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Examining Social Capital and Whiteness in a University Community Engagement Network

Bonnie Nelson
bjn4@uw.edu

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University Community Engagement Network

Bonnie Nelson

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Supervisory Committee:

M. Billye Sankofa Waters, Ph.D., Chair

Charlie Collins, Ph.D., member

Kevin Ward, Ph.D., member

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Bonnie Nelson

Dissertation Chair: Dr. M. Billye Sankofa Waters

Abstract

University place-based community engagement initiatives often draw upon diverse stakeholders and organizations. However, these initiatives often uphold systems and structures rooted in Whiteness and oppression. Drawing from Critical Race Theory and social capital theory, this study examined Whiteness, network structure, value, and trust within the Seattle University Youth Initiative (SUYI) Network. The results suggested that the SUYI network had a moderate to high degree of value, where institutional partners were perceived as having significantly more value than nonprofit partners in the network. Additionally, the SUYI network was found to have a high degree of trust, where nonprofits were viewed as slightly more trustworthy than institutions. The discussion examines how Whiteness might influence the relationships and resource sharing across the SUYI Network. The paper concludes with several recommendations for the CCE related to their strategies of building the capacity of systems and individuals, resourcing community partners, and pursuing anti-racist methodologies.

Keywords: community engagement, social capital, Whiteness, social network analysis

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Chapter I: Introduction

University community engagement initiatives in the United States aim to create changes in their nearby neighborhoods. Examples range from physical changes in business districts to social justice efforts aimed at marginalized populations and gentrified communities (Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Perry & Wiewel, 2005). Many universities emphasize the role of neighborhood residents as decision-makers and partners within the initiatives (Yamamura & Koth, 2018). These aspirational community engagement frameworks claim to value community-building and systems changes that target socioeconomic inequalities. However, the rhetoric of university community engagement frameworks does not match reality (Ehlenz, 2018). In practice, many community engagement efforts are rooted in Whiteness. They resemble traditional community outreach practices, student-centered community engaged learning opportunities, or revitalization of physical spaces that exclude or marginalize neighborhood residents (Ehlenz, 2018). Universities need to be more inclusive of neighborhood leaders, particularly people of color, as advisors and decision-makers in their community engagement efforts (Kuttner et al., 2019; Taylor Jr. et al., 2018; Yamamura & Koth, 2018).

Both practitioners and researchers have been calling for community engagement to evolve, causing shifts in the community engagement field. Taylor Jr. et al. (2018) proposed that university community engagement should be a people-centered model that "seeks to turn 'gentrified' *university-neighborhoods* into authentic *neighborhood communities*" (original emphasis, p. 14). They argued that this should be a resident-driven process that takes into consideration the interconnections between housing, neighborhood development, and people. Taylor et al. (2013) suggested that universities have a strategic role in the growth and

redevelopment of urban centers. Universities have large amounts of capital, are fixed in place within neighborhoods, and are regarded as neutral by other institutions and community organizations. Universities can support development efforts by creating networks between schools and neighborhoods, as well as by bolstering academic and support services (Taylor et al., 2013). However, Taylor et al. (2013) failed to discuss what needs to change within the current educational structure. Their research omitted analysis of power dynamics, Whiteness, and systemic oppression within community engagement.

One example of a still-evolving university community engagement strategy is the Seattle University Youth Initiative (SUYI). In February 2011, the Center for Community Engagement (CCE) at Seattle University launched SUYI, the largest community engagement initiative in university history. The university partners with the city, the municipal housing authority, the school district, and dozens of community-based organizations to create a "cradle to career" pathway of support for 1,000 children and their families living in a two-square-mile neighborhood immediately adjacent to campus. SUYI also aims to deepen the educational experiences of university students and enhance professional development opportunities for faculty and staff (Seattle University, 2020).

The CCE uses the term *place-based community engagement* to describe SUYI. Place-based community engagement initiatives enhance the collaborative efforts of university networks including public school systems, city governments, neighborhood coalitions, and community-based organizations (Cantor et al., 2013; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Yamamura & Koth, 2018). Yamamura and Koth (2018) described place-based community engagement as a distinct form of university community engagement where there is "a long-term university-wide commitment to

partner with local residents, organizations, and other leaders to focus equally on campus and

community impact within a clearly defined geographic area" (p. 18).

The CCE's vision for SUYI is that the leaders within the initiative, including university

members, local family members, and community leaders, will belong to trusting, inclusive

networks to collectively shape the future of education in Seattle and at Seattle University. In

some cases, the CCE looks to create and facilitate these networks, while in other cases CCE

leaders hope to connect with existing groups and contribute to their goals by leveraging

university resources. For community engagement offices like the CCE to fulfill this new vision

of university community engagement, university leaders must work with community leaders to

identify and address historical inequities between universities and their neighbors.

Definition of Key Terms

There are several important concepts that require further explanations before proceeding.

In this section, I will offer definitions for *minoritized/majoritized residents, social capital, and*

Whiteness. These definitions will be used throughout the remainder of the study.

Community vs. Minoritized/Majoritized Groups

The term *community* is a convenient and commonly used term in the field of university

community engagement. Identifying and naming a community can be both powerful and

problematic (Philip et al., 2013) Researchers may frame "the community" as recipients of

service, an asset of the university, or a place where the university can enhance its academic work

(Bortolin, 2011). Fellow practitioners refer to people impacted by university initiatives as "the

community." However, "the community" can be used as a euphemism to avoid naming the

identities of marginalized groups, particularly the racial composition of groups (Lechasseur,

2014; Philip et al., 2013). Philip et al. (2013) argued that not explicitly defining the boundaries of

a community is a colorblind approach that can perpetuate negative stereotypes and deficit views, specifically of families and students of color. I have witnessed people of color pause conversations to ask the question, "What community are we talking about here?" as White community engagement professionals fail to acknowledge the multiple communities within neighborhoods near universities.

To describe the residents in an area with an all-encompassing term of "the community" is an oversight of the many forms of social and community capital that are present in neighborhoods. Instead, moving forward in this paper I will use the terms *minoritized groups* and *majoritized groups* rather than community to refer to neighborhood residents impacted by university community engagement. This differentiation is important because it connotes the fact that majoritized groups actively benefit from their cultural status and use it to oppress minoritized groups that have less power and influence (Patton et al., 2016). Continuing to name systemic oppression and how societal structures minoritize communities of color is an important principle.

Social Capital

Capital exists in many forms, including but not limited to economic capital, cultural capital, human capital, linguistic capital, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, Coleman, 1988; Lin & Smith, 2001; Putnam, 1995; Yosso, 2005). The focus of this study is specifically on social capital. *Social capital* consists of resources accessible and captured through social networks and connections. Social capital can take the form of money, information, power, land, sanctions, norms, organizational membership, or reputation (Coleman, 1988; Lin & Smith, 2001). Social capital, similar to other types of resources, helps individuals and groups meet their needs and achieve their interests.

Whiteness

From a legal perspective, Whiteness initially was defined "in opposition to nonwhiteness, an opposition that also marked a boundary between privilege and its opposite" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 85). Whiteness, and race in general, are social constructs that have very real implications for the distribution of wealth, power, and privilege. Patton and Haynes (2020) offered the following description of Whiteness:

> Whiteness is the root cause of the systemic racism that ensures White people maintain racial group superiority in the United States, particularly in academic spaces. Whiteness represents the self-reinforcing beliefs and institutionalized practices that protect and reward White normalcy, White privilege, White innocence, and White advantage—and by extension, White people. (p. 43)

There are several key components of Whiteness in this definition that are important to expand upon for the purpose of this paper.

First, Whiteness is at the root of systemic racism. Systemic racism, as opposed to individual racism or prejudice, consists of the laws, policies, and practices that intentionally disadvantage people of color. Leonardo (2004) noted that domination and power related to Whiteness is not formed out of hatred, but instead "out of a patterned and enduring treatment of social groups" (p. 139). White people in the United States are responsible for countless atrocities and intentional harm inflicted on people of color, from anti-miscegenation laws, housing and educational segregation, colonization, militarization, and anti-immigration laws, to genocide, unethical medical practices, educational testing and tracking, and Jim Crow laws. Racists acts take different forms but are repeated throughout history, across different contexts, and generally

serve to uphold the system of whiteness. The purpose is to maintain White domination and perceptions of White superiority.

Second, White people actively maintain racial group superiority. While Leonardo (2004) focused on many historical events, he also pointed to the current and active participation of White people to uphold Whiteness in playgrounds, courtrooms, and conference rooms. In non-profits and educational systems, White people commonly maintain their group superiority in organizational cultures when it comes to decision-making, accountability, and culture. Maintaining dominance can look like "helping" or "saving" Black people as opposed to building and sharing power and resources (Western States Center, 2003). This dynamic secures superior conditions for White people while dismissing Black people as the "other."

Third, societal beliefs and practices reinforce White normalcy, White privilege, White innocence, and White advantage. Even tools to increase the understanding of White privilege, like Peggy McIntosh's "invisible knapsack," give White people an understanding of the privileges they receive but does not necessarily invite them to give up those privileges. Focusing on privilege can highlight how Whiteness operates on an individual level, failing to offer broader explanations about how Whiteness operates at a systemic level to maintain the power imbalance between White people and people of color. Further, a focus on White privilege works to center the discussion on the advantages that White people have, rather than exposing the domination that creates and maintains those privileges (Leonardo, 2004). In organizations, the office norms around structural processes, communication, conflict, and leadership development opportunities benefit White staff members and can prevent people of color from comfort and success in the workplace (Western States Center, 2003).

Finally, Whiteness continues to protect and reward White people. Liberal systems and colorblind policies function to maintain the property of Whiteness. Whiteness is entrenched in violence and the willingness to maintain dominance (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Leonardo provides a powerful reminder that White dominance, "is not solely the domain of White supremacist groups. It is rather the domain of average, tolerant people, of lovers of diversity, and of believers in justice" (p. 144). From an organizational perspective, maintaining the property of Whiteness might show up in inequitable compensation structures, a lack of transparency around budget processes or an emphasis on accountability to wealthy foundations and donors over people most affected by the issues being addressed (Western States Center, 2003).

Statement of Problem

The problem of practice examined in this study is that university community engagement efforts uphold systems and structures rooted in Whiteness and oppression. While some researchers touted the possibilities for community engagement to lead to transformational change (Hudson, 2013; Weaver, 2016) others critiqued it for failing to move beyond rhetoric or transactional relationships (Brackmann, 2105; Christens & Inzeo, 2015; Taylor Jr., et al., 2018). University community engagement initiatives repeatedly fail to distribute power and decision-making to leaders who represent the best interest of neighborhood residents (Walzer et al., 2016). Mistrust, power imbalances, and conflicting agendas have impacted collaborative efforts at systemic change (Geller et al., 2014; Henig et al., 2015). Decision-makers from a university, at times influenced by an outside foundation or government entity, hold different goals than neighborhood residents. Universities may be more likely to offer tokenized positions to minoritized individuals, but still operate within predominantly White spaces and norms (Lechasseur, 2014). In limiting their social networks to other large organizations and White-led

institutions, universities risk harming neighborhoods and decrease their ability to contribute to positive social change.

Community engagement exists in the context of Whiteness and systemic racism that have caused long-existing racial disparities in health, education, and economics in the country. In the modern context, as the United States addresses the dual pandemics of COVID-19 and racism, there is an added complexity and urgency to the work of university and community leaders. Specifically, schools, universities, families, and entire communities are reconsidering the content of school curriculum[1]. The demands for equitable systems are in tension with COVID-19 related budget constraints in school systems, governments, and nonprofits. Collaborative, cross-sector efforts have the potential to pool power and resources to fight for more equitable systems. However, success of these efforts depends on the ability for organizations to collaborate effectively and to challenge a return to the status quo, which historically oppressed and marginalized communities.

Purpose & Research Question

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into the social capital within Seattle University's community engagement network. As the leaders of the Seattle University Youth Initiative (SUYI) look to develop deeper relationships with neighborhood organizations and coalitions led by people of color, it is important to first evaluate the trust, value, and the existing

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[1] In response to the demands for justice related to the murders of Black people, notably of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and Ahmaud Arbery, universities across the country committed to anti-racist statements and espoused views in support of Black Lives Matter in Spring 2020. There are a tremendous number of on-campus initiatives that universities could implement to support campus environments for students, staff, and faculty of color. However, the on-campus initiatives are beyond the scope of this paper.

distribution of social capital between the university and its current partners. This study addresses the following research question: What is the relationship between SUYI's network structure and the constructs of trust, value, and Whiteness?

Study Rationale

This study contributes to university community engagement and has a practical application to the current partnerships involved in SUYI. This section outlines the rationale and potential contributions of this research. The rationale is grounded within the three pillars prioritized by the SUYI strategy: building the capacity of systems and individuals, resourcing community partners, and pursuing anti-racist methodologies. First, the study offers a snapshot of the quality of current partnerships that currently exist within the SUYI social network in hopes of eventually building greater capacity for those involved. Second, the study provides evidence of the actual and potential distribution of resources and social capital across the SUYI social network. Third, the study provides a benchmark on network-wide anti-racist practices to provide a starting place for future conversations and strategies. I will further explain these three rationales in the section that follows.

Examining Network Characteristics to Build Capacity

Examining the characteristics of the SUYI social network can contribute to a more successful collaborative. SUYI partners are primarily organizations with a common goal of supporting children and families in the SUYI neighborhood. SUYI works with a diverse set of cross-sector partners, such as Seattle Public Schools. Leaders within Seattle Public Schools have been key SUYI partners at both the district level and with specific school sites since the start of the initiative. SUYI partners also include local housing agencies and several extended learning and early learning partners. However, the partners in the network have varying levels of trust and

communication with one another that are informed by history, competition for resources, and interpersonal or inter-organizational exchanges.

High levels of communication, coordination, collaboration, and trust, as well as network diversity, are key elements of successful networks (Jones, 2018). The strength of a neighborhood's social network is linked to its ability to improve neighborhood conditions (Jones, 2018). Education and housing networks that have a set of well-connected partners are more likely to achieve positive neighborhood outcomes, including stronger school-community partnerships, housing improvement, and economic improvement. An effective collaboration built on a foundation of trust could amplify the long-term desires of SUYI neighborhood residents. At the same time, SUYI network partners could build their capacity to address immediate needs related to housing and education. This study provides a baseline understanding for measuring these characteristics that are crucial to greater network success and organizational capacity.

Understanding Resource Distribution to Enhance Capital

This study also helps to identify potential contributions and resource sharing that exists within the SUYI network. Currently, a formalized feedback loop with agencies that collaborate within SUYI does not exist. Examining resource distribution can provide network members with greater insight into the equity of current distribution patterns. Highlighting the distribution of resources is crucial to understanding Whiteness and Seattle University's role within the neighborhood ecosystem. This was explained recently in a video interview with K. Wyking Garrett, CEO of Africatown Community Land Trust when he stated:

> Control over the resources that are supposed to impact our lives...that money should be
> controlled and dictated by the communities that it's supposed to impact so that we can
> have culturally responsive, self-determined solutions that are high impact. Because what

we have seen is that lots of money, millions of dollars, we got big foundations,

philanthropy like the Gates here. They're controlling the distribution of this money and

most of it's just going to just White-led organizations. So really, they're kind of passing

the money back and forth and things aren't getting better for us. So, we have to disrupt

that and come up with real solutions that move us towards equity. (Converge Media,

2020)

The results of this study will provide leaders with information to reflect on how Seattle

University is accountable to the neighborhood, particularly the organizations and coalitions led

by people of color. Seattle University is a predominantly White institution that has received

millions of dollars on behalf of the Black community in Seattle over the last two decades.

University projects focused on education, housing, homelessness, and business development

received these funds. Yet, these grants are rarely written in conjunction with neighborhood

leaders. This study will also aid in mapping partner resources within the neighborhood

ecosystem. The scarcity of financial resources due to the economic impacts of COVID-19 is

likely to cause financial limitations for schools, community organizations, and Seattle University.

Thus, utilizing existing social capital to enhance practices might be one strategy to continue to

focus on neighborhood well-being.

Pursuing Anti-Racist Methods

Finally, this study will examine the CCE's external partnership networks to highlight

practices that either reflect cultural norms rooted in Whiteness or favor anti-racist methods. In

the field of community engagement, there are growing critiques of offices that focus on social

change without identifying and disrupting power imbalances that maintain the status quo of

Whiteness. A university community engagement office cannot have race-neutral policies and

successfully pursue anti-racist goals. Over the past five years, the CCE evolved in its application

of anti-racist practices in programming, communication, and evaluation. The integrity of SUYI

and the success of the strategy is dependent on the degree to which the SUYI network partners

can further incorporate anti-racist principles into its structure and operations, veering away from

practices that uphold Whiteness. If it is true that networks "serve as possible vehicles for

institutional transformation" (Lin & Smith, 2001, p. 186) then understanding how current social

networks operate to maintain Whiteness or disrupt racism is key for institutions to examine.

Learning about each organization's current anti-racist practices can illuminate strategies for more

equitable practices across the network.

Potential Contributions to University Community Engagement

As universities struggle to meet student and employee needs while trying to remain

financially solvent, they will also be called upon to act as community leaders to address local,

state, and national issues related to COVID-19 and racism. In Seattle, the CCE will continue to

be engaged in the work of supporting local neighborhoods in Seattle to recover from the

economic, educational, and social impacts caused by COVID-19. It will also be involved in

conversations about the future of education in Seattle. This study will help provide an important

benchmark for the CCE as it works towards its goals of building the capacity of systems and

individuals, resourcing community partners, and pursuing anti-racist methodologies.

Additionally, social network analysis may provide a novel way for university community

engagement offices to evaluate the success of their network involvement. It also offers a

framework for universities to reflect on how Whiteness operates in their networks. This study

will highlight how network participants relate to one another and how social capital moves

throughout a university-supported network. This analysis provides a useful alternative to current

practices in community engagement measurement, where success is often evaluated using

quantitative measures. Graduation rates, unemployment rates, or median income statistics are

commonly used indicators that position neighborhood residents as a problem to "fix" (Ishimaru,

2020). A method to measure the work of university community engagement that focuses on

organizational structures and relationships can be an important contribution to the community

engagement field.

Positionality Statement

In this section, I will describe my positionality as a researcher by following the

framework of researcher racial and cultural positionality proposed by Milner (2007). I will first

reflect by sharing my prime identities in relation to this research, as well as my skills and

resources. I will then transition into reflecting on my relation to others by acknowledging biases

that I may bring into this research. I will conclude by considering myself in relation to systems,

acknowledging the power and assets inherent in this study. [2]

Prime Identities

My racial and cultural backgrounds and experiences inform my development as a

researcher and community engagement professional (Milner, 2007). I derive personal power

from my identities as an educated, middle-aged, cisgender White woman. I derive positional

power from my role as a university staff member and even more as a data analyst in a culture that

values measurement and evaluation. I derive relational power from my interactions with others

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[2] Milner also included an additional stage of the framework, "engaged reflection and representation" that is beyond the scope of this paper.

and the way that others perceive me. I also hold a position of trust, and therefore power, based on my organization's reputation with many community leaders.

Following college, I spent a year working in the AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps and another two years in the Peace Corps in Mongolia. In these service-oriented positions, I was trained to think about celebrating multiculturalism and diversity, but never to examine the systems of oppression at play. Rather, there was an underlying culture built around "fixing," "helping," or "serving" others. These experiences helped me to become internally aware of my privileges, but I did not unpack what that meant in the context of my interactions with others on a personal or societal level.

I returned from Mongolia on July 3, 2013. Ten days later, on July 13, 2013, a jury acquitted George Zimmerman of all charges related to the murder of Trayvon Martin. I remember feeling angry and ashamed to be back in the United States. In the following year, the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner also gained national attention. I began to experience a sense of dissonance between the stories I had been told about America and the lived realities of people of color, and particularly Black people, in the country (Taylor & Reynolds, 2019). Following the presidential election in 2016, I witnessed Black-led movements and White supremacy marches, highlighting the national tension around race and elevating conversations about race in the field of community engagement. I pushed to resolve my internal dissonance and committed to developing a better understanding of Whiteness and the history of violent racial oppression in the United States.

I began to transition from acknowledging my privileges to interrogating how Whiteness operates in society. In my professional career, hearing the deeply personal narratives of people of color pushed me to question institutions and the role of Whiteness in the education, healthcare,

and criminal justice systems. Trusted colleagues helped me to identify my role in perpetuating

inequities by directly and indirectly calling out Whiteness in my behaviors. Through dialogue

and listening carefully for what was left unsaid, I learned about and identified habits engrained in

Whiteness in my personal work style, such as my tendencies towards urgency, fear of open

conflict, and either/or thinking. I began to shift from a simplistic mindset of "I'm not a racist

because racists are bad people" to a more complex and nuanced understanding of systems of

oppression, particularly racism.

In 2017, I joined a gathering of university community engagement professionals designed

as a space for healing and transformational relationships. Several components of this experience,

from unpacking internalized oppression, to building and deepening relationships with colleagues,

to engaging in theoretical discussions about systemic oppression, helped me build skills around

discussing and disrupting oppression and Whiteness. I left the workshop with a healthier

acceptance of my identity as a White woman. It also helped me identify elements of Whiteness

that are at the foundation of university community engagement. Importantly, I gained tools to

continually question whether the processes that I engage in reject negative views and portrayals

of communities of color (Milner, 2007).

Skills & Resources

The skills and resources that I bring to this project include my academic understanding of

theory and data analysis as a researcher, as well as my identities and dispositions. As a student,

several authors have helped to shape my understanding of oppression and cultural ways of

knowing (Friere, 2000; hooks 2003). Critical Race Theory tenets such as colorblindness,

Whiteness as property, and interest convergence (Bell, 1998; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012;

Zamudio et al., 2011) provided a framework that helped me to better identify how structural

racism operates within educational programs that I support through my work in community

engagement. Decolonizing frameworks and equitable collaboration frameworks (Ishimaru, 2020;

Patel, 2016; Smith, 2012) helped shape my recognition that as a researcher, my research design

and interpretation of results come from a Eurocentric framework that I must actively question

and address.

My interpersonal skills are captured in my mission statement: Stay ready, show up, and

do the work. "Stay ready" means that I value moving slowly, taking time to listen, learn, and

change. This includes taking time to build relationships without an agenda. It involves deep and

continuous learning. This statement goes beyond preparation. It includes self-awareness,

knowing when to push or when to follow the lead of others. It means anticipating what may be

needed from me, but also accepting when I am not needed. "Show up" indicates being consistent

and dependable. I aim to be authentic and trustworthy in relationships. Showing up also means

reflecting on who I am in all situations. Finally, "do the work" means I strive to demonstrate to

people that they can count on me to follow through. In my relationships, I depend on my actions

to speak louder than my words. I learn best by doing, so I acknowledge that I will have failures

and make mistakes. I focus on process over product, knowing when to jump in strategically or

when to do nothing.

As a researcher and community engagement professional, I am pushing for systems

change through my positionality and convictions about race to adjust the cultural mindset of

what type of data is important. I continue to argue to that understanding relationships and power

dynamics within systems can inform education initiatives in a more nuanced way than

quantitative assessments focused on individual students. Having a clear understanding of my

own racial and cultural beliefs is essential to understanding how I interact with others, a topic I
will turn to next.

Acknowledging Bias

In describing the process of researching the self in relation to others, Milner (2007)
described that power, particularly in research, is relational. The study design focuses on the CCE
and organizational partners within a network. The method used in this study, social network
analysis, is also relational and is designed to examine interests and power between organizations
within a network. Although organizations will be the unit of analysis, individual organizational
representatives completed the survey. These individuals come from a wide range of racial and
cultural backgrounds and they hold historical and current relationships with other participants
and organizations.

Although the research design focused on issues of power between organizations, I also
considered how to balance my interests as a researcher with participants in the study while also
acknowledging my relational and positional power as the senior data and evaluation analyst of
the CCE at the time of data collection. In my recruitment for the study, I recognized that
participants may be influenced by the power of Seattle University as an institution and my power
as a researcher. To address this, I emphasized that this tool can be an important feedback tool for
community organizations, not just the university. I also informed all participants that findings
from this study will also be presented to all the network members, not just the CCE. This social
network analysis will be a foundational tool to present leaders with information about
partnerships, trust, and opportunities for strengthening and amplifying relationships.

Power & Assets

Milner (2007) described that the final phase of the framework of researcher racial and cultural positionality is shifting from self to systems. Within a social network analysis, this involves analyzing the entire network within a context that is informed by history, race, and culture. The historical relationship between the university and the surrounding neighborhoods is steeped in inequitable power dynamics. Understanding the dynamics between the university and neighborhood residents is an important aspect of my work. I study the history of the neighborhoods and, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, I talked with residents and shared meals with families in CCE programs. I also study community resources and have met with representatives from community groups advocating for community solutions and highlighting the neighborhood assets. Representatives from community groups have contributed to my understanding of systemic and organizational barriers facing the neighborhood. They have highlighted projects led by minoritized residents that build on existing assets. They have also named the university's complicit, and at times, active role in the gentrification, displacement, and development of the neighborhoods surrounding campus.

Chapter II: Review of Literature

This section will describe the two frameworks used in this study: social capital theory and Critical Race Theory (CRT). I will begin by describing several key concepts of social capital theory. Then, I will introduce Lin and Smith's (2001) social capital theory model and describe why it is an appropriate theoretical framework for examining university community engagement networks. Next, I will introduce CRT as a guiding framework to understand how race and Whiteness inform social capital. Finally, I will review the literature on university community engagement through the lenses of social capital theory and CRT. In this review, I will describe several community engagement strategies and will identify the actors involved, examine the exchange of resources, and describe their outcomes.

Social Capital Theory

Several researchers theorized about how to create and maintain social capital. Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1995) emphasized the collective nature of social capital, suggesting that dense, closed networks are optimal for maintaining and increasing the trust among members of a network- or *bonding* social capital. This concept is referred to as social closure (Lin & Smith, 2001). *Bonds* represent a strong relationship between individuals in a closed network (Burt, 2005). Other researchers pointed to the presence of links across closed networks. These connections are known as *bridges* or *weak-ties* and are seen by some as significant elements of social network structures (Burt, 2005; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001). Yosso (2005) criticized existing deficit frameworks of capital and offered an asset-based approach that emphasizes community cultural wealth. I will explore these foundational concepts next.

Social Closure

Coleman (1988) suggested that social capital exists and is maintained in relations between individuals. Coleman argued that social capital is dependent on trust within these bonds. He also suggested that social structures can facilitate or prevent some forms of social capital. An individual's social capital can reside within a family, a community, or a family's relationship with community institutions. From this perspective, the effect of social capital is generational, meaning that those in possession of social capital can bestow it onto their children. Conversely, those without social capital in their family will have a harder time accumulating it.

Bourdieu (1986) described social capital as resources possessed by group members in a durable network. He explained that an individual's social capital is dependent on the size of the network and the relative amount of capital each group member holds. He posited that groups are formed to accrue and share social capital, whether consciously or unconsciously. Essentially, the more connected a small network is, the more social capital they can maintain. In this perspective, social capital is important because it provides access to goods and services that economic capital cannot always buy. For instance, a person might be considered unethical if they paid someone to recommend them for a job, whereas leaning on social connections to make introductions to a prospective employer is socially acceptable. A critique of this theory is that Bourdieu positioned low income and working-class communities as lacking or disadvantaged when he presented them as devoid of capital (Patton et al., 2016).

Putnam (1995) also agreed that groups and small social networks are important to maintaining social capital. He described social capital as "features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 67). He suggested that social capital in the United States is eroding because of a decline in

organizational/civic association membership. He argued that closed networks with strong bonds, such as belonging to the same civic club, facilitate more social capital. However, he did not address issues related to group membership along lines of race, class, age, or gender.

Brokerage & Weak Ties

Burt (2005) argued that social capital could be gained through brokerage, where key network members connect with other networks, via bridges, to bring new information or access to resources into their network. He defined *bridges* as a relationship between two nodes in two different networks that span a structural hole. Without that relationship, the two networks would not be connected.

Burt (2005) identified the potential value of individuals who can bridge structural holes, a term he called "brokerage." In the example of elementary students, if a student in Class A becomes friends with a student in Class B, they can now share information about their teacher and introductions to other classmates. According to Burt, "The social capital of structural holes comes from the opportunities that holes provide to broker the flow of information between people and shape the projects that bring together people from opposite sides of the hole" (p. 18). In other words, individuals who can bridge the structural holes, like the two students in the example, connect different clusters and therefore they can hold and facilitate the growth of more social capital. Individuals or organizations that act as brokers will have earlier access to information and are exposed to a greater diversity of ideas.
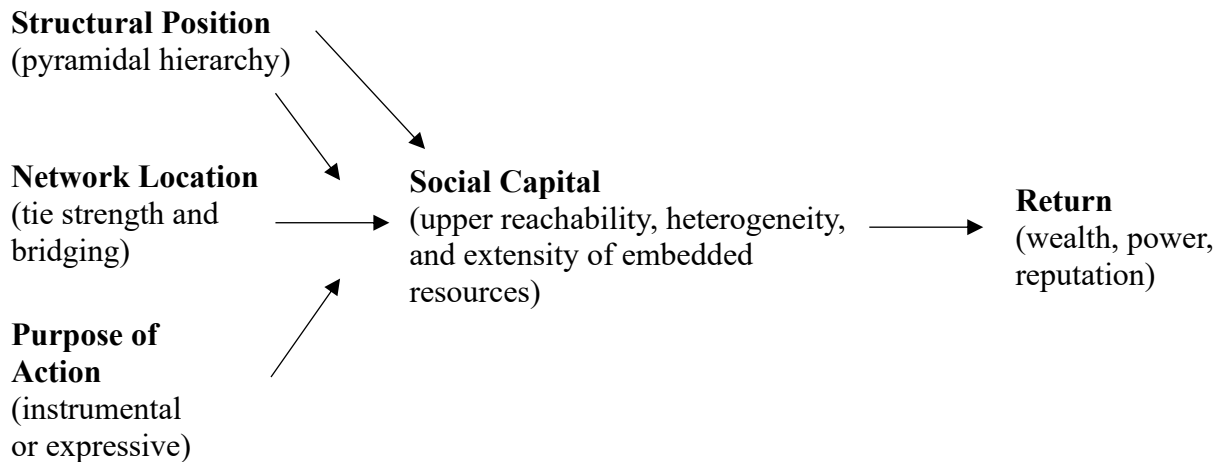
This is similar to Granovetter's (1973) argument for the "strength of weak ties" within one's social network. To illustrate this, consider a social network of elementary students. Students in Class A may not be connected with students in Class B. Burt described these gaps using the term "structural hole" defined as "the empty spaces in social structure" (p. 16).

Individuals may be aware of members of the other clusters but are less likely to interact with

them through relationships. Burt argued that information may differ and may not be exchanged

across clusters because of the structural holes.

Social Capital Theory Model

Social capital theory provides a framework to analyze relationships, power dynamics, and

resource distribution (Lin & Smith, 2001). Building from previous theorists, Lin and Smith

(2001) proposed a social capital theory. They defined social capital as "the resources embedded

in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions" (p. 25). Their definition builds on

three primary concepts: resources, social structure, and action. The flow of information, the

exertion of influence on agents (putting in a word for somebody), social credentials (standing

behind an individual), and the reinforcement of identity and recognition (being assured of

worthiness and as part of a specific social group) all enhance the outcomes of actions due to

social capital (Lin & Smith, 2001).

The social capital theory proposed by Lin and Smith (2001) consists of three elements.

First, the structural position of network participants usually forms pyramidal hierarchies. Second,

the network location of an individual or organization influences their access to capital. This

location can be strengthened via ties and bridging. Third, the purpose of the action is either

instrumental or expressive. Instrumental actions are made with the intent of gaining resources,

whereas the intent behind expressive actions is to maintain already existing resources. Each of

these three elements results in a certain amount of social capital. Social capital is then employed

to create some sort of return, be it wealth, power, or reputation. The model below offered by Lin

and Smith illustrates their social capital theory (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

Social Capital Theory Model by Lin and Smith (2001)

Structural Position
(pyramidal hierarchy)

Network Location
(tie strength and
bridging)

Social Capital
(upper reachability, heterogeneity,
and extensity of embedded
resources)

Return
(wealth, power,
reputation)

**Purpose of
Action**
(instrumental
or expressive)

Applications and Propositions of Social Capital Theory

A theory of social capital should achieve three things: describe the opportunity structure

for individuals to access resources, explain how these resources are distributed and embedded in

networks, and explain how accessing resources can lead to network gains (Lin & Smith, 2001).

Several hypotheses proposed under social capital theory help to accomplish this.

First, social capital theory provides a way to explain access to resources, also known as

opportunity structure, within social networks. Actors in a network have a different opportunity

structures to access resources. Within a social network, the opportunity structure is informed by

network positions, authority and control of resources, rules related to the use of the resources,

and individual agents who act on the rules (Lin & Smith, 2001). Participation in the network

provides access to the resources of other network participants. However, an organization's

position in the network will inform the level of access they have to the resources of other

organizations. In other words, not all network participants have equitable access to the social

capital within the network. Social capital theory posits that organizations which occupy "higher positions" in the network hierarchy have greater access and control to social capital (Lin & Smith, 2001).

Second, social capital theory offers a framework to evaluate resource distribution. One can think of resource distribution as the flow of social capital across a network. Lin and Smith (2001) theorized that the type of ties possessed by different actors, weak-ties or strong-ties, could influence their access to social capital in different ways. The strength of strong-ties argument is that frequent interactions characterized by trust and reciprocity will lead to a stronger ability to maintain *existing* social capital. This is similar to the concept of social closure (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995). The strength of weak-ties argument is that weaker ties allow access to a broader range of *new and different types* of social capital and builds from the work of Burt (2005) and Granovetter (1973).

Finally, social capital theory can describe how individuals and networks access and activate resources to lead to gains. The social-capital proposition is that "better social capital accessed and used will tend to lead to a more successful outcome" (Lin & Smith, 2001, p. 60). Networks function to either maintain or increase the collective social capital. Depending on if the goal is to maintain or increase capital, different types of interactions can lead to greater success. There are two types of interactions within social networks: homophilous and heterophilous. Homophilous interactions occur between actors that have similar resources, while heterophilous interactions occur between actors with different resources. Individuals tend toward homophilous interactions over heterophilous interactions (Lin & Smith, 2001). Lin and Smith (2001) described this is because heterophilous interactions demand greater effort and an awareness of power dynamics in the relationship. Despite requiring more effort, Lin and Smith (2001) predicted that

when it comes to instrumental action, or gaining resources, within a network, the highest return

will occur across heterophilous interactions. Conversely, when it comes to expressive action, or

maintaining resources, the highest return will occur across homophilous interactions.

Critical Race Theory

While social capital theory is a helpful framework to understand resource distribution and

power, it fails to acknowledge the influence of race and Whiteness on social capital. For this, I

turn to Critical Race Theory. CRT is a lens that emerged from legal scholarship in the 1970's.

Derrick Bell, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, and Alan Freeman are notable theorists that

have contributed to this work. From legal studies, it also emerged as a useful framework used in

educational research (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012; Zamudio et al., 2011). Critical White Studies is

an extension of CRT, where scholars examine Whiteness, White privilege, and the idea that

Whiteness is normative in society, despite being a social construction.

CRT builds from the assumption that racism is pervasive in society and it is an intentional

mechanism to systematically oppress people of color. CRT posits several tenets that help to

understand how racism and Whiteness permeate all aspects of society. For example, critical race

theorists argue against meritocracy and liberalism, perhaps best exemplified in the idea of the

"American Dream." The ideas of meritocracy and liberalism assume a level playing field with

equal opportunities for individuals. Critical race theorists point out that this assumption is

problematic because it overlooks systemic issues and attributes success based on an individual's

merit. Other tenets of CRT include the notions of interest convergence, intersectionality, and an

argument against the idea we are now in a colorblind society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012;

Zamudio et al., 2011). Three CRT concepts are particularly important to an examination of

university community engagement. The first is that racism is ordinary, everywhere, and

permeates all facets of society. The second is the idea of Whiteness as property. The third is the idea of community cultural wealth, which brings concepts from CRT to critique traditional social capital theories.

Pervasiveness of Racism

A foundational idea of CRT is that racism is pervasive in society. As a recent college student in 2008, I was among the many White people in this country that thought the election of President Barack Obama signaled a "post-racial" stage in our society. Unfortunately, it took a series of traumatic national events for many White people, including myself, to acknowledge the narratives of Black people and to understand what had already been well documented: racism impacts every facet of American life. Disparities are pronounced between White people and people of color, especially Black people, in property ownership, health outcomes, educational outcomes, and economic outcomes.

Whiteness as Property

Whiteness is exclusive; only White people can possess Whiteness (Zamudio et al., 2011). Harris (1993) outlined how the laws and systems in society protect the value of Whiteness and the benefits afforded to White people. Whiteness and property intertwined early in United States history to oppress Black and Indigenous people through slavery, genocide, land occupation, and economic subjugation. These acts were supported by and reinforced the concept of Whiteness as property; White people possessed, and still maintain, greater property rights, and therefore greater privilege, freedom, and economic opportunity.

Whiteness as property took on different tones as time went on. Even after desegregation, the value of Whiteness as property was upheld through the status quo of predominantly White institutions (Harris, 1993). Whiteness has value that has been consistently protected in the courts

and through societal norms (Harris, 1993). Harris (1993) explained, "When the law recognizes, either implicitly or explicitly, the settled expectations of whites built on the privileges and benefits produced by white supremacy, it acknowledges and reinforces a property interest in whiteness that reproduces Black subordination" (p. 1731).

The myth of meritocracy and colorblind policies uphold Whiteness as property and support racist structures that we see in institutions to this day (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). People and policies that suggest everyone has equal opportunity (colorblindness) or that individual merit can lead to success (myth of meritocracy) mask systemic inequity. In a modern context, we still see the tenet of Whiteness as property each time people claim that affirmative action is discriminatory or when a city police department privileges the property of White business owners over the lives of Black people. When the majoritized group in society, White people, have more capital, they do not have any incentive to change the structures that allow them to maintain that capital, whether it is money, power, land, jobs, or education. In fact, equitable distribution of this capital may be viewed as a threat, uncomfortable, or unnecessary (Zamudio et al., 2011).

Community Cultural Wealth

Yosso (2005) offered a critical lens to the previous research on capital by outlining six forms of capital in her Community Cultural Wealth Model. Grounded in CRT, this model suggested that communities of color have at least six forms of capital overlooked by majoritized groups in society. This model disputed a deficit viewpoint of low-income communities of color and promotes focusing on communities' cultural assets and wealth while pushing for social and racial justice. The forms of capital Yosso proposed are aspirational capital, familial capital, linguistic capital, resistant capital, navigational capital, and social capital. In her view, social

capital is, "networks of people and community resources...peer and other social contracts can provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through society's institutions" (p. 79). She also noted that communities of color have a history of returning gained capital back to their social networks.

Examining Whiteness and Social Capital in University Community Engagement

In this section, I will use concepts from CRT and social capital theory to highlight how universities use social capital to enact place-based community engagement initiatives in their nearby neighborhoods. Each university utilizes social capital differently. While no two university community engagement strategies are exactly alike, several models have emerged as commonly used practices in the field. The past two decades have seen an increase in the development and implementation of anchor institution strategies, collective impact models, university-assisted community schools, and K12 student and family programming (Ehlenz, 2018; Harkavy et al., 2013; Henig et al., 2015; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Kania & Kramer, 2011; Yamamura & Koth, 2018). Because no two universities operate in the same context and role, a university may pull from several different models to come up with their community engagement strategies. For each model that I describe, I will explain the opportunity structure for individuals to access resources, describe how resources are distributed and embedded in networks and explain the outcomes of university community engagement for universities and minoritized communities.

Government & Foundation Funded Collaboratives

Some universities implement their community engagement strategies through partnerships and funding from governments and foundations. For instance, some universities received funding for their place-based community engagement efforts through federal grants such as the Department of Education's Promise Neighborhoods grant and the Department of

Housing and Urban Development's Choice Neighborhoods grant (Hodges & Dubb, 2012;

Hudson, 2013; Yamamura & Koth, 2018). Additionally, several large philanthropic organizations

look to universities as partners in initiatives designed to improve educational outcomes for K12

students (Yamamura & Koth, 2018). In the last decade, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the

Kellogg Foundation, Living Cities, and the Wallace Foundation all funded university place-based

work (Harkavy et al., 2013; Hodges & Dubb, 2012).

Network Actors & Roles. In initiatives supported by governments and foundations,

universities play a role in maintaining the status quo and cultural norms. Network actors in these

initiatives include local and federal government officials, university leaders, and program

officers of large foundations (Henig et al., 2015). Even as these leaders vocalize and tout

organizational values related to diversity, equity, and inclusion, the institutions they represent all

contribute to systemic oppression. In the context of the United States, university community

engagement initiatives exist in a culture that upholds oppressive systems, including racism and

classism.

Societal values and attitudes are set by laws, policies, and cultural beliefs. For instance,

the educational system perpetuates dominance by the oppressive class and maintains White

supremacist ideologies (Freire, 2000; Zamudio et al., 2011). As outlined by Taylor Jr. et al.

(2018), federal laws and municipal policies benefit universities in urban settings. Universities

rely on federal policies and systems of racism and classism to justify their needs. Cultural values

and neoliberal policies favor city and university expansion over the well-being of communities

of color (Brackmann, 2015; Henig et al., 2015; Taylor Jr. et al., 2018). Bose (2015) observed,

"the literature on university-led redevelopment discusses that alliances and exclusions are made

along axes of class and race. However, it is silent on the technologies of power used to achieve

this" (p. 2621). At times, universities can depend on their position as valued institutions to

society and the belief that urban universities are contributors to the common good (Ehlenz,

2018). This cultural attitude enables them to push their agendas and to benefit from policies.

Flow of Resources. Universities exchange considerable power, money, and social capital

with governmental agencies and large foundations (Henig et al., 2015). The strategies of place-

based community engagement are propelled by national funding sources that finance individual

universities or networks. Universities can seek federal funding to promote a variety of

opportunities (Hudson, 2013).

Based on the funding structures, universities and large funders are positioned to select

organizations to be involved in their community engagement initiatives (Henig et al., 2015). The

funders tend to support White norms and cross-sector efforts aimed at addressing the symptoms

of racism and classism, not the systemic issues themselves; consequently, universities often

partner with White-led organizations lacking an explicit anti-racist mission. The institutions may

believe, consciously or unconsciously, that it is easier for established, White-led organizations to

apply for and manage grant funding. This limits funding for organizations led by people of color

or other grassroots groups that might be better positioned to address the immediate needs of

minoritized communities. It can also create competition between organizations that might

otherwise collaborate as they strive to prove their value and outcomes to funders (Henig et al.,

2015). As organizations strive to meet external demands from the government or philanthropic

funders, this influences how they collaborate (Christens & Inzeo, 2015).

Lack of Trust. A consequence of government and foundation supported efforts is the lack

of trust in cross-sector initiatives (Henig et al., 2015). By ignoring the communities of color,

urban renewal projects have historically alienated minoritized groups and encouraged distrust of

universities (Cantor et al., 2013; Ehlenz, 2018). Universities do not trust minoritized

neighborhood residents enough to include them in decisions about how to deploy funds or make

changes to neighborhoods. Contrastingly, minoritized neighborhood residents do not trust

universities to make those decisions for them. Geller et al. (2014) used qualitative methods to

identify the level of trust between neighborhood residents, institutions, and schools. They argued

that trust is foundational for community collaborations to succeed. Without building trust, large-

scale initiatives funded by the government or foundations will have limited potential to create

lasting change. However, an intentional focus on trust-building is often left out of community

change strategies, dramatically impeding the potential for change (Geller et al., 2014).

Anchor Institution Strategies

Universities that adopt an "anchor institution" strategy for community engagement often

focus their strategies towards making changes with other large institutions, such as hospitals,

school districts, or city governments. Hodges and Dubb (2012) defined the anchor institution

strategy as, "the conscious and strategic application of the long-term, place-based economic

power of the institution, in combination with its human and intellectual resources, to better the

welfare of the community in which it resides" (p. 147).

Network Actors & Roles. The role of the university in anchor strategy initiatives is to

support wealth generation and to promote economic gains for itself and its network. Anchor

strategies include efforts focused on housing, commercial, or economic revitalization,

neighborhood public safety programs, and educational initiatives (Ehlenz, 2018). Ehlenz (2018)

claimed that one reason universities decide to focus on neighborhood revitalization is the need to

recruit students into neighborhoods that students perceive as safe. Several other researchers cited

increasing crime rates or deteriorating residential and commercial properties as reasons for

universities initiating anchor strategies. (Bose, 2015; Harkavy, et al., 2013; Hodges & Dubb, 2012). A university can decide to be an anchor institution with or without the collaboration of other groups and can usually determine which organizations can be network actors. White business leaders and homeowners may have more power than minoritized residents and business owners to influence a university's decision (Bose, 2015). They can also choose to entirely exclude minoritized neighborhood residents and organizations led by people of color. The decision to include network actors may draw upon existing relationships that are built upon racial and class divides (Bose, 2015).

For example, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Cincinnati, and Yale University practice place-based anchor institution models (Hodges & Dubb, 2012) that excluded minoritized communities. These universities invested funds directly into the neighborhoods adjacent to their campuses and created retail districts that moved the boundaries of minoritized communities further away from campus by deeming them "unsafe" or "undesirable." Other larger organizations, such as the city governments and cross-sector collaborative groups, were more influential than neighborhood residents in advisory and decision-making spaces.

Flow of Resources. In anchor institution strategies, the distribution of resources calls for an alignment the of varying agendas held by different stakeholders. Universities have the authority to determine who will have access to resources. They can build relationships with city and business leaders by leveraging financial resources, promising increased tax revenue by building residential or commercial districts, and increasing economic opportunities.

There is an inequitable flow of money and power within anchor strategy networks. Many university anchor strategies reinforce power imbalances between community-led organizations and universities (Brackmann, 2015; Cantor et al., 2013). While universities may include

community organizations in the collaborative efforts, they might select organizations that are perceived as more willing to act in the best interest of the university or more likely to "fall in line." Schwartz et al. (2016) explored community-campus partnership models. One theme they uncovered was the challenge for community organizations to access university resources. Another theme was power differentials in partnerships (Lechasseur, 2014).

Displacement & Gentrification. For minoritized residents near universities, neighborhood revitalization common in anchor strategies may be a case of history repeating itself. After World War II, federal support for urban redevelopment projects under the banner of Urban Renewal worked to remove "blight," a euphemism for minoritized residents, from neighborhoods (Ehlenz, 2016). Underlying this strategy was an attempt to relocate low-income residents and people of color away from universities. Intentional housing policies worked to reshape the neighborhoods surrounding universities into what was deemed more "appealing" and "vibrant" (Taylor Jr. et al., 2018). In the 1950s and 1960s, universities took an active role in revitalizing neighborhoods to suit their purposes, in part as a response to White Flight into the suburbs (Taylor Jr. et al., 2018).

Ehlenz (2016) named three outcomes from this period of university community engagement. First, campus efforts cleared out neighborhoods, both physically and socially, disrupting and displacing communities of color that lived adjacent to campuses. Second, campuses claimed additional space and created barriers between the campus and the neighborhood. Third, universities excluded minoritized residents in the neighborhood development plans, breeding long-lasting distrust in university-community relationships. Without explicit care to avoid it, modern place-based community engagement efforts can continue to contribute to gentrification and the displacement of neighborhood residents.

The emphasis on superficial neighborhood changes without strategies to address the underlying economic inequalities could create housing competition and increase housing costs (Ehlenz, 2016, 2018). The investments universities make in real estate adjacent to campuses cause higher rents and property taxes that can fuel displacement and gentrification of residents that traditionally lived in the neighborhoods, particularly for low-income residents and people of color (Bose, 2015; Ehlenz, 2016; Hodges & Dubb, 2012; Taylor Jr. et al., 2018; Yamamura & Koth, 2018). Bose (2015) claimed that Ohio State's efforts intentionally tried to gentrify the neighborhood to remove residents and businesses, using tactics to displace people of color and low-income residents. This left minoritized neighborhood residents with the least amount of power, voice, and decision making in the redevelopment projects (Bose, 2015).

Collective Impact Models

Collective Impact (CI) is a term introduced by Kania and Kramer (2011) to describe a multi-agency effort aimed at creating systemic change. CI initiatives rely on collaboration between different organizations, including schools, nonprofit agencies, governments, and higher education institutions. While each of the organizations maintain individual missions and goals, they come together within a collaborative to focus on a specific problem. CI initiatives have a common agenda, shared measurement systems, mutually reinforcing activities, continuous communication, and backbone support organizations (Kania & Kramer, 2011). CI initiatives build upon an extensive history of cross-sector collaborations focused on improving educational outcomes for students (Henig et al., 2015).

Network Actors & Roles. The role of the university in university-led CI initiatives is to operate as a collaborator and connector. Like anchor strategies, CI models are not likely to have grassroots approaches that involve minoritized neighborhood residents. Instead, they are more

likely to operate from "grasstops" approaches that primarily involve organizational leaders and campus members (Brackmann, 2015; Christens & Inzeo, 2015). University-led agendas that use CI principles are likely to include networks of organizations and institutions, but not minoritized neighborhood residents and families (Henig et al., 2015; Ishimaru, 2020).

In an examination of a CI initiative, Lechasseur (2014) observed that CI leaders often overlooked the perspective of neighborhood leaders. Instead, she noticed that members of the CI coalition were more willing to create a separate, less powerful council for neighborhood residents than to restructure their current governance model. Cabaj and Weaver (2016) called for direct involvement of individuals most impacted by the issues that CI initiatives claim to address. For systemic changes to occur, minoritized residents must hold genuine authority as context experts and the ability to contribute to decision making (Raderstrong & Boyea-Robinson, 2016).

Flow of Resources. In CI efforts, universities exchange information and resources with community organizations or schools. By acting as the "backbone" organization (Kania & Kramer, 2011) within the CI model, money flows from foundations to universities, and then to community organizations. In return, organizations share data and information with university officials. This enables universities to operate CI initiatives without directly communicating with minoritized residents.

Brackmann (2015) conducted a multi-case study of CI initiatives. The study consisted of interviews from representatives from a neighborhood, community organizations, and a university. The individuals described transactional relationships that valued the university's desires over the knowledge of minoritized residents. Brackmann attributed this in part to the power imbalance created by the university filling some of the organization's financial needs. The

inequitable flow of power and resources within CI networks can limit their ability to

communicate effectively and align strategies (Ishimaru, 2020).

      Depletion of Community Power. Oftentimes, decision-makers in neighborhood focused

initiatives do not mirror community characteristics (Walzer et al., 2016). Outside financial

resources and governance structures fail to center voices of minoritized people. In doing so, they

strip away the ability to make decisions that would be best for minoritized residents (Fink, 2018).

As outside leaders make decisions, they retain control of the neighborhoods. Residents continue

to have little influence.

      Without an explicit examination of power and the practices that uphold Whiteness, the CI

model can deplete community power. CI strategies can perpetuate negative assumptions that

minoritized neighborhood residents cannot lead or advocate for themselves. Collaborations can

revert to deficiency viewpoints that reinforce inequities while perpetuating institutionalized

racism (Ishimaru, 2020; Lechasseur, 2014). CI models can tokenize minoritized neighborhood

residents by creating symbolic leadership positions or advisory councils that do not hold power.

These organizations are unlikely to analyze power or address the imbalance that often exists

between decision-makers and residents (Christens & Inzeo, 2015).

School Partnerships

      Another common model of community engagement is for a university to partner directly

with a nearby school. This typically follows two models: university assisted community schools

or direct tutoring and family engagement programming.

      University assisted community schools typically involve the partnership of a university to

support the integration and coordination of student supports (Bringle et al., 2009; Harkavy et al.,

2013; Provinzano et al., 2018). According to Provinzano et al. (2018) university community

schools:

> Provide children with equitable learning opportunities, manifested through a strategy that
>
> addresses the needs of the whole child. Students and families receive a comprehensive,
>
> integrated, and coordinated range of academic, health, and social/emotional services that
>
> supports improved outcomes for underserved children. (p. 91)

Other universities create program-based partnerships that are primarily focused on

academic outcomes. Several universities have created models where university students act as

tutors for elementary, middle, and high school-aged students. University students often tutor in

schools that have a high population of minoritized students. Network Actors & Roles

Network Actors & Roles. The role of the university in school partnership models is to

create opportunities to support the mission of the university while also contributing resources to

a school. In the university assisted community school model, the university's network is likely to

include school representatives, campus representatives, and potentially neighborhood residents

and the families of students that may attend the school (Bringle et al., 2009). The primary actors

in the program-based tutoring model are the university staff that lead programs, university

students, and K12 students.

Bringle et al. (2009) described the network of relationships between a university, school,

community organizations, and residents. They examined the partnership between Indiana

University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) and George Washington Community High

School (GWCHS). The authors noted the importance of the university facilitating and

participating on a neighborhood task force. Together, task force members decided to reopen a

nearby school using the community school model. Parents and residents helped to create the

community school and make decisions about operations. GWCHS became a neighborhood hub that offered family events, health and fitness activities, and a community gathering space.

In school partnerships, K12 students are the recipients of university interventions. Simultaneously, university students might earn college credit for tutoring and mentoring through service-learning courses, or a combination of credit and employment through programs such as Jumpstart, America Reads, or MESA (Mathematics Engineering Science Achievement). Unlike other types of community engagement, individual relationships between university representatives (university students) and minoritized neighborhood residents (K12 students) can flourish into mentoring relationships with trust and positive outcomes for both parties. As network actors, however, university students and K12 students have a relatively limited amount of social capital or power. Therefore, it is not surprising that these types of community engagement strategies are less likely to have broad cross-sector support that could lead to systemic change.

Flow of Resources. University assisted community school networks allow for a greater flow of university resources into a school. Universities provide financial support and human capital in the form of faculty, students, and community-engaged professional staff (Officer et al., 2013). Resources flow back to the university in the form of learning opportunities for students and research projects for faculty members.

University tutoring programs often focus on the delivery of a service, reinforcing the banking model of education (Freire, 2000). These models offer a direct deployment of university resources, in the form of students or staff. They rest on the assumption that university students have skills or knowledge to transfer to minoritized students. College students may have more power and may receive more benefits than K12, such as job or volunteer experience, college

credit, or even pay, than students and their families. Families and young people are often left out of decision-making roles, despite the rhetoric and organizational commitments to support families (Fink, 2018). Many of the programs rest on the meritocratic myth that individual students simply need to work harder or learn the "right" skills to achieve better educational outcomes (Zamudio et al., 2011) rather than acknowledging the role of systemic racism in schools. Focusing on individuals perpetuates unjust systems (Lechasseur, 2016).

Overlooking Community Assets. White norms persist in school partnerships. Most engagement approaches lack attempts to change historically oppressive structures, particularly for minoritized families (Ishimaru, 2020). School partnerships make for great photo opportunities and university student growth, but they often overlook the assets of schools and families that host university tutors (Weiss et al., 2010).

Universities may help to facilitate better communication between families and schools as intermediaries. There are several roles that intermediaries can play at the individual, relational, and organizational levels (Lopez et al., 2005). Some intermediaries work towards positive school and family relations. They focus on bridging the resources, power, and cultures of families and schools by supporting family programs and facilitating dialogue in meetings and annual conference events. Others offer programming and capacity building in the form of research and communication tools, training, coaching, fundraising, and supporting evaluation. Intermediary organizations can play a role in support, training, and convening families in a way that schools are unlikely to do. Intermediaries can also transition schools from school-centric parent involvement towards efforts to promote greater leadership roles for parents (Hong, 2011; Lopez et al., 2005).

Summary

Social capital theory helps highlight how universities operate within their social networks to enact place-based community engagement initiatives in their nearby neighborhoods. Despite their physical proximity, universities are often more connected to governments, businesses, school districts, and foundations than they are to neighborhood-based organizations and minoritized neighborhood residents. Social capital is maintained within networks of institutions that uphold Whiteness. Across different community engagement strategies, university efforts either exclude neighborhood leaders or offer little control or power. The exclusion of minoritized neighborhood residents and leaders contributes to a lack of trust, displacement and gentrification, the depletion of community power, and neglecting the assets of a neighborhood. Acknowledging the history of university community engagement is an important step in the process of redistributing social capital to minoritized neighborhood residents and organizations led by people of color. The next step is for universities to scrutinize their current networks to address inequities that perpetuate and uphold Whiteness in their relationships with other institutions and minoritized communities. The remainder of this paper will attempt to accomplish this step for one university community engagement office.

Chapter III: Method

This section will provide a detailed description of the study design, the research setting, data collection procedures, and data analysis. The following research question guided the study: What is the relationship between SUYI's network structure and the constructs of trust, value, and Whiteness?

Study Design

This study employed a social network analysis, a non-experimental survey research design. Social network analysis focuses on the relations between network actors and how those relations affect their knowledge, skills, and actions (Carolan, 2014). Social network analysis disputes the belief that one actor's behavior is independent of any other's behavior. Instead, the behavior of network actors is shaped and influenced by others. This study employed a specific type of social network analysis, called a whole network design, to address the research question. According to Marin and Wellman (2011), whole network designs "take a bird's-eye view of social structure, focusing on all nodes rather than privileging the network surrounding any particular node" (p. 19).

Evaluating Social Capital with Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis is a way to evaluate social capital. The historical development of social network analysis was chronicled by Wasserman and Faust (1994) and Carolan (2014). Social network analysis was developed from sociology, psychology, and anthropology. Social network analysis is not a theory nor a set of methods. Instead, it is described as a perspective (Carolan, 2014; Marin & Wellman, 2011). There are four distinguishing characteristics of social network analysis: (a) a focus on the patterns of relations within and between groups; (b) systemic collection and analysis of empirical data; (c) inclusion of graphical imagery; and (d) inclusion of

explicit mathematical models (Freeman, 2004 as cited in Carolan, 2014). Carolan argued that three key assumptions are relevant for social network analysis studies. First, relations are critical for understanding behaviors and attitudes. Second, actors within social networks are affected by a variety of structural mechanisms that are socially constructed by connections with and between other actors. Finally, relations in social networks are dynamic, continually changing as actors and the context shift.

Wasserman and Faust (1994) defined several key terms that are significant to social network analysis. First, the terms *actor* and *node,* which refer to social units, such as individuals, groups, organizations, can be used interchangeably. The actors or nodes are connected by *ties*, which represent a relationship or resource exchange, including cognitive thoughts about each other, behavioral actions, affiliation to similar groups, and formal or informal relationships with one another. When two actors or nodes are connected via a tie, they form a *dyad*. A *subgroup* is a smaller subset of actors and all ties among them. For example, in a network that involves males and females, one could look at the subset that just includes the females of the network. *Relations* are the ways that nodes are tied together within a social network (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Four broad categories of relations are similarities, social relations, interactions, and flows (Marin & Wellman, 2011). Given these definitions, Wasserman and Faust (1994) offered the following definition of a social network, "A social network consists of a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them" (p. 20).

Advantages & Limitations of Social Network Analysis

One advantage of social network analysis is that it enables researchers to examine social capital to strengthen partnerships (Provan et al., 2005). Social network analysis can describe the structural nature of networks, answering questions such as, "How are actors in networks

connected through relationships?" and "Does the structure of the network inform the outcomes?" (Caiani, 2014). By examining social network measures such as centralization and density, a researcher can examine the structure of a network and gain key insights into access to social capital.

A second advantage of social network analysis is that it examines the distribution of resources within networks. This enables researchers to answer questions such as, "Who is trusted in this network?" and "Who is perceived as having the most influence in this network?" The strengths of relationships within a network can be examined using different variables (Provan et al., 2005). This allows for an examination of how the amount of social capital actors possess in a network translates to an inequitable distribution of resources (Lin & Smith, 2011).

However, there are limitations to social network analysis. At first, the field of education research was slow to widely adopt social network analysis as an analytic tool. However, more recently education researchers employed social network analysis to study social capital, diffusion of innovations, and peer influence (Carolan, 2014; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). The delayed adoption of social network analysis might be explained by the assumptions present in this type of study design. In particular, social network analysis contradicts a common tenet in educational quantitative research, the idea that in order to identify attributes to explain outcomes, a researcher must remove actors from their context. Others argue that social network analysis is not suitable for testing hypotheses or making predictions (Caiani, 2014; Carolan, 2014).

Another set of limitations concerns the data collection methods in social network analysis. Depending on the size of a network, it may be impossible to capture data from each network actor. Network actors may change their opinions, not know much about the other actors, or misrepresent their relationships. They may also be politically motivated to respond in certain

ways or possess a desire to protect their organization's reputation. Whether done via survey or

interviews, social network analysis can also be a cumbersome tool and the data collection can

feel lengthy and repetitive as participants respond to prompts related to other network actors

(Carolan, 2014). It may be necessary for researchers to limit the number of questions in a

network survey compared to more traditional surveys. Additionally, it is difficult to grant

anonymity or confidentiality in social network analysis, as participants are asked to identify

themselves and all organizations in the network with whom they have ties. To address this, it is

crucial to emphasize that the data collection is voluntary, that participants are aware of lack of

confidentiality, and to disclose how the data will be used (Carolan, 2014).

A final limitation of this research design is that it is not generalizable to other networks

because of the unique relationships and context. However, in this study the findings can reveal

themes that may be transferable to other community engagement offices and applicable to

community engagement professionals.

Research Setting

They SUYI Network focuses on educational outcomes for youth in the SUYI zone. The

partnerships within the network operate amidst neighborhoods and institutions that are

interconnected geographically, socially, and historically. Because the analysis focused on the

interactions between these organizations, it is important to consider the place-based context that

informed how the social network was constructed.

Seattle University Youth Initiative (SUYI) Zone Neighborhood

While neighborhood boundaries are fluid, institutions create defined, artificial geographic

boundaries such as school attendance zones and census tracts to label them. The "neighborhood"

examined in this case study was created by an artificial boundary determined by Seattle Public

Schools and adopted by Seattle University. This area was formerly the Bailey Gatzert

Elementary attendance zone until a boundary change occurred in the 2015-2016 academic year

(Seattle Public Schools, 2020a). Seattle University designated this area for its place-based

community engagement and refers to it as the SUYI Zone.

The SUYI Zone spans across several neighborhoods in Seattle, Washington. The SUYI

Zone consists of 100 square blocks south of the Seattle University campus. Common names for

different neighborhoods in the SUYI Zone are the Central District (or the CD), Yesler Terrace,

and the Chinatown-International District (also referred to as the C-ID). These neighborhoods

include the city's historic and current cultural homes to African American, Chinese American,

Filipino American, Japanese American, and Vietnamese American communities. In recent years,

refugees and immigrants from East Africa and Central America also moved into the

neighborhood. Racist policies and actions have affected marginalized residents in the

neighborhoods. This ranges from historical redlining, the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and World

War II Japanese incarceration, to modern racial profiling, discriminatory policing, and anti-Black

or anti-Asian sentiments and policies.

In part because of the oppressive systems shaping their lived realities, residents in and

around the SUYI Zone have a long history of advocacy and organizing. The cultural and racial

diversity among residents leads to creative approaches to engaging in complex issues. Multiple

neighborhood groups focus on economic and housing development in the area through various

organizing strategies and through direct services to support families. While there may be leaders

within these groups that have relationships with individuals in Seattle University, the city of

Seattle, or Seattle Public Schools, these groups do not necessarily have formal partnerships at the

organizational level.

According to census data retrieved via PolicyMap, the SUYI Zone is growing in
population. The estimated population for the zone in 2019 was 14,292 people, a 5.57% increase
over the 2010 census. There are approximately 7,000 households in the zone, with 2,224
families. Over a quarter of the population living in this area are "foreign-born." Even with strong
community members and history, systemic oppression shapes the economic and educational
outcomes for residents in the SUYI Zone. Growth and housing policies in the city led to
gentrification that still negatively impacts marginalized residents. Between 2000 and 2017, the
White population in the SUYI Zone increased by 14.45%, and the Asian population increased by
17.9%. During that same time, the population of residents categorized as Hispanic decreased by
6.78%, and the African American population decreased by 25.33% in the SUYI Zone
(Community Profile Report, 2019).

The SUYI network also focuses on the connection between housing stability and
educational success. A smaller percentage of people own their homes in the SUYI Zone
compared to King County overall. In 2017, an estimated 16.3% of residents in the SUYI Zone
owned their home compared to 57.4% of King County residents. Across the SUYI Zone, most
homeowners were White residents. There is a higher percentage of apartment dwellings in the
SUYI zone compared to King County. Further, it can be challenging for families to find multi-
room dwellings, as 70.61% of available rentals from 2012-2016 were studios and one-bedroom
apartments. (Community Profile Report, 2019).

Youth residents in the SUYI Zone that attend Seattle Public Schools follow a pathway
through Bailey Gatzert Elementary School, Washington Middle School, and Garfield High
School. Compared to other district elementary schools, Bailey Gatzert serves a higher proportion
of students of color, low-income students, English Language Learners, and students receiving

special education services. Racial disparities in academic outcomes are pronounced across the

school district and especially at these three schools (Seattle Public Schools, 2020b).

Network Boundary & Members

The following section will describe the network boundary used to determine the survey

participants. It will also provide short descriptions for the SUYI network organizations, which

will be referred to as network actors, in this study.

To determine which individuals to include as nodes in the study, boundary setting is a key

step of social network analysis (Marin & Wellman, 2011; Marsden, 2011). This study used

positional criteria to select organizations to include in the network survey (Marin & Wellman,

2011). To determine these organizations, I began with a list of 126 organizations the CCE

identified as partners in their database. Next, I narrowed the list to organizations that the CCE

classified as SUYI Zone partners. This included both partners that are geographically located in

the SUYI Zone or provide services to students in the SUYI Zone. For example, Seattle Public

Schools and Seattle Housing Authority do not have their main offices in the SUYI Zone but were

included on the list because they provide services to youth and families in the SUYI Zone. Next,

I identified 29 organization partners that focused on either education or housing for families in

the SUYI Zone. I excluded partnerships that focused on direct services, including food banks,

homeless shelters, or health and wellness partners. While these are important components for the

well-being of families, including these partners was beyond the scope of this study. I reviewed

this list of 29 partners with the executive director and deputy director of the CCE. Together, we

narrowed the list of organizations down to 16 network actors. To select the actors to include in

the network boundary, we considered the historical context of organizational relationships,

strategic plans for future development of relationships, organization size and location. See

Appendix A for a complete list of network actors. The next section will provide a brief description of each network actor, categorized by the subgroups of institutions and nonprofit organizations.

Nonprofit Organization Profiles

Bureau of Fearless Ideas. BFI is a non-profit learning organization focused on creative writing and storytelling for youth ages 6-18. BFI employs a small staff across two locations in Seattle (The Bureau of Fearless Ideas, 2021). One of their locations is in the ground floor of a Seattle Housing Authority Building in Yesler Terrace.

Chinese Information & Service Center. CISC helps immigrants throughout King County through referrals, advocacy, and social support services. Their services include our services include early childhood education, youth development, family support, senior & disabled adult services, and health care access programs. They are located in the Chinatown-International District (Chinese Information & Service Center, 2021).

Crescent Collaborative. Crescent Collaborative is a network of organizations that collaborate to support equity and sustainability within the urban neighborhoods adjacent to downtown Seattle. They work towards cultural preservation and growth, economic and cultural diversity, health, resilience and environmental sustainability. Their work spans several neighborhoods including Capitol Hill, First Hill, the Central Area, Yesler Terrace, Little Saigon and the Chinatown-International District. Their goal is to counter gentrification in these neighborhoods to foster social equity, economic opportunity and positive educational and health outcomes for residents. In this study, Catholic Community Services, Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation and Development Authority, Seattle Housing Authority, and Seattle University are Crescent Collaborative partners (Crescent Collaborative, 2021).

Denise Louie Education Center. Denise Louie Education Center serves over 950 children and caregivers a year through their early learning services. DLEC has four locations, including one in the Chinatown International District (Denise Louie Education Center, 2021).

FAME-Equity Alliance of Washington. FAME-EAW builds affordable housing for families of color with a focus on Black/African American families. They create pathways to wealth creation by advocating for investments and changes in exclusionary policies. The work portfolio and long-time director of the Catholic Community Services Village Spirit Center transitioned to the FAME- Equity Alliance of Washington (FAME- Equity Alliance of Washington, 2021). Survey participants responded to answers about Village Spirit Center located in the Central District, but the director requested that FAME-EAW be the organization listed in the study.

Seattle Chinatown-International District Preservation and Development Authority. SCIDpda focuses on community development in Seattle's Chinatown International District. They provide service in three areas: affordable housing and commercial property management, community economic development and community engagement, and real estate development (Seattle Chinatown-International District Preservation and Development Authority, 2021).

Technology Access Foundation. TAF is a nonprofit organization focused on redefining Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) education in public schools. Their approach includes in-school and out-of-school learning. Currently, five public schools are enrolled in their STEMbyTAF School Transformation Partner Network across three Washington State school districts. Their STEMbyTAF location at Washington Middle School is their first partnership with Seattle Public Schools (Technology Access Foundation, 2021).

Youth Development Executives of King County. YDEKC is a membership organization that works to build the strength and cohesion of the youth development field in King County. They focus on advocacy, cross-sector collaboration, and leadership or organizational development. They have over 100 members from nonprofit agencies across the county, including several members in the SUYI Zone. Bureau of Fearless Ideas, Catholic Community Services of King County, Chinese Information and Service Center are member organizations (Youth Development Executives of King County, 2021).

Youth Media/ Multimedia Resources & Training Institute. Youth Media/MMRTI is a partnership between two organizations. Youth Media is a summer program that has supported Yesler Terrace youth in developing their visual arts, storytelling, and media skills. Youth Media operated out of a computer lab at the Yesler Terrace Community Center. Funding for the program and the computer lab was eliminated, but local leaders are working to continue to deliver media programming to youth. The leadership is now in partnership with MMRTI, a non-profit in the Central District founded to prepare the underserved immigrant youth for success in multimedia technology (Multimedia Resources and Training Institute, 2021).

Youth Tutoring Program. The Youth Tutoring Program (YTP) is an after-school educational enrichment program ran by Catholic Community Services of Western Washington. The program is for first through twelfth-grade students who live in six low-income and public housing communities in Seattle. Started as a partnership with the Seattle Housing Authority in 1991, the tutoring centers provide youth with a safe, positive, and stimulating environment to explore learning and experience academic and personal success. YTP has a location on the Seattle Housing Authority campus at Yesler Terrace (Catholic Community Services and Catholic Housing Services of Western Washington, 2021).

Institution Profiles

Bailey Gatzert Elementary. Bailey Gatzert Elementary is located in the Central District of Seattle. As part of Seattle Public Schools, it serves students in grades K-5. There is also a preschool on site, operated by the City of Seattle. Several nonprofit organizations in the surrounding neighborhood support Gatzert students and families through in-school, afterschool, and summer programs (Seattle Public Schools, 2021b).

City of Seattle Department of Education & Early Learning. DEEL provides oversight and investment dollars to education programs in the City of Seattle. The department is responsible for the Seattle Preschool Program, as well as the Families, Education, Preschool, and Promise levy, a seven-year, $619 million levy approved by Seattle voters in 2018 (City of Seattle, 2021).

Seattle Housing Authority. SHA provides housing assistance to nearly 40,000 residents across Seattle. They are primarily funded through the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. Approximately 10% of students in Seattle Public Schools live in an SHA property (https://www.seattlehousing.org/about-us). Though their primary focus is housing, they also provide community and educational support for their residents. At Yesler Terrace, they have staff members dedicated to supporting families and youth (Seattle Housing Authority, 2021).

Seattle Public Schools. SPS enrolls over 50,000 students across 104 school sites in the city of Seattle. SPS employs over 5800 educators and had an operating budget of over $1 billion in the 2019-2020 school year (Seattle Public Schools, 2021a).

Seattle Public Library. SPL has 27 locations across Seattle. They have a wide range of programs aimed at different age groups. There are two branches located in the SUYI Zone, the

Douglass-Truth Branch in the Central District and the International District/Chinatown Branch (The Seattle Public Library, 2021).

Seattle University Center for Community Engagement (CCE). As the facilitator of the Seattle University Youth Initiative, CCE staff members work to connect the SU campus and the surrounding community in varied ways. Several CCE staff members are positioned in the schools, Bailey Gatzert and Washington, as liaisons to strengthen ties and provide academic support to families and scholars. Other staff members focus on family engagement, early learning, and building community support for collaborative strategies. An advisory board guides the work of SUYI. The SUYI Advisory Board is not a formal decision-making body, but their guidance helps the CCE leadership to consider partnerships, funding, and other strategic decisions. Members of the advisory board include Seattle University administrators, representatives from SUYI partners, including some involved with organizations in this study, and at-large leaders, such as individuals with philanthropic ties to Seattle and the university (Seattle University, 2021).

Washington Middle School. WMS is located in the Central District of Seattle. As part of Seattle Public Schools, it serves students in grades 6-8. Bailey Gatzert is one of the feeder elementary schools for WMS. In addition to TAF, several other nonprofit organizations in the surrounding neighborhood support Washington students and families through in-school, afterschool, and summer programs (Seattle Public Schools, 2021c).

Sample

To determine the organizational representatives that would answer on behalf of the network organizations, I identified individuals listed as the primary organizational contact in the CCE's partnership database. For organizations that had multiple representatives that partnered

with the CCE, I worked with the CCE executive director to determine the appropriate representative to complete the survey. We considered their position, length of time with their organization, and number of interactions across CCE staff and programs in making this determination.

The CCE executive director and I identified three goals as part of the recruitment process. First, we wanted to connect with partners to facilitate increased trust. The executive director conducted phone calls to every individual on the survey distribution list, notifying them that they would receive an email invitation from me to participate. Second, we wanted to educate partners about social network analysis to both create buy-in and to build collective knowledge. We did this through the director's phone calls, as well as through the invitational email and consent form. Finally, we wanted to get a participation rate of 100%. We conducted follow-up emails with individuals in the three weeks of survey data collection and relied on historical relationships to encourage participation.

Participants answered questions on behalf of the organization given their personal knowledge of relationships within the network. To protect human subjects, the study was formally approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Washington. All survey respondents received two copies of the informed consent form prior to participation: one by email and one as part of the online survey itself.

Data Collection & Analysis

Survey Instrument

This study used the Program to Analyze, Record, and Track Networks to Enhance Relationships (PARTNER), a social network analysis software tool designed to measure collaboration (Ely et al., 2020). PARTNER is designed for use by collaborative groups to show

connectivity between members, how resources are leveraged, and the levels of trust and perceived value between network actors. The tool includes an online survey and an analysis program. The software tool comes with a set of default questions which can be edited and administered online.

The survey collected data on the network actors and the relationships they have with others in the network. The survey had fourteen questions. Each participant received a unique hyperlink via email that corresponded to their organization profile in PARTNER. Questions 1 to 4 focused on organizational characteristics and resource contributions to the network. Question 5 asked participants to select the network actors that they considered as partners across the SUYI network. Based on their response to Question 5, Questions 6 to 13 were prepopulated with network organization names, so participants only answered these questions about the organizations that they had selected. Questions 6 to 13 were relational questions, meaning each participant responded separately for each organization they identified as a partner. These questions related to the frequency of interactions and the type of partnerships, as well as the trust and perceived value. The survey instrument is in Appendix B.

Frequency of interactions. Survey participants indicated the frequency that their organization worked with the other network actors. They chose from the following options: (a) once a year or less; (b) about once a quarter; (c) about once a month; (d) every week; or (e) every day.

Depth of partnerships. Survey participants characterized their organization's relationship depth with each network actor. They chose from the following options: (a) Just learning about this organization, not really aware of how a partnership would benefit my organization; (b) Aware of how my organization could benefit from a partnership with this

organization, but have not built that relationship; (c) Aware of how my organization could benefit

from a partnership with this organization, and have interacted a few times to try out a

partnership; (d) Aware of how my organization could benefit from a partnership with this

organization, and consider this organization a steady partner in our work; or (e) Fully engaged

with this organization as a partner.

Resource contributions. Survey participants indicated what their

organization/department contributes, or can potentially contribute, to other education partners

involved with the Seattle University Youth Initiative. Options included: (a) funding; (b) in-kind

resources; (c) paid staff; (d) volunteers and volunteers staff; (e) data resources including data

sets, collection and analysis; (f) info/feedback; (g) specific education expertise; (h) expertise

other than in education; (i) community connections; (j) fiscal management; (k)

facilitation/leadership; (l) advocacy; (m) it/web resources; or (n) other. Participants then selected

one option which they considered to be their most important contribution.

Trust. The composite variable "trust" consisted of three questions. These questions

measured each survey participant's perception of the other network actor's reliability, support of

the overall mission, and openness to discussion. The trust score is an average ranking, from 1-4,

in three dimensions: reliability, support of mission, and openness to discussion. A response of 1

means "not at all," a 2 means "a small amount," a 3 means "a fair amount," and a 4 means "a

great deal." Each organization's trust score is then averaged to get the network trust score.

Value to the network. The composite variable "value to the network" consisted of three

questions. These questions measured each organization's perception of the other organization's

level of involvement, resource contribution, and power/influence. The value score is an average

of rankings, from 1-4, in three dimensions: level of involvement, amount of resource

contribution, and power/influence. A response of 1 means "not at all," a 2 means "a small amount," a 3 means "a fair amount," and a 4 means "a great deal." Each network actor's value score was averaged to get the overall network value score.

Anti-racism. The Western States Center published a workbook that described an anti-racist organizational development rubric for organizations (Western States Center, 2003). This rubric includes detailed descriptions of potential organizational responses across 9 dimensions: decision making, budget creation & decisions, source of money, external accountability, internal power & pay structure, physical location, membership, organizational culture, and program design & implementation. This study adapted the rubric in order to have an exploratory baseline to analyze organizational anti-racist principles. Survey participants were provided the names of the dimensions but not the detailed definitions. This was to reduce survey fatigue. Participants rated their own organization across each of the dimensions, where 1 equaled "Organizational actions related to this topic are rooted in White norms" and 5 equaled "Organizational actions related to this topic reflect anti-racist principles." The entire rubric from Western States Center is included in Appendix C.

Data Analysis

The data collected for this study included network structural elements including density, centrality, frequency of interactions, and depth of partnerships. I used descriptive statistics to report the network density and centrality. *Density* is the number of ties in a network reported as a fraction of the total possible number of ties (Carolan, 2014). A denser network has more relationships between the organizations. A denser network structure might suggest more access and distribution of information and resources, while a less dense network structure might suggest a limited flow of resources. *Centrality* represents the number of relationships a network actor has

with other actors in the network. This can signal the influence of centrally positioned network actors (Ely et al., 2020). Network centralization also indicates how relations are balanced across actors in the network (Carolan, 2014). Within a network, the more central an actor is, the more connections it has with other actors. A highly centralized network structure would suggest that only a few actors hold a high degree of capital in the network. I also use

The data collected for this study also included network characteristics. I also used descriptive statistics to report the trust, value, and organizational anti-racism scores. Additionally, I conducted t-tests and correlations to analyze the relationships between the trust, value, and anti-racism scores. The t-test can be used to determine if the means of two sets of data are significantly different from each other. A correlation is a statistical measure that expresses the extent to which two variables are linearly related. Finally, I employed *sociograms* as a visual tool to help interpret this data. A sociogram is a drawing that plots the structure of interpersonal relations in a network.

Chapter IV: Results

This results section addresses the research question of this study: What is the relationship between SUYI's network structure and the constructs of trust, value, and anti-racism? Given the political nature of discussing items like trust, perceived value, or anti-racism within organizations, it is important to identify concerns that could come with sharing data specific to organizations (Ely et al., 2020). To address this, in some of the more sensitive parts of the study, I chose to refer to network actors by their subgroup type, instead of by their name. For this analysis, I identified two subgroups, institutions and nonprofit agencies.

Before reviewing the results of the PARTNER survey, I also acknowledge that network actors, whether they are institutions or nonprofits, intentionally play differing roles in the SUYI network. These findings are not meant to rate network actors as better or worse network participants, but to provide a snapshot of their role as perceived by other actors within the SUYI network.

Network Structure

The network structure highlights the prevalence of relationships across the SUYI network, as well as identifies the most connected organizations in the network. This section will describe the SUYI network structure's density, centrality, frequency of interactions and depth of partnerships and then present key findings.

Density and Centrality

Density was calculated by dividing the number of reported relationships by the number of possible relationships in the network. A score of 100% would indicate that every possible relationship in a network exists. Overall, the SUYI network density score is 46.69%. In other words, survey participants reported that about half of all possible relationships in the SUYI

network existed. This finding leads to a follow-up question is: who has relationships within the network?

To address this question, a sociogram can be a useful tool to visually represent density. Figure 2 is a network map depicting the density of the overall network. Each dot in the sociogram, also known as a *node*, represents a network actor, while each line in the sociogram, also known as a *tie*, depicts a relationship. A higher density of ties represents a higher number of relationships. This figure shows that some network actors, such as CCE, SHA, and SPS, have more relationships and may account for more of the network density compared to actors at the edges of the map, such as Crescent Collaborative or Youth Media/MMRTI.

Figure 2

SUYI Network Map of Density and Centrality

Note. Larger nodes indicate a higher centrality score.

While the density score relates to the entire network, centrality scores are specific to actors. Centrality scores further quantify where relationships exist in the network. A higher centrality score indicates that the actor has more relationships in the network; it is more "central" to the network. The network actors with the highest centrality scores were the CCE and SHA, which both had relations with 100% of the network actors. The analysis also suggested that SPS and Gatzert are central network actors. Several actors had relations with 40-60% of the other actors. Two organizations, Crescent Collaborative and Youth Media/MMRTI stand out for their low centrality scores within the SUYI network. Table 1 displays a complete list of centrality scores for the SUYI Network actors.

Table 1

Centrality Scores of SUYI Network Actors

Network Actor	Abbreviation	Centrality %
Bailey Gatzert Elementary School	Gatzert	81.25
Bureau of Fearless Ideas	BFI	43.75
Chinese Information & Service Center	CISC	56.25
City of Seattle Department of Education & Early Learning	DEEL	62.50
Crescent Collaborative	Crescent	25.00
Denise Louie Education Center	Denise Louie	50.00
FAME Church, the Equity Alliance of Washington	FAME	56.25
Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation & Development Authority	SCIDPDA	43.75
Seattle Housing Authority	SHA	100.00
Seattle Public Library	SPL	56.25
Seattle Public Schools	SPS	87.50
Seattle University Center for Community Engagement	CCE	100.00
Technology Access Foundation	TAF	43.75

Network Actor	Abbreviation	Centrality %
Washington Middle School	WMS	43.75
Youth Development Executives of King County	YDEKC	50.00
Youth Media/MMRTI	YM/MMRTI	25.00
Youth Tutoring Program	YTP	50.00

The key finding related to density and centrality is that two institutions, Seattle Housing Authority and the Center for Community Engagement, hold the highest number of partnerships and reside at the center of the SUYI network map. All network actors had, at a minimum, relationships with CCE and SHA, as indicated by their centrality scores of 100%. Therefore, every organization can leverage those two relationships to access any other organization in the network. This has important implications for the distribution of social capital, as well as the trust and perceived value, for the SUYI network.

Frequency of Interactions

Frequency of interactions is a proxy for measuring communication across the SUYI network. The sociograms in Figure 3 display the frequency of interactions. Each node represents a network actor and each tie in this sociogram represents an interaction. The arrow indicates the direction of the response. In other words, a line suggests that the respondent (the originating node) reported that they interact with the other network actor.

Interactions occur regularly across the network, but it does vary by subgroup. In the sociograms, you can see in Panel A that institutions are far more likely than nonprofit organizations to interact on a daily basis. This trend continues even when adding an additional frequency interval, every week, as in Panel B of the figure. Institutions still tend to have a higher frequency of interactions. This trend starts to fade when you look at the monthly frequency

interval, as depicted in Panel C. At the monthly frequency interval, interactions appear to be

more evenly distributed across the two subgroups.

The central finding related to frequency of interactions is that institutions are more likely

to interact with one another on a daily or weekly basis, with fewer interactions with nonprofit

agencies. Nonprofit agencies are more likely to communicate with other nonprofits or with

institutions on a monthly basis.

Figure 3

Frequency of Interactions in the SUYI Network
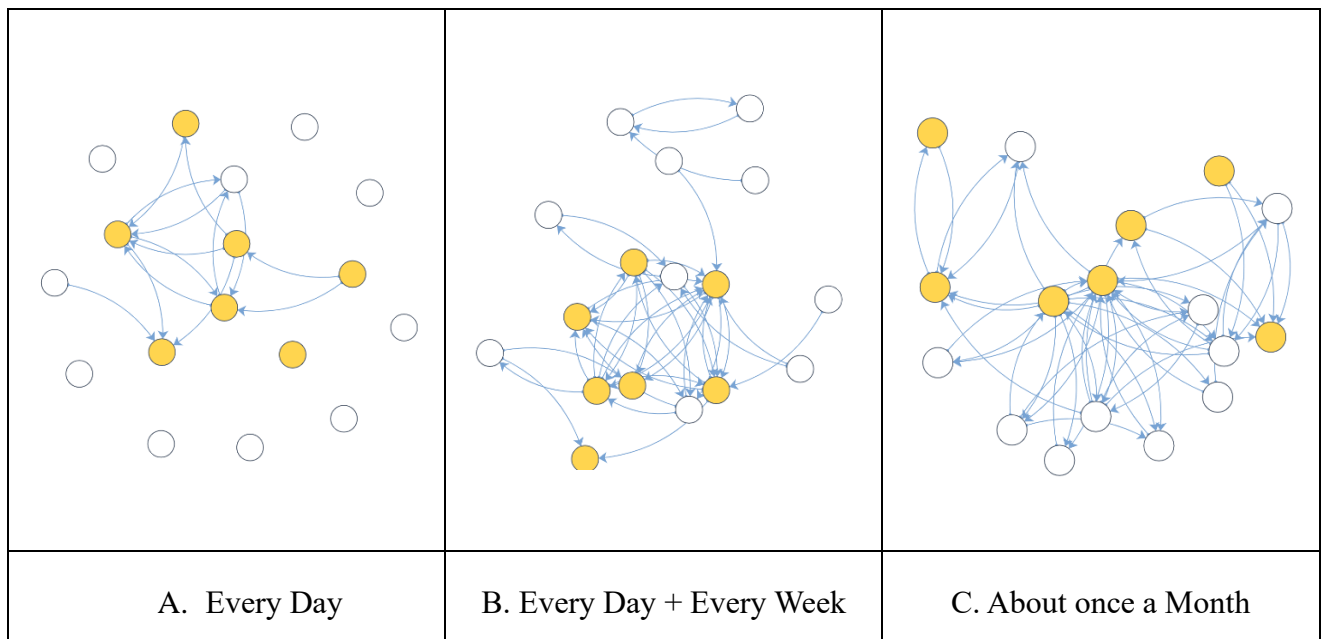
| A. Every Day | B. Every Day + Every Week | C. About once a Month |

Note. Yellow nodes represent institutions and white nodes represent nonprofit organizations.
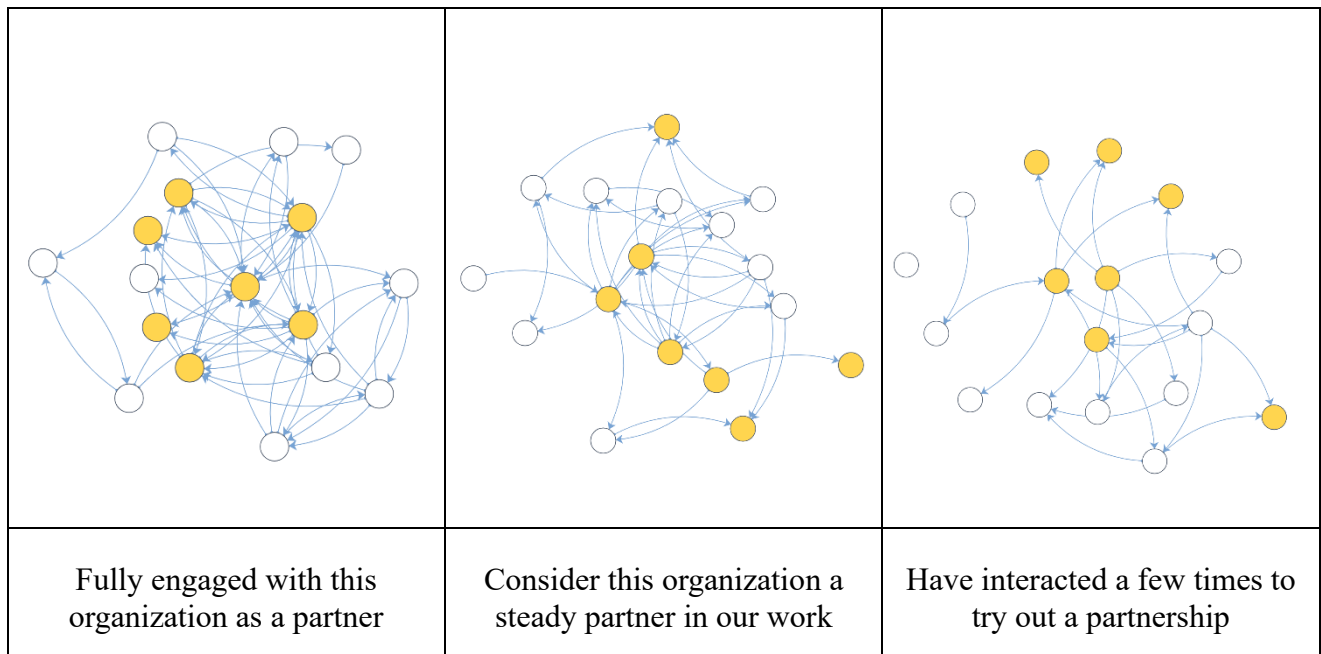Each tie in this sociogram represents an interaction.

Depth of Partnerships

The sociograms in Figure 4 show the depth of partnerships across the SUYI network. The

most common response from survey participants was that they were "fully engaged" with other

network actors. This was followed by characterizing their partnerships as "steady partnerships",

and then "interacted a few times to try out a partnership." The response "have not built that

relationship" was only used by three survey participants, while "just learning about this

organization" was not selected as a response. Based on these findings, the SUYI network can be

characterized as having strong partnerships across the network, with room to continue to build

out exploratory relationships, especially for nonprofit agencies.

Figure 4

Type of Partnerships across the SUYI Network

| Fully engaged with this organization as a partner | Consider this organization a steady partner in our work | Have interacted a few times to try out a partnership |

Note. Yellow nodes represent institutions and white nodes represent nonprofit organizations.
Each tie in these sociograms represents a type of partnership.

Summary of Network Structure

The analysis of network structural elements reveals several key findings. First, half of the

possible relationships in the SUYI network exist. Of the relationships that do exist, the majority

of these are considered to be "fully engaged" or "steady" partnerships. It seems that the SUYI

Network might have an unspoken "all or nothing" philosophy when it comes to partnerships. Second, the CCE and SHA are central figures in the SUYI Network. They may play important roles as conveners, communicators, or gatekeepers based on this structural position. Third, institutions interact more frequently with each other than with nonprofits. Nonprofits tend to interact with all types of organizations on a monthly basis.

Network Characteristics

The characteristics of the network help to describe the nature of the relations in the network. The characteristics examined were anti-racist organizational elements, trust, and value. These characteristics were analyzed at the network level and by type of organization. The findings illuminate strengths, gaps, and can be used as future benchmarks as the network evolves.

Anti-racist organizational elements

The SUYI network has room for growth in the to strengthen anti-racist practices across the network. The network's overall score on the anti-racist organizational development scale was $M = 3.33$, where a score closer to one reflects organizational actions rooted in White norms and a score closer to five reflects anti-racist principles. While individual organization scores are not reported in this study, there was great variance between actors in the network, ranging from $M = 1.83$ to $M = 5.00$. Some survey participants felt their organizational practices aligned with anti-racist practices, while others felt their organization operated with White norms.

Analysis of the individual elements in the scale provides further insight into the SUYI network's strengths and areas for improvement in implementing anti-racist principles. The results suggested that the network had a stronger implementation of anti-racist practices on elements related to programming. For instance, individuals reported that their organization's membership

(*M* = 3.86), physical location (*M* = 3.79), and program design (*M* = 3.73) more closely reflected anti-racist principles. Conversely, the network tended towards Whiteness on items related to operations and finance. For example, organizations reported that their source of money (*M* = 2.43), external accountability (*M* = 2.87), and budget creation (*M* = 3.00) more closely reflected White norms. Table 2 displays the aggregated scores of the SUYI network for each anti-racist organizational element.

These exploratory findings offer a starting point for the organizations within the SUYI network to measure anti-racist development. The SUYI network has traditionally played a role in convening organizations around the improvement of youth programming. As more organizations commit to anti-racist practices and seek resources to do so, the SUYI network may be well positioned to facilitate conversations beyond programming into incorporating anti-racist principles into operations and finance.

Table 2

*Anti-Racist Organizational Element Scores for the SUYI Network*

Anti-Racist Variables	*M*
Decision Making	3.53
Budget Creation & Decisions	3.00
Source of Money	2.43
External Accountability	2.87
Internal Power & Pay Structure	3.27
Physical Location	3.79
Membership	3.86
Organizational Culture	3.55
Program Design & Implementation	3.73
Overall	3.33

Value

      The SUYI Network has a moderate to high amount of perceived value. The overall score for value to the network was 77.76%. The network average scores for the value variables were as follows: level of involvement (81.50%), power/influence (78.17%) and resource contribution (73.62%). These scores suggested that survey participant's perceived other network actors to be highly involved in improving educational outcomes for youth in the SUYI neighborhood. The findings also suggested the network has a high amount power and influence to meet these goals. There was slightly less agreement that all actors contribute resources to this cause.

      As the facilitator of the SUYI Network, participants saw the CCE as very involved but did not think the CCE had the most power nor the most resources to improve educational outcomes for students in the SUYI zone. Respondents identified the CCE as having the fourth most value to the network ($M = 3.45$). Of the variables making up this composite score, the CCE was ranked as the sixth most powerful/influential ($M = 3.29$), the second highest level of involvement ($M = 3.79$), and the fourth highest contributor of resources ($M = 3.29$). De-identified scores for all the network actors are in Appendix D.

      The sociograms in Figure 5 display perceived value in the network. The arrow indicates the direction of the response. In other words, a line suggests that the respondent (the originating node) thinks that the other network actor (where the arrow is pointing) has a great deal of power/influence, resource contribution, or involvement, depending on the question.

Figure 5

Perceived Value across the SUYI Network
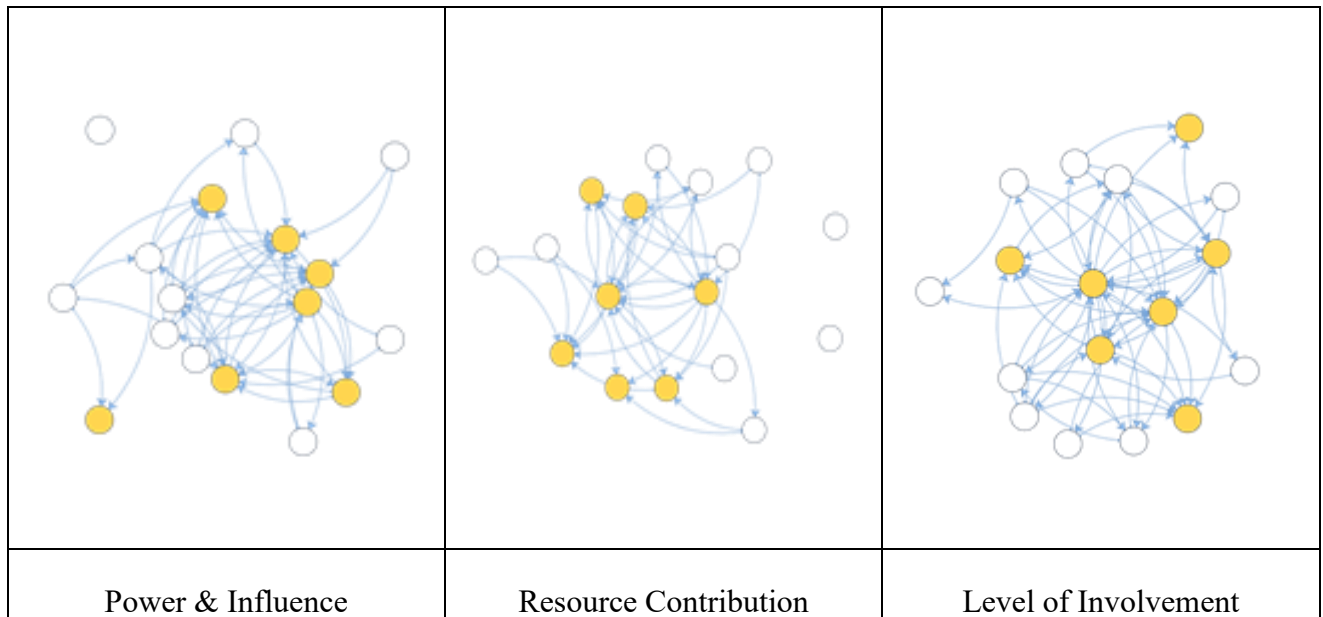
| | Power & Influence | Resource Contribution | Level of Involvement |

Note. Yellow nodes represent institutions and white nodes represent nonprofit organizations. Each tie in this sociogram represents a response of "a great deal"

In the sociograms, patterns emerge from the PARTNER results. The institutions tend to occupy central positions on each of the network maps. One can also see that more arrows are directed towards the seven institutions on the map. This indicates that many actors, regardless of subgroup type, considered these institutions to provide value across all three categories: power/influence, resource contribution, and level of involvement. One might also notice that there are fewer lines originating from the institution nodes. This suggests that institutions are less likely to perceive other actors as having much power/influence, resource contribution, or level of involvement.

Conversely, nonprofit organizations tend to be less centralized. Fewer arrows point in their direction. Nonprofits likely have the perception that other nonprofits have less

power/influence, resource contribution, or involvement compared to the institutions. In two of

the maps, there are nonprofits disconnected from the rest of the network. This indicates that no

other network partners felt that they contributed "a great deal" of either power/influence or

resource contributions. It also indicates that these nonprofits did not think any other actors had a

"a great deal" of power/influence or resource contributions.

To provide further analysis of the trends identified in the sociograms, I used statistics to

determine which subgroup type was perceived as having more value. Interestingly, significant

differences emerged when the type of organization was considered. Two-sample t tests calculated

whether the differences between the institutions and nonprofit organizations were statistically

significant. Overall, respondents perceived institutions as having a higher value *(M* = 3.43, *SD* =

0.27) than nonprofit agencies and collaboratives *(M* = 2.68, *SD* = 0.33), $t(15)$ = 4.93, *p* < .01,

with a large effect *(g* = 2.44*)*. Given the small sample size, there is a possibility of a Type I error,

or a false positive. To measure effect size, I calculated the score for Hedges' g because it is a

more appropriate effect size measure than Cohen's d when sample sizes are below 20.

Participants reported that the institutions belonging to the SUYI network had more value

than nonprofit agencies across all three value variables: involvement, power/influence, and

resource contributions. Respondents answered that institutions had a higher level of involvement

(M = 3.53, *SD* = 0.29) than nonprofit agencies *(M* = 2.90, *SD* = 0.40), $t(15)$ = 3.59, *p* < .01. The

network partners reported that institutions *(M* = 3.44, *SD* = 0.37) had more power/influence than

nonprofit agencies *(M* = 2.73, *SD* = 0.45), $t(15)$ = 3.45, *p* < .01. Finally, survey participants

reported that institutions *(M* = 3.34, *SD* = 0.32) contributed more resources than nonprofit

agencies *(M* = 2.42, *SD* = 0.27), $t(15)$ = 6.43, *p* < .01. Table 3 shows the variables related to

value to the network for each organization as reported by the other members of the network.

Table 3

Value Scores of Subgroups

Subgroup	Value		Power/ Influence		Level of Involvement		Resource Contribution	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
All Nonprofits	2.68	0.33	2.73	0.45	2.90	0.40	2.42	0.27
All Institutions	3.43	0.27	3.44	0.37	3.53	0.29	3.34	0.32

Trust

The trust scores in the network were higher than the value scores. The overall score for

trust in the SUYI network was 85.33%. This composite variable included sharing a mission

(86.81%), reliability (86.69%), and openness to discussion (82.48%). These scores suggested

that survey participants perceived other network actors to be very reliable, open to discussion,

and they have a sense of shared mission.

The CCE was considered trustworthy by network actors. Respondents identified the CCE

as having the second highest trust score ($M = 3.74$). Out of the variables making up this

composite score, the CCE was ranked as the most open to discussion ($M = 3.65$). It also received

the third highest reliability score ($M = 3.79$) and the third highest score for sharing a mission

($M = 3.79$). De-identified scores for all the network actors are in Appendix D.

Sociograms offer a visual representation of trust in the network. The sociograms in

Figure 6 display the findings and show patterns from the PARTNER results. As one might expect

with the higher network score of trust, there are far more ties in the trust network maps compared

to the value network maps in Figure 3. This indicates that more participants considered other

actors as trustworthy. While the institutions still have a central role, there are far more ties

present between nonprofit agencies on the trust variables than there were for the value variables.

Across each of the three panels, every actor is perceived by at least one other actor, as being "a great deal" open to discussion, reliable, or sharing a mission. Interestingly, these are not always reciprocal relationships. For instance, one actor may believe the other is reliable, but the other actor may not return the same belief. Elements of trust are present, but not always at the level of "a great deal" on both side of these relationships.

Figure 6

Perceived Trust across the SUYI Network
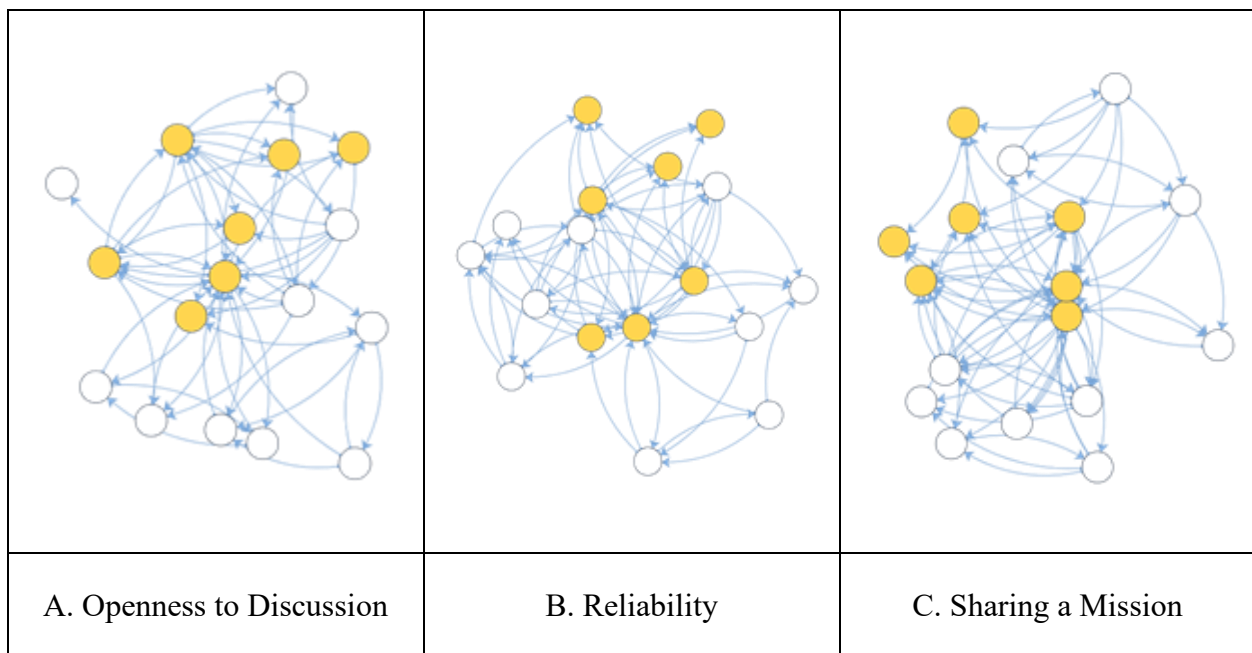
| A. Openness to Discussion | B. Reliability | C. Sharing a Mission |

Note. Yellow nodes represent institutions and white nodes represent nonprofit organizations. Each tie in this sociogram represents a response of "a great deal"

To explore further, I examined which subgroups participants perceived as more trustworthy. Again, two-sample t tests calculated whether the differences between the institutions and nonprofit organizations were statistically significant. Overall, participants found both subgroups to be trustworthy, with nonprofits only slightly more trustworthy *(M = 3.46, SD*

= 0.19) than institutions (M = 3.38, SD = 0.19), $t(15)$ = -0.8, p > .05. Unlike the value variables, the difference was not statistically significant.

Though not statistically significant, the results suggested that survey participants found nonprofit organizations to be more open to discussion and reliable than institutions. Interestingly, they perceived institutions to be slightly more likely to share a mission than other nonprofits. Survey participants reported that nonprofits (M = 3.57, SD = 0.28) were more reliable than institutions (M = 3.41, SD = 0.23), $t(15)$ = -1.20, p > .05. They perceived nonprofits (M = 3.35, SD = 0.17) as slightly more open to discussion than institutions (M =3.26, SD = 0.20), $t(15)$ = -1.00, p > .05. Finally, participants reported that institutions (M = 3.48, SD = 0.20) were slightly more likely to share a mission than nonprofit agencies (M = 3.46, SD = 0.30), $t(15)$ = 0.17, p > .05. Table 4 displays each network actor's trust related scores.

Table 4

Trust Scores of Network Subgroups

Subgroup	Trust		Reliability		Sharing a Mission		Open to Discussion	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
All Nonprofits	3.46	0.19	3.57	0.28	3.46	0.30	3.35	0.17
All Institutions	3.38	0.19	3.41	0.23	3.48	0.20	3.26	0.20

Relationships across variables

I conducted a series of Pearson's correlation tests to explore whether there was any relationship between the variables of anti-racism, value, and trust. Correlation scores are displayed in Table 5. There were no statistically significant correlations across variable types. There was a weak negative relationship between one individual's perceptions of anti-racist principles and the network's perception of trust, $r(13)$ = -.14, p > .05. There was even less of a

relationship between one individual's perceptions of anti-racist principles and the network's perception of value, $r(13) = -.09$, $p > .05$. Finally, the perceptions of value and trust were compared. Again, there was a weak negative correlation, $r(15) = -.12$, $p > .05$. Although weak, these findings suggest a slight possibility that the more trustworthy an organization was, the less perceived value it had in the network. Conversely, organizations with a higher perceived value were less trusted. However, due to the small sample size, there is a possibility of a Type I error in these scores.

Table 5

Correlation Scores for Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Trust	-							
2. Reliability	.88*	-						
3. Mission	.77*	.48	-					
4. Discussion	.72*	.58*	.28	-				
5. Value	-.12	-.39	.22	-.11	-			
6. Power	-.14	-.40	.18	-.11	.95*	-		
7. Involvement	.09	-.22	.44	-.04	.90*	.77*	-	
8. Resources	-.26	-.45	.02	-.17	.95*	.88*	.77*	-
9. Anti-Racism [a]	-.14	-.08	-.51	.40	-.09	.05	-.33	-.01

Note: $n = 17$ except for [a] where $n = 15$; *$p < .05$.

Summary of Network Characteristics

First, when considering anti-racist organizational elements, there was great variance across organizations. The SUYI network fell in the middle, leaning slightly towards White norms. Second, the SUYI network had a moderate to high degree of value, with institutions perceived as having significantly more value than nonprofits in the network. Third, the SUYI network can be characterized as one with a high degree of trust. Network actors tended to view

each other as reliable, open to discussion, and felt they shared a mission related to the

educational outcomes of youth in the SUYI zone. Nonprofits were viewed as slightly more

trustworthy than institutions, but not at a significant level. Fourth, in their role as a facilitator and

as the university community engagement partner, the CCE is perceived as being very

trustworthy, with moderate to high levels of value to the overall network.

Chapter V: Discussion

In this chapter, I will use the lenses of social capital theory and Critical Race Theory to discuss the results in the context of the SUYI Network. Then, drawing from the findings I will offer recommendations for the Center for Community Engagement as the facilitator of this network. I will conclude by acknowledging the limitations of this study and presenting my final thoughts related to this study and future related research.

Implications for the SUYI Network

This section will explore how the network structure and characteristics influence the relationships and exchange of resources in the SUYI network. I will integrate ideas from social capital theory and critiques from CRT to identify where White norms are perpetuated within the network.

Relationships in the SUYI Network

Social capital theory posits that organizations occupying higher positions in network hierarchies have greater access and control to social capital (Lin & Smith, 2001). Organizations classified as "institutions" within the SUYI Network had more perceived power, involvement, and resource contributions, thus occupying higher positions in the network. Given that SHA and the CCE comprise the center of the network, they are more likely to have access and control over the flow of social capital within the network. Alternatively, nonprofit agencies were found to have less value. Given their positions in the network structure, nonprofit agencies are less likely to accumulate social capital within the SUYI Network structure.

From a CRT perspective, this is not surprising. Larger, established institutions are more likely to perpetuate Whiteness in their operations and interactions (Leonardo, 2004; Patton & Haynes, 2020). Racism is pervasive in our systems and institutions have been designed to uphold

and reinforce Whiteness. In the context of the SUYI network, there is a consolidation of value and less trust in the organizations most likely to reinforce White organizational norms. As long as the power is consolidated in organizations that practice White norms, it will be hard to sustain a trusting, inclusive network.

There are several possible implications this may have for relationships in the network. For one, it might be challenging for any anti-racist organizations or strategies to succeed without the support of the institutions. A weak or fractured relationship with one or more institutions may impact a nonprofit's access to social capital to implement new strategies. Two, institutions may play a central role in communicating across the network. If these organizations do not communicate, whether intentionally or not, they can act as gatekeepers. As a result, the network might start to fragment into smaller, disconnected groups. Third, social capital flows through these central institutions. The nonprofits that only have one or two relationships have a more delicate standing within the entire network and may be overly dependent on their relationships with SHA and CCE.

Resources in the SUYI Network

Social capital theory posits several propositions related to resource attainment and distribution in networks (Lin & Smith, 2001). These concepts can further explain the distribution of social capital across the SUYI network.

The strong-tie proposition posits that the stronger the relationship, the more likely there is to be a mutually beneficial exchange of resources. Network density, frequency of interactions, and network-wide scores of trust and value suggest that the overall SUYI network may be characterized as having strong ties. The deeper analysis that compared institutions to nonprofit agencies indicates that institutions are more likely to have a higher frequency of interaction and

depth of partnerships with one another. The strong-tie proposition would conclude that because

of this, they are more likely to exchange social capital with one another than with nonprofit

agencies.

An additional social capital theory proposition argues that accessing and using social

capital leads to more social capital, either in the form of wealth, power, or reputation (Lin &

Smith, 2001). Lin and Smith (2001) predicted that when it comes to maintaining resources, the

highest success will occur across interactions with similar characteristics. Conversely, when it

comes to gaining resources within a network, the highest return will occur across interactions

with more diverse participants. According to social capital theory, one way this could occur is

through the weak-tie proposition. The weak-tie proposition suggests that weaker ties have an

important role in networks because they introduce the possibility of new participants and thus,

new resources. According to the theory, resources fall into three broad categories: wealth

(economic assets), power (political assets), and reputation (social assets). While some of the

nonprofit agencies may not be at the center of the SUYI network, they might act as brokers to

connect with other networks. They have the potential to introduce new social capital, particularly

social assets, to the entire network.

If the goal of the SUYI network is to gain social capital- whether in terms of wealth,

power, or reputation- they need to look to expand the network's diversity of interactions. So why

doesn't this already happen? From a CRT perspective, one explanation is that institutions are

structured to maintain the value of Whiteness as property. This maintains the dominant set of

norms rooted in Whiteness and prevents movement towards more equitable systems.

Predominantly White institutions are not incentivized to change structures that are benefiting

them already. However, the racial reckoning that is occurring in the country might help these

institutions see more value in enacting anti-racist practices that challenge the status quo. The

CRT concept of interest convergence suggests that institutions will only change if there are

benefits to the institutions embedded in the change. It may be that institutions have a

combination of social pressure and a deeper understanding of the negative effects of systemic

racism because of the current, post-COVID, post-racial reckoning context. This is the perfect

time for university community engagement to seriously invest social capital in anti-racist

community engagement efforts. The next session will identify ways that the CCE could approach

this opportunity for change.

Recommendations for the Center for Community Engagement

The previous section identified that the SUYI Network structure and characteristics

perpetuate Whiteness. However, the challenge of dismantling Whiteness is not new. Leaders that

have fought for racial equality have paved the way with a reminder that this work demands

resilience, time, and a never-ending focus on turning colorblind strategies into anti-racist

practices. It also takes hope and the belief that it is possible to change our current systems.

National Youth Poet Laureate Amanda Gorman reminded me, and much of the nation, of this

during her impactful poem at the Presidential Inauguration of Joe Biden when she said, "For

there is always light, if only we're brave enough to see it, if only we're brave enough to be it."

So, given the challenges of this work and the imperative to do it anyways, how can the CCE be

it? This section will offer recommendations based on the three pillars of the SUYI strategy:

building the capacity of systems and individuals, resourcing community partners, and pursuing

anti-racist methodologies.

Building Capacity of Systems & Individuals

      SUYI leaders will need specific strategies to build the capacity of systems and individuals in the SUYI network in a way that does not perpetuate White norms. From a structural perspective, the overall network density and the centrality of the CCE suggest that the CCE is in a strong position to build the capacity of those already in the network. Additionally, the high levels of value and trust suggest that the CCE has a positive reputation within the SUYI network. However, two issues arise that the CCE will need to address.

      The first issue is that the CCE does not have a clear identity or external facing strategy. As a center, the CCE has elements of community facing work that resembles foundation funded initiatives, others that resemble collective impact initiatives, and others that resemble K12 partnerships. This broad set of programs can create confusion for partners and marginalized residents who may have multiple points of interaction with the CCE and not understand what programs are connected to SUYI and what are not. Further, multiple initiatives spread the CCE's internal resources thin. When an organization is strained, it is more likely to operate under the status quo of Whiteness and incorporating anti-racist organizational practices becomes less likely.

      The second issue is that there is not a clearly defined membership for the SUYI Network. Even though there are many connections across the network, network actors may not consider themselves as members of the SUYI Network. There is no former membership structure, just a series of relationships and different meetings with subgroups in the network. Further, the CCE is not positioned to support individuals outside of the network. There is not currently a way for a family member or neighborhood resident to belong to the SUYI network. Right now, only institutions and nonprofit agencies interact on a regular basis in any sort of formal capacity. This

means that social capital is maintained within organizations that are working to address issues on behalf of, rather than with, families and residents. This exclusion perpetuates Whiteness and limits the organizations from having a clear understanding of the challenges that they are attempting to address. It also puts an unfair burden on staff members that lead youth programs, particularly staff of color, to choose between representing the institution's interests or the interests of the marginalized residents, as the residents themselves do not have access to decision-makers in the organizations (Kuttner et al., 2019).

Fortunately, the CCE can address these challenges. First, the CCE should establish a clear identity for the SUYI Network. This would mean a comprehensive campaign to communicate what the SUYI Network does, who can be involved, and how. This effort should occur both on and off campus, with a particular emphasis on engaging families that are in CCE programs already. Prior to the dual pandemics of COVID-19 and racism, the CCE was considering a SUYI membership drive for both organizations and individuals, using the university's reputation and resources to build excitement for the network. Although circumstances have shifted, this strategy would still be effective to build capacity of systems and individuals.

Once it establishes a clear identity for the SUYI Network, my second recommendation is that the CCE needs to produce a clear and accessible SUYI strategy that builds on community cultural wealth with the marginalized people that will be most impacted by the decisions of the SUYI Network. The literature on family engagement, particularly between K12 schools and families, offers several suggestions about how to build upon the pre-existing community cultural wealth to build capacity (Hong, 2011; Ishimaru, 2020; Olivos, 2006; Yosso, 2005). As one example, Hong (2011) described the experiences of individuals involved in the work of the Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA) at various elementary schools in Chicago.

Hong described how LSNA strategically partnered with schools to bring their efforts into collective goals. The early efforts at collaborative organizing led to trust from school partners to allow for greater collaboration. This eventually led to the creation of the Parent Mentor Program. The program focuses on creating a sense of common purpose, shared experience, and trust between parents and teachers. Further, there is an intentional focus on the personal goals and leadership development of parents while explicitly focusing on broader community issues and dynamics of inequality and power.

COVID-19 has presented numerous challenges to community engagement work. However, the effects of the pandemic combined with a greater social awareness of systemic racism, also present an opportunity to reset and do things differently. The current context will demand creative approaches to build the capacity of systems and individuals in the SUYI network.

Resource Community Partners

CCE could increase network-wide social capital by resourcing partners within the network and the surrounding SUYI neighborhood. Network members reported that while CCE may have the willingness to be involved, the organization does not have as much power or resources to contribute to making systemic changes in the education systems of Seattle. In other words, the CCE may have the desire to make change, but CCE is lacking the structures to lead that effort. In order to effectively resource partners, the CCE should bring in outside resources and social capital into the network. If they choose to bring in outside resources, the CCE or other network actors will need to determine what is most important.

If they seek new actors that bring more value, particularly resource contributions, into the network that could negatively impact network-wide trust. For example, large foundations may

have resources to offer, but might be perceived as harmful to marginalized residents. The history

of short-term funding opportunities, project-based grants, or other funding strategies leave

marginalized residents without consistent financial capital. Funding opportunities to build

sustainable incomes and encourage more active wealth generation for minoritized groups are far

less common. Social capital needs to come as long-term investments, whether that is in the form

of money, educational access, or policy changes.

  A more advantageous strategy, and my third recommendation, is to access new resources

is to include a core group that has been historically overlooked by university community

engagement strategies: families and community leaders of marginalized groups. Incorporating

the voices of marginalized residents can enhance the strategy, as well as generate additional

value and trust in the SUYI Network. The CCE should consider focusing on creating new and/or

deeper partnerships with organizations that can bring existing community cultural wealth into the

network. Local organizing groups, both formal and informal, such as King County Equity Now

or the parent-centered Yesler Education Partners group, are just a couple of potential partnerships

to explore.

  A model for including families that is gaining traction is co-design. Dr. Ann Ishimaru at

the University of Washington has worked with the Family Leadership Design Collaborative and

the Roadmap Project using a framework for equitable collaboration. Ishimaru named four

principles of equitable collaboration: (a) Start with family and community priorities, interest,

concerns, knowledge, and resources; (b) transform power; (c) build reciprocity and

transformative agency; and (d) undertake change as collective inquiry. She wrote that, "only

when we initiate educational change with nondominant families and communities-and center

their priorities, concerns, expertise, knowledge, and resources (rather than that of the system, or

of white, middle-class parents are educators)- can we begin to counter the status quo normative

assumptions in the system about what and who matters" (p. 51).

Pursuing anti-racist methodologies

As detailed in the literature review, university community engagement commonly

consolidates power and social capital within large institutions and excludes the concerns,

considerations, and social capital of marginalized communities. This research suggests that the

SUYI network has followed this trend. Larger institutions have more social capital in the SUYI

network than nonprofits and marginalized residents. If they are to achieve their vision, the CCE

must disrupt this pattern. Including families and marginalized residents through the amplification

of community cultural wealth, equitable membership practices and co-design, as discussed

above, are important steps. Looking inwards to focus on moving existing SUYI network

organizational practices away from White norms towards anti-racist practices is another.

My final recommendation is that the SUYI network must look inward into the operations

and functions of each of the organizations. Before adding new programs, internal organizational

reflections are key. If the organizations are not ready to incorporate families and marginalized

residents into their strategies, they will not find success.

Several of the organizations in the SUYI Network have voiced commitments to anti-

racism, whether in their strategic plans, websites, or personal commitments of staff members.

The CCE can use its network position and reputation to bring together network members within

a trusting space to advance anti-racist organizational decision-making, for example in decisions

related to budget, power and pay, or organizational culture. CCE has an important role in moving

organizations past conversations towards collective network actions. They can build upon

existing internal tools already used in the CCE, such as the Western States Anti-Racist rubric, as well as look towards local organizing groups that lead this work.

All these recommendations described above must be done, slowly, carefully, and in a way that builds trust, decenters Whiteness and approaches university community engagement with an anti-racist lens.

Limitations & Future Research

A significant limitation of this study is that it excluded families of children living in the SUYI zone. This was an intentional decision made in partnership with the CCE leadership. Although we had initially hoped to include family groups as part of the network, we determined to exclude them because of both the strain on families during COVID-19 and because we knew that these groups were not as fully integrated as some of the formal organizations. Rather than tokenize the family groups through this study, we decided to wait and hope that more intentional partnership work will be done with these groups via the SUYI network by the before the next SUYI social network analysis. Future social network studies in the SUYI zone could include organized family groups, or focus on individuals, rather than organizations, to include more influential community members. If the SUYI network expands to include marginalized neighborhood residents, this will be easier to include them in future studies.

In terms of methodology, one limitation of social network analysis is that the findings are a snapshot in time, specifically December 2020. The study took place in a year characterized by racial tensions, a global pandemic, and virtual collaborations across organizations in the SUYI network. Networks are dynamic and constantly evolving in their strategies, practices, and personnel. However, this study provided an important baseline. Future social network analyses of

the SUYI network can expand from this snapshot, demonstrating changes in the structure of the network.

Another methodological concern was the results of the anti-racist principle scores. Respondents were provided the names of the dimensions but not the detailed definitions provided in the original tool (Western States Center, 2003). While initially I wanted to include the entire rubric, it became clear that it would require too much explanation and was not suitable for an online survey tool, especially in the context of trying to reduce survey time and screen time for respondents. Additionally, three of the items in the online survey tool, membership, organizational culture, and program design & implementation, received fewer responses than the other variables. This was likely due to display issues on the online survey that prevented participants from seeing the entire set of questions. Finally, these scores are a representation of one individual's perception of anti-racism and Whiteness in their own organization. Given these limitations, I cannot draw many strong conclusions from the anti-racist principles scores. However, these scores provide an interesting starting point for further explorations of Whiteness within the SUYI network and other university community engagement networks.

Future studies, whether in the SUYI Network or elsewhere, may consider using a social network analysis to assess perceptions of Whiteness within a specific social network. This could be a sensitive conversation, requiring established relationships and trust. Still, understanding the network-wide scores for anti-racism could be beneficial for groups wanting to operationalize Whiteness and address White norms.

Lessons Learned

Apart from contributing to the broader community engagement field, my primary hope

for this study was that it would be a useful reflection and analysis tool for the CCE and the

members of the SUYI network. When this study began, the CCE was on the verge of introducing

new strategies. Instead, COVID-19 presented a new set of challenges, a new way of engagement,

and ultimately, new opportunities for collaboration. Regardless of these changes, the CCE still

has a prominent role to play as a leader and partner in the SUYI Network. Now that the CCE has

established a baseline for examining the SUYI Network, they can continue to use this method to

monitor the trust and value of the network. Part of the sustainability plan for this study was to

collaborate with Dr. Kevin Ward, professor of Public Affairs at Seattle University, on the

research. Dr. Ward teaches a social network course at Seattle University and can work with his

students to conduct social network analyses of the SUYI network on a regular basis.

An additional focus of this study was to present the findings directly to all SUYI network

members that participated. Each organization received an analysis of their network position and

was invited to a virtual meeting to engage with other participants about value, trust, and

Whiteness in the SUYI network. My hope is that this conversation can be effective at building

greater trust, transparency, and collaboration in the SUYI Network.

Finally, on a personal level this study influenced how I view relationships and

collaboration. Though I have transitioned out of community engagement into state government

work, many of the elements examined in this study are key to relationships between state

agencies and with non-governmental organizations. Within state government, relationships are

highly interdependent and have varying levels of trust and perceived value. Whiteness permeates

many of the organizational norms throughout the state agencies. Although I was previously

attuned to power dynamics, this study helped me to better articulate power differentials based on social capital theory concepts, like network structure and location, as well as Critical Race Theory ideas, like the pervasiveness of racism and Whiteness as property. These frameworks help me to consider how I can shape organizational culture and cross-agency interactions, building trust and value for my organization while also challenging White norms.

One of my committee members asked me how I increased my comfort in talking to White people about Whiteness and White supremacy. I shared a response I had heard from others- it's a muscle that needs to be worked through training and practice. I started really working on my anti-racist "muscle" at about the same time I started rock climbing. As I developed both skills, I often thought about the similarities between the two. Both require commitment and an acceptance of repeated failure. There may be long stretches with no visible changes or success. Both have countless hours of videos, articles, and training guides that I can reference to learn more. In both skills, I depend on a community of like-minded individuals that support me, challenge me, and give me a sense of belonging. Both are central parts of my life, yet I realize that I am not, nor will I ever be, perfect or an expert in either. The joy and the reward in these activities comes in the struggle of continually trying to improve and do better.

At several points during this project, from the development of the research question, to communicating with the participants, to writing up my recommendations, I asked myself, "Who am I to be doing this work?" I had to sit with my own discomfort and uncertainty about whether this work was anti-racist, or yet another example of a White person capitalizing off communities of color. Was I a White person granting myself authority to discuss Whiteness and racism? Did I have a White Savior complex, and this was the latest form it was taking? Was I relying on the social capital of the Black women around me to complete this research?

I didn't come up with answers. However, I scrutinized my decisions every step of the way. I considered who was benefiting from each decision I made. I gave credit where credit was due, in my paper and in the conversations and presentations that followed. I share these final reflections because I believe the act of questioning is as important, and perhaps more realistic, than thinking I've found the answers.

Conclusion

Historically, university community engagement efforts have maintained social capital within institutions, systematically excluding marginalized residents from making decisions that impact local neighborhoods and communities. Despite this history, universities still have the potential to play a key role in connecting institutions with nonprofit agencies and individuals seeking ways to address systemic problems. In addition to existing inequities in education, there will be even more pressure for universities to collaborate in the modern context of the dual pandemics of COVID-19 and systemic racism. The issue university community engagement offices must address is how to participate in networks in ways that promote equity and challenge cultural norms rooted in Whiteness. This study provides additional evidence to support the calls of marginalized community members, practitioners, and researchers to expand university community engagement networks beyond organizations and institutions (Kuttner et al., 2019; Taylor Jr. et al., 2018; Yamamura & Koth, 2018).

This study highlighted the importance of social capital in such efforts. Acknowledging and measuring trust and value within social networks helps build better communication and collaborative problem-solving. Another key step is identifying the ways in which Whiteness permeates organizational structures, decision-making, and programs created out of collaborative

networks. University community engagement offices should look for ways to incorporate families and marginalized residents as they build social capital across their networks.

The SUYI Network vision is that the leaders within the initiative, including university members, local family members, and community leaders, will belong to trusting, inclusive networks to collectively shape the future of education in Seattle and at Seattle University. However, words and trust are inadequate when actions are necessary. For this vision to be realized, the SUYI