage ego to stay in school, continue working, or to stay out of trouble</p> <p><u>Resource Availability Network:</u> <i>Connected resource</i> = a resource that was offered from a person in the network <i>Unconnected resource</i> = a resource that was identified but no person in the network offered that resource</p>
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Figure 58: Malik's Third Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Malik to stay in school:

Frank: My cousin makes sure I get up and go to school every day.

Faith: (Faith) wants to see me do it and make it. Being an example. She wants to see the outcome.

Gwen: (Gwen) says I want to see you fly high and make it. She says I do not want to see you fail.

Figure 59: Malik's Third Network for Academic Resource Availability

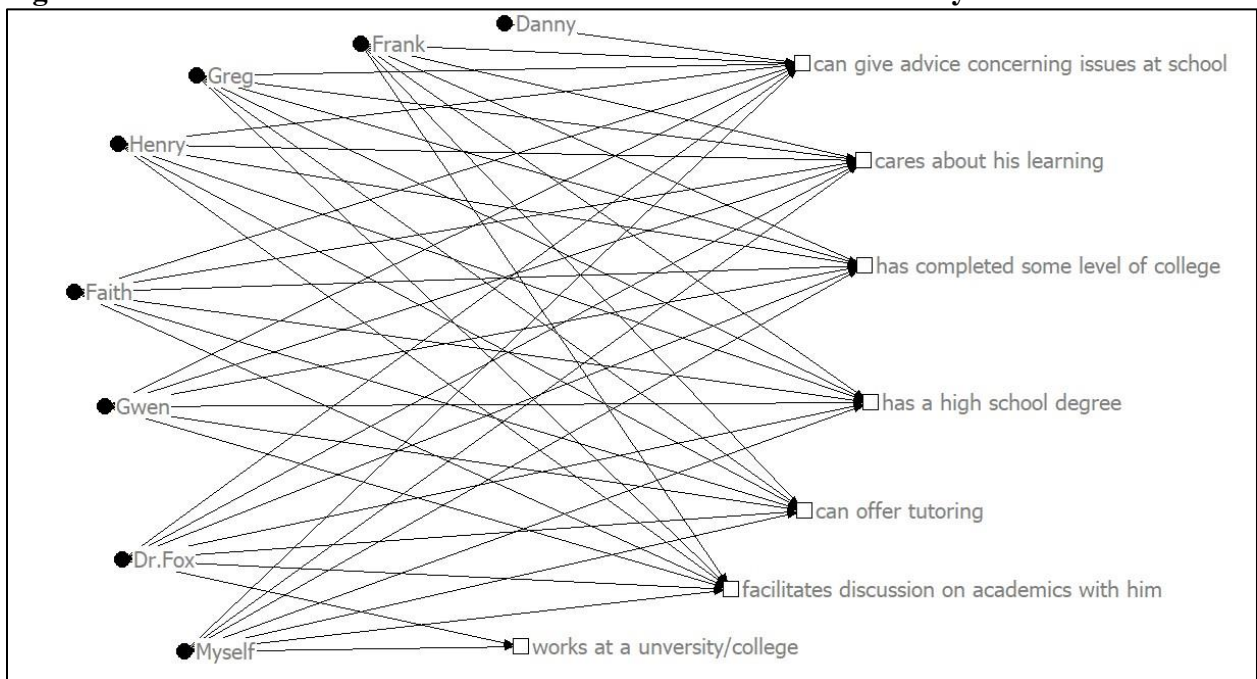
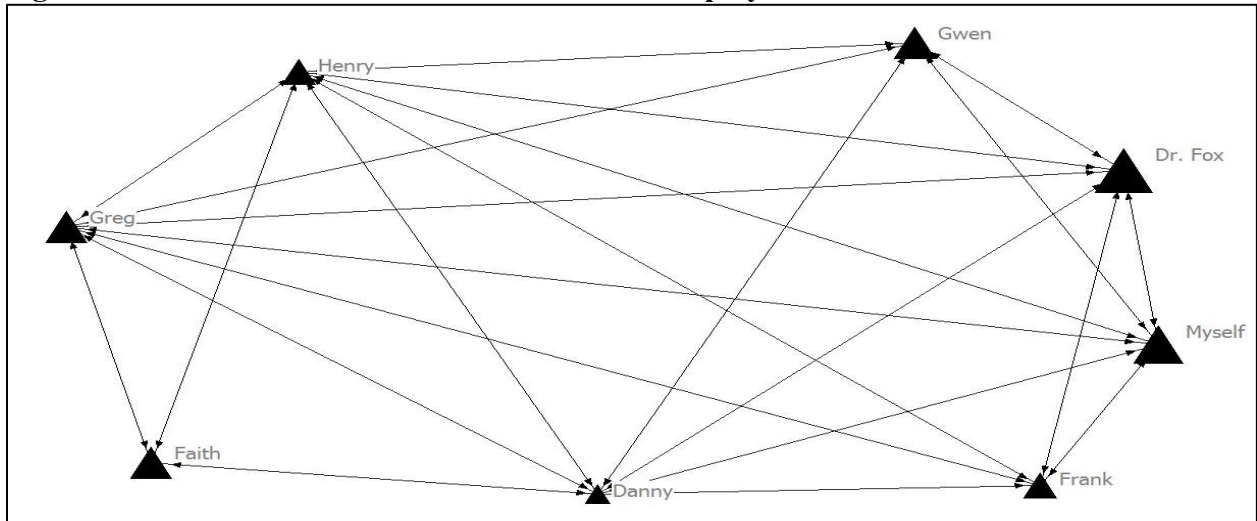


Figure 60: Malik's Third Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Malik to stay employed:

Henry: (Henry) says I will beat you up in his office. Hahaha.

Kevin: (Kevin) says how you going to get things you like clothes, food etc.

Myself: You say better be a man of your word and come out and work even if you have stuff going on in your personal life.

Figure 61: Malik's Third Network for Employment Resource Availability

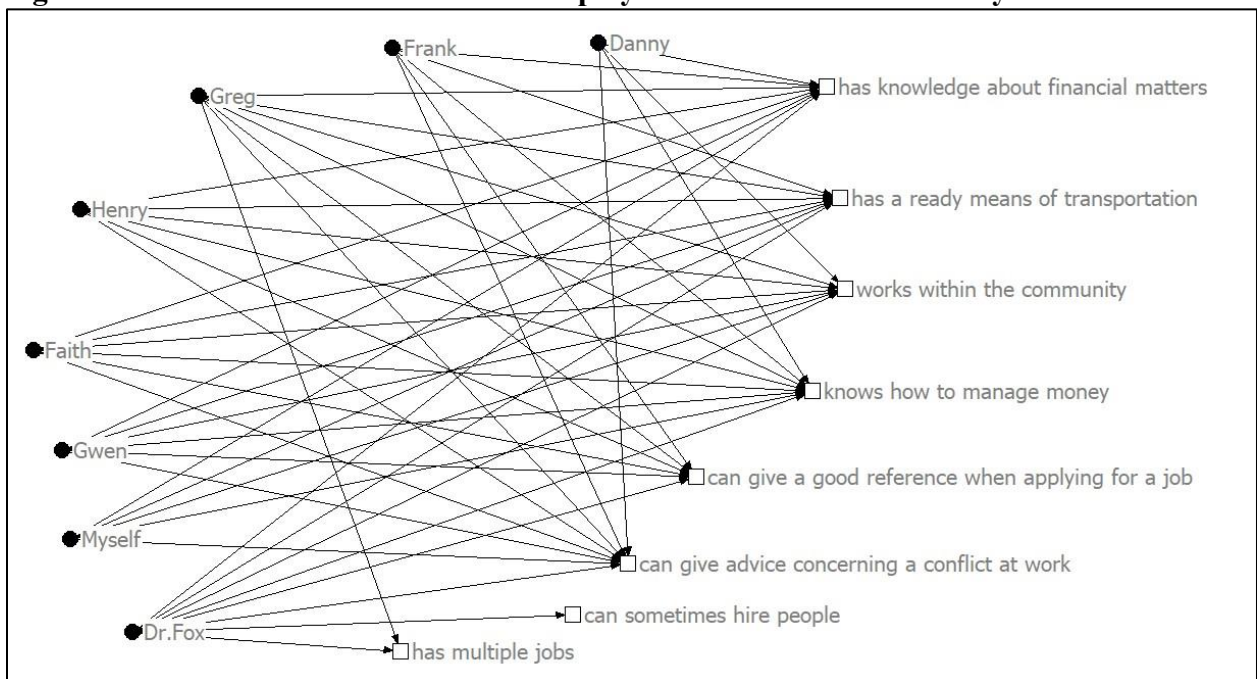
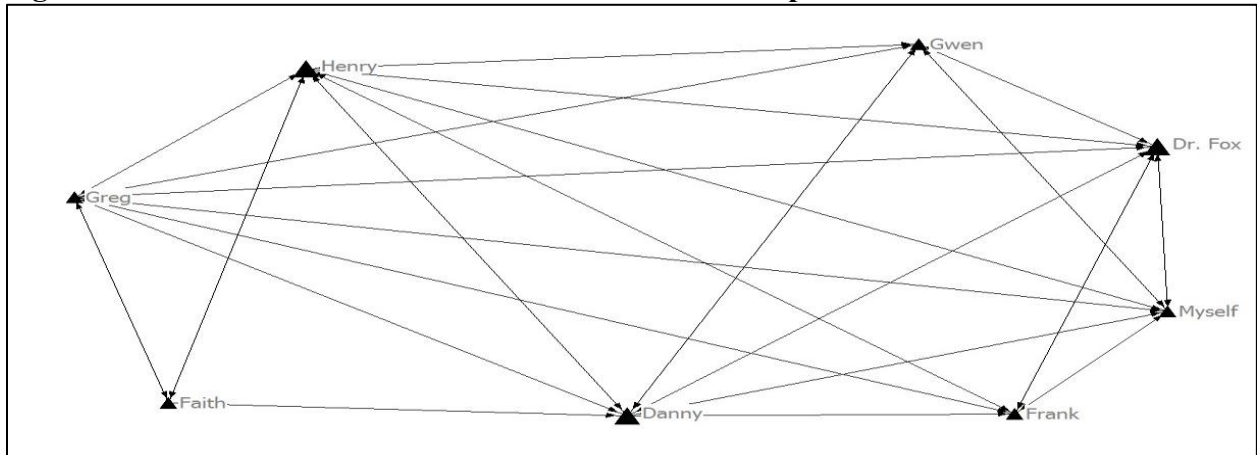


Figure 62: Malik's Third Personal network for Citizenship



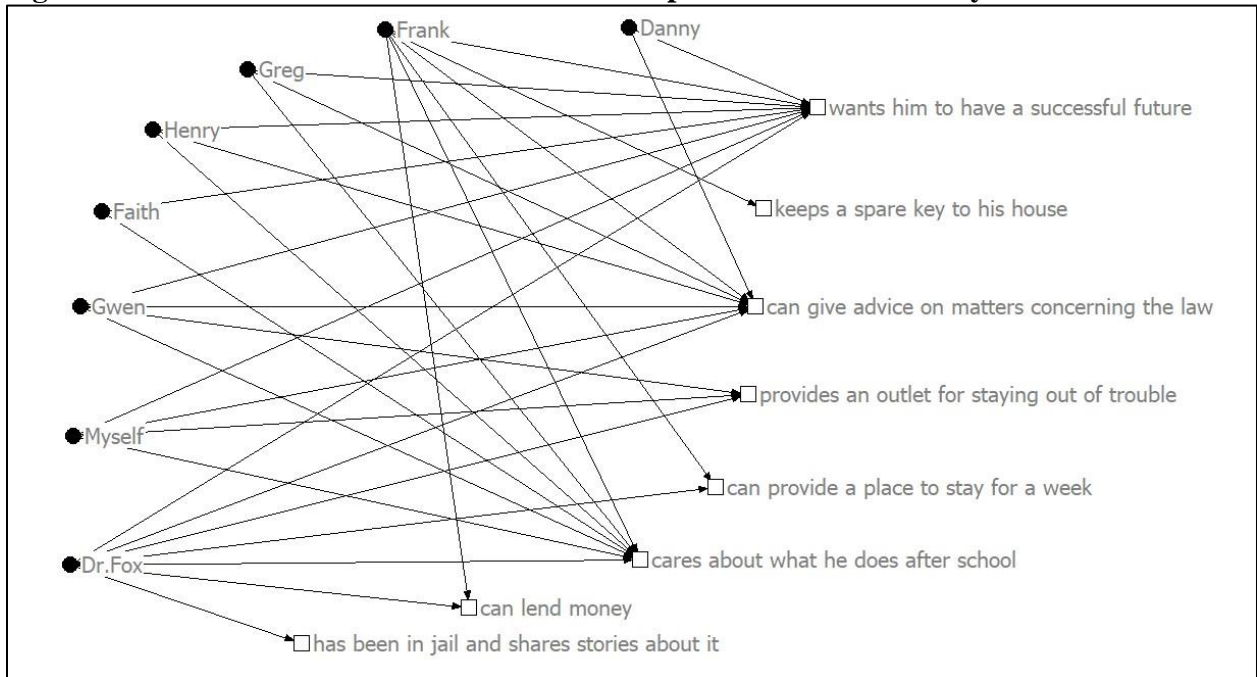
Encouraging Malik to stay out of trouble:

Kevin: (Kevin) makes me think twice.

Dr. Fox: (Dr. Fox) tell me to stay safe over the weekend.

Faith: (Faith) says do not let anyone get to you and the negative thoughts cloud your judgment.

Figure 63: Malik's Third Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Actual Connections= 23 / Potential Connections= 28 / Density of Personal Network = 0.82

Minus a few connections, most everyone in Malik's network at checkpoint 3 was connected. Checkpoint 3 showed Malik's highest density ratings. Like previous networks, Malik's networks at checkpoint 3 had much heterophily. Family, Op Grows staff, and those working at the Carson Learning Center were identified. Malik again identified me and Dr. Fox in his network. A new addition to Malik's network came with Gwen. Gwen was another member from Op Grows who worked with Malik daily. Malik did do better in her class from January to April. Though Malik still identified many people associated with education, despite the numerous days of school he missed during that time.

For academics, most of Malik's network acted in positive ways. Danny was the only individual in Malik's academic network that did not value school, nor encourage Malik to stay in school. This was more of a reflection of not having those types of conversations rather than discouraging. Related to homogeneity, everyone in Malik's networks encouraged him to work and stay out of trouble. They also all valued their work and valued staying out of trouble. I appreciated Malik's inclusion of what I said to him about coming to work if he said he was going to be there. I wanted him to follow-up on things he said. This was a challenge though, especially later in the internship when he stopped showing up. Related to Malik's citizenship/delinquency network, he was receiving positive avenues to pursue. The encouragement factor focused on having Malik clarify his own thoughts. Malik suggested having older individuals in his network prevented him from doing stupid things like hoping in a stolen car. A disconnect though is he did this despite identifying older people in previous networks.

Malik identified 8 new resources at checkpoint three. Those include: [facilitates discussion on academics with him], [can give advice concerning issues at school], [can sometimes hire people], [has knowledge about financial matters], [has a ready means of transportation], [works within the community], [has been to jail and can share stories], and [provides an outlet for staying out of trouble]. Those associated with Op Grows offered the most amount of resources. I did, however, question the influence those associated with Op Grows had in Malik's networks. During the later conversations Op Grows had with Malik, we learned Malik really said things that sounded good but were not necessarily true. As evidenced during this period, there were examples that he would manipulate the Op Grows staff using his charm. This is especially poignant when Malik once again did not include any friends in his network despite continuously missing school.

However, if these connections were reflective, 6 out of the 8 people identified had an association with Op Grows. If there is truth, Malik identified all the people that he worked or interacted with that was associated with Op Grows between checkpoint 2 and checkpoint 3. Both the other interns that still worked for Op Grows failed to recognize at least 1 person at checkpoint 3. 15 of the 23 total resources identified had at least 6 people offering that resource. Taken with the high density of his personal network, most people know one another and were offering the same resources, supporting Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure.

Rodney

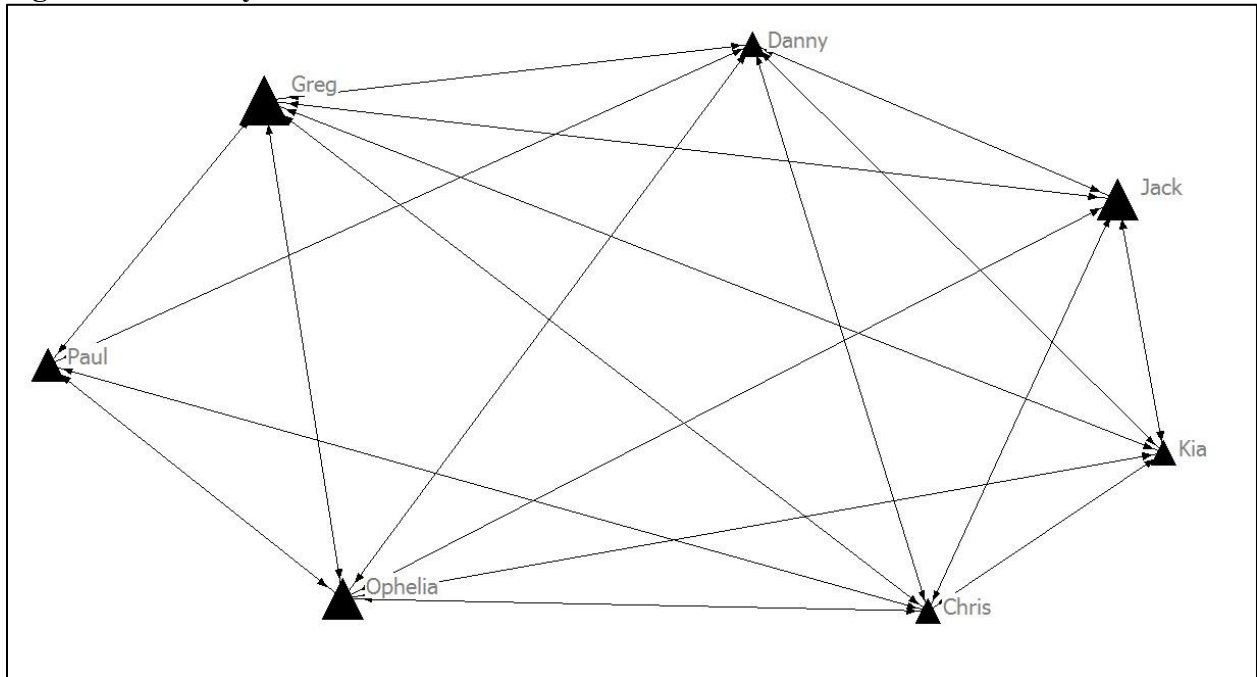
Table 13: Description of Rodney’s Connections at Checkpoint 3

<i>Danny</i>	Danny was one of the interns. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Greg</i>	The principal of Carson Learning Center, worked at a church, had known him since sophomore year, much education, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly identified in Checkpoint 3.
<i>Ophelia</i>	Grandmother of Rodney, adopted him, lived with her, met a few years ago, a lot of education, did not work anymore, used to work in medicine, and believed she had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 1 and 2.
<i>Paul</i>	Older brother of Rodney, lived with him, finished high school, used to work at Turner Fencing, potentially going into the army, believed he had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Jack</i>	Taught computer science and business at Carson Learning Center, had known Rodney for a year, had a college degree. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Kia</i>	A friend of Rodney, worked at Zaxby’s with him, had known her since the fifth grade, junior in high school, and did not believe she had been in serious trouble. Newly identified in Checkpoint 3.
<i>Chris</i>	Cousin of Rodney, known him since third grade, 10 th grade, had not been in serious trouble. Newly identified in Checkpoint 3.

Key

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Figure 64: Rodney's Third Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Rodney to stay in school:

Paul: (Paul) says without education you cannot get a job. And he says a degree is better than a GED.

Figure 65: Rodney's Third Network for Academic Resource Availability

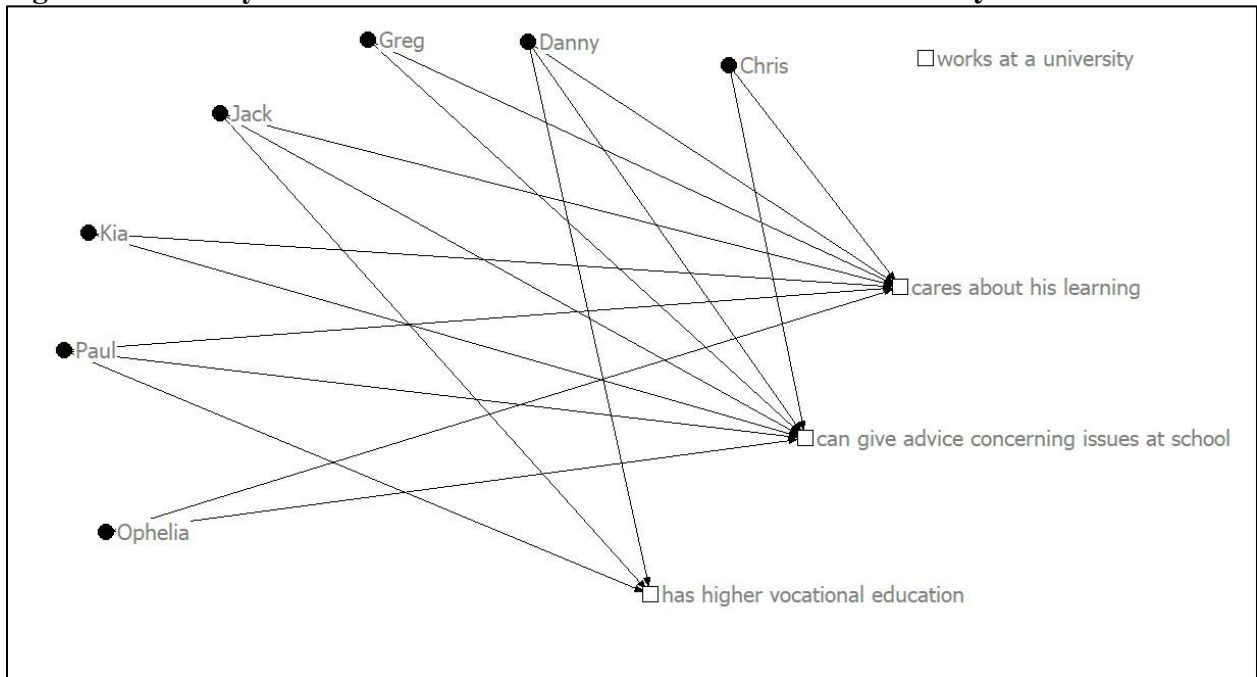
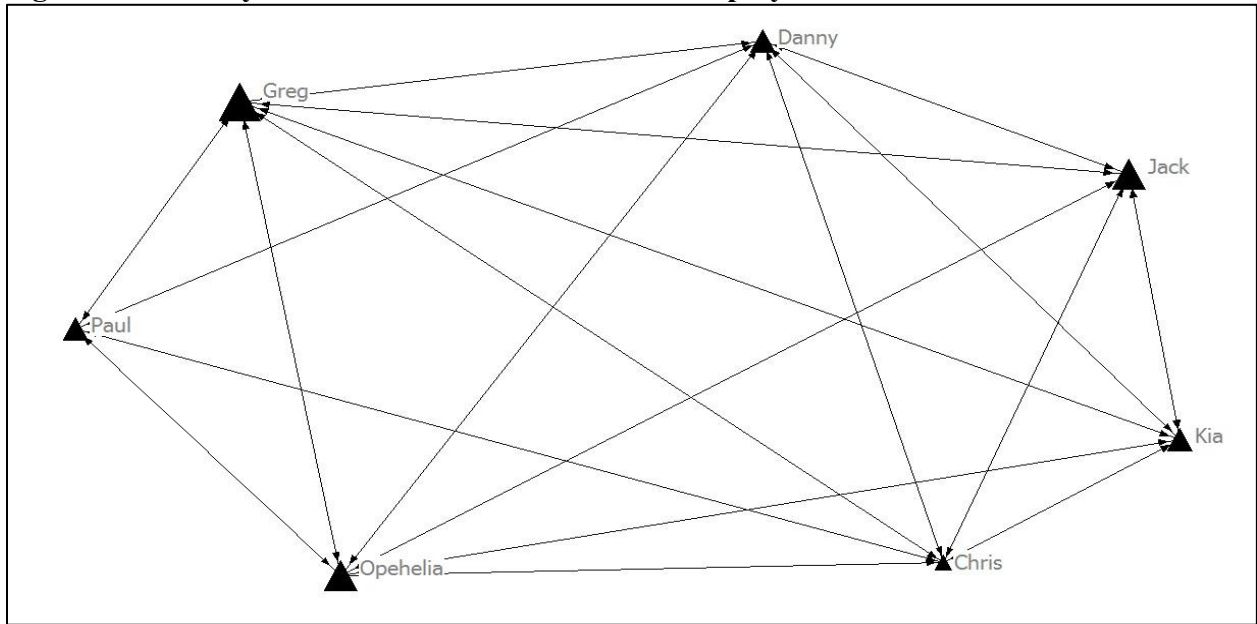


Figure 66: Rodney's Third Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Rodney to stay employed:

Greg: (Greg) says I got to work. He gets on my case if I do not.

Kia: (Kia) convinces me to go to work.

Figure 67: Rodney's Third Network for Employment Resource Availability

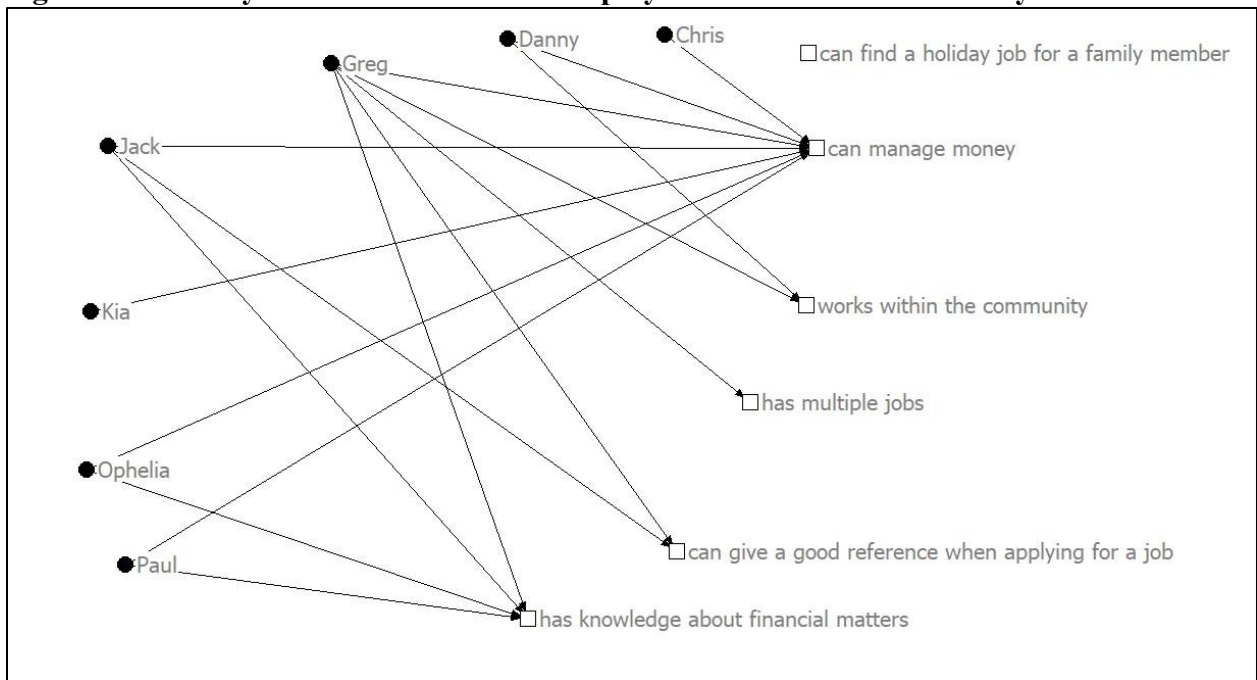
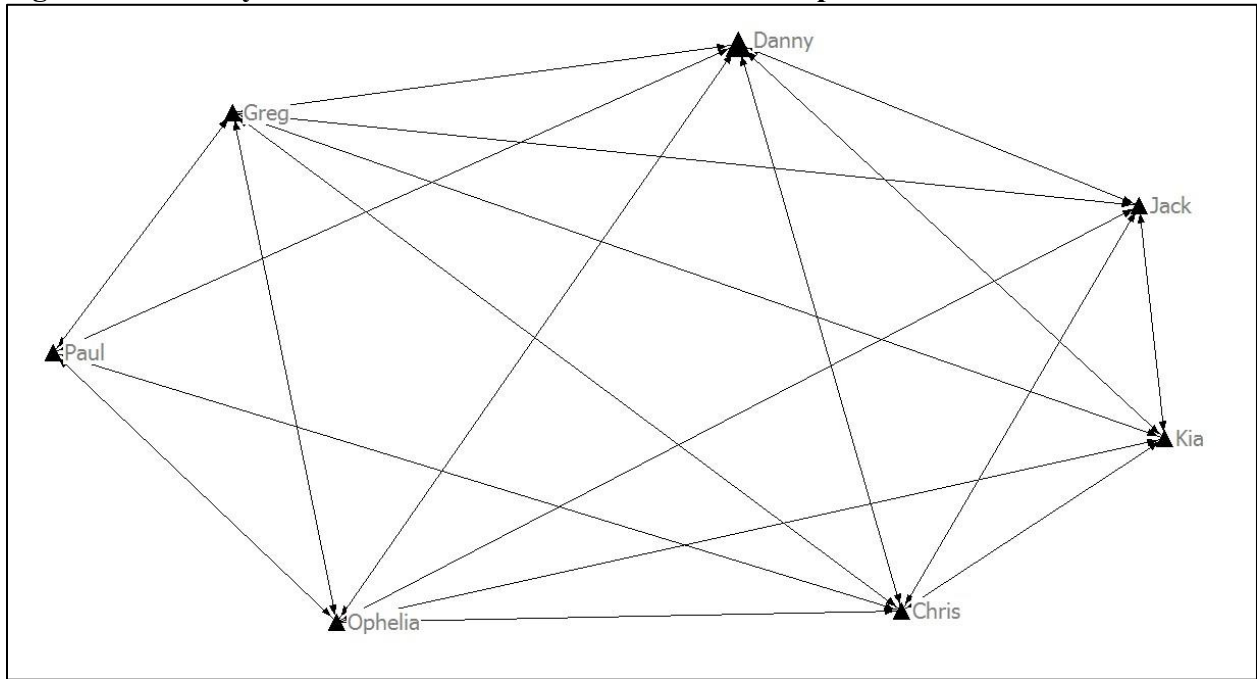


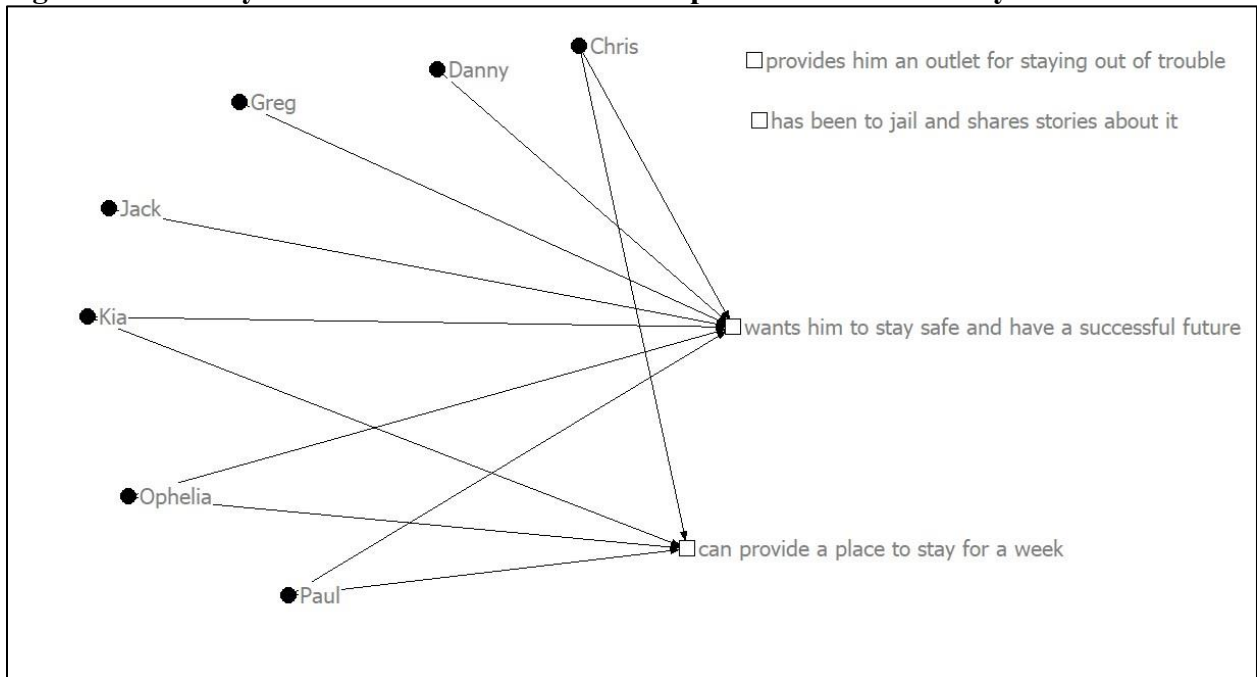
Figure 68: Rodney's Third Personal Network for Citizenship



Encouraging Rodney to stay out of trouble:

Kia: (Kia) says to not laugh in class at stupid things and not get suspended.

Figure 69: Rodney's Third Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 18 / Potential Connections= 21 / Density= 0.86

Rodney had quite the high density at checkpoint 3. Given that Rodney had been done with Op Grows for a few months, it was not shocking he did not identify anyone from Op Grows at checkpoint 3. There was limited interaction with him, though I had him complete the third ego network interview and Resource Generator. He did this because of the opportunity to receive a monetary payment. Of those identified by Rodney at checkpoint 3, Danny, his brother, cousin, and a friend were most similar in age. The others in his network included his grandmother and two people that worked at the Carson Learning Center. This was the first network in which he identified, Greg, the principal of the Carson Learning Center. This followed a similar path to Malik's navigation of academic social resources.

Again, Rodney surrounded himself with people that encouraged him to stay in school, stay employed, and stay out of trouble. Each of those people also valued that specific task. Paul indicated that Rodney needed to stay in school to find work after graduating. Related to homogeneity, the majority of Rodney's network had at least a high school degree. Kia wanted Rodney to not get in trouble while in school. This was further indication that school and delinquency behaviors were related. Danny was the only one in Rodney's network that had been in serious trouble, but I do know from long conversations with Danny that both were trying to stay out of trouble and graduate. Primarily, Rodney identified people at each of the checkpoints that offered support.

Rodney added 4 resources. Those resources include: [works at a university/college], [can give advice concerning issues at school], [works within the community], and [has multiple jobs]. 4 resources were still unaccounted for in Rodney's network, meaning there was a disconnect

between people that he identified and resources he had access to. Rodney identified someone that worked at a university/college. There were limited opportunities for Rodney to meet someone who worked in higher education. I was left wondering if he was identifying Dr. Fox or myself. The only person identified that had some affiliation with Op Grows was Greg, the principal of the Carson Learning Center. Greg offered the most amount of resources relative to anyone else in Rodney's third network.

Everyone in Rodney's network offered the resources: [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future], [can manage money], [can give advice concerning issues at school], and [cares about his learning]. Given the high density for his personal networks, most people in the network could support Rodney with these resources together. After leaving Op Grows, little was known about who Rodney interacted with. That said, I cannot suggest people that could have been identified, outside of those that worked at the Carson Learning Center. Possibly other administrators or teachers could have been included.

Stanton

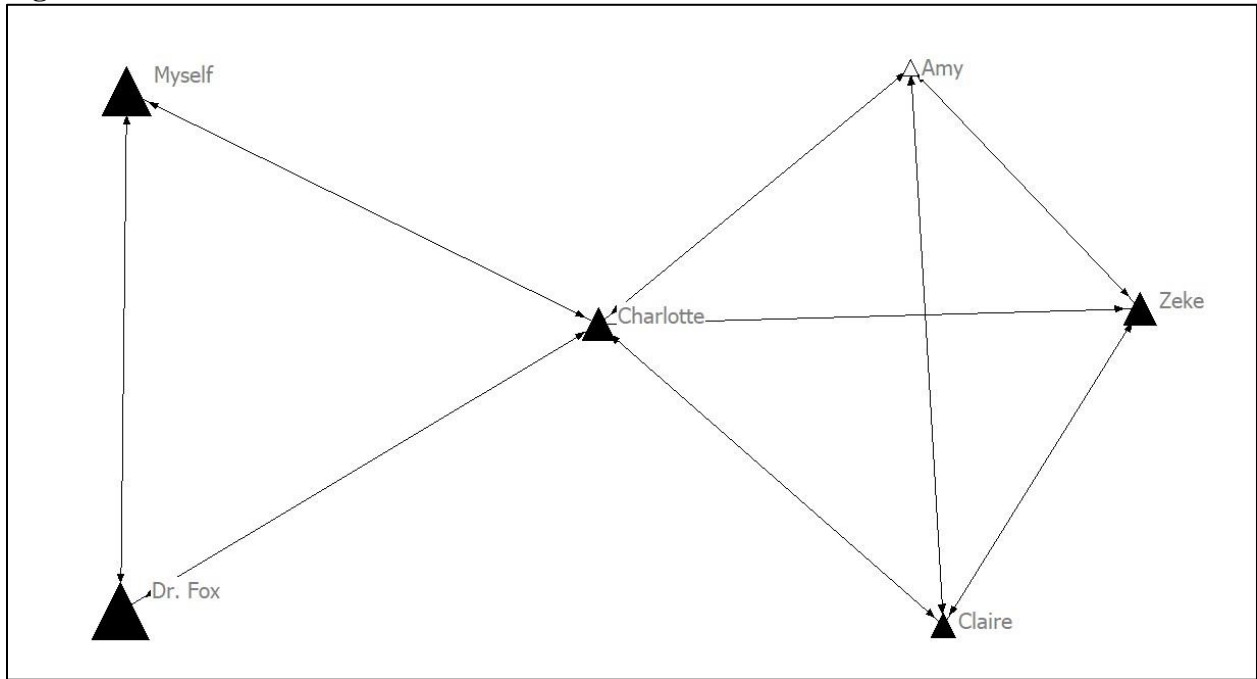
Table 14: Description of Stanton’s Connections

<i>Zeke</i>	Older brother of Stanton, graduated from high school, attended CSU, worked at Publix, and believed he had not been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Dr. Fox</i>	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Myself</i>	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Amy</i>	Older sister of Stanton, expelled from high school, she worked with Stanton’s mom at Afni. Repeated from Checkpoints 1 and 2.
<i>Charlotte</i>	Mother of Stanton, finished high school, worked at Afni, had never been in serious trouble. Repeated from Checkpoint 2.
<i>Clair</i>	The girlfriend of Stanton at third collection period, met a few months prior, in 10 th grade, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly identified in Checkpoint 3.

Key

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Figure 70: Stanton's Third Personal Network for Academics



Encouraging Stanton to stay in school:

Amy: (Amy) is like do not be like me. Complete your schooling.

Figure 71: Stanton's Third Network for Academic Resource Availability

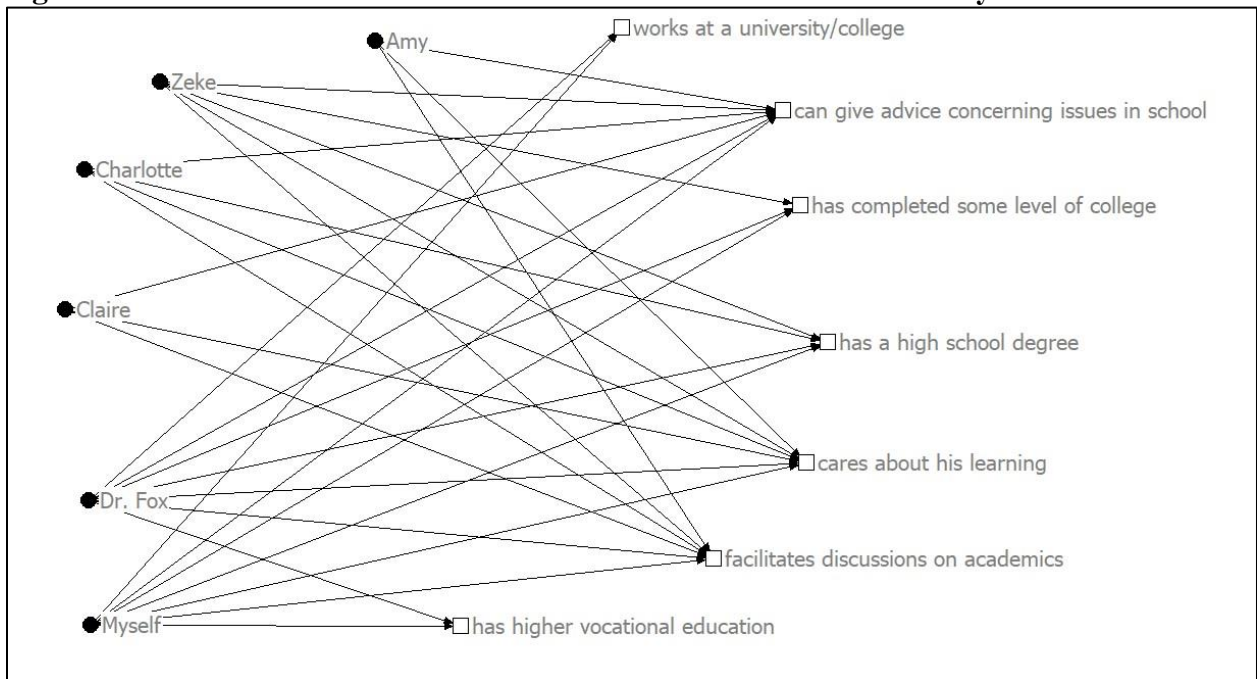
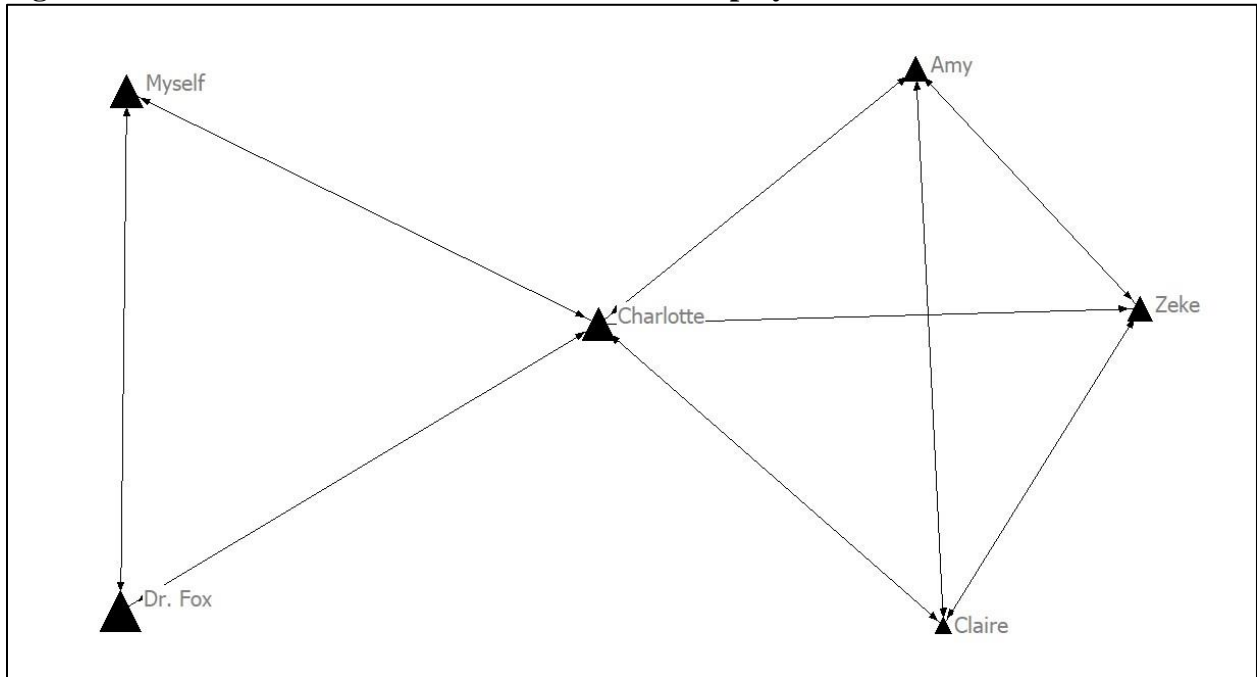


Figure 72: Stanton's Third Personal Network for Employment



Encouraging Stanton to stay employed:

Amy: (Amy) says got to get that money and save it up. Maybe get yourself a car.

Figure 73: Stanton's Third Network for Employment Resource Availability

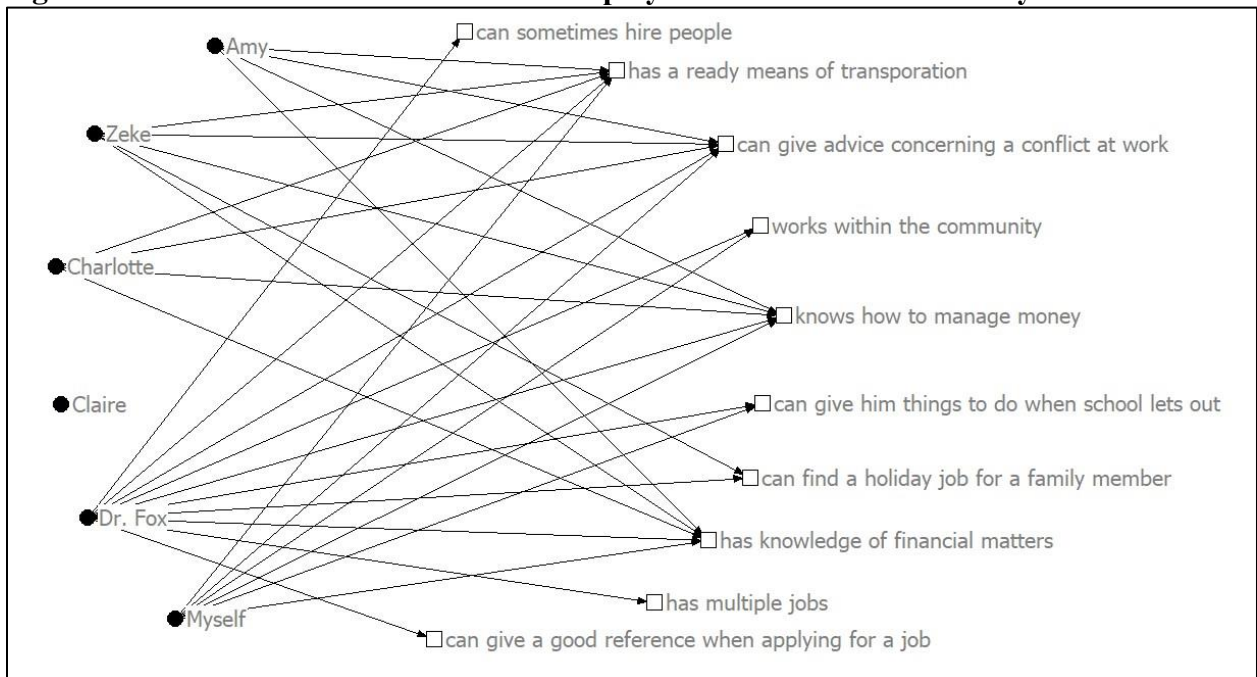
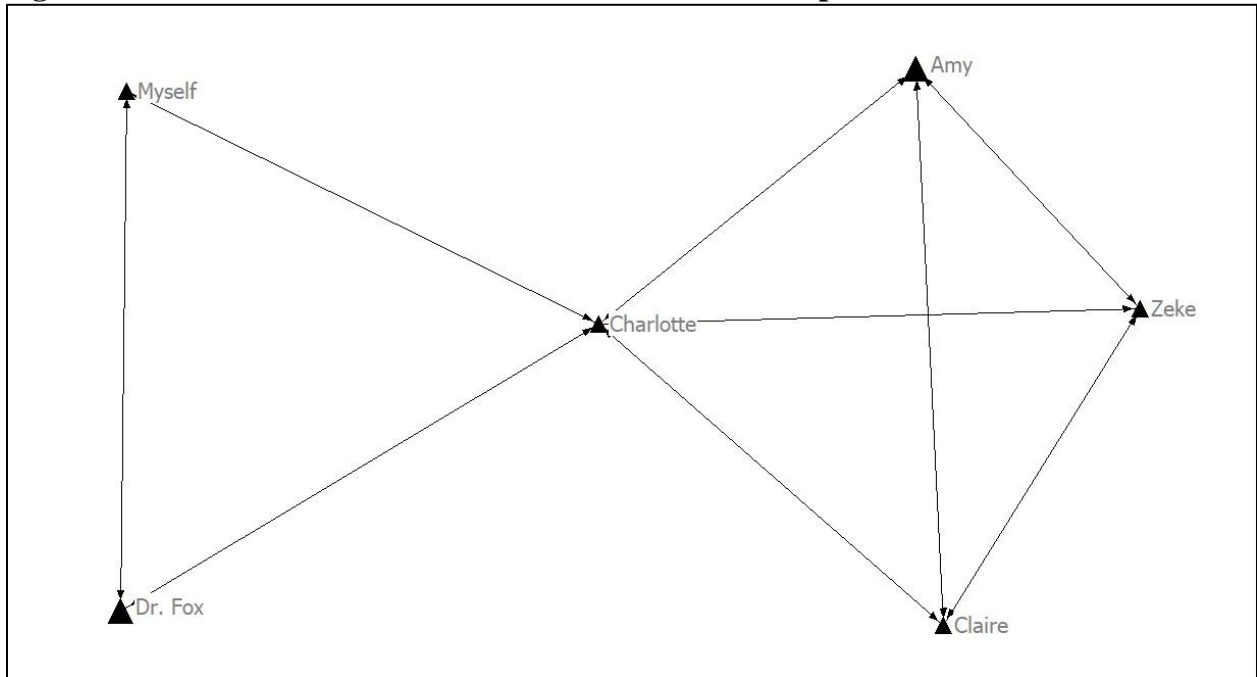


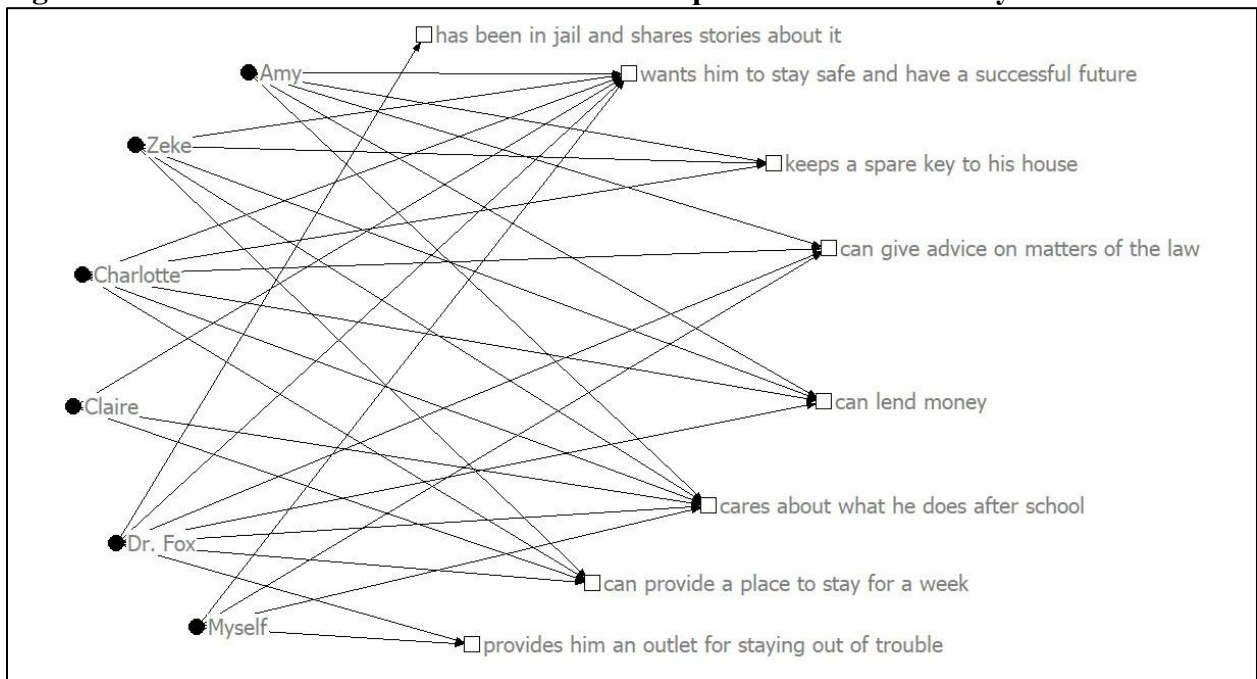
Figure 74: Stanton's Third Personal Network for Citizenship



Encouraging Stanton to stay out of trouble:

Charlotte: (Charlotte) told me to stop smoking and yelled at me when I was. Then it hit me when I was running track. I threw up and felt really sick. It really affected me.

Figure 75: Stanton's Third Network for Citizenship Resource Availability



Summary

Personal Networks: Actual Connections= 9 | Potential Connections= 15 | Density= 0.60

Stanton's low number of people connected showed a decently high density score. Once again, Stanton's brother, Zeke, and sister, Amy, were present at all three checkpoints. Stanton's mother, Dr. Fox, and I were identified for the second time. Three of the six identified were family members. The last one was his girlfriend at the time. At the time of checkpoint 3, Stanton continued to live with his mother.

Related to homogeneity, each person in his network encouraged Stanton to stay in school, stay employed, and stay out of trouble. Half of Stanton's network did not value their own education. Stanton's sister made the strongest case for him to engage in school given that she did not want her younger brother to make similar mistakes. Amy presented tangible things Stanton could buy with money when discussing the car. Like in Stanton's second network, his sister and mother worked at Afni. Afni could become an outlet for Stanton if he needed to find more work. Though he still worked at Simba Gastropub. Regarding heterogeneity, Stanton's girlfriend was the only person in the network that did not have a job. His sister was the only one that had been in serious trouble.

Stanton did not identify a new resource in any of the 3 categories. This is in part because he had an almost identical network from checkpoint 2 and had identified a strong increase from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 2 in resource attainment. In addition, Stanton was not working as many hours as he had in the fall or past summer so there were limited opportunities for the Op Grows staff to offer any new resources. Claire was the only new person in the network. Despite being new, she only offered 6 resources. Those resources included: [can give advice concerning issues in school], [cares about his learning], [facilitates discussion on academics], [wants him to

stay safe and have a successful future], [cares about what he does after school], and [can provide a place to stay for a week].

At checkpoint 3, I was now identified as having a connection with Stanton's mom Charlotte. Taking the connections between Dr. Fox, Charlotte, and myself, 13 resources were shared that we all offered Stanton. Like at checkpoint 2, Charlotte was a bridge to others identified by Stanton. Charlotte connected 2 heterogeneous groups that shared 5 resources between them. Those resources included: [cares about his learning], [can give advice concerning issues at school], [facilitates discussions on academics], [wants him to stay safe and have a successful future], [and cares about what he does after school]. Despite dropping from 9 shared resources from the two groups, these resources are still important because they all deal with support. Claire probably could have offered some of those resources if she had a job.

Given that Stanton dedicated most of his time to working at Simba Gastropub and had returned to the high school, he did not identify more Op Grows staff members. The only person that could have been suggested was again the owner of the restaurant. This is like checkpoint 2 because the owner of the restaurant could hire people, provide jobs to family members, knew how to manage money, etc. Despite his networks not changing too much from the previous checkpoint, Stanton still identified the most amount of resources compared to any of the other interns.

Final Harvest and Crop Rotation (Summer 2016)

At the beginning of the season, there was a desire to grow plants and a hope to produce a large harvest. Some plants grew better than we hoped. Though, as is the case with any gardening project, some plants did not survive or some did not produce. If we started over, there were certain things that could have been done differently. There was a need to better appreciate the ecology of the plants and tried to limit the amount of insect damage. It was a learning experience. Fortunately, with gardening, mistakes can be changed for the future. The plants were not meant to be just annuals, but that is what it turned out to be. Moving forward, we are now at a time where we must do a crop rotation. There are other plants we want to try growing in our space. Maybe a bird will pick up seeds dropped by the previous plants and allow them to grow elsewhere.

Summer 2016

Employment

Summer 2016 was the last summer the original interns worked for Op Grows. Stanton, Malik, and Danny worked a lot more this summer as they were not in school. Of the three, Danny still worked the most. Over the summer there were a few major things accomplished. Op Grows took the lead on the local Farmer's Market where farmers came to sell produce. This was the next logical venture for Op Grows. Farmers from around the area came to sell produce. The Farmer's Market was a good step in continuing the non-profit program.

While working, the interns directed traffic and helped carry groceries for community members leaving the market. To direct traffic, the interns would stand at various locations around the market, and regulate the flow of traffic. At the time, three original interns, Adam, and two other interns were working for Op Grows. The interns were given walkie-talkies to coordinate the efforts. While having the interns carry the produce, it was neat to see how they engaged with the community. One of the goals of the project was to have community members see the interns in a positive light. All were respectable and offered help where it was needed. It would not have been apparent that the interns all had previous delinquency behaviors.

The Farmer's Market kept everyone busy, though I think it was rather monotonous at times for the interns. Throughout the program, the interns liked doing things that were novel. Danny especially enjoyed when he was introduced to construction. The interns sometimes accepted tips, but there seemed to be a lack of desire to work. Still wanting the program to be engaging, this summer also saw the animals come to the community garden. Having animals allowed Op Grows to further explore the ecological benefits between plants and animals. One of the major aspects was the interns helped with the chicken coup. Danny quickly took a liking to

the chickens. The interns also helped build two enclosures for goats and ducks. Malik, Danny, and Adam all helped with digging out the duck pond. The interns worked well in the summer and certainly earned their money.

Op Grows Programming

To reward the interns, everyone from Op Grows took a day off from work to go to a lake. Jason's dad brought a boat and a raft to pull people. It became an all-day affair where the interns again escaped the heat of an Alabama summer. Everyone from Op Grows had fun together. Though this was the last time everyone that had been hired for Op Grows was together. By the end of the summer, each of the original interns had left the program and each left for different reasons.

Stanton left the program officially in late July. Due to a clerical error, Stanton was getting paid for hours he did not work at Simba Gastropub. Again, the agreement was to have Op Grows pay for four hours a week to the restaurant. Somehow Stanton ended up being paid by both the restaurant and from the Op Grows budget for the same hours. Op Grows ended up losing a good amount of money from this lack of communication. Dr. Fox asked Stanton if he and Op Grows could mutually part ways. Stanton was apologetic but understood. The staff had talked about this. Honestly, Stanton might have been oblivious to the whole situation. Stanton did not leave Op Grows on bad terms

Malik left the program after him and Dr. Fox had a falling out. While building the duck pen, Malik wanted to oversee the project and did not want to listen to Dr. Fox. Dr. Fox would mention to me that he felt like Malik was sizing him up with the intention to fight. The Op Grows staff had seen Malik get upset before, but this time the tension never subsided. Partnered

with a continuation of missing work, the staff of Op Grows agreed that Malik would no longer work for the program.

After the year, Danny had learned more skills than the rest of the original interns. He believed he was in a good spot to go forth from the program. Still hoping to get more money, he finally found a second job at Winn Dixie. He would leave the program to seek out more money. Though, Op Grows kept Danny on payroll in case he decided to return. A few months after leaving, Danny would ask Jason about the National Guard. When Danny left, Adam followed. Adam left when Danny did because Danny was the one to introduce him to Op Grows.

Of all the interns Op Grows hired, the last intern hired was the last to remain. The other interns went their separate way. Taking what was learned from the first year, the Op Grows staff would continue trying to make the internship a worthwhile endeavor. It was the hope that the first year of the internship would inform how the relationships could be built with newer interns. This summer marked the end of the assessment with the original interns.

Summary of Summer 2016

The second summer of the internship focused on starting the farmer's market. The interns helped make this possible. Op Grows had built the chicken coup, dug out a pond for the ducks, and built the duck and goat enclosures. To reward their efforts and continue building the group, Op Grows took a trip to the lake. As the summer wrapped up, Op Grows saw each of the original interns leave the program. The last intern Op Grows hired was the only one to continue working. What was learned from working with the original interns would be applied as the program moved forward.

Summary of Findings

This chapter was meant to tell a story of the interns' experiences in an agriculture internship as well as display networks of people and resources the interns identified that supported their social capital. I compared the results of the ethnography and the networks at each checkpoint, then compared how each phase remained the same or changed relative to previous data. At times the ethnography could directly speak to why certain people and resources were included in an intern's network. Other times, though there were disconnects. As Heath, Fuller, and Johnston (2009) suggested there are shadows in networks or those that could have been identified but were not. Smith, Mennon, and Thompson (2012) suggested individuals only activate a certain subset of their ties within the full set of contacts at their disposal at any one time and thus only access a portion of the social capital available to them.

At the first checkpoint, none of the interns identified members of Op Grows in their network, despite working for the program during the first summer. Yet, each of the interns had resources not associated with anyone that could be directly linked to those at Op Grows. Danny identified 7 resources that were not connected to anybody in his personal network at checkpoint 1 but could have been connected to members from Op Grows. Similarly, Malik identified 1 resource, Rodney identified 2 resources, and Stanton identified 7 resources not connected to anyone in their first network. Despite the Op Grows staff's best efforts of building the group by doing things like playing watermelon baseball, having a dance competition, and swimming in a pool, the interns did not recognize those individuals they had worked with for a summer by name. This was attributed to the newness of the program as mentioned by a few interns. However, something of emphasis was how the interns' perceptions of social resource changed

over time. Each of the interns were better at navigating their social resources at checkpoint three compared to checkpoint one.

Danny, Malik, and Stanton did identify members of the Op Grows staff at checkpoints 2 and 3 and most of those unaccounted resources were then connected to those that worked for Op Grows. Each of them identified Dr. Fox and me. Malik was the only intern to identify another staff member when he identified Gwen at checkpoint 3. Most notably, Dr. Fox and I were the ones that worked with the interns for the most number of hours, both in school and at work. Other than Gwen, each of the other Op Grows staff members were involved primarily with different projects. Below, I contextualize resources gained by the four interns and review aspects from the story that reflected why those from Op Grows were or were not included in the networks.

Resources Gained by Each Intern

Danny

From checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3, Danny went from 2 academic resources to 7. This was the largest increase in resources in academics compared to any of the other interns. For employment, that number increased from 6 resources to 9. For citizenship, Danny increased his resources from 3 to 9 resources. For the citizenship domain, this was also the largest increase in resources compared to any of the other interns. Danny added 14 resources total from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3. This was the most amount of resources increased across the 3 domains relative to all the interns. Though not correlated, Danny did also work the most number of hours in the fall and spring.

His personal networks were rather stable over time. Nobody was identified in all three networks, but 6 out of the 8 Danny listed throughout the study were repeated twice. For Danny's

personal networks, the density measure was perfect, dropped substantially, then was perfect again. This demonstrated how dynamic those network connections were. Danny mentioned on numerous occasions that Dr. Fox and I were two people that gave him a sense of direction. In the story, notable events occurred that reflect the rise in resources. The resources gained that were of most importance while he worked for the internship included: [can give things to do when school lets out], [has higher vocational education], [can lend money], and [can give advice concerning a conflict with a family member].

Even further, Danny indicated multiple times during the internship that he wanted to find a career in construction. Working with those that had higher vocational education allowed him to learn how to use a drill, tape measure, saw, how to crimp metal, and how to use a jackhammer to name a few skills learned. He mentioned that Op Grows kept him from going to jail when Dr. Fox paid for his court fees. This strengthened the relationship with Danny and he wanted to pay Dr. Fox back as soon as possible. Finally, a thing that stood out was the Op Grows staff helped Danny navigate his relationship with his father. Danny mentioned how he did not like living with his father on multiple occasions and that his dad would call the police on his own son for various reasons. These four resources were strengthened throughout the internship.

Malik

From checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3, Malik increased his academic resource from 5 to 7. His employment resources increased from 4 to 8. Malik and Rodney tied with the greatest increase in employment resources over time. For his citizenship resources, these were increased from 6 to 8. Malik added 8 resources from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3. 3 of out 16 people

identified by Malik were repeated at each checkpoint. Another 3 were repeated twice. Though collectively, these 6 offered the most resources per checkpoint when identified.

Malik saw a substantial increase in the density for his personal networks. At checkpoint 1, the density of his personal network was 0.35. By checkpoint 3, it had increased to 0.82. Over time, those people in his network became more connected, thus allowing more resources to be given together to Malik. Malik had two Op Grows staff members connected to those that worked at the Carson Learning Center. Malik also mentioned Dr. Fox and me in his second and third networks. In his third network, he included Gwen also. The resources gained that were of most importance while he worked for the internship included: [can give advice concerning a conflict at work], [cares about what he does after school], [has been in jail and can share stories about it], and [facilitates discussions on academics with him].

Something of note was Malik's amount of absences from school. Malik said he wanted to graduate but often failed to realize that he needed to come to school so he would not fail out. Dr. Fox and I would have conversations with him about the importance of going to school. These conversations did not help. Malik also missed a great deal of work, despite saying he would show up. Staff told him he needed to show up otherwise he would no longer be employed with Op Grows. We wanted him to still be employed, but Malik created conflicts by not showing up. By the end of the first year of the internship, the Op Grows staff learned how Malik would often say things with charm, only to not be a man of his word. His personal networks spoke to how Malik would say what he believed you wanted to hear when he never identified any friends in a network. Despite the constant challenge, the Op Grows staff still offered support to keep him out of trouble. This was especially prevalent when Malik was arrested. Through that experience, Op Grows learned that despite support, the interns, especially Malik, would still

get in trouble following the internship. Despite starting off as the hardest worker, he worked and attended school the least from checkpoint 2 to checkpoint 3.

Rodney

Rodney saw the lowest amount of resources over time. He started with 1 resource for academics in checkpoint 1 and went to 4 by the end. For employment, he went from 2 to 6 resources. Rodney and Malik tied with the greatest increase in employment resources over time. The citizenship resources increased from 3 to 4. During the year, he saw a total of only 8 new resources added from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3. 3 of the 11 people in his personal networks were repeated at each of the checkpoints. 2 people were repeated at least twice. Rodney saw his personal network density increase. At checkpoint 1, there was a network density of 0.40. By checkpoint 3, there was a network density of 0.86.

Rodney was the only intern that did not identify any Op Grows staff members in any of the checkpoints, thus he never attributed any resources to his time working for Op Grows. He had left the program in late September. After leaving the program, he was removed from the class. Reviewing his experiences while interacting with those from Op Grows, Rodney never felt a part of the group. He was the least diligent worker and continuously made excuses or was on his phone while working. Rodney was the most challenging intern to work with. In looking at what he learned, little was gained in the few months he worked for Op Grows.

Stanton

Stanton started with the most resources identified, though had the most unaccounted resources at checkpoint 1. There were 7 resources identified at checkpoint 1 and checkpoint 3 for academics. For employment, there was an increase from 9 resources to 10 across the three checkpoints. The citizenship resources saw the greatest increase from 6 to 8. There was a total

increase of 3 resources from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3. 2 of 13 people were repeated at all 3 checkpoints. 3 more were repeated twice.

His networks changed dramatically after the first checkpoint. From checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 2, Stanton saw a substantial drop in the network density for his personal network moving from a perfect score to 0.53. This change in density from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 2 was attributed to how he did not identify his friends from where he used to live. Stanton only mentioned Dr. Fox and myself from the Op Grows staff in his second and third networks. By the third network, Dr. Fox and I were connected to his mom Charlotte, who bridged two heterogeneous groups together. In looking at his resource attainment while he worked for Op Grows, the ones that were of utmost importance to Stanton included: [works at a university/college], [cares about what he does after school] and [can give a good reference when applying for a job].

Stanton was the only intern that had concrete plans of going to college after high school. He indicated on multiple occasions that he might go to Columbus State University to follow his brother. By interacting with Dr. Fox and myself, he learned about the process from those who went to college. The Op Grows staff also cared about what Stanton did after school. Though Stanton did not work as many hours as Danny, it was still known what he was doing after school. This was unlike Malik where we did not know where he was most of the time. When Stanton was not working in the garden, he was at track practice while back at the high school or working for Simba Gastropub. The Op Grows staff wished him well in both endeavors. This takes me to the third resource. Dr. Fox helped Stanton secure the job at the restaurant by giving him a good reference. Stanton was appreciative to earn extra money.

Overview of the Different Areas of Social Capital

Academic Social Capital

Indicated many times throughout, the interns had limited success in school. With that, the Op Grows staff wanted to build the interns' academic social capital or those social resources that could contribute to improving academic success. As Acar (2011) stated, various stakeholders can help to increase the relevance and quality of education. Stanton, Malik, and Danny identified Dr. Fox and me as people who encourage them to finish school at the last two checkpoints.

Despite the increase in resources for each intern, there was not a change in attitudes towards school. Patterns with the individuals remained, such as how Malik continued to miss school. Though no intern had dropped out, this could not be directly attributed to working with Op Grows. Grades never increased and there were not any better relationships established with teachers or administration that were not already established. This runs counter-intuitive especially to Malik when he identified Gwen and administrative staff at checkpoint 3. But I do not fully trust his networks, given that he identified so many people from school, but rarely attended.

Employment Social Capital

This was the first job for each of the interns so the Op Grows staff became part of their financial network even if they did not identify us in a network. Additionally, through working with Op Grows, the interns all made the comment that cooperation in a work setting is beneficial. Danny, Malik, and Stanton gained tangible skills involving construction and agriculture practices. Tool use was especially indicative of knowledge gained while working with those that had higher vocational education. With Rodney leaving the Op Grows prior to the greenhouse,

Rodney learned limited skills related to construction. Given that Danny worked the most number of hours, he learned more than anyone else and realized a potential career path in construction while working for Op Grows. This helped support Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Papadopoulous (2012) claim that innovative careers and transition programs for young people can help plan for their future.

In support of Burt's (1992) notion of social capital, Op Grows was directly responsible for helping Stanton find a second job. Op Grows bridged an opportunity for him. Stanton was still employed with Simba Gastropub at the end year. Danny used bridging social capital to help a friend find a job with Op Grows. This additionally helped with the work for Op Grows which continued to form a cohesive group. Thanks to Danny, Burt's (2000) notion of structural holes and Coleman's (1998) notion of social closure were utilized in the same project.

Citizenship/Delinquency Social Capital

With an acknowledgment that these interns had been trouble in and out of school, Op Grows attempted to limit delinquency behavior. As it was presented in the story, not much changed regarding the delinquency behaviors of the interns. The Op Grows staff failed to appreciate how these students obtained social capital while in school. For instance, the interns believed fighting led to popularity. The interns continued to get in trouble even after the program ended. This is evident later in the internship with continued fighting behavior and Malik's arrest.

Related to citizenship social capital, there were times Op Grows did keep the interns out of trouble. This supports Lochner's (2004) claim that work can keep students occupied. A major example of this is how Dr. Fox paid off the court fees for Danny. In a further sense of citizenship, the Op Grows staff saw an improvement in how Malik, Stanton, and Danny treated

plants during their time in the internship. Additionally, working in the community garden and helping with the local Farmer's Market allowed the interns to be seen in a positive light by community members. This was noteworthy when the interns would run up to customers and offer to help carry produce to their cars at the market. Op Grows supported the interns being seen in a positive light and helped contribute to some attainment of citizenship social capital in that regard.

For all the categories though, it should be mentioned that any support given to the interns in building their social capital was likely only temporary. Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson (2013) suggested that networks change over time in a rather dynamic fashion. As the time with the interns moves further and further away, I believe the lasting influences Op Grows had will involve those tangible skills like learning how to use a drill rather than helping them navigate social resources. In the following chapter, I discuss how to better use social networks and ethnography. I also highlight my limitations within this study and suggest opportunities for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Four students from an alternative school were hired to work for Op Grows, a community and school agricultural program. In this research, there was an attempt to understand the social capital related to academics, employment, and citizenship for these students. Lin discussed social capital as, “An investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive actions (2001, p.19).” Social capital attainment for the three areas was explored through networks and an ethnography. This study took place from the summer of 2015 – to the summer of 2016.

The first chapter of this dissertation consisted of why this research was relevant. Chapter two helped contextualize how I believed the Op Grows staff would work with the interns highlighting a pragmatic social justice mindset. Chapter three discussed relevant literature related specifically to social capital attainment. The fourth chapter described the methods that this dissertation would follow; providing depth on my data collection and analysis through a concurrent parallel mixed methods design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Chapter five dealt with a personal reflection utilizing Van Mannen’s (2011) notion of a confessional tale on how I personally did not live up to a pragmatic social justice framework while working with the interns. In Chapter six, I explored the intern’s social capital and social resource attainment through networks and an ethnography guided by Van Mannen’s (2011) notion of a realist tale.

This chapter briefly reviews the findings. I then discuss the implications of my findings especially related to the study of social capital. I explicitly discuss the use of networks in education. As no research is perfect, I then indicate my limitations from this dissertation. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on potential future directions related to this project.

Review of Findings

Within this project, I attempted to address the major question of: “How did the intern’s lived experiences related to academics, employment, and citizenship reflect the intern’s ego networks and resource attainment while participating in an agricultural program?” There were certain conclusions drawn from the internship related to social capital with the three areas as well as with my growth as a research and practitioner.

To discuss the integrity of the findings, I first revisit Creswell and Miller’s (2010; 2000) notion of validity and credibility. Creswell and Miller’s (2010; 2000) suggested that to build validity and credibility, one should use strategies that help reflect the lens of the researcher, researched, and audience. From the lens of the researcher, I engaged in reflection and provided thick, rich description of my time working with the interns. From the lens of researched, I member checked after having the interns build their networks, triangulated my data by comparing the ethnographic data and network data, and I also had prolonged engagement with the interns to get to know them each intimately. For the audience, I peer debriefed using the perspectives of my committee to strengthen my research. I also engaged in inter-observer reliability by asking members of Op Grows that worked closely with the interns to confirm what I experienced while working with the interns. By utilizing each of these strategies throughout the dissertation, there was integrity in my data and through that I could provide warranted assertions.

Again, academic social capital relates to those social resources that support educational endeavors. Various stakeholders can help to increase the relevance and quality of education (Acar, 2011). Employment social capital involves those social relationships that strengthen the organization and garner better work opportunities (Boyas, Wind, & Ruiz, 2013). Employment

social capital builds support for work-related social resources, is associated with learning skills, and securing other opportunities related to financial gains. Citizenship social capital allowed the interns to be productive members of society while also avoiding trouble. For citizenship social capital, the more a society ‘invests’ in and accumulates social capital, the better the ‘returns’ and enhanced condition of members of that society (Print & Coleman, 2003).

Going into the internship, it was easy to believe social capital was going to be gained as expected. Preconceived notions were not supported, however, as multiple areas were not achieved, or were fulfilled in differing ways than anticipated. After a year working for Op Grows, there was limited, if any, gains in academic social capital for the interns. What was intended to increase the interns’ motivations and goals towards school did not produce much results. The interns did not change their beliefs about school nor did they gain social resources associated with education. Even though no intern dropped-out, this could not be directly attributed to Op Grows.

There were a few instances where Op Grows kept the interns out of trouble. For instance, Dr. Fox paid Danny’s court fees. A thing related to citizenship that was found was that Malik, Stanton, and Danny showed greater care for the plants at later stages of the internship than at the beginning by gently placing the plants in holes rather than dropping them. Though, Op Grows failed to account how getting in trouble built a sense of belonging with the interns’ peers at the alternative school. Collectively, the interns continued to get into trouble during the internship. There was limited success in building the interns' citizenship social capital.

Of the three areas, employment social capital was increased the most for the interns and this had a lot to do with the fact that it was the first job for each intern. This program increased the interns’ desire to obtain money. Employment social capital was explicitly gained by Stanton

after using Op Grows to secure another job at Simba Gastropub. Danny used the internship to find guidance on a potential career path. He also brokered an opportunity for a friend, so the friend could find employment with Op Grows. Danny and Stanton, especially, learned about various tools while helping to construct the greenhouse. Malik did gain a better understanding of tool use, but not to the degree of Danny and Stanton.

In thinking about the intern's personal networks, 6 out of the 8 people from Danny's networks were repeated twice. 3 of out 16 people identified by Malik were repeated at each checkpoint. Another 3 were repeated twice. Rodney identified 3 of the 11 across each checkpoint. Rodney also identified 2 people that were repeated twice. For Stanton, 2 of 13 people were repeated at all three checkpoints, while 3 more were repeated twice. Thus, Danny had the most stable network of people over time.

The size, structure, and composition of each of the intern's personal networks varied at the different checkpoints. At the first checkpoint, none of the interns identified members of Op Grows in his personal network. Rodney was the only intern to not identify members from Op Grows in any checkpoint. Having left the program in September, Rodney did not identify any Op Grows staff member at any of the checkpoints. At checkpoints two and three, Danny, Malik, and Stanton identified members of Op Grows. There were varying degrees of connections between Op Grows staff members and the other alters identified by the interns. For instance, there were times where Dr. Fox and myself were connected to all other members of an intern's network such as at checkpoint three for Danny, thus forming perfect closure (Coleman, 1988). Other times, such as at Checkpoint two, only one person from Op Grows was connected to someone else outside of Op Grows identified in the network. That person ended up being a bridge between members of Op Grows and people not associated with Op Grows.

The results utilized aspects of Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure and Burt's (2000) notion of structural holes. When the identified Op Grows staff members were connected to all others in a network, a complete network formed where each person in a network shared a connection with everyone else. This is in support of Coleman's (1988) notion of social closure. Even when Op Grows staff were not identified, network closure was still present. This was seen in Danny and Stanton's networks at the first checkpoint. Social capital was gained by being held accountable by those individuals in the network, even if those members were not from Op Grows. In support of Burt's notion of structural holes (2000), the interns gained novel resources. For instance, the notion of bridging social capital was utilized when Op Grows helped Stanton find another job by providing a reference. This job was at a restaurant Op Grows had a connection with. Additionally, Danny utilized himself as a bridge to bring in his friend to also start working for Op Grows. It is important to note that this research utilized aspects of social closure and structural holes together to better understand and facilitate social capital.

The interns' resources increased in the three areas over time. Danny saw the greatest increase in academic and citizenship resources from checkpoint 1 to checkpoint 3. Rodney and Malik tied with the greatest increase of employment resources over time. Stanton did not see a large increase in resource attainment, but that was because he identified so many resources during the first checkpoint for all three areas. There were times where the interns identified resources but did not identify people that offered those resources. This was especially prevalent at checkpoint 1 for each of the interns. There was a disconnect between what resources were perceived and those people the interns interacted with. At checkpoint 1 for instance, none of the interns identified an Op Grows staff member as having a ready means of transportation, despite them being picked up for work by an Op Grows staff member. This did change however for

most of the resources with Malik, Stanton, and Danny at checkpoint 2 and checkpoint 3. The ethnographic aspect of this research provided more clarity on these connections or disconnections by providing greater context for the personal networks and resource attainment networks.

The final important finding was related to my growth as researcher and practitioner. During the project, I learned about a few systematic disadvantages these students face in education such as having limited resources in the school and having people seemingly not care about future success. I also gained more appreciation of my privilege related to things I have and others do not. My cognitive social structures changed. I experienced epistemological growth during the internship by recognizing the complexity, yet, nuanced notion of pragmatism. In this, I became better appreciative of how a pragmatic philosophical underpinning recognizes the importance of contextual factors. In addition, I learned how a pragmatic social justice mindset is built on action and reciprocity. The internship reinforced the idea that despite skill level, no one is above work.

Implications

Contributions of this Research

My data related to only four students from an alternative school, so I am unable to generalize my findings. I am, however, able to suggest why my research was meaningful. This research suggested it is possible to better understand an individual's social capital using networks and an ethnography. I will first highlight the individual use of both, then will highlight the joint use of networks and ethnography.

A major implication of this dissertation was the use of social network analysis. This research can benefit those that utilize social network analysis on a regular basis. I attempted to

add to research that uses either one or two-mode data sets to portray network connections. I did this by portraying connections between people with one-mode data sets and connections of those people to resources with two-mode data sets. The belief with social network analysis is that networks can be studied by showing specific aspects of relationships (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013; Carolan, 2014). The differentiation between studying networks and studying other social phenomena is that social network analysis allows researchers to move beyond assumptions and empirically identify how one is securing resources. Networks attempt to limit the assumptions and graph these connections. Other social research focuses more on generalities; i.e. if you go to this school, you will have better opportunities. Though, the issue with that is that we all navigate our social resources differently.

This research is also relevant for educators trying to better understand social phenomena such as social capital in and outside of their classes. Daly and Ferrare (2015; 2016) suggested that social network analysis is still a new and developing technique in education. This dissertation built upon previous research looking at how networks can be used in education (Daly & Ferrare, 2016; Daly et al., 2014; Fox & Wilson, 2015; Hall, 2011). Utilizing social network analysis, we as educators can further understand what resources our students have access to and how our students navigate their social world. Additionally, knowing about available resources is especially prevalent for those students with limited resources at their disposal. Through this research, I explored what resources were available for four students related to academics, employment, and citizenship. Certainly, more aspects outside of academics, employment, or citizenship can be researched to better understand our students.

This research added more support for the use of ego networks. Better stated, this study supported how we as educators must be appreciative of the accessible resources for each

individual student. Again, ego networks examine a particular entity and his or her immediate connections (Carolan, 2014). Even further, using ego network cognitive social structures (Marcum et al., 2017) can help gauge how someone navigates his or her own social world by exploring personal perceptions of a network and the subsequent access to social resources.

The research also helped to show how programs like Op Grows can utilize a social closure approach (Coleman, 1988) and structural holes approach (Burt, 2000) to support its members. It was the intention to utilize both views to give support on how networks are both a tool and method. Above, I discussed how Op Grows staff members were, at times, connected to all other alters identified, as well as bridged employment opportunities to its members. The way to help someone obtain resources through a structural holes perspective is introducing the person or people to novel resources (Burt, 2000). It is also recommended that opportunities build a cohesive group of interconnected people so the program can focus on the goals of the group instead of only a few members benefiting as suggested by Coleman (1988).

Even more importantly, this dissertation built on previous research that attempted to utilize a structural holes and a social closure approach together; most notably Aral and Van Alstyne (2011), Fleming, Mingo, and Chen (2007), Perry-Smith (2006), Rodan and Galunic (2004), Tortoriello and Krackhardt (2010). Programs, such as the one featured in this study, can provide novel resources while also building a cohesive group. For instance, when Danny introduced his friend to Op Grows, the friend was welcomed into the group. Danny had utilized a social closure and structural holes approach. That said, social closure and structural holes are effective to be analyzed together when trying to determine one's access to resources.

This research contributed to how the use of networks and ethnography can inform the other. The use of networks and ethnography supported Berthod, Grothe-Hammer, & Sydow's

(2016) claim that network ethnographies allow one to see changes in the networks through day-to-day activities. Obviously, the long-term engagement helps to better understand the individuals involved. Much like Howard (2002) suggested, it makes sense to conduct both the network and ethnography concurrently, letting each inform the other to understand someone's lived experiences.

Following Barker (2012), the ethnography explored the practices and meanings given to the lives of the social agents. Especially through the extensive field work of the ethnography, relationships could be monitored long term. As one is expressly concerned with the lived experiences of individuals, it becomes necessary to track networks over time. A good example of how a network was changed from events prior was when Dr. Fox lent Danny money before the second collection point. Danny then identified Dr. Fox in his social network. There was now greater depth as to why Dr. Fox was identified by Danny at the second checkpoint.

Taking the joint use of networks and ethnography, it was also able to be seen how perceptions of a network potentially differ in what could be identified. This research provided support to Smith, Mennon, and Thompson's (2012) claim that individuals only activate a certain subset of their ties within the full set of contacts at their disposal at any one time and thus only access a portion of the social capital available to them. Sometime the interns did not identify potential resources available especially those believed to be offered during the internship, even though the interns all navigated their resources better towards the end of the year compared to the beginning. This then speaks to the larger issue that if someone doesn't recognize available resources, he or she might not be able to utilize those resources effectively.

Limitations of the Study

The work presented in this dissertation was largely based on social capital attainment for four interns using social network analysis. As such, there are key limitations that must be considered when applying the knowledge gained and lessons learned through this research. Limitations are the things that arise that are outside of the researcher's control or impact the conclusions that can be drawn (Simon & Goes, 2013). The major limitations included 1) exhausting for participants during the interviews, and 2) poorly worded questions, incomplete networks, and narrow descriptions of the alters.

Exhausting for participants

The first checkpoint acted as a pilot study for how I would collect the network and resource data. From the pilot study, it was discovered that interviews can be exhausting for the participants. It was estimated that these would take approximately two hours per participant. The longest portion was when I allowed the interns to construct their individual networks. Unfortunately, there was no way to avoid the length of the interview, especially if the intern listed many personal connections. Egonet (McCarty, Killworth, & Rennell, 2007) is designed to ask about all the connections between the individual and who those people are connected within the identified network. It fell on me to reassure the participants that I was curious how they know each named person, what resources are available, and how the named people know the other named people.

Poorly Worded Questions, Incomplete Networks, and Narrow Descriptions of Alters

Given how the questions were worded for the Egonet interviews, there were numerous ways in which the interns could have interpreted the questions. For instance, one of the alter-prompt questions asked "Who do you go to for advice?" The word advice is not defined with

much depth, so the interns may not have know what to answer when asked this question. This is a limitation because the people identified by the interns in their constructed networks may not be best represented.

Even if the questions were worded better, personal networks may still be incomplete. There was the possibility for the interns to forget to mention someone during the interview that could have fit a category. Additionally, I capped the number of people that could be identified at forty. If the intern wanted to include more than forty people in his network, the network would also have been incomplete.

The collected network data could have been improved. My appreciation for the intern's networks attempted to show who was identified in an intern's network, how the person encouraged the intern, and how the people identified were connected. Though it could have been beneficial to identify how long the intern knew each person with more concreteness. When answering this question about how long the interns knew his alters, the interns often said things like "for a while". This did not give the best gauge for the length of time. I also should have conducted strength of tie measures with the alter-alter connections to better understand how those alters interacted with one another.

Future Directions

I conclude this dissertation with relevant future research. The use of networks especially in education is still a growing body of research (Daly & Ferrare, 2015; 2016). In the sense to better understand our students, more research is needed on their access to social resources. Resources can be explored from within or outside the classroom. This would give a better appreciation for the students' lives. As we are educators, there needs to be the vested interest in our students. Further research with networks is another tool to support our students. More

research is also needed on the various ways in which life experiences play a role in how a person recognizes access to social resources. For instance, a research agenda could include how adolescents versus working professionals understand and navigate the social world. This would add more research to the perceptions and reality of a person's network and access to social resources. Additionally, it would allow more research to develop on network ethnographies.

The second area of interest that stemmed from this dissertation involves the use of networks and ethnographies to be a better understand students with different opportunities for success. While working with the interns, I cannot help but think how others in similar or dissimilar situations navigate their social resources. Most notably this relates to how other individuals can overcome challenging circumstances, especially when everyone is embedded in many kinds of social networks.

While using networks, there needs to be a continued interest in using ego networks. From my experience with social networks, most researchers discuss ego networks being extracted from whole networks (Borgatti, 2016; DeJordy, 2015). This is an important endeavor to understand localized parts of a whole network. Concurrently, more research is needed on ego network cognitive social structures (Marcum et al., 2017) to see how well someone recognizes his or her own available resources. This is an area of interest that helps continue to understand how individuals recognize and utilize access to social resources. More research is needed on the effectiveness of ego networks in small-scale program evaluations like this one.

Ego networks and whole networks can both be used together to show intact and identified networks. Whole and ego networks offer different perspectives to understand the lives of people (Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2013). Both whole and ego networks are strategies someone can utilize to better understand networks. Utilizing networks showed how the interns identified

certain resources. Moving forward with different interns, it would be worthwhile to conduct a whole network analysis of Op Grows using strength of tie measures in addition to the use ego network cognitive social structures. This would give a better understanding of the group, as well as the individuals involved. In the sense of program evaluation, conducting both types of network analyses would allow the Op Grows staff to compare the whole network and perceived social networks. The whole network would be the program itself and the perceived network would be the ego network cognitive social structure (Marcum et al., 2017). Future research could suggest how these intertwine or are separated; thus, giving a much greater appreciation for the interns' lives and work relationships.

Related to gardening, there are multiple things that can be explored for further research. As the internship was going on, Op Grows was also navigating its own resources. Related to this dissertation, there needs to be more research on how programs like this access resources from various venues such as extension offices and local Future Farmers of America (FFA) clubs. Another area of research is how different populations may benefit from agriculture initiatives. In this dissertation, the focus was on how four adolescents navigate social resources while working in an agriculture internship. More research could be conducted on the benefits of younger children working in gardens for instance. Ethnographies and networks can be utilized with these children as well. Additionally, more research is needed on the value of having agriculture education be introduced in younger grades, rather than in secondary education.

In Closing

Following a year-long engagement with the interns, this research demonstrated how social capital related to academics, employment, and citizenship changed over time. Utilizing prolonged engagement with the ethnography as well as networks, more depth was given on the

lives of the interns. Some interns gained more from the internship than others. Though agriculture was the vehicle, I am reflective that anything has the potential to provide social resources.

The interns were worth the challenge and investment. There was an attempt to build a program that could benefit adolescents for the present and future. I grew as a researcher and practitioner especially when having to acknowledge my own privilege. If one thing was apparent from this project, it was how much patience and effort is required for progress. There was a nice attempt to grow plants in a different soil. Plants indeed do not grow to satisfy ambition. Growing and maintaining a garden takes time. Much was learned in the first season. Lessons were learned for the next season. This is the nice thing about gardening; there is always room for improvement before putting new plants in the ground.

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Appendix A: Demographic Survey

Name:					
In general, my grades are: (circle one)	Mostly A's	Mostly B's	Mostly C's	Mostly D's	Mostly F's
Who do you live with? (Please list everyone by relationship, for example, mother.)					
What is the highest level of school completed by either of your parents/guardians? (circle one)	Some high school	High school	Some college	College degree	Graduate degree

Appendix B: Egonet Interview Protocol

Ego Questions

- What is your name?

Alter Prompt Questions

- With whom do you spend most of your time?
- With whom do you believe helps you with your schooling?
- Who do you go to for advice?
- With whom do you get in trouble?
- With whom do you talk about your future?
- Who do you go to for help?
- Who are your confidants or those you tell secrets?

Alter Questions

- How do you know ___?
- When did you meet ___?
- To the best of your knowledge, how much education does ___ have?
- Does ___ value his/her own education?
- Does ___ encourage you to finish school?
- Does ___ work? If yes, where?
- How much does ___ value his/her own employment?
- Does ___ encourage you to work?
- Has ___ ever been in serious trouble?
- Has ___ tended to stay out of trouble?
- Does ___ encourage you to stay out of trouble?

Alter Pairs

- Does ___ know or spend time with ___?
- Where does ___ know or spend time with ___?
- Does ___ and ___ share similar values on
 - Academics?
 - Employment?
 - Staying out of trouble?

Appendix C: Resource Generator Survey and Codes

NAME: _____

Resource Generator items

Circle any that apply. Do you know someone who:

Has ready means of transportation	Has higher vocational education	Can lend you money
Can repair a car, bike, etc.	Has completed some level of college	Can provide a place to stay for a week if you have to leave your house temporarily
Can help with small jobs around the house (carpentry, painting)	Works at a university/college	Keeps a spare key to your house
Is handy repairing household equipment	Facilitates discussion on academics with you	Can give advice on matters of the law
Can help when moving (packing, lifting)	Can give advice concerning issues in school	Can give advice concerning a conflict with family members
Can speak and write a foreign language	Can give advice concerning a conflict at work	Provides you an outlet for staying out of trouble
Can work with a personal computer	Cares about your learning	Can give you things to do when school lets out
Can play an instrument	Cares about what you do after school	May get you in trouble
Has knowledge of literature	Can sometimes hire people	Has been in jail and shares stories about it
Reads a professional journal	Can find a holiday job for a family member	Wants you to stay safe and have a successful future
Is active in a political party	Works within the community	Has good contacts with a newspaper, radio or TV station
Can discuss what political party you are going to vote for	Has knowledge about financial matters (taxes, interest rates)	Knows about sports
Works at the town hall	Can give advice concerning a conflict at work	Can do your shopping when you (and your household members) are ill
Knows a lot about governmental regulations	Can give a good reference when you are applying for a job	Can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied with your doctor
You can pay social visits to	Knows how to manage money	
Can offering tutoring	Has multiple jobs	
Has a high school degree		

Resource Generator Survey Codes

(A) Has knowledge of literature	(A) Cares about your learning	have to leave your house temporarily
(E) Has ready means of transportation	(C/D) Cares about what you do after school	(C/D) Keeps a spare key to your house
(A) Reads a professional journal	(E) Can sometimes hire people	(C/D) Can give advice on matters of the law
(A) Can offering tutoring	(E) Can find a holiday job for a family member	(C/D) Can give advice concerning a conflict with family members
(A) Has a high school degree	(E) Works within the community	(C/D) Provides you an outlet for staying out of trouble
(A) Has higher vocational education	(E) Has knowledge about financial matters (taxes, interest rates)	(E) Can give you things to do when school lets out
(A) Has completed some level of college	(E) Can give a good reference when you are applying for a job	(C/D) May get you in trouble
(A) Works at a university/college	(E) Knows how to manage money	(C/D) Has been in jail and shares stories about it
(A) Facilitates discussion on academics with you	(E) Has multiple jobs	(C/D) Wants you to stay safe and have a successful future
(A) Can give advice concerning issues in school	(C/D) Can lend you money	
(E) Can give advice concerning a conflict at work	(C/D) Can provide a place to stay for a week if you	

(A) = Academics

(E) = Employment

(C/D) = Citizenship/Delinquency

Appendix D: Description of Alters

Adam	A friend of Danny, had known him for 4 years, skated with him, was in high school, had been in serious trouble, eventually secured a job at Op Grows later in the year because of Danny.
Blake	A friend of Danny, skated with him, had known him for a few years, dropped out of high school, did not have a job.
Carlos	A friend of Danny, lived in the same apartment complex previously, had known him for about 5 years, got him into skating, was in high school, too young to work, had not been in serious trouble.
Danny	Was one of the interns.
Eli	A friend of Danny, skated with him, had known him for a little while, was in high school, too young to work, had been in serious trouble.
Frank	Cousin of Malik, lived with him, had known him since 2012, dropped out senior year, worked as a paper router at OA News, had not been in serious trouble.
Greg	The principal of Carson Learning Center, worked at a church, had known him since sophomore year, much education, and had not been in serious trouble.
Henry	Assistant Principal at Carson Learning Center, had known Malik since his sophomore year, Master's degree, business license, believed he had been in serious trouble.
Irene	A teacher at Carson Learning Center, a lot of education, believed she had not been in serious trouble.
Judy	9 th -grade business teacher of Malik, Malik took three of her classes at the high school, had a lot of education, believed she had not been in serious trouble.
Kevin	Cousin of Malik, had known him since 2010, high school graduate, worked as a paper router for OA News, believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Luke	Nephew of Malik, had known him since 2010, in first grade, too young to be employed, had been in serious trouble.
Malik	Was one of the interns.
Nick	Father of Malik, 2 years of college, worked as a Marine, had never been in serious trouble.
Ophelia	Grandmother of Rodney, adopted him, lived with her, had met a few years ago, a lot of education, did not work anymore, used to work in medicine, and believed she had never been in serious trouble.
Paul	Older brother of Rodney, lived with him, finished high school, used to work at Turner Fencing, was potentially going into the army, believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Quinn	Taught Rodney math at the middle school, met Rodney when he was in 6 th grade, had a college degree, believed she had not been in serious trouble.
Rodney	Was one of the interns.
Stanton	Was one of the interns.
Tony	Met Rodney at the mall, a recruiter for the army, met Rodney less than a year ago, a lot of education, and did not believe he had been in trouble.
Ulysses	Pastor of church Rodney attended, a lot of education, did not believe he had been in serious trouble.

Victor	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, was in the same grade, did not work, and believed he had been in serious trouble.
Will	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, should be in the same grade but fell behind, did not work, and believed he had been in serious trouble.
Xavier	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, was in the same grade, did not work, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Yadier	A friend of Stanton, met in school back in Phoenix City, had known Stanton since 7 th grade, should be in the same grade but fell behind, did not work, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Zeke	Older brother of Stanton, graduated from high school, attended CSU, worked at Publix, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Amy	Older sister of Stanton, expelled from high school, she worked with Stanton's mom at Afni, and believed she had been in serious trouble.
Chantel	In a relationship at the time of the first collection with Stanton, was about to go into 9 th grade, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble.
Devin	A friend of Stanton, knew through Zeke, had known a few years, graduated from high school, might have been in college, worked at Publix, believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Susan	The girlfriend of Danny at the second and third collection point, met 6 months ago, 10 th grade, failed once, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble. Newly Identified at Checkpoint 2.
Dr. Fox	Met interns last year, executive director of Op Grows, a professor at a university, Ph.D., suggested he had been in trouble by 3 interns.
Myself	Met interns last year, works for Op Grows, met last spring, a Ph.D. student at a university, had never been in serious trouble.
Marsha	The girlfriend of Malik at time of collection 2, had met her a few years ago, in high school, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble.
Faith	Taught math at Carson Learning Center, taught all the interns at one point, suggested she had not been in serious trouble.
Louis	Taught science at Carson Learning Center, taught all the interns at one point, suggested he had not been in serious trouble.
Arthur	Older brother of Malik, had known him since 7 th grade, college graduate, owned a mechanical shop, and had been in serious trouble.
Tyler	Cousin of Rodney, met when he moved down here, was in 11 th grade, worked at Hardee's, and believed he had not been in serious trouble.
Landon	Sgt. in the army who talked to Rodney and Paul, had met him a year before, army recruiter, had not been in serious trouble.
Jack	Taught computer science and business at Carson Learning Center, had known Rodney for a year, had a college degree, had not been in serious trouble.
Charlotte	Mother of Stanton, finished high school, worked at Afni, had never been in serious trouble.
Connor	Stepdad of Stanton, had met him in 8 th grade, finished high school, went into the military, worked at Mando, and did not believe he had been in serious trouble.

Gwen	Taught the agriculture class at Carson Learning Center, a lot of education, met him a year ago, and did not believe she had been in serious trouble.
Kia	A friend of Rodney, worked at Zaxby's with him, had known her since the fifth grade, junior in high school, and did not believe she had been in serious trouble.
Chris	Cousin of Rodney, known him since third grade, 10 th grade, had not been in serious trouble.
Clair	The girlfriend of Stanton at third collection period, met a few months prior, in 10 th grade, did not work, and had not been in serious trouble.

Appendix E: Codebook

Theme	Code	Description	Data Exemplar	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria	Disconfirming Evidence	Memo
Op Grows Programming	<i>Relationship Navigation [RN]</i>	Balancing the dynamics of the interns' lives with Op Grows expectations	We wanted the interns to be leaders in the class, instead, they complained about getting their shoes dirty on multiple occasions.	Inc: Challenges and obstacles, being on the same page with the interns.			Remember the interns are adolescents and have not experienced many things outside their comfort zone.
	<i>Group Formation [GF]</i>	Op Grows becoming interconnected or expanding with/from all members involved	July 30th: We pulled all the rotten watermelon. Then we had an impromptu home run derby. Felt like we all were able to understand the importance of this.	Inc: Networks, discussion, observation, talking with interns or with other staff	Ex: Simply working with the interns.	The interns have noted on multiple times how they did not really like working with Samuel nor Joe.	The ethnography can give life to the interns' personal networks. The networks should inform our practice moving forward.
	<i>Community Engagement/ Involvement [CE/I]</i>	Involving the interns when working within the community and on rectifying community challenges	Danny and Stanton were asked to be on a community advisory board that together helps combat food insecurity... they were chosen to offer student perspectives.	Inc: Working with community members or at the community market	Ex: Working in the community garden without other community members present.	Stanton and Danny left the community market because they were bored. They didn't see that the market is a part of Op Grows.	This is beyond just working at the community garden.
	<i>Op Grows Role with the Interns [ORI]</i>	A discovering of how Op Grows staff interacts with the interns	November 30 th : Stanton messaged me stressed out one day asking if I could buy him a Black and Mild. I didn't feel comfortable doing that.	Inc: Balancing being a friend and having a hierarchy.	Ex: Our different educational environment .	Sometimes we said we supported the interns but failed to appreciate their perspective.	Balance the social justice aspect of having a hierarchy and working alongside the interns.

	<i>Intern Maturation [IM]</i>	When the interns showed considerable maturity in their daily lives	August 12: Danny texted to see if we were working. As I was picking up Rodney, Danny motivated him to work. Rodney said he didn't want to work, but Danny just told him to stop complaining and get his boots on.	Inc: Taking a leadership role, treating the staff with more respect, wanting to work.	Ex: Just doing what is asked.	Just when you think the interns have become leaders, they retract and continue to not do what is asked.	Each intern will mature in different ways.
	<i>Op Grows Reevaluations [OGR]</i>	These are drastic changes of Op Grows Programming that changed the internship following conversations with staff or observations of things not working	From the first year of the internship, Op Grows staff learned quite a bit. We will take what we learned and adapt as the program moves forward with other interns.	Inc: Group reflections and changes to the group dynamics, group social justice mentality			We will take what we learned and apply our knowledge as we move forward.
Academics	<i>Intern's Perceptions of School [IPS]</i>	What the interns say about their schooling and also their school habits	July 28th: Danny and Stanton both agreed that the school just gives them busy work. They both suggested that going is boring.	Inc: Discussion of the Carson Learning Center, the general attitude towards school, conversations about attending school, all classes.			
	<i>Academic Social Capital [ASC]</i>	Interns obtaining social resources related to academics	July 28 th : At the end of summer Danny, suggested we bring watermelon to the staff of the Carson Learning Center.	Inc: Tutoring, guidance, other social resources	Ex: Delinquency social capital while in school	Not working directly with people identified in the networks working in school.	This has to be clear that the project benefits the schooling.

	<i>Our Different Educational Environment [ODEE]</i>	A comparison between traditional education and the internship	January 30 th : Danny messed up cutting the posts with the saw. Dr. Fox mentioned to him mistakes are how you learn.	Inc: Educating in the gardens with different topic areas		There were times that the interns would complain about working.	Take note that working in the school often counts towards this.
Employment	<i>Intern's Positive Work Habits [IPWH]</i>	The observational support when the interns put in more effort than what is required	June 23rd: I picked up Malik from his house. He was waiting outside before I got there. Just struck me as he is ready to work. He has the greatest work ethic in my opinion of all the interns.	Inc: Doing what is asked, interns working hard in school or at work.		Intern's Negative Work Habits	
	<i>Intern's Negative Habits [INWH]</i>	The observational support when the interns put in limited effort for work or don't show up at all	June 9th: It was the third time Danny didn't show up for work. He texted Dr. Fox saying this wasn't a bid deal if he misses.	Inc: Laziness, not showing up for work, not wanting to listen to instructions.		Intern's Positive Work Habits	
	<i>Skills Learned/ Knowledge Acquired [SL/KA]</i>	Specific skills and knowledge gained from the internship	February 6 th : Danny and Stanton finally got to learn how to use a table saw.	Inc: Learning tools, retaining skills or knowledge later in the internship	Ex: What was learned prior to the internship.	If we taught the interns a skill, but they can't recall how to do it later on or don't do the job successfully.	Tangible and intangible skills. Learning the language is also important.
	<i>Effective Work Strategies [EWS]</i>	How work is best accomplished	February 21 st : When we brought in Danny's friend Adam, we wanted to make sure they would work well together.	Inc: Building respect, working closely with interns, keeping the interns working, knowing who the interns work best with		We kept allowing the interns to get away with a lot of things other jobs would not allow such as not showing up to work or being on their phones.	We have to be mindful that some things work better at given times.

	<i>Intern's Perceptions of Work [IPW]</i>	What the interns say about working	Much of what we saw is the interns valued work for the financial gains.	Inc: Discussion of the internship, discussion of other jobs			Op Grows and other jobs are different so these perceptions have a chance to be different
	<i>Employment Social Capital [ESC]</i>	Interns obtaining social resources related to employment	Stanton utilized the connection from Op Grows to secure a job at Simba Gastropub. His first job helped to get his second which he still has.	Inc: Both bonding and bridging social capital		If the interns didn't feel a part of the group or left the program, there were limited opportunities to build this type of social capital	The goal was to create a group, but we were open to the idea of utilizing the interns' networks to expand their social capital.
Citizenship/ Delinquency	<i>Getting in Trouble [GT]</i>	Behaviors that lead to the interns getting in trouble	June 18th: After Rodney texted Joe about something illicit, Dr. Fox and Joe took him aside. The text message was clearly indicative of the lack of awareness.	Inc: Individual aspects and social aspects.		Avoiding trouble/ understanding consequences	Getting in trouble can be a part of the interns' delinquency social capital.
	<i>Avoiding Trouble/ Understanding Consequences [AT/UC]</i>	Behaviors that lead themselves to the interns understanding that their actions have consequences	April 5 th : Malik realized Dr. Fox was watching people in the class dance on the tables. Malik walked over, picked up a shovel and started working.	Inc: What Op Grows does, what the interns do themselves		Getting in trouble, delinquency social capital	This category can be related to the interns' citizenship social capital.
	<i>Citizenship Social Capital [CSC]</i>	Interns obtaining social resources related to citizenship behaviors	January 22 nd : Danny suggested to us that he had to complete community service hours. It was his idea to ask the judge if he could complete 25	Inc: Service learning hours, care for plants		Delinquency social capital	We have different notions of what it means to be good citizens.

			unpaid hours with Op Grows as this has helped him focus.				
	<i>Delinquency Social Capital [DSC]</i>	Interns obtaining social resources related to delinquency behaviors	June 16 th : As we were all driving back, the interns mentioned they have all been in at least one fight. This is how they get stroke in the Carson Learning Center.	Inc: previous experiences that fostered the intern's position at the Carson Learning Center or elsewhere		Citizenship social capital	Have to involve social aspects when they get in trouble.
Changing Perspectives Based on Reflection	<i>My Changing Perspective [MCP]</i>	My ever-evolving reflective lens of the interns, the internship, and myself	October 12 th : When talking to a family in the community garden, I mentioned how we work with alternative students. I realized I was identifying the interns as troublemakers and this is not appreciating the interns wholly.	Inc: My reflections, biases, how I operationalize a justice mentality	Ex: Data that I thought was true, but changed after talking to the interns		This is a big part of Dewey's (1933) inquiry.