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CASE STUDY: ASSESSING SOCIAL CAPITAL

An Outreach Program Case Study: Assessing and Imparting Social Capital

By

Autumn Thompson

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements of the Degree of

Master of Arts

In

Sociology

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CASE STUDY: ASSESSING SOCIAL CAPITAL

An Outreach Program Case Study: Assessing and Imparting Social Capital
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CASE STUDY: ASSESSING SOCIAL CAPITAL

An Outreach Program Case Study: Assessing and Imparting Social Capital

Thompson, Autumn L., M.A. Sociology Minnesota State University – Mankato 2014

Abstract

College outreach programs have been on the rise in the past couple of decades. They hope to help historically underrepresented students (first generation, low income, and minority) aspire to and prepare for higher education. However little research has been done on the effectiveness of these programs and more specifically which components are most effective for increasing student enrollment and retention. This study addresses this lack studying the effectiveness of social capital in college outreach programs, in an effort to move towards more evidence based research and practice. The study uses qualitative methods and in-depth interviews to directly investigate social capital in relation to a specific outreach program, The College Opportunity Program (COP). The specific research question addressed is what quality of social capital can outreach program participants access and how successful is the program in building trust within the network and helping their participants maximize their social capital to attain their educational goals? Three main themes emerge: being motivated, feeling comfortable, and being supported academically through friendship. These are important factors for program participants. Students do in fact have access to and utilize a form of high quality social capital, and the COP may in fact foster this process. The current findings will hopefully inform research and outreach programs of evidence based strategies.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Attending college and receiving a bachelor's degree has been shown to have significant life advantages and benefits. Having a bachelor's degree can lead to positive outcomes at both the individual and societal level (Schultz and Mueller 2006). As Holland (2010) points out, some of the individual positive outcomes can include academic engagement, employability, and financial security among others. Higher degrees earned correlate positively with a higher income. KewalRamani et. al. (2007), show that for those who have graduated from high school the median earnings for persons 25 years of age and over is \$30,300. For those who have received a bachelor's degree, the median earnings for persons 25 years of age and over is \$50,000.

Swail (2000) also points out that attaining a bachelor's degree can have the potential for upward mobility as people can move from one social strata to another. Other individual benefits include such things as lower unemployment, lower poverty, better health perceptions, and lower incarceration rates. At the societal level, higher education amounts to higher degrees, volunteering, higher rates of voting, and higher rates of donating blood (Baum and Payea 2005).

Engagement serves as an important tool for helping students graduate. College outreach programs aid underrepresented students in their engagement efforts in an attempt to help them realize the benefits of attending college and attaining a degree. This attempt to help underrepresented students graduate from college has thus contributed to the rise in precollege outreach programs over the past couple decades. Throughout the U.S today, there are over 1000 different college outreach programs

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(Gandara and Bial 2001, Perna 2002; Swail 2000). These programs goal is to help underrepresented students aspire to and prepare for, higher education (academically and college readiness in general) in high school, if not before, in order to increase the chances of them enrolling in and completing college (Domina 2009; Swail 2000; Perna 2002).

Despite the increasing involvement and number of college outreach programs aimed to help get underrepresented students into and through college, for whatever reason, the gap in college enrollment and completion persists. Historically underrepresented students (first generation, low-income, and minorities) have had lower college enrollment and completion rates than their dominant peers (those students who are not first generation, low income, or minority) (KewalRamani et. al. 2007; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2002; U.S Department of Education 2012). The problem is acute for students who are first generation, low-income, and minorities. A first generation student is a student in which neither of their parents has obtained a bachelor's degree. Underrepresented minorities are often defined in terms of racial/ethnic background: American Indian/Alaskan students, Blacks, Latinos, and Asian/Pacific Islander. Low-income can be determined by following federal TRIO programs outlines. The TRIO programs were the first outreach/intervention programs established by the federal government in the 1960's. The federal TRIO programs outlines for low-income are based on levels established by the Census Bureau. For example, a family unit with the size of one is considered low-income if they make \$17,505 or less (U.S. Department of Education 2014). For a full explanation of all family

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unit sizes and cutoffs see Appendix I. According to the U.S. Department of Education (2012) in 2010, the immediate college enrollment rate of high school graduates from low-income families was 52%, from middle-income families was 67%, and from high-income families was 82%.

Enrollment at institutions of higher education seems to be lower for racial/ethnic students in the minority category. According to Perna (2002) the enrollment rate for African Americans and Hispanics is lower than for Whites. Similarly, KewalRamani et. al. (2007), report that American Indian/Alaskan students, along with Blacks and Hispanics, have lower enrollment rates than their White peers. They show that the percentage of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in colleges and universities in 2004 for Whites was 41.7%, for Blacks was 31.8%, for Hispanics was 24.7%, for Asian/Pacific Islander was 60.3%, and for American Indian/Alaskan Native was 24.4%. Museus and Neville (2012) point out that although Asian/Pacific Islanders appear to be leading the way in both enrollment and achievement of bachelor's degree; this is not the case for all subgroups of Asian/Pacific Islander. For instance, where some groups like the Chinese hold degrees at rates that are twice the national average, other groups, like the Hmong and Laotian, are at rates below the national average.

As mentioned before, college outreach programs aim to reduce the gaps existing among students from different backgrounds and help students realize the benefits of higher education. However, little research has been done on the effectiveness of these programs (Domina 2009; Perna 2002; Swail 2000). There has been some research outlining the different characteristics and goals for different programs, but the

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effectiveness of programs has not been well researched. More specifically, few studies ask about which particular program characteristics and strategies are most effective (Perna 2002). Perna (2002) points out one possible way for college outreach programs to improve. Perna (2002) recommends implementing and capitalizing on components previous literature and research have identified as being important predictors for underrepresented students success in college enrollment and completion. In other words, college outreach programs should implement more evidence based programs. College outreach programs can base their design and components on efforts that have been shown through research and evidence, to be effective. The use of more academic theories in research on outreach programs should be employed. Social capital is one theoretical framework that has been used to help explain differences in college enrollment. Social capital has positive effects and is an effective predictor for underrepresented students' enrollment and success in education (Croninger and Lee 2001; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2000; Palmer and Gasman 2008; Stanton-Salazar 1997).

Despite evidence supporting the effectiveness of social capital, this theory has not been broadly used to examine its importance for college outreach programs (Gandara and Bial 2001). Administrators of college outreach programs and researchers could benefit directly from an investigation on the influence of social capital on student engagement. Examining social capital may help improve our understanding of the effectiveness of outreach programs. The current research also seeks to add to the existing literature on the effectiveness of outreach programs and, more specifically, to

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the effectiveness of specific components. Finally, this study will provide descriptive evidence of student involvement in an outreach program which is at the center of the re-structuring of outreach programs founded on an evidence based approach. An evidence based approach can help highlight the components that have been most effective in the operation of outreach programs. This study seeks to use a qualitative methodology to directly investigate one of the components, social capital, in relation to a specific outreach program. A qualitative approach helps obtain a closer examination of a small number of cases to illuminate, clarify, and deepen our understanding of social capital in outreach programs (Neuman 2006).

The aim of this study is to investigate the qualitative nature and effectiveness of social capital in relation to a specific college outreach program. A secondary goal is to build on the literature of the effectiveness of college outreach programs and evidence based approaches. This aim is the basis of this thesis and will be developed in the chapters that follow. Chapter two consists of the literature review and the statement of the research question, chapter three lays out the research design, chapter four discusses the findings, and chapter five addresses the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTION

This chapter will examine previous literature, outline the theoretical framework used in the study, and address the research questions and goals. First attention will be given to the previous literature addressing outreach programs, their components and effectiveness. Following will be an outlining of the theoretical framework and the previous literature that discusses social capital. Last, there is a discussion on how outreach programs and social capital are combined in the current study and a statement of the research questions.

Precollege Outreach Programs

A Brief History. The federal government was one of the first to initiate outreach or intervention programs as part of the response to a “war on poverty” in the 1960’s. Among these programs, the TRIO programs were established first. One of their first experimental and demonstration programs of the TRIO group was a program called “Upward Bound”. The program focused on identifying low-income and underachieving secondary school students in an effort to help them access postsecondary education. The second TRIO program was called Talent Search and the third was called Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS). The three programs became the “TRIO”; the first educational programs that were aimed at helping economically disadvantaged students enter college (Grout 2003). Since the installation of the TRIO programs by the federal government, the number of outreach programs has continued to rise. Outreach programs are no longer sponsored only by the federal government. Outreach programs

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are now sponsored by such entities as state governments, schools and school districts, colleges and universities, private business and industry, and foundations (Perna 2002).

Because the programs are now funded at various levels of government, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of college outreach programs throughout the past several decades. Today, one in ten low-income high school students attend an outreach program each year (Domina 2009). Since the introduction of the first three outreach programs (TRIO) in the 1960's, the number has grown to over 1000 different outreach programs throughout the U.S today (Gandara and Bial 2001, Perna 2002; Swail 2000). They are intended to help make the path to higher education easier for traditionally underrepresented students. The programs help students aspire to and prepare for higher education. Common goals among programs then are to help students in high school, if not before, be prepared for college (academically and in general) in order to increase the chances of them enrolling and completing college (Domina 2009; Swail 2000; Perna 2002). The goal of programs to increase the chances of historically underrepresented students enrolling and completing college is aimed at closing the achievement gap between underrepresented students and their dominant peers. Understanding why the achievement gap exists and figuring out how to close it has shaped, and continues to shape, the introduction of new outreach programs.

Factors that led to the introduction of outreach programs. Research has shown that there are positive and life changing individual effects correlated with enrolling in college and receiving a bachelor's degree. Society also benefits from the higher levels of education of its members. However, disparity between the underrepresented students

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and students from the dominant groups can also be detrimental for society. Recorded levels of disparity leads governments, policy makers, practitioners, and others to ask why it is that there are such differences in enrollment and degree completion between the two sets of students. One of the first explanations and thus consequent suggested solutions to the gap was a focus on financial means. Students from dominant groups are better off financially and better able to afford going to college. Thus one solution to close the gap was to try to help economically underrepresented students through means of financial assistance (Perna 2002). To this end, the federal government has sponsored policies and programs with a goal of raising access to college for groups of traditionally underrepresented college age individuals. These programs have been around for several decades. Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 has been one of the federal government's foremost interventions. The Act of 1965 aids students by providing financial assistance through the means of loans, work-study, and grants. The federal government has not been the only entity to join in on the cause; colleges and universities, state governments, and other organizations have also aided students' college access by way of financial support (Perna 2002).

Perna (2002) believes that although financial assistance is helpful, it may not be the sole solution to closing the gap. Holland (2010) points out that there are equal rates of college aspirations among underrepresented students and their dominant peers. In other words, underrepresented students are just as likely as their dominant peers to aspire to and want to go to college. However, disparities in enrollment and achievement behavior still persist despite the existence of programs that provide financial assistance

and programs that support aspirations. Perna (2002) claims that the reason this is the case may be due to an overemphasis on financial explanations for the gap. Furthermore, she claims that this overemphasis has led to a subsequent lack of attention to the factors that play into whether or not someone is academically, psychologically, and socially prepared to enroll in college and be successful. To account for the deficiency of solutions, other than financial aid, that can help students in being academically, psychologically, and socially prepared for college, there has been an increased focus on implementing precollege outreach programs. Precollege outreach programs can help give students the opportunity and ability to enroll in higher education and receive degrees, a necessity for the individual and societal benefits of higher education to be realized (Perna and Swail 2001). In effect, the current study adds to this discussion by focusing on social capital as an important component of pre-college outreach programs.

Characteristics. Domina (2009), through his research, outlines two different types of outreach programs in U.S. high schools today. These include a schoolwide intervention program and a targeted intervention program. Most high school programs follow a targeted intervention model (Grout 2003). This approach, as outlined by Domina (2009), targets a small number of students within the high school with the belief that direct intervention can be an effective manner in the educational development of students. Such programs as the TRIO programs would fit under this category. According to Domina (2009), the schoolwide approach seeks to have a more broad effect by offering support to all students at the targeted schools. They hope to raise the educational outcomes for all students not just a select few. Some of the more

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well-known schoolwide programs, pointed out by Domina (2009), include the I have a Dream Foundation program, GEAR UP program, and the AVID program. Programs that use the schoolwide or the targeted approaches share a common goal of raising the aspirations of high school students to attend college.

Programs that offer their services to students in high school, however, are not the only outreach programs in existence. Swail (2000) and Perna (2002), through their analysis of the National Survey of Outreach Programs, identify and outline some of the different types and characteristics of outreach programs throughout the U.S. Swail (2000), for instance, notes that programs are offering their services at more areas than just high school; he identifies five different locations. Services are offered on college campuses (45.5%), at elementary or secondary schools (34.7%), at student's homes (0.3%), at community centers (5.6%), and other locations (13.9%). He also notes that of all the programs offered approximately two-thirds are offered year round, during both the academic school year and during the summer.

Swail (2000) and Perna (2002) note that programs not only differ in the location of services, but also in their target of underrepresented populations. Swail (2000) points out that while the programs target multiple categories of underrepresented population, they have different primary targets. According to Swail (2000) three-fourths of programs target low-income students, two-thirds target historically underrepresented minorities, two-thirds target first-generation college students, 7% target students with low academic achievement.

Programs share the overarching goal, although through many different means, of decreasing the disparity in college enrollment and success between underrepresented students and their dominant counterparts (Perna 2002). This assertion is confirmed in Swail's (2000) observation that 90% of participants responding to the National Survey of Outreach Programs indicated that their primary goal was to promote college awareness and attendance. However, programs have other secondary goals as well. Swail (2000) reports that 84% of the programs share the goal of building student's self-esteem and 81% seek to provide students with role models. Swail (2000) denotes that three-fourths of the programs seek to encourage parental involvement. The five most listed goals by outreach programs as shown by Swail (2000) include college attendance, college awareness, exposure to college, improvement of academic skills, and student self-esteem. Programs go about accomplishing their goals through the different services that they offer. Swail (2000) lists the top five most offered services by outreach programs as college awareness, social skills development, campus visits, cultural activities, and critical thinking skills.

Effectiveness. Although some researchers have been able to gather information about the range of precollege outreach programs available in the U.S. as well as the goals and services they offer, little is known about the effectiveness of such programs in accomplishing their goals (Domina 2009; Perna 2002; Swail 2000). The fact that outreach programs do vary so widely in their characteristics and goals may play a part in understanding why there is not much knowledge on which components actually work and are the most effective (Perna 2002). There are, however, some preliminary reports

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on the general effectiveness as well as specific effectiveness of particular components of college outreach programs to attain their goals. Perna (2002), for instance, notes five critical components that are possessed by one-fourth of programs: having the goal of college attendance; having college tours, visits, or fairs; having an emphasis on parental involvement; having the goal of promoting rigorous course taking; and beginning by the eighth grade.

Horn and Chen (1998) provide preliminary evidence of precollege outreach programs general success and effect, using the data from the National Educational Longitudinal Survey of 1988. Horn and Chen give a preliminary indication that outreach programs can help raise the chances of their participants attending college. They find that when looking at students who participated in an outreach program, they were significantly more likely to enroll in college than nonparticipants. Gandara and Bial (2001) confirm this finding when they assert that the most effective programs have been shown to be capable of doubling the college enrollment rate of their participants. Domina (2009) states that the evidence from his study, looking at both schoolwide and target intervention programs, suggests that college outreach programs can have positive effects for their students and their educational stories. Domina does, however, note that the findings are only modest and that more research is needed. Some researchers have studied specific programs and find them to be successful and effective. Ghazzawi and Jagannathan (2011) conducted a study looking at a college outreach program for first generation students and found that the program was effective in motivating students to attend college. They found that an average of 95% of students

who participated in the program were attending college during the follow-up study. Though some research has shown precollege outreach programs to be successful, there is still not enough research on the effectiveness of these programs, exactly how they work, and what components are the most effective, especially when compared to the total number of programs in existence (Domina 2009; Gandara and Bial 2001; Perna and Swail 2001).

Although little empirical evidence about the effectiveness of college outreach programs exists, there is one thing that is certain: college outreach programs aim to close the gap in enrollment behavior and success in college between underrepresented students and their dominant peers. Perna (2002) states that college outreach programs should capitalize on the components previous literature and research have identified as being important predictors for increasing underrepresented students college enrollment and completion. Identifying important predictors can help these programs be more effective in general as well as pinpointing the specific components to target for improvement, helping them in their goal of closing the achievement gap. Thus, this improvement follows an evidence based approach. College outreach programs can base their design and components off of existing research that serves as evidence to their effectiveness. Perna (2002) finds that building college outreach programs based on evidence and research is not something that outreach programs have done; that only a fraction of programs appear to actually address previously identified predictors. Theories act as explanations and guides. Using theory some researchers have identified effective factors and predictors of students' successful enrollment in and completion of

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college. Looking at such research is one way for college outreach programs to identify more evidence practices. One theoretical framework that has been used in relation to college enrollment and completion is social capital. Social capital has been demonstrated to correlate with students' enrollment and success in higher education (Croninger and Lee 2001; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2000; Palmer and Gasman 2008; Stanton-Salazar 1997).

It is not to say that research on outreach programs has completely neglected aspects of social capital theory. In fact, the research by Gandara and Bial (2001) shows that many college outreach programs identify different components of the social capital theory without referring formally to the theory (see Gandara and Bial 2001; Kahne and Bailey 1997; Perna 2002 for exceptions). Social capital is often mentioned indirectly. Gandara and Bial (2001) note how different components of the theory are often represented in the goals of programs (such as mentoring, family-involvement, building peer groups that will support academic goals). They also show how it is indirectly identified as services that the most effective programs provide (such as parental involvement; close tutor/teacher/counselor relationships with students; and continuous and consistent contact). Programs and researchers use the framework of social capital but indirectly. Documented means of growing or articulating social capital theory, then, can help to explain and advocate for programs. Furthermore, using research based on the social capital theory can help to illustrate the importance of social capital for the success of individual participants.

Social Capital

Theoretical framework. The theory of social capital helps inform the current study of the networks that participants in outreach programs have access to. The main precepts of this theory were developed in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988). Social capital is a resource to be tapped into and based on the relations among people. Coleman identifies three forms of social capital which include obligations and expectations (trust), information channels that facilitate action, and social norms. Similarly, Bourdieu sees social capital as being made up of social obligations or connections. In his view social capital results from the use of resources, actual or potential, that link together to sustain a durable network or to belong to a group. Furthermore, each member in the network has access to the collective capital of the group. The amount of social capital one can possess depends on both the size of the network connections that are mobilized and on the volume of the capital.

Based on the work of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Holland (2010) the current study endorses a definition of social capital that incorporates that relevant social relationships are beneficial to advancing an individual's goals. In this regard, the components of social capital are expected to include a closed network or group (social capital network), established norms within that network, an expectation of obligations within the network, development of trust within the network, and the sharing of valuable information. Furthermore, access to social networks allows individuals to tap into resources not easily obtained at the individual level. Benefiting from social capital, however, requires that one put time and effort into the different relationships within

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the network. Networks can be informal including friends, family, peers, and community leaders or formal including institutional agents, school personnel, employers, and service providers. Formal and informal networks provide individuals access to social capital that is necessary to achieve ones goals and without which the achievement of the goal would not be possible. However, it is important to keep in mind that not all social networks are created equal. Social networks can generate poor or weak social capital when their resources are poor (Lin 2000; Perna 2000).

Social Capital, Education, and Outreach Programs

Studies about the links between social capital, education in general, and outreach programs in particular are not new. Many scholars have used the work of Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) to help frame their definition of social capital and, consequently, their investigations of how social capital can help underrepresented students achieve and be successful in education (Çelik and Ekinçi 2012; Farmer-Hinton and Adams 2006; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012). Their research has been critical in our understanding of the link between social capital and college outreach programs. For example, Holland (2010) uses Bourdieu and Coleman to set up her framework for looking into how a social capital can help explain the means by which members of student's social network, both formal and informal, use it to achieve their postsecondary education goals. As outlined by Bourdieu and Coleman, in order to benefit from social capital, one has to put in the time and effort into establishing and developing his/her network. Holland, however, goes on to talk about how underrepresented students may not know how to create and utilize the social capital

networks that would help them to realize their goals. One of these goals, according to Perna (2002), is the aspiration to attend and be successful in college.

Through her analyses of formal and informal networks of underrepresented college students Holland (2010) concluded that although students do appear to have access to social capital, they may not be able to fully utilize it. Moreover, she claims that the use of the right kind of social capital for underrepresented students is of great importance. However, many students may be a part of informal networks that do not have the know-how and may act more as cheerleaders than informants. From her research, Holland (2010) concludes that social networks provide underrepresented students a specific kind of support. First, students value their motivational support because it keeps them focused on their goals. Second, the existing networks tend to provide only general encouragement and not individualized and tangible college preparatory resources. Finally, many students would benefit greatly from receiving guidance from others in the networks, the kind of guidance that may be more effective in helping them maximize their social capital to aid in their degree completion. The current research helps shed a light on the last element that Holland addresses.

Holland's findings provide an effective lead for research intended to examine the connections between social capital and educational attainment. Holland draws attention to some of the problems that underrepresented students may experience concerning the quality of the social capital and the access to the right kind of social capital. Thus, Holland's previous work represents an important starting point for research centering on the examination of the quality of social capital that students in

outreach programs have access to. From this perspective, outreach programs themselves may be viewed as a part of the extension of social capital for underrepresented students. They can provide and train agents themselves as well as be able to provide connections to assist students in finding more formal agents to expand their social networks. Outreach programs can also provide the background and environment for students to expand informal networks. In other words, outreach programs can help students move beyond general access to tangible resources. Holland's (2010) research is also important in that she applied certain elements developed by Bourdieu and Coleman. Holland noted that the majority of students in her study indicated that their families were part of their trusted networks. Family members also reminded students about the obligations to meet the educational goals. College outreach programs could provide these same trusted networks on a formal level and build up a repertoire and environment for them to feel obligated to meet the educational norms of the program.

Social capital and institutional agents. While the work of Holland (2010) centers on the quality of social networks and access by underrepresented students, other research efforts have centered on institutional agents such as mentors, advisors, school administrators, etc. This line of research seeks to understand how institutional agents can impart social capital to students (Çelik and Ekinci 2012; Farmer-Hinton and Adams 2006; Museus and Neville 2012; Smith 2007; Stanton-Salazar 1997). Holland (2010) provided a discussion of institutional agents, but previous research had already been done on their importance in explaining student success. Stanton-Salazar (1997), for

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example, looked at how important institutional agents were in providing minority students, K-12, with social capital.

Because of its importance the current research will examine the views of students in an outreach program have about individuals in an institutional setting in higher education. Since previous research has found a link between institutional agents and the success of students in a K-12 setting, it follows that its importance can be extended to examine students in an outreach program. Research shows that institutional agents provide useful guidance as early as the 8th grade (Gandara and Bial 2001). That is, the earlier one can be introduced to institutional agents, the better. Farmer-Hinton and Adams (2006) show how counselors can provide school based social capital and are able to have positive effects on students by identifying efficient avenues to access resources. In this way counselors act as institutional change agents for students. However, they also point out how one of the more frequent challenges for schools is that they are not set up to foster school-based social capital. Outreach programs then could help to make up for this deficiency. Outreach programs have the ability to help foster a positive environment in which faculty, counselors, directors, etc. play an important role in the development of social capital. It is important to note that underrepresented students may come from various social groups and that there may be differing ways in the kinds of social capital they may have access to.

Museus and Neville (2012) look at the kind of social capital racial minorities students have access to. For racial minority students, social networks carry special meaning sustained by high levels of trust. Museus and Neville mention that a limitation

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to their study is that they only focused on racial minority college students. Future researchers, they suggest, should address other categories of underrepresented students such as low-income and first generation undergraduates. The current research attends this general concern by focusing on outreach programs and explaining the experiences of first generation college students. The intent of this study is to look into how important institutional agents are for students in the outreach program. It also seeks to examine how effective institutional agents are in helping students maximize their social capital and thus their college goals and success.

Even more recently, Çelik and Ekinci (2012) emphasize that school administrators have the most critical role in developing social capital in organizational environments. They conclude that it is important for schools to be aware of the fact that administrators are in position to facilitate social capitals development. College outreach programs could learn from this. Outreach Programs could consider making partnerships with the schools or with particular administration who can serve as reference points and help impart social capital to the participants in their program (Domina and Ruzek 2012). Outreach programs could even simply learn from Çelik and Ekinci (2012) by realizing that they too need to be aware of the role their agents play in their own programs and look into whether or not they are sufficiently imparting social capital to their participants.

In sum, the definition of social capital endorsed in this study centers around the idea that significant relationships are sustained through social networks that act to accomplish individual's specific goals. As indicated in this chapter, social networks help

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establish norms, expectations of obligations, development of trust, and the sharing of valuable information. Social capital can be beneficial to underrepresented students achievement and success in education. Previous literature has also investigated specific components of social capital including the quality of social networks for student's success, the importance of institutional agents for underrepresented student's success, and the importance of trust within social networks. Because of the importance of these components, the current study will examine the quality of social capital that participants in an outreach program have access to. Furthermore, it will investigate how students reach out to formal institutional agents to support their academic goals. The level of trust within the networks of outreach program participants, particularly with institutional agents, and any consequent levels of obligation to educational norms will be described.

The Current Study and Research Questions

Like previous studies, the present study places the theory of social capital at the center of the analysis as an important framework that helps understand the chances of for success of students in outreach programs (Croninger and Lee 2001; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2000; Palmer and Gasman 2008; Stanton-Salazar 1997). The current study differs from previous research in that it centers on students in an outreach program as the study population. If social capital has been supported in previous research using different study populations, then, it follows that it should not be a far stretch to see that it will be helpful to underrepresented students in college outreach programs in particular. The aim of this study is to provide

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an account of the effectiveness and success of outreach programs to support students in the development of social capital. The practical significance of this study lies in the interest of this researcher to help college outreach programs be better prepared for accomplishing their goal of decreasing the disparity in college graduation rates. Given the current efforts to establish programs based on evidence, the current study seeks to provide the evidence necessary to maximize the effectiveness of program components. Thus the current study is led by the following question: what is the quality of social capital that outreach program participants have access to and how successful is the program in building trust within the network and helping their participants maximize their social capital to attain their educational goals?

The basic question leading this study is informed by the social capital theory which is rooted in the works of Bourdieu and Coleman. Thus, the main point of this research is to investigate qualitatively the effectiveness of a particular outreach program, the College Opportunity Program (COP) (a pseudonym adopted for reasons of confidentiality) to support students in the development of social capital. The qualitative aspect of this study seeks to obtain in-depth description from participants in regards to the following areas of importance: access to formal and informal networks, development of educational norms or obligations within that network, and the strength of ties in the network related to the development of trust and reciprocity. These and other considerations will be valuable in the understanding of the components of social capital that are most applicable among participants in the College Opportunity Program. This research also helps to begin the process of moving outreach programs towards

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more evidence based programs, by researching more specifically the different components of outreach programs and the effectiveness of those components for students in the programs.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative techniques. The current study followed a qualitative methodology for data collection. Qualitative techniques allow researchers to explore and focus on a smaller number of cases to help illuminate, clarify, and deepen understanding of social capital (Neuman 2006). Qualitative research is optimal for this study because it allows for in-depth inquiry in the understanding of social capital and its facilitation to students in the College Opportunity Program (COP). According to Palmer and Gasman (2008) one of the advantages of qualitative methods is that it helps provides an understanding of experiences in a particular context. In the current study, that context is the College Opportunity Program and the objective of this study is to uproot students experience and adjustment to college as part of that context. Specifically, this research was based on the qualitative case study approach (Berg 2001); it examined the case of one particular college outreach program, at a midsize university in the upper Midwest.

Qualitative case studies are often aimed at exploring phenomena within real-life contexts (Berg 2001). They can be especially valuable when the boundaries between the phenomena and its context are unclear (Museus 2010). Students' experiences with the phenomena of social capital and its networks were examined within the context of college outreach programs. Specifically the current study addressed the real-life context of and outreach program called the College Opportunity Program at a specific institution of higher education. Additionally, the literature reviewed for this study indicated that the boundaries between social capital and other components of outreach programs have not been significantly addressed. It also indicated that social capital has the

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characteristic of being hard to measure which is the reason why the qualitative rather than quantitative methodology is most applicable (Matějů and Vitásková 2006; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995). The use of a qualitative methodology is suitable to help gain insight into the phenomena of social capital. It would have been difficult to obtain this level of analysis using quantitative methods (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Qualitative techniques have also proven effective for similar research carried out in educational settings or looking into other aspects of outreach programs or social capital (Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Palmer 2008; Smith 2007).

Sampling

Participants. This study and its research and sampling techniques were approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the university where it was conducted. Participants for this study were freshmen students at a midsize university in the upper Midwest. They were first generation, low income, or minority students. For the purpose of this study these three categories are defined based on the College Opportunity Program's definitions and requirements. First, the term first generation means that neither of the parents had obtained a bachelor's degree. Low-income was determined by whether or not the participant was eligible for free and reduced lunches in high school. The term underrepresented minority was defined as American Indian/Alaskan students, Blacks, Latinos, and Asian/Pacific Islander. The current study sought to attract only freshmen students because they had just completed the summer program called College Opportunity Program. These students were just starting their transition to higher education and college. College outreach programs, such as the one studied, aim

to foster success among their students by easing their transition to higher education. Thus, considering the first semester of this transition seemed appropriate. The study's center on first generation, low income, or minority students as the target population, as this is the population that college outreach programs seek to attract.

As indicated above, the participants of this study were selected from the College Opportunity Program. Selection criteria required participants to be: 1) a part of the College Opportunity Program; 2) a part of the 2013 cohort and having participated and completed the summer program in 2013.

Recruitment and Sample Size. The specific technique of qualitative interviews used in this study requires a non-probabilistic sampling approach. The specific non-probabilistic technique used in this study was purposive sampling. Purposive or purposeful sampling was an appropriate means since it required previous knowledge of outreach program participants to be able to attract a sample of participants (Neuman 2006). Furthermore, the participants were selected based on their participation in a particular program. Purposeful sampling techniques have also previously been used in similar research (Holland 2010; Museus 2010, Museus and Ravello 2010, Museus and Neville 2012).

Participants from the College Opportunity Program were recruited through their Experience with the Education Seminar, a required class for all freshmen in the College Outreach Program. The original approach to potential participants occurred during the seminar meeting. In order to help minimize any perception of coercion, a trained and fellow graduate assistant from the sociology department addressed the students

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explaining the study and addressed the voluntary and confidential aspect of the study. Efforts were made to assure the students that their willingness to participate in the study, as well as their subsequent results would, in no way, affect their class grade or involvement in the program. It was stressed that participation was completely voluntary. Next, sheets of paper were shared that contained the student researchers contact information. Potential participants were instructed to call the number or email to express any inquiries or interest in the study. None of the respondents contacted the researcher by way of phone; all used email.

Once an email was received from a potential participant, they were asked to respond to a set of screening questions to make sure they fit the criteria. Potential participants were first asked if they were 18 years of age or older. In the instance that their response was “yes”, the individual was invited to participate in the study. If the potential participant said “no”, their request for participation was declined. Next potential participants were asked if they were a part of the College Opportunity Program of the 2013 Cohort. A response of “yes” was favorable for an invitation to participate in the study. If potential participants said “no”, their request for participation was declined. Thus potential participants who answered yes to both of these questions and agreed to participate were included in this study. This initial request was followed by a request for time and location for an in-depth interview.

The goal of the strategy described above was to obtain approximately 10-15 students to participate in interviews. However, only 8 interviews were completed due to the extended length of some of the interviews and a lack of time to complete them. In

addition, because of the specification of this research, the number of program participants that met the conditions was low. Of the approximately 60 students in the program, only 12 expressed interest in participating. Of those 12 potential participants, two just didn't show up at the set time and location, and another two stopped replying to emails after a request to set up a time and location to meet was sent. Nevertheless, the size of the sample is still appropriate given the slightly less than expected response rate. Since this is qualitative research with in-depth interviews and without the intent to generalize findings to the target population, the study is still very important. Similar studies doing interviews have included as few as 8 participants for in-depth interviews (Smith 2007). The final sample was diverse in various ways. Of the six participants, four were female and four were male; three participants were 18 years of age and five were 19 years of age. There was diverse range of racial and ethnic backgrounds; two participants identified as American Indian, two as African, one as Asian American, two as Mexican American, and one did not identify. All eight participants identified as first-generation students. None of the participants explicitly identified as low income, however they were not asked to specify this.

Limitations of the sample. It is also important to note that although the sampling technique, purposive, allowed for the development of in-depth and rich information about social capital to be discovered, there were also some limitations or problems. One of the major limitations, given these techniques, is that the results are not generalizable. Samples came from one distinctive university and program with a unique culture and context, and thus the results are context bound (Museus 2010). Another limitation was

the self-selection of participants into the sample. As the sample was non-random and solicited to participants in a certain class and program; it may be that students with poor social networks or attendance did not get to know about the project or how to participate. Also, those who chose to participate may be in some way different than those who chose not to, and thus may yield different results. These issues are confronted by explicitly stated them here so that all readers can be aware of them and make their own informed decisions about the results.

Data Collection

The interview process. Data for this study was made up of spoken word obtained from in-depth semi-structured interviews. The in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted where the participant felt most comfortable. The researcher's office was suggested, however, if they felt more comfortable somewhere else on campus or in a public place of their choosing the interview was conducted there. Seven of the eight participants were perfectly fine with doing the interview in the researcher's office. There was one participant who voiced not being comfortable in the office and requested to do the interview in the university's student union. For this case, a location within the student union that was away from people was found and the interview was conducted there.

The process of data collection consists of the following steps. During the semi-structured interviews, participants were first given an informed consent form. They were given adequate time to read over the document for themselves. Next, the researcher went over the consent form and its main points with the participant. At the

end of the informed consent form was a box for them to check if they were willing to set up a subsequent interview if the time during the first one did not allow all of the information to be covered. All participants indicated that they were willing to be contacted about a second interview. However, it was not necessary to conduct a second interview with any of the participants. The participant was given an opportunity to ask for any clarifications regarding consent. However, none of the participants asked for any clarifications. At the end, a formal request for participation was made; all participants agreed and both parties then signed the consent form. At this point in time they also gave a verbal consent, along with having signed the informed consent form, to record the interview. Next, a brief explanation to the participant of the interview dynamics was given. It was then made known to the participant that the tape recorder would be turned on at that point in time for the duration of the interview.

The beginning of the interview consisted of simple questions to establish rapport and common ground to make the participant feel more comfortable. The researcher tried to inject remarks to establish common ground where appropriate. One example of this was commenting on a TV show related to the participant's interest. This part lasted between 5-10 minutes. This strategy was used in the case that the participants' voice provided an indication that the participant was nervous. This was followed by the semi-structured section. The interview setting and guide were set up to leave room for follow up questions and probing for clarification and detail. These guidelines forewarned the interviewee that he/she would be asked to either give an example or explain why he/she felt the way they did. After the first few interviews it was clear that

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some of the questions needed clarifying. They were then reworded and received more understanding and better responses. The semi-structured part consisted of questions that gauged their social capital on five different categories. Although the elements were discussed in the previous chapter, they are restated here due to their importance. These include a closed network or group (social capital network) existed, establishing norms within that network, an expectation of obligations within the network, development of trust within the network, and the sharing of valuable information. Examples of the specific questions asked to address each component can be seen in Appendix II.

Interviews with participants lasted anywhere between a total of 20 minutes and 210 minutes. There was only one interview which lasted exactly 20 minutes. This participant was very shy and reluctant to talk even after probing. The rest, however, lasted at least 50 minutes. Once the interview was complete, the recording device was turned off, the participant was thanked for their time, any follow up questions were answered, and remaining concerns were addressed. The only concerns ever addressed were questions about what the anticipated product from the interviews was to be. In these instances, the researcher explained in more detail how the participants' interview would be transcribed and analyzed to investigate whether or not the program they were in helped provide them with a network and resources. This was a much needed clarification because it helped reduce tension. This system worked because participants went on to express their feelings of success with the program and to discuss the usefulness and kinds of access to resources they obtained while in the program.

Anticipated problems of doing interviews. Some of the anticipated problems for doing these interviews involve the blurring of boundaries between researcher and participant to friends, as well as asking possibly sensitive questions. These concerns were addressed through the use of the informed consent. Informed consent allows the researcher to state the exact purpose of the research and their part in it; reaffirming their role as researcher. It also lets participants know they don't have to answer uncomfortable questions and that they could ask to terminate the interview at any time. It was also hoped that the use of the tape recorder would help remind participants that it is not a normal conversation with a friend. However, the effectiveness of the recorder to do that is unknown as the participants are not asked about this aspect. The researcher also tried to refrain from giving more personal information than is necessary to establish common grounds and comfort for the participant. It was hoped that this too would help establish their role as researcher and keep the participant from blurring roles.

Confidentiality and privacy. Several measures were taken to protect the privacy of participants and the data collected. First, pseudonyms that in no way reflected or identified the participant were used in replacement of their real names and other identifying information (e.g. children's names, street names) in transcripts and write ups. When choosing a pseudonym to represent a respondent, the researcher had a list of women's and men's first names and randomly selected from that list. The name of the university and program where the research was conducted have been changed to a generic name such as College Opportunity Program and a midsize university in the

Upper Midwest. Second, the digital audio recordings of the interviews were kept in the researcher's possession, it was password protected and kept on their personal computer. Third, the recordings were destroyed immediately after the transcription of the interview. The electronic copies of the transcripts were password protected on the researcher's personal computer.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began immediately after the first interview was completed. It followed a type of grounded theory approach. Microsoft Word was used for entering data for analysis. The following process was used. First, the interviews were transcribed by the researcher. All interviews were transcribed within a week of their completion. The transcription of an interview took approximately 5 or 6 hours. Once transcriptions were complete, the next step was coding. Interviews were coded following each of their transcriptions. This consisted of going through the transcripts and creating a code line by line and conceptualizing. Further analysis of the data led to the formation of themes. The data was always coded using gerunds, or action words. For instance a line may have been coded as, "being motivated" or "receiving a bad grade". The coding process took approximately three to four hours per interview. After enough codes were created, the researcher used the method of doing memos. Memos consisted of making connections and comparisons between codes to create the themes. Codes and themes that were significant in multiple interviews were used in the creation of writing memos. A memo would consist of going through and writing the context for every time it was used. This included such things as the participant's background and age, what they were discussing

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when they mentioned the code, how many times the code was mentioned, and what information could be taken from it. The specific code that spurred the memo was then compared across participants as well as within participants for similarities and differences. Exact phrasing and quotations were used as part of the memos. Everything that was said in the memos was backed up by evidence, quotations from the interviews.

Memos were used to develop and explore themes. Memos started being formed after the first two interviews had been coded. The first two interviews were compared to find similar codes from which to build the memos, four memos were completed from this process. The next set of memos was produced after the coding of the third and fourth interviews, memos in this phase consisted of building on codes and themes from the first four interviews, four more memos were done through this phase. Another set of memos was done after the fifth and sixth interviews and included information from all six interviews; three memos were produced through this stage. There were a total of 11 memos completed that were developed from a total of six codes or themes. Later memos often consisted of building onto previous themes, which explains why there are more memos than themes. Also, not all themes were further developed into memos after their first memo. Themes were only further developed if they appeared in all or a majority of subsequent interviews. The themes that were developed through memos were then used to write the research report and address the research questions. The three most prominent and well developed themes were chosen for inclusion in the final paper based on their depth and ability to address the research questions. The seventh and eighth interviews produced no new themes and thus were

used to strengthen and support the final three themes. For an example of the exact process of building from a code to a memo and finally into a theme see Appendix III.

Ethical Issues and Potential Harm

One issue with having done qualitative research is the possibility of researcher bias or subjectivity. This will be addressed by taking a constructivist perspective, allowing the researcher to embrace their subjectivity by identifying their biases and assumptions to the readers and incorporating them here in the research (Museus and Neville 2012). The student researcher thus identifies herself as a multiracial, racial minority, with both a black and white parents. She also identifies as once being an undergraduate at a predominately-white institution and as a participant in a college outreach program herself for five years. She identifies not only with the category of underrepresented through being a racial minority, but as a first generation and low-income student as well. In addition, she has worked with and in college outreach programs for over 4 years. Her experiences as a racial minority, first-generation, and low-income student, scholar, and college outreach participant studying the experiences of underrepresented students in college outreach program shape her biases. Furthermore, at the time the study was conducted, the researcher believed that the low rates of college attendance and completion among underrepresented students was problematic and that college outreach programs could help to remedy the problem.

Another ethical issue was using a sample population that is considered vulnerable. The sample was vulnerable as it is made up of students, some of whom are minorities and or economically disadvantaged. One thing that makes students

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vulnerable is that they may have felt unintended coercion to participate in the study. To address this any posting about the study was IRB approved. Also, having a trained graduate assistant and not the researcher or anyone involved with the COP or the professors make the announcement of the study to the students in their class was hoped to help limit unintended coercion. Another form of protection came from the informed consent. Informed consent let the participants know that they were allowed to stop the study at any point in time. Letting them know they could stop at any point hopefully helped limit any unintended coercion.

A third ethical issue has to do with harm to participants and the potential risks. Potential risks for this study were minimal. Participants may have potentially experienced some harm or risk by way of emotional discomfort, or discomfort in answering some of the possibly sensitive questions. Some questions were aimed at student's self-perceived educational success. They may have experienced emotional harm or discomfort if they felt they had not been successful. To address this, students were directed to where they could receive free counseling from the Counseling Center on campus, if they felt it necessary. No participants expressed any discomfort to the researcher. Before interviews, the researcher also set up an appointment with the Counseling Center to learn more about the services they provided. That way she could better inform any participants who asked. None, however, asked. Sensitive questions may have also come up in the form of asking students what types of issues they went to people in their social networks for, and asking them about the quality of those relationships. Students may have felt discomfort in answering if their topics of

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discussion were of a personal nature as well as if they had negative views about someone in their network with whom they saw on a regular basis. They may have been worried about their negative views getting back to that person. This was addressed by way of informed consent and explaining the confidentiality of the study.

Participants' potential emotional discomfort was addressed by emphasizing they could refrain from answering any question they felt uncomfortable with, or that they could discontinue the interview and reschedule it for a later time. Several participants expressed discomfort when their personal conversations with advisors. They were told they did not have to disclose the specifics of those personal topics to the researcher, and none did. They simply stated that they disclosed personal information about certain topics to their advisor and gave no details as to what those personal things were. They were also reassured that for their protection, their names would be changed, the interview data would be kept locked in a box in the researchers locked office, and eventually destroyed. Also, that no one other than the researcher would have access to documents that would reveal their identity.

Possible Benefits and Compensation

The study had the benefit of giving participants an opportunity to articulate some of their personal goals. They could think about their goals for success in ways they possibly had not thought about them before. There is also the possibility to directly benefit the College Opportunity Program. Information about social capital that was uncovered could be valuable to the program. The program may be able to use the research to further increase their promotion of access to social capital among students.

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Social capital helps improve student success. By understanding the workings of social capital within a college outreach program and their success or lack thereof, other college outreach programs may be able to apply similar techniques to their program, or at least know what doesn't work.

This research also helps to fill in a gap in the research and literature by directly applying social capital to a college outreach program and not just underrepresented students, as has been done in previous research. The results of this research can be helpful in identifying ways that college outreach programs can be more effective.

Participants were eligible for compensation for the conversations by means of being entered a drawing. Participants were entered into a drawing for which 5 people could win either university apparel (such as a t-shirt or sweatshirt) or 2 could win a \$35.00 gift certificate to the Maverick Bookstore.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Through analysis, coding and memos, there were three main themes that emerged from the data. They were chosen based on their ability, compared to other smaller themes, to address the research question. These themes related to what quality of social capital outreach program participants had access to, and participants' sense of trust within the College Outreach Program (COP) network. The three themes that emerged are: being motivated, feeling comfortable, and being academically supported through friendships. Each of these themes provides support for the position that students in the College Outreach Program (COP) and its network do possess and capitalize on social capital. Although not all of the components of social capital were represented equally, they are represented across the three main themes. Participants reported being part of a closed network that contains both formal and informal members, the building of educational norms or obligations, an established sense of expectations and obligations, trust, and the sharing of valuable information. The next section will outline the three main themes and what evidence they provide towards the COP students' sense that the program helped them assess and capitalize on social capital to support their educational endeavor.

1. Being Motivated

The first major theme that developed through the coding and memos was being motivated. Being motivated consisted of being encouraged, personally or by others, to achieve educational goals. In this way, motivation for student in the College Opportunity Program has a similar importance to participants in the study conducted by Holland

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(2010), who found that students valued their motivational support as it kept them focused on their academic goals. Motivation works in a similar way here. As indicated earlier, the way the current study conceptualizes social capital fits this result in that, social relationships can be beneficial to goal attainment by individuals. Relationships held by COP students in this study helped provide the necessary motivation to persist in their educational goals. Additionally, the students' recognition of these goals is an important first step in their utilization of their social capital network to achieve those goals.

Motivation reinforced by network members showed to be demonstrably valuable to underrepresented college freshman. The fact that respondents were never specifically asked about motivation and that it emerged in every interview lends evidence to its importance. Furthermore, motivation arose while discussing a wide variety of topics such as: discussing influential people in their lives, in relation to normal patterns of interaction, while defining network relationships, and others.

Having such a wide range of topics that brings the conversation around to motivation shows just how wide reaching and encompassing motivation can be. It also helped provide evidence in support of three of the components of social capital. This theme helps provide evidence for the existence of a network made of both formal and informal members, for the forming of expectations and obligations, and the building of educational norms.

Respondents in the study discuss motivation originating from two different sources. For respondents, motivation comes from either an internal source or an

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external source. While internal sense of motivation comes from oneself, the external source involves influential individuals. Internal forms of motivation were mostly related to students' academic goals. As discussed, attaining individuals' goals is an important aspect of social capital. The students' recognition of these goals is an important first step in their utilization of their social capital network to achieve those goals. Some even discuss internal motivation in terms of being personally motivated to utilize their social networks in order to attain their educational goals. Holland (2010) points out that although students have access to social capital, they may not actually utilize it. In this way students in the current study differ from some of those in Holland's study. Students in the current study are internally motivated to achieve their goals through the utilization of the social capital they have access to.

External sources of motivation include advisors, mentors, family members, and friends. The extent and variety of these external sources underlines how students are part of a network with both informal and formal members. Furthermore, external motivation was also discussed in two different ways. External motivation is either direct or indirect. External motivation that is direct involves someone actually telling respondents something that is motivational. External indirect motivation involves someone else who may not explicitly motivate respondents in a direct way. However, the students still identify them as a source of motivation. Both forms of external motivation offer evidence that supports students are forming expectations and obligations as well as building educational norms or obligations. A diagram outlining the

different categories of this theme, being motivated, and specific examples of these will be given in the pages that follow.

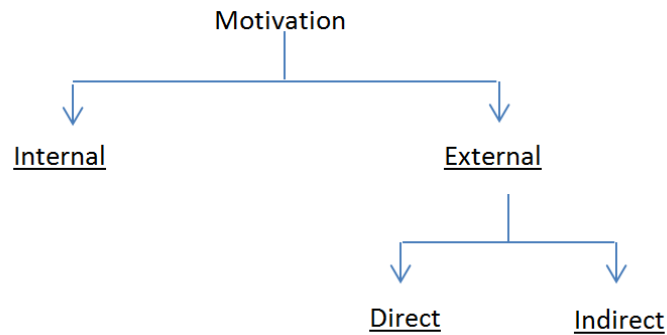


Figure 1. Outline of the Different Forms of Motivation

Being internally motivated. Being internally motivated is mentioned by a few different respondents. One of the major forms of internal motivation brought up by respondents is being motivated in school by the desire to meet a personal goal. Brandon, a 19 year old first- generation student in the College Outreach Program, provides a great example of the importance of internal motivation to meet a personal goal, and is a great example of how being motivated in general may be a very important thing for students.

At the beginning of his interview when asked to list people who have been influential for him and his adjustment to college, he immediately asks if he is supposed to talk about people who have been influential to him by aiding him or by providing him with a drive. I respond by telling him that either one would work. From the very

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beginning Brandon seems to want to talk about motivation. He at least brings it up in discussing influences in his schooling.

At the end of the interview when I ask him if there is anyone else he can think of that has been influential, he once again asks about motivation. He inquires as to whether or not he can talk about a principle or a drive as opposed to a person. When I give him the go ahead he goes on to talk about what motivates him to continue in his education. He discusses this motivation as not coming from someone else but it is motivation provided by him. Brandon states:

Just kind of like looking for a means to drive, like drive like significance through comparison. Kind of like that. Kind of like exalt myself like through a rendition so that way I have like, a standing against my peers... That's kinda like one of the lynch pins...for continuing.

This quotation shows how Brandon's motivation to push forward comes from his own personal goal of wanting to perform above his peers, or wanting to stand out in comparison to them. The motivation to continue in school derives from an internal source, his personal quest to stand head and shoulders above his peers and attain academic goals. The fact that Brandon brings up motivation from the beginning of the interview and has the need to talk about his internal motivation at the end, illustrates the importance for him to be motivated.

Jonathon an 18 year old first-generation student in the College Opportunity Program is another respondent who discusses internal motivation in the form of the desire to meet a personal academic goal. He talks about internal motivation when discussing whether he has confidence that he will be academically successful

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throughout college; he says that he does have confidence. When asked to explain why he has confidence he replies with, "I'm confident like that just thinking like, oh I need to do this in order to be where I want to be, a choir director, but I need to get through this. So that's given me I guess, motivation and...confidence yea, the confidence to do it."

This quotation illustrates how Jonathon is internally motivated by the desire to become a choir director. He uses his goal to keep him motivated as well as confident that he will be academically successful in college. He is motivated to get through school because he knows that he has to if he wants to meet his goal and become a choir director.

Both Brandon and Jonathon understand their self-authored goals; the students' recognition of these goals is an important first step in their utilization of their social capital network to achieve those goals. Furthermore, they help to illustrate how important motivation is for goal attainment. Holland (2010) points out students valued their motivational support because it kept them focused on their academic goals. Although in the cases of Brandon on Jonathon motivational support comes from oneself, it is important to goal attainment none the less, and goal attainment is an important aspect of social capital. Their recognition of their goals and wanting to attain them can also serve as an important motivator to utilizing their network. This is exactly what other students who talked about internal motivation did. Some respondents actually show evidence of taking this next step, or the use of resources obtained directly from their social network to meet their academic goals.

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Rebecca an 18 year old first generation student in the College Outreach Program discusses internal motivation in relation to utilizing network resources. Unlike Brandon and Jonathon, she speaks of internal motivation as something that she realizes she needs to get help from those around her. Rebecca mentions internal motivation when talking about whether or not she feels like she has a strong network of people to rely on. She does believe that she has a strong network, but also realizes that it is up to her to utilize the resources she has available. Rebecca states:

I do have um really good connections; it's all about reaching out for help. And I try to, but it's just the part of me getting me there; I get lazy. But I know it's gonna help me in the long run, so I have to push myself, keep motivating myself to go and get help as much as I need it.

Rebecca recognizes that she has to motivate herself to reach out and get the help she needs from people she trusts. She believes that she has to have the motivation to utilize the resources that her network provides. In other words, her network cannot help in her success if she doesn't keep motivating herself to use them. Rebecca provides an interesting case. One component of social capital being used for this study is that benefiting from social capital requires that one put time and effort into the different relationships within the network (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010). It would seem that Rebecca is recognizing this and will, therefore, actually be able to benefit from her social network. The case of Rebecca runs counter to the findings in a study that Holland (2010) conducted. Holland found that although students in the study had access to social networks they did not utilize them. Rebecca, though, recognizes the fact that she does in fact have to actively and intentionally utilize her social capital

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network and the resources available to her in order to attain her educational goals. In other words, Rebecca is internally motivated to use her network to get the help she needs to attain her educational goals.

Being externally motivated. Where Rebecca was internally motivated to use her network to attain her goals, others in the study were externally motivated to use their network to achieve their goals. Being externally motivated appears to be very important to students. Participants in the study reported being both indirectly and directly motivated by the people they deem as influential. In fact, this finding provides strong support for the position that students are a part of a social network and, thus, have access to social capital. For students who participated in this study, motivation is a key in their contact with others. They seem to draw support from others in their quest to achieve academic goals. This finding provides evidence that students, through their external sources of motivation, are beginning to form educational norms within the network, rules for successful academic behavior, as well as expectations and obligations to meet those norms. External motivation in its direct form helps students begin to feel obligated and expected to build and meet the networks educational norms.

Being externally and directly motivated. Respondents who were externally and directly motivated discussed being directly told something that motivated them in school. For some, this consisted of very direct and obvious statements of motivation, like being told to do their school work or to go to class. Direct statements from individuals in the network can be seen as the building of educational norms within that network and rules for successful academic behavior. For instance, if one is directly told

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to go to class, it helps build this as an educational norm or rule in the network.

Successful academic behavior in the network then is governed by the rule of attending class. Direct statements help provide support for social capital in that the members of students' networks are helping with the start of building educational norms as well as expectations and obligations to follow those norms. Setting up educational norms in the network, will help guide students to successful academic behavior that is beneficial to the attainment of their educational goals.

The setting up of these educational norms through direct external motivation is illustrated by Caroline, an 18 year old first generation student in the College Outreach Program. Being externally motivated by those she lists as influential is something that Caroline emphasized. When Caroline was asked for examples of people who have been influential to her, she cites others as a function of the support they provide through motivation. She indicates, in multiple occasions, how people have been influential to her in terms of motivating her.

In this case, Caroline brings up being externally motivated after being asked how her advisor has been influential on her. Caroline states, "She like helps like motivate me to like stay, you know, on top of my schoolwork. So to just organize everything and make sure that I get my stuff done." Caroline understands how her advisor motivates her by telling her to make sure she stays on top of her work and be organized. Caroline's description about her advisor also points out the importance of the members in a formal network. The advisor has been integrated into Caroline's set of influential people. Contact with the advisor may serve to maintain academic engagement and

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adherence to educational norms or rules of the network. Furthermore, the more Caroline is reminded, the more she understands what is expected of her and feels obligated to comply, not just for her success but for her membership in the network.

Kate a 19 year old first generation student in the College Opportunity Program is a great example of how external and direct motivation can lead to education norms as well as expectations and obligations to those norms. Kate talks about her advisor, Emily, as a valuable part of her education. Kate explains: “Yes, um I mean like I said she believes in me, so I think it’s important to like follow what she is saying and stuff like that. Like directly get up, go to class, you know do your homework, be responsible about it.”

This quotation shows how Kate’s advisor directly motivates her with prompts about normative behavior. Her advisor actually directly tells her to do things and Kate is motivated because her advisor “believes in her”. Kate’s advisor, by telling her to do her homework and go to class, is reinforcing that these are educational norms. Kate in return, over time, starts to feel it is important to follow what her advisor says. This shows support for the role of expectations and obligations in social capital for Kate’s academic persistence.

Both Caroline and Kate’s stories demonstrate how institutional agents can be beneficial to a student’s persistence in working towards academic success. Research has shown that institutional agents are important for imparting guidance and social capital to students (Gandara and Bial 2001, Salazar 1997 and Smith 2007). Caroline and Kate’s explanations help to reinforce and support the claim made by previous research. They show how important the institutional agents in their formal network were for their

motivation and building of educational norms and expectations. In other words their institutional agents were able to help them to capitalize on social capital.

Being externally and indirectly motivated. Whereas Caroline and Kate are motivated externally by direct guidance, some respondents external sources of motivation do not have as active or direct involvement in providing motivation. Some may never even actually tell the respondent to do anything at all; rather, they provide a more indirect motivation for respondents while still being catalysts for the forming of educational norms, and expectations and obligations towards those norms.

One example of a way in which someone can provide indirect motivation, while still fostering the development of expectations and obligations, is the perception that the influential person will feel disappointed or let down, and a desire to avoid this. One respondent who described this form of external but indirect form of motivation is Kyle, who is a 19 year old first generation student in the College Outreach Program. Kyle brings up this indirect form of motivation while discussing the expectations and obligations between him and the people he lists as influential. When asked about whether or not he had any expectations of any one that was influential, Kyle states that that is a hard questions to answer. He does not feel as if any of the people helping him are obligated to help. Kyle explains this by saying, "Sometimes when you say expectation that means that they *have* to do it. So I don't want to say they have to, cus I'm hoping for it you know." In other words, Kyle's expectations of those who help him are not seen as obligations, something they should do for him, but rather he hopes they will help him. However when asked the opposite, whether or not those who help him

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have expectations of him, Kyle believes that they do. I then ask Kyle about his thoughts on the lack of obligation for others to help him. I ask him if this lack of obligation is two sided. In other words, I ask him whether or not he is obligated to meet the expectations of others. He states that he feels like he is obligated to meet expectations. This is how he explains the one-sided nature of him being obligated to meet expectations while those who help him are not obligated to meet his:

That's only one sided because for me I am obligated to because they have done for me. So it's like saying you go to the store and you pay for something and you're expecting to get it back. I don't need to pay it, that's what I'm saying. They, that's what they, that's the decision like they're the money, they don't have to help me, but since they helped me they're expecting something like coming back. I'm not talking about money wise or something. But, you know, the outcome should be good. It's like if you go to the store and you purchase something you know you're getting it back, you're getting whatever you're buying.

This quotation helps to demonstrate Kyle's feeling of obligation to meet the expectation of those he sees as influential to him. In this case, he feels obligated to make the outcome of his schooling successful. He is expected to, "do good in school, behave well in school, and finish school strong. Otherwise their support, their advice, and their financial help would be no use." He also states that in terms of expectations and obligations, "it's always outcome, it should be a positive way of me succeeding in school and doing well then going the opposite direction or going off course." When asked about the consequences of unmet expectation on his part, Kyle says:

Um, it would be the same like mentally, it's off. Um I know you can't get it back. Like if you go into the store and you pay something you can't get your money, you can get you money back if you don't get what you wanted, but in their case

they're just, it's gone. So, more like mentally for them and disappointment would be a big play on this part. Uh I think we're not even gonna go there; let's just say that, there won't be any disappointing. I'd rather not think about that.

This quotation further illustrates Kyle's feeling of being obligated to meet expectations. He mentions that one of the consequences of not meeting expectations is that others would be disappointed in him. He does not even want to think about this happening and claims that there will not be any disappointment. He prefers to think that he is going to meet their expectations. Kyle's way of thinking is a good illustration of indirect external motivation. He is being indirectly motivated to do well in school and to graduate. He has the desire and feeling of obligation to meet the expectations of those who are influential on him. He also is indirectly motivated by not wanting others to be disappointed. Kyle's explanation illustrates indirect motivation as he is not talking about others directly motivating him by saying that he has to meet their expectations. Rather, it is indirect as he makes the assumption that they expect him to meet their expectation and thus feels obligated to do as such. Kyle's story is a great example of how the people in his social network are able to indirectly foster the idea of expectations and obligations that will help support his educational journey and success.

Rebecca represents another great example of someone who was indirectly motivated by external sources by wanting to avoid letting them down. This indirect and external motivation is brought up when Rebecca is asked whether she is confident that she will be academically successful in college. She replies by saying, "With so many supportive systems you know, family, friends, supervisors, um mentors, I have so many, so much people with so much hope in me. I can't really, I feel like I can't let them

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down.” Rebecca is being externally and indirectly motivated by not wanting to let down the people that support her. In this case those who support her are not providing her with any direct motivation for school; she just recognizes that they have hope in her and she does not want to let them down. Like Kyle, Rebecca did not want to disappoint those who have helped her. This quotation from Rebecca provides support that she is a part of a network with both formal and informal members. Her case, lends support for the position of social capital theory that those in “support networks” help create educational norms (Museus and Neville 2012). Rebecca feels obligated to meet the expectation, by being academically successful in college.

There is a lot of evidence in support of the position that the students in the program are accessing social capital through the development and reinforcement of educational norms, and expectations and obligations to meet those norms through informal and formal network members. Evidence of external and indirect support that does not foster educational norms and expectations is present as well. They serve instead as pure motivation or encouragement. The situation of Jonathon is one example of a form of pure motivation and encouragement. Jonathon is talking about how his mother has been influential to him and his adjustment to college. Her role, he says, is this, “I go home every weekend. Just to get that refreshment and start again on Monday”. When asked if he is talking about that refreshment being refreshment from school he replies with, “Yea, being home with mom, cus I’m a momma’s boy. So just mean that I, at home my Mom just makes me feel good. Then I go back to school, be feeling good just get my stuff done, then go home next weekend.” After being asked if

he looks forward to going home during the school week he replies with, "Its motivation to get your stuff done."

These quotations from Jonathon help to illustrate how Jonathon uses the opportunity to go home on the weekend as a motivation to get his "stuff done" during the week. However, he talks about the motivation not coming directly from his mother. She is not telling him to get his stuff done, like direct motivation, but rather indirect; he is motivated by the prospect of seeing his mom at the end of the week and uses this motivation to have a successful academic week.

Although this example does not provide evidence for the fostering of educational norms and expectations and obligations it does provide evidence of social capital and the importance of motivation. Jonathon uses a member of his informal social network as a means of motivation for being academically successful and achieving his academic goals.

For these underrepresented college freshmen, being motivated appears to be a salient factor in their adjustment to college life, especially external motivation and support. Not only do being motivated and directed, particularly externally, appear to be salient and important factors in the students' adjustment to college, but it also seems to play an important role in who students consider influential. Almost all the students who talk about external motivation talk about being externally motivated by someone they listed as influential. When they discuss being motivated by someone other than the influential individuals, it is usually their family, like Jonathon's mother. The students all discuss motivation at some point in their interview even though they are never explicitly

asked about it, which underlines its importance to the students' adjustment to and success in college life.

Furthermore, motivation and its relationship to social capital, particularly the building of people to remind or direct students to meet educational norms and expectations and obligations to meet those norms is salient. Those reminders of norms and expectations are also a salient factor in the relationships of the students. Social capital, or at least some of its components, is being accessed by the students through both their formal and informal network members by way of motivation.

The description of people who provide motivation, directly or indirectly, in the current study supports previous research claims about the importance of social capital for underrepresented students' success in education. First, students value their motivators' support because it keeps them focused on their academic goals (Holland 2010). Their recognition of their academic goals serves as the first step in their access of social capital to attain those goals. Second, students in the current study are internally motivated to achieve their goals through the utilization of their accessible social capital. In other words, they are putting in the time and effort necessary to benefit from social capital (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010).

II. Feeling Comfortable

The second major theme that developed is the need for students to have people with whom they feel comfortable. All but one respondent discussed feeling comfortable with the people that they listed as influential in helping them with their adjustment to college. This theme, as being motivated did, also supports a couple of the different

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components of social capital. In this case those components are the building of trust, the building of relationships full of meaning, and the sharing of valuable information.

A major part of feeling comfortable with people involved trusting them enough to be able to talk about personal issues, issues not directly related to academics. Friends were often mentioned with this regard. For some students, they would actually seek out those who they felt more comfortable with, even if they had someone more readily accessible or available to them. They would seek out those they felt more comfortable with to help them over those who they did not feel comfortable with. It is all about trust.

These findings mirror the findings of Museus and Neville (2012), who examined how social capital can be imparted to minority students by providing them with access to important resources as well as through the building of relationships full of meaning. Furthermore, they find that social networks carry special meaning sustained by high levels of trust. The current study relates feeling comfortable with members of student's social networks with having and needing high levels of trust. One aspect of feeling comfortable is being able to talk about issues outside of education. Talking about issues not directly related to education, providing holistic support, is one of the main components listed as important for institutional agents to provide access to social capital through the cultivation of trust (Museus and Neville 2012).

Another key component for cultivating trust listed by Museus and Neville (2012) that is mirrored in the current study is "sharing common ground". This component is listed in the current study under, seeking out people who they feel comfortable with, or

whom they share more common ground. Following this, feeling comfortable is linked with the cultivation of trust as a means for providing access to social capital. Trust is extremely important as it allows students to access and capitalize on social capital through members of their social networks. Additionally, it provides support to the claim that institutional agents can act as key elements in students' access of social capital (Çelik and Ekinci 2012; Farmer-Hinton and Adams 2006; Museus and Neville 2012; Smith 2007; Stanton-Salazar 1997).

Trusting and talking about personal issues. One way for institutional agents to be beneficial for students' access to social capital is through the cultivation of trust (Museus and Neville 2012). For many of the respondents, a major part of feeling comfortable with the institutional agents and other network members they listed as influential was that they trusted them and or could talk to them about personal issues. Personal issues are issues outside of the immediate realm of academics. This could involve things like culture, health, love life etc. The need to build trust in one's social capital network is self-evident. Students specifically talk about trust and how it helps them to feel comfortable and to talk about personal issues. This then is also testament to how members of students' network are able to create and use social capital through the building of relationship full of meaning, as discussed by Museus and Neville (2012).

The situation of Caroline with her ability to feel comfortable talking to her advisor about personal issues serves as a good illustration to the importance of the building of a relationship full of meaning and trust. When describing her advisor's role in her adjustment to college she says, "And then through these uh meetings that we've

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had so far, she's been really nice; we can talk about school and outside of school. So I feel like that's more comforting." This quotation really emphasizes the important aspect of feeling comfortable and being able to talk about more personal issues, as well as the building of a relationship full of meaning. Discussing issues beyond school can provide more meaning and depth to a relationship than discussing solely academics. Having network relationships full of meaning is critical for the access of social capital (Museus and Neville 2012).

Jonathon, like Caroline, discusses feeling comfortable talking about personal issues with someone he listed as influential, his advisor. This comes up when asked to describe the role of his advisor in his adjustment to college life. Jonathon explains,

I guess I found it really easy to talk to her because she was also Native American and I'm Native American. And she understood where I was coming from as in background, stuff like that, and struggles throughout life. Um she was just easy to talk to about my problems and about education problems.

Although the term comfortable is only implied in Jonathon's conversation, he describes how he found it easy to talk to her, he was comfortable talking to her about his problems and his education problems because of their shared background. He later goes on to describe how "After every meeting, well after we would talk, in our meetings after we would talk about school, we just talk about what's going on in our lives stuff like that." Not only is Jonathon comfortable talking about educational things with his advisor, but he is able to talk to her about his life outside of education. When asked if he would describe these things outside of education as being personal life things, he said yes. The building of meaning in this relationship is evident when Jonathon talks about

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being able to talk to his advisor about his problems and his being able to relate and find meaning in their shared cultural background. Sharing a common background helps facilitate the building of trust which is essential in the creation and maintenance of social capital (Museus and Neville 2012).

Being comfortable in friendships. In addition to institutional agents some respondents mentioned other individuals such as friends. One respondent, Rebecca, listed her friends among individuals that were influential in her adjustment to college. When asked how they helped her transition to college she states:

They're friends that I met through the program. So we're sort of, yea we're very close because we all bonded over the summer and we're like, since we're coming back you know, they just sort of helped me transition and help me get along with the campus a bit more, because I was more comfortable with them around me when I'm in campus sometimes.

Rebecca's friends were influential in making her feel more comfortable with campus life. She indicated that she feels very close to her friends. She seems to draw a manageable level of comfort when she is around them. Another important element in Rebecca's response is that she met her friends after joining the College Outreach Program. It helped foster the building of her informal network, where she was able to build relationships full of meaning and comfort.

Caroline provides another example about enhanced levels of comfort with friends, which fosters the development of trust. She talks about information that she trusted her friends with. Caroline, like Rebecca, met her friends through the COP program. While addressing the element of trust in friends, Rebecca indicated that:

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And like I have like a big family crazy history so I thought that, like I felt that I could trust them, cus like we talk so much. We bonded. We hang out, spend time together. So, I told them like my stuff and then they told me their stuff, and we just kinda like connected.

Caroline was comfortable enough with her friends to be able to discuss personal issues, like family problems, with them. Furthermore, the COP program helped her access social capital by providing her with the opportunity to build up her informal network over the summer. She was then able to take those relationships and make them full of not just meaning, but of trust.

One way institutional agents can help students' access social capital is through connecting them with more social "support networks" across their campus (Museus and Neville 2012). The situations of Rebecca and Caroline illustrate the potential for the College Outreach Program to help individuals expand their social networks and connect them with another support network.

Seeking out comfortable network relationships. The responsibility of expanding and developing social networks does not fall solely on institutional agents. This study adheres to the idea that benefiting from social capital requires that one put time and effort into establishing and developing their network (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010). Students' development of social networks and their importance to them is revealed in the comments of the students. It is illustrated through participant's descriptions of specifically seeking out institutional agents and other members of their network whom they were comfortable with. Additionally, students' descriptions support the claim that feeling comfortable, building trust, is a necessary element in students'

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network relationships and their subsequent access of social capital. If students were feeling a lack of comfort, trust, with someone they would exclude them from their social network. They would then begin the process of establishing and developing a social network they felt comfortable with, one in which they could build relationships composed of higher levels of trust. Even if the person for whom a student felt a lack of comfort and trust with was more readily accessible and available to help them, they would seek out new or existing members of their social networks and rely on and build those relationships instead. In other words, students took on an active role in building and developing their social networks, a necessity for accessing and benefitting from the social capital available to them (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010).

Caroline is a perfect example of a respondent who described actively seeking out network members and building her social network relationships. Caroline discusses a situation where she had to switch advisors because she was not comfortable with one assigned to her. She thought she would find an alternative advisor that could make her feel more comfortable and with whom she could trust. She brings this up when asked to talk about her current advisor, who she listed as being influential. She explains that initially she had a different advisor who:

I didn't really feel comfortable with him (first advisor) because I didn't really know him and he... Yea, and then I had asked to like switch advisors. So I switched advisors because I felt more comfortable with her (current advisor), and I felt like I could talk about her, or talk to her about more different like things, not just inside of school, but like outside.

This quotation helps illustrate that the level of comfort, trust, in network relationships plays a major part in network members' ability to be influential and beneficial for

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students. It is an element worth seeking out. It was important for Caroline to have someone she could trust. She was actively involved in remedying the situation and sought someone with whom she was able to create a more meaningful and trusting relationship. This example then helps illustrate the importance of having relationships full of meaning and trust, an essential aspect to being able to access and benefit from social capital (Museus and Neville 2012).

Kyle experiences the same situation as Caroline in relation to his active involvement in building and establishing his social network. Furthermore, Kyle's description lends support to the importance of "sharing common ground" in the cultivation of comfort and trust (Museus and Neville 2012). Steve, a high school mentor, was one of the people Kyle listed as being influential in helping him adjust to college. In fact, Kyle reported during the interview that he sent Steve a thank you letter. Although he and his college assigned mentor were in good terms, Kyle indicated that he was more comfortable staying with Steve instead. In the following excerpt Kyle compares his relationship with Steve to that of his college assigned mentor. Kyle explains:

Through [my high school's program] we get [an assigned mentor] ... We're not that close...But me and him didn't, we didn't have that...But it really, it's not that it didn't help, it's just we didn't have that much in common. Um, it didn't help me that much [that we did not have that much in common]. I don't want to sound mean, it's just we didn't have that connection of, you know like, call him like hey I need help.

In a follow up question Kyle indicated that he was more comfortable with Steve than his college assigned mentor. Kyle was not able to build a relationship full of meaning and trust with his college assigned mentor, but was able to have a deeper

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connection with more meaning and trust with Steve, his high school mentor. He states, “Whenever I need help I’ll ask him.” Even though Steve was less available, as he was not at his college, Kyle felt more comfortable calling him and asking for help whenever he needed it.

Kyle provides a great example of the importance of meaning and trust in relationships for the accessing of social capital. Part of having social capital is having access to resources you feel comfortable calling upon. Because Kyle did not have a sense of comfort and trust with his college assigned mentor, he was not able to access him as a resource when he needed help. He was, however, able to access resources and get help when there was comfort and trust built into the relationship. Furthermore, Kyle’s situation lends support to the importance of “sharing common ground” in the cultivation of comfort and trust (Museus and Neville 2012). When Kyle felt like his mentor and him just “[did not have that much in common]. I don’t want to sound mean, it’s just we didn’t have that connection”, he was not able to form a relationship of full of meaning, thus was not able to cultivate comfort and trust, and therefore could not use the relationship as a means for accessing the social capital he needed.

Kate provides another example of the importance of having relationships full of meaning and trust for accessing social capital. She actively seeks to build a network with these types of relationships. Furthermore, Kate’s situation helps to illustrate how social networks and their members can help students by providing them with access to valuable information (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, and Holland 2010). Additionally, it

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helps to highlight the link between meaningful relationships in a social network and accessing valuable information, a key component of social capital in this study.

Kate, when discussing situations that led her to seek help and information from her Aunt, someone she sees as influential, she begins to describe a specific situation with her roommate. Kate explains:

Yea, I don't get along that well with my roommate. She's like, its ok, but sometimes it's kind of weird. So I just like ask her (*Kate's aunt*) like what do I do. I know the CA's are there to help, but sometimes you feel more comfortable with someone you know. So I'll just call her up and be like hey, oh this is what's happening, I don't particularly like that. Like what do I do...?

This quotation helps to highlight the link between feeling trust and comfort in a network relationship and accessing valuable information, social capital. The CA in this situation would have had information valuable to helping Kate resolve issues with her roommate, however, since she had not built a relationship of comfort and trust, that valuable information was left untapped. She was, however, able to access the information valuable, social capital, to help her find a resolution when she accessed a network member whose relationship was formed on comfort and trust.

Feeling comfortable was a major theme discussed by 5 of the 6 respondents. Whether it was a friend, family member, or an institutional agent (formal and informal members of their network) they discussed at some point the fact that they were comfortable with them, that they could talk to them about personal issues. In other words, the relationships in their networks were built on trust. They also actively worked to establish and build social networks that met these requirements. Actively working to

establish and build networks and having meaningful relationships built on comfort and trust within networks, are essential for students ability to access and utilize valuable information, a main component of social capital (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, and Holland 2010).

III. Being Academically Supported through Friendships.

Similarly to the theme of feeling comfortable, the sharing of valuable information is an important component of the student's informal network and thus the theme of being academically supported through friendships. Descriptions by students under this theme provide support that significant relationships can be beneficial in that they foster the sharing of valuable information (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, and Holland 2010). Respondents often list friends as significant influences in their adjustment to college. Six of the eight respondents indicated that friends had helped them in their adjustment to college. Of those six, three listed a friend as either first, second, or third among people they found to be influential. With regards to participants' relationships with friends in their informal networks, academic involvement was a common component. Friends help them with homework and studying, offer advice and guidance with academic decisions, and encourage academic involvement over social aspects of college life. This theme provides evidence of the mutual support among student to build education norms, and expectations and obligations to meet those norms in an effort to accomplish educational goals. Tapping into these components of social capital (sharing of valuable information, the building of educational norms, and expectations and obligations) provides beneficial support to student's in the College

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Opportunity. They are forming social relationships then that are beneficial to their educational goal attainment (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010).

Being mutually supported in homework and studying. Respondents often mention being able to work on homework or studying as part of the relationship with friends. For Jonathon, the relationship with his friend (who he listed as second most influential) involved receiving assistance with homework. When asked about the level of influence of his friend, Jonathon indicates that, "He's kind of like a mentor I guess. Like, I always go to him if I need help, with homework too." Friendship meant sharing information valuable to advancing Jonathon's educational goals. This assistance from his friend helps explain how educational norms are established and reinforced in network relationships.

Caroline also talks about homework in relation to her friends, whom she lists as the most influential in her adjustment to college. However, she discusses homework a little bit differently than Jonathon. For her, friendship is more than academic assistance. Friendship involves studying together and learning different study habits from one another. She talks about some of the study skills she has picked up from her friends. She describes this situation when asked about how her friends have helped her adjust to college. Caroline says:

Like we have most of the same classes so we can do like the same homework together. And then we both kind of like adapt to like different styles of homework and studying and stuff. I think it's like more, it's like easier to study if you have more than one person.

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This quotation describes how academics are a part of the relationship with friends. They share valuable information and skills as well as start to build educational norms together. Studying together reinforces the importance of academics as an educational norm in the social network. Furthermore, Caroline seems to find this aspect of their relationship to be very helpful in the pursuit of her academic goals. Caroline goes on to mention one of the specific study habits that she has learned from one of her friends. She states, "I used to never study with headphones in, and now I study with headphones in because Debra studies with headphones in". When asked if learning this now helps her study she says, "Yea, like I would've thought like before like I'd like be you know paying attention to the music and then like, I get distracted easily now if I don't have my headphones in". Not only did she learn a new study habit, but once again she recognizes it as something that is helpful to her, it is information that is valuable to her studying and educational success.

Encouraging academic engagement. For some respondents, their friends encouraged or supported focusing on academic aspects of college over the social aspects of college. For two respondents the social aspect that was discouraged was partying, specifically drinking. Friends help reinforce an educational norm not to do these things. This was the case for Kyle who says, "Everybody has the same goal of getting an education. Everybody's not a party freak, you know, the people who go to party every day. We all don't even go to parties." Part of the relationship Kyle has with his friends is a focus and encouragement of an educational norm, getting an education and a discouragement of partying. The friends that Kyle hangs out with do not even go

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to parties; instead they all share the goal or educational norm of wanting to get a quality education.

Another respondent who describes a friend who discourages drinking and partying while encouraging academics is Rebecca. Her case is slightly different than that of Kyle, in that Rebecca engages in occasional drinking and goes to parties. Her friend discourages this behavior and tells Rebecca that she should abstain from it. Rebecca describes this situation after being asked if she thought her friend wanted the best for her. She explains that she does and states,

She does, she gets really mad at me if I were to go party. Cus she's like you know you didn't come here for that; you know you need to stop drinking, but I don't do it every day. But yea she gets in my case if I go party or go out. Um, but she's just looking out for me.

In this quotation Rebecca's friend is encouraging her to put her education and academics before partying and drinking. Her friend is trying to reinforce this as an educational norm by discouraging her drinking while encouraging academics; reminding her why she actually came to college, for schooling. Furthermore, by actually telling this to Rebecca it helps to establish this as an expectation, to focus on academics over the social aspects.

Kate is another respondent who has a friend that helps support academics over social life. However, Kate is different than Kyle and Rebecca in that the social aspect that is being discouraged is simply socializing with friends before your studying is done. This comes up when discussing Kate's biggest struggle in college so far, staying organized and

prioritizing school above socializing. When asked if she had sought help to overcome this struggle or if she dealt with it herself she explains,

Well like the girl that I hang out a lot, her name is Jamie, she is also from COP, she's around the same thing where she wants to go hang out and stuff, but she's like we need to focus. So together we can like, like I'll be like hey are we going to tutoring tonight and she's like yea let's go. So we go together like it's nice to have that with someone else kind of just remind one another. So I don't really seek like professional people, but friends yes. But I guess a friend who also struggles with around the same things; we can help each other focus.

This quotation helps to demonstrate how part of their friendship involves helping each other stay focused on their studies, before they go to hang out with friends; they are building this as an educational norm into their relationship. They both share the same struggle of wanting to hang out with their friends, but are there to help each other support their overriding educational goals. In this particular case part of Kate's relationship with her friends involves having support to put the academic aspects of college over the social ones, helping each other feel expected and obligated to do as such.

Receiving advice and guidance about academic decisions. For some respondents the academic components to their friendships go beyond helping with and encouraging homework and studying. For some, their friends actually offer their advice and guidance about important academic decisions. They share information valuable to making their decision and help reinforce educational norms through the decisions they encourage. For example, Kate talks about how her friend was a part of her making the decision to go to tutoring for math. She talks about this decision to get tutoring when asked about how often she utilizes the people in her network when she needs help. She describes

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how she was struggling in math and how her advisor told her about the tutors that were available to her through the College Possible Program. She then explains, “So my friend Jamie and I were like we should go to tutoring, like why not. Like he’s there so if we have questions, we can just go through our homework and then if we have questions he’ll come and help us.” Kate and her friend recognized their struggle and decided to get tutoring together. They do more than just hang out socially; they also work on their academics together and make choices together about improving their academics; they encouraged a decision that helped reinforce the educational norm to perform well in school.

Rebecca also discusses how her friend offered guidance and support when she was trying to make an academic decision, about an academic major. Rebecca was trying to decide about nursing or something else as a major. Rebecca described how her friend offered her opinion in support of Rebecca declaring nursing as her major. Rebecca describes what her friend was telling her, “She was telling me I have a great personality, I’m very friendly, I love communicating, I’m really positive, she thinks that I’ll be great fit for the nursing program.” Her friend was telling her that if she wanted to do nursing she thought Rebecca would be a great fit for it.

Rebecca then talks about how she responded to her friend by talking about how she was unsure about nursing because it’s so hard to get in. Her friend once again offered advice, support and encouragement for Rebecca to declare nursing as her major. She describes what her friend told her, “It’s true I mean if, she was telling me if I just sacrifice more and just put more effort into my education then she knows for sure I

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could do it". Her friend was offering academic guidance and support as a part of their friendship and offering information valuable to Rebecca's decision. She was telling her that if she just put in a little more effort, that she thought Rebecca could go into nursing and that it would be a good fit for her. For Rebecca, the academic aspect to their friendship involves more than just studying, but actually having guidance and support and receiving information valuable to her making her important academic decisions.

Friendship played an important role for all the student respondents. They talk about how friends in their informal network play a part in academic pursuits. The consistency of this topic in nearly all interviews supports the idea that having friends they can tap into for their overall social capital is critical in adjusting to college and attaining academic goals. The friendship also plays a role in obtaining valuable information, building of educational norms, and developing expectations and obligations. Whether their friends are simply available to help with homework, encourage their academics, or help with important academic decisions, they are an important aspect and are influential in student's adjustment to college as well as the building and accessing of social capital. They are social relationships then that are beneficial to their educational goal attainment (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

College Outreach Programs

Findings in the current study both affirm and build upon previous research and literature in several ways. To begin, the study contributes to research on college outreach programs by specifically investigating factors that go beyond financial explanations for the achievement gap between underrepresented students and their dominant peers. Perna (2002) believes that although financial assistance is helpful, it may not be the sole solution to closing the gap. Furthermore, Perna (2002) addresses the idea that college outreach programs should implement and capitalize on non-financial components that previous literature and research have identified as being important predictors for increasing underrepresented students college enrollment and completion; that they should have more evidence based programming. Perna (2002) believes that only a fraction of programs have followed these evidence based directives and that adopting evidence based practices will assist programs in being more effective and help realize their goal of closing the achievement gap.

The current study adds to this discussion then by using social capital as a theoretical framework shown through previous research to be useful in identifying and developing effective factors and predictors explaining students' successful enrollment in and completion of college (Croninger and Lee 2001; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2000; Palmer and Gasman 2008; Stanton-Salazar 1997). The current study focuses on social capital as an important component of pre-college outreach programs in an effort to identify and provide evidence for specific components

that students attest are important to their educational experience and success. Starting the move towards more evidence based research and practice in college outreach programs.

Social Capital

This study also supports and builds on previous literature in their findings of the importance of social capital for underrepresented students' educational success (Croninger and Lee 2001; Holland 2010; Museus 2010; Museus and Neville 2012; Perna 2000; Palmer and Gasman 2008; Stanton-Salazar 1997). The specific support of and building onto this research will be addressed in the following pages.

First, the overall components and findings of the current research will be addressed in terms of the previous literature. This current research builds onto previous literature on social capital by going beyond looking at underrepresented students, but investigating underrepresented students in a college outreach program specifically. For example, Museus and Neville (2012) look at social capital in relation to racial minority students. They mention that a limitation to their study is that they only focused on racial minority college students. Future researchers, they suggest, should address other categories of underrepresented students such as low-income and first generation undergraduates. The current research attends this general concern by focusing on outreach programs and explaining the experiences of first generation college students.

The main finding from previous research of the importance of social capital is reinforced through the three major themes revealed in these interviews. Students in the College Outreach Program (COP) do have access to social capital and they view it as an

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important component in advancing their educational goals and success. Their reliance on their networks social capital can be seen in all three of the themes. Students list both formal (mentors and advisors) and informal (family and friends) network members as being influential to them in their adjustment to college.

Building educational norms is present throughout the theme of being motivated (as students are motivated to do their academic work as a norm) and being academically supported through friendship (where students' friends encourage a focus on academics as the norm). The building of expectations and obligations is present in the themes of being motivated (expectations start to be formed through the motivation to do school work) and being academically supported through friendship (where friends may help reinforce academics as an expectation over social aspects of college). Trust can be seen most clearly in the theme of feeling comfortable (as an important aspect to feeling comfortable is having trust). The sharing of valuable information can be seen in the theme of feeling comfortable (as students are comfortable enough to utilize their resources to obtain valuable information) and in the theme of being academically supported through friendships (where students learn valuable information about studying and making academic decisions). Each of the components of social capital is addressed by students who emphasize how they benefit from these forms of social capital. The current research then reaffirms that these are important components for social capital's contribution to students' academic success.

Each individual theme's findings from the current research will be addressed and explained in terms of what they confirm or add to previous research. The first theme,

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students' expression of relationships that keep them motivated in their educational endeavors, is expressed here. These statements most clearly affirm and build onto the research about social capital and motivation addressed by (Holland 2010). Holland (2010) found that motivation consisted of being encouraged to achieve educational goals and that students valued this motivation as it kept them focused on educational goals. Motivation in the current study works in a similar way. Relationships held by participants in the study helped provide the motivation necessary for educational goal attainment. Moreover, the current study and Holland's (2010) study are similar in their findings that motivation and encouragement from network members helped to form a sense of expectations from those members and an obligation to meet those expectations.

However, there are also ways in which the current research, with regards to the theme of being motivated, differs from and builds onto the research by Holland (2010). Benefiting from social capital requires that one put time and effort into establishing and developing their network (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010). In her research Holland (2010) points out that although students have access to social capital, they may not actually utilize it or know how to. From her perspective they may not be putting in the proper time and effort. Students in the current study, however, are internally motivated to achieve their goals through the conscious seeking out and building of available social capital. Some participants in Holland's (2010) study were internally motivated as well. However, they seem to be solely internally motivated to get their work done, as compared to being motivated to access resources and social

capital as a means of goal attainment, to establish and utilize their social networks.

Students in the current study differ from those in Holland's, then, not only in their outcome of internal motivation, but their ability to understand how to establish and use their social networks to capitalize on social capital.

Findings in the theme of feeling comfortable reflect that students in the current study actively developed their social networks based on their descriptions of seeking out institutional agents and other network members with which they could build relationships composed of higher levels of trust. Students in the current study differ from those in Holland's (2010) study in their intentional involvement and utilization of their social networks and social capital, therefore it may not always be the case that underrepresented students don't have the know-how to capitalize on social networks and social capital, those involved in an outreach program appear to be better equipped to do so.

Another way the theme of feeling comfortable contributes to previous research is through highlighting the importance of institutional agents in imparting students with social capital (Çelik and Ekinci 2012; Farmer-Hinton and Adams 2006; Museus and Neville 2012; Smith 2007; Stanton-Salazar 1997) as well as the importance of trust in network relationships and the access of social capital (Bourdieu 1986 and Coleman 1988). Museus and Neville (2012), state that social networks carry special meaning sustained by high levels of trust. The descriptions from students in the current study show how important trust was for them. They discussed how the relationships in their networks were built on trust which they equated with being able to discuss

personal issues and how they actively worked to establish and build social networks that had high levels of trust. Furthermore, the current study provides support for the importance of two of Museus and Neville's (2012) themes, "providing holistic support" and "sharing common ground". They found these themes to be important for the establishment of trust and the creation and maintenance of social capital. Having institutional agents that provide holistic support is illustrated in the current study through student's descriptions of being able to discuss issues outside of the realm of education. The importance of common ground for the cultivation of trust is illustrated in the current study through students' descriptions of seeking out people who they feel comfortable with or whom they share common ground with. The current study affirms the importance of these themes from Museus and Neville (2012), while at the same time adding to the research through the studies examination of more than just racially underrepresented students, but also first-generation students in a college outreach program. These components then seem to be important for a wider range of populations than examined in the research by Museus and Neville (2012).

The theme, being academically supported through friendship, builds onto existing research by highlighting the importance of informal network members, particularly friends, beyond motivational or inspirational support. Holland (2010) addresses the idea that many underrepresented students in her study may be a part of informal networks that do not have the know-how and may act more as "cheerleaders" than informants. Additionally, she states that informal network members may provide more nonneutral and less tangible resources. In some ways students' relationship with

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informal network members, particularly friends, in both the current study and Holland's (2010) study were similar. In her research Holland (2010) found that underrepresented students in her study were influenced by their friends' behaviors and their expectations. The students in the current study friends also had a more significant and concrete influence on students' education and academic goals. For students in the current study, their informal networks, particularly friends, acted as more than just "cheerleaders" and provided students with more concrete assistance in assessing the social capital necessary for educational success and goal attainment. Their informal network relationships with friends went beyond motivation and expectation to provide concrete assistance and guidance. Students in the current study talk about how friends help them with homework and studying, offer advice and guidance with academic decisions, and encourage academic involvement over social aspects of college life. In some instances students may even have specifically avoided informal network relationships that did not foster their achievement of educational goals. Students then are forming social relationships that are intentionally chosen because of their beneficial impact on their educational goal attainment (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, Holland 2010).

Addressing the Research Question

The preceding discussion of the findings of this study and its relation to previous research provide evidence to address the research question: what quality of social capital do outreach program participants have access to and how successful is the program in building trust within the network? Social networks can generate poor or weak social capital when their resources are poor (Lin 2000; Perna 2000). The main

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themes uncovered through this research help highlight the quality of social capital that students in the program have access to. The findings of this study indicate that the social networks that students find ready-made as well as those they intentionally create may have a positive influence on them. The themes underscore all of the different components of social capital, outlined above, and their importance for students' educational goal attainment. If the social capital to which students had access was weak, some of the components of social capital may not have been addressed through the student's discussion. The students also exhibit the ability to take on an active role in the establishment of their networks, an indication of strength in their network and a subsequent access to high quality social capital, one that covers all the components necessary for individual goal attainment.

The second part of the research question, addressing the program's part in building trust within the network and helping their participants maximize their social capital to attain their educational goals, can be addressed in a couple different ways. First, through interviews it was discovered that the College Opportunity Program (COP) provided participants with formal network members by assigning them advisors with whom they meet once a week. These advisors were mentioned by 7 of the 8 participants as being influential in their adjustment. Additionally, the COP helped foster their informal network members by introducing them to other students and giving them the space and opportunity to build friendships that are valuable to the students through the building of educational norms, the building of trust and meaning, and/or the sharing of valuable information. The COP's ability to build trust within those relationships is

illustrated throughout the theme of feeling comfortable where all of the institutional agents mentioned were agents assigned through the COP. The theme of feeling comfortable also illustrates the importance of building trust within relationships with friends; most of such relationships were initiated through the COP's summer program. Students in the College Opportunity Program seem to have access to a high quality social capital, and the program itself seems to play a role in its development.

Implications for Future Research and Practice.

The research done by Holland (2010) was mentioned several times for differing from the present study's findings. First, student's in Holland's (2010) research seemed less able to capitalize on their social networks and access the social capital available to them. Holland (2010) concludes that "students from traditionally underrepresented college populations need to learn how to maximize the benefits of their formal and informal network relationships." It seems as if students in the current study were able to do just that, they took on an active role in establishing and benefitting from their social networks. Additionally, students from the current research and student's from Holland's (2010) research differ in their involvement in a college outreach program. Future research then could address whether or not it is the involvement in a college outreach program that helps make this difference in the utilization of social network and access of social capital for goal attainment. Researchers could try and better pinpoint what components contribute to these apparent differences. The studies as they stand are too different and generalizations between the two cannot be made; we can only speculate about why the outcomes are different. Perhaps a study, then, could

be designed to systematically examine these differences. Second, there appears to be a difference in the quality of informal relationships, particularly friendships. Future research could further investigate what components contribute to these differences and if any of them can be linked to involvement of outreach programs.

The chapter on theoretical framework also identifies ways in which outreach programs could apply research on the importance of social capital to their programs. Future research could examine whether implementing some of these into actual outreach programs, or ones that are already set up as such, helps programs be more efficient, and this pinpoint specific components that are beneficial as well.

In terms of implications from this research for practice, the COP may be able to utilize this information as support that their students do in fact have access to a high quality social capital and that they may be playing a part in helping them capitalize on that social capital. Thus, they can be affirmed that some of their techniques should be continued as they are in fact, now based in evidence. A next step, however, given the lack of ability to generalize this data would be to set up a study that may allow for more generalization. As well as to continue to investigate different components to see if they too can be seen as effective and backed up with evidence. This information may also be useful to others who are working with college opportunity programs. Since it has been shown that students in the College Opportunity Program do in fact possess social capital, they may consider adopting some of the programs techniques and then evaluating the effectiveness for themselves. Overall, however, this research can help make the move to more evidence based practices and research on college outreach

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programs that can identify effective components that may help aid in the reduction of the educational achievement gap between traditionally underrepresented college students and their dominant peers.

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Appendix I.

Table of all family unit sizes and cutoffs for low-income (U.S. Department of Education 2014)

Size of Family Unit	48 Contiguous States, D.C., and Outlying Jurisdictions	Alaska	Hawaii
1	\$17,505	\$21,870	\$20,130
2	\$23,595	\$29,490	\$27,135
3	\$29,685	\$37,110	\$34,140
4	\$35,775	\$44,730	\$41,145
5	\$41,865	\$52,350	\$48,150
6	\$47,955	\$59,970	\$55,155
7	\$54,045	\$67,590	\$62,160
8	\$60,135	\$75,210	\$69,165

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Appendix II

Interview Questions

Background/Developing Rapport Questions

1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself. Probe: Talk about your family, your hobbies, or what you like to do for fun.
2. How old are you?
3. Did either of your parents attain a bachelor's degree?
4. Do you have any siblings who have gone to college?
5. Do you have any siblings who have attained a bachelor's degree?

Specific Questions about their Social Capital Network

6. Tell me who has been influential in your transition and adjustment to college; list them in order from the most important to least important.

(Go through the following questions for at least the three most important people they mentioned)

(Experience of being a part of a closed network or group (social capital network both formal and informal))

- Briefly describe (insert person's name)
- What is (name's) title or relation to you?
- Describe the (name's) role in your adjustment to college. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe how you met (name).
- Describe what exactly the (name) has done to help you adjust during your college experiences. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Explain how often you have actually gone to (name) for help. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe the situations in which you have gone to (name) for help. Probe: Can you be more specific?
- Can you recall a time when (name) offered unsolicited advice or help that you did not specifically ask for? Probe: Give specific examples.

(Developing of trust within the network)

- Describe whether or not you feel like you can trust (name). Probe: give examples of why or why not.

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- Describe examples of times you have trusted (name) with any sort of information. Probe: Can you be more specific?
- Describe specific examples of times you have trusted (name's) advice in regards to your college education. Probe: can you be more specific?
- Do you think (name) trusts you? Probe: Tell me why or why not.
- Describe specific instances in which (name) has trusted you.
- Do you feel (name) wants the best for you? Describe why or why not. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe the level of trust between you and (name). Probe: Give specific examples where possible.

(Establishing educational norms within that network and forming the expectation of obligations within the network)

- In relation to your college education and success therein, do you expect anything from (name)? Probe: Describe these expectations.
- Describe the consequences for (name) when they do not meet these expectations. Probe: Give specific examples.
- With regards to your college education and success therein, does (name) expect anything from you? Describe these expectations. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe the consequences for you when you do not meet these expectations. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Is there a normal pattern of interaction between you and (name), if so please describe it? Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe any consequences for (name) if they do not follow these norms. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe any consequences for you if you do not follow these normal patterns of interaction. Probe: Give specific examples.

(Sharing valuable information)

- Describe any knowledge that you have gained from (name). Probe: Give specific examples.
- Describe any skill sets that you have learned from (name). Give specific examples.
- Do you feel like (name) provides you with information valuable to your educational success in college? Describe why or why not. Probe: Give specific examples.
- Has the (name) introduced you to anyone else who can or has helped you attain educational success in college? Probe: Give specific examples of these instances.
- If yes: have you actually gone to them for help? Probe: Give specific examples.

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7. Inquire about any group of people they may not have mentioned (faculty on campus, other people on campus, outside of campus faculty members (ex. Peers), people outside of campus (ex. parent). Where would they be on the list?

General Questions about their Social Capital Network/Adjustment to College

8. Overall, do you feel like you have a strong network of people on whom you can rely to help you be academically successful in your college career? Probe: Explain why or why not.
9. Overall, do you think you have been successful in your adjustment to college? Probe: Explain why or why not.
10. Do you have confidence that you will be academically successful throughout your college career? Probe: Explain why or why not.
11. Is there anything else that I have not asked you that you think might be important?

Appendix III

Example of Moving from Transcription, to Code, to Memo

Transcription lines: Participant 1

“Looking for a means to drive, like drive like significance through comparison. Kind of like that. Kind of like exalt myself like through a rendition so that way I have like a standing against my peers.

Code: Participant 1

Holding self to higher standard than peers as motivation

Transcription Lines: Participant 2

Uh, kinda like motivated the students to like do their work in COP and outside of COP, and in class.

Code: Participant 2

Experiencing motivation from someone else to do school work

Subsequent Memo: Being Motivated (from first 2 interviews)

Motivation is another topic that comes up during interviews. This topic seems especially important as respondents are never asked specifically about motivation, yet so far it has come up in one way or another in both interviews so far. What is interesting about this topic is that both respondents seem to talk about motivation from different perspectives. That is, motivation coming from either internal or external sources. Brandon a 19 year old first- generation student in the College Outreach Program discusses motivation from an internal perspective. At the beginning of the interview when asked to list people who have been influential for him and his adjustment to college he immediately asks if he is supposed to talk about people who have been influential to him by aiding him or by providing him with a drive. I tell him that either on counts, yet when he discusses how people have been influential to him he only ever mentions being

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influential through aiding him, not through providing him with motivation. Furthermore, at the end of the interview when I ask him if there is anyone else he can think of that has been influential, he once again asks about motivation. He inquires as to whether or not he can talk about a principle or a drive as opposed to a person. When I give him the go ahead he goes on to talk about what motivates him to continue in his education. He discusses this motivation as not coming from someone else, but his own motivation. He states, "Just kind of like looking for a means to drive, like drive like significance through comparison. Kind of like that. Kind of like exalt myself like through a rendition so that way I have like a standing against my peers... That's kinda like one of the lynch pins...for continuing." This quote shows how his motivation for continuing comes from the motivation to perform above his peers, or to stand out in comparison.

Caroline an 18 year old first generation student in the College Outreach Program however, seems to take the opposite perspective on motivation. When she talks about motivation she always mentions it coming from more external sources. When asked about giving examples of people who have been influential to her, she never questioned if they could be influential by the fact that they motivate her. Rather, she just assumes it this way and goes on to mention in multiple occasions how people have been influential to her in terms of providing motivation. For instance, when asked to discuss her relation and title to someone she listed as influential, an advisor like person who is not her actual advisor, she tries to describe the advisor like person (Emily) and their title and position to her based by explaining that she is motivational to the students. She states, "(Emily) motivated the students to like do their work in CAP and outside of CAP, and in class". Caroline doesn't know how to explain Emily's title and relation to her, and seems to try to explain it then in terms of her motivational aspect. Caroline perceives external motivation as important as she tries to explain Emily's relation to her in terms

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of motivation. Caroline also mentions motivation when she is discussing the normal pattern of interaction her and her close friend in COP follow. She is once again describing external motivation as she states, "we motivate each other to go to the gym too". Another instance in which Caroline brings up being externally motivated is after being asked how her advisor has been influential to her. She states, "She like helps like motivate me to like stay you know on top of my schoolwork. So to just organize everything and make sure that I get my stuff done." I think it is also important to note that for Caroline motivation comes up not only when discussing how someone has been influential, but in relation to normal patterns of interaction, and in discussing someone title and relationship to her. I think it is also important to note that neither Brandon nor Caroline talk about both types of motivation; they each only talk about internal or external respectively.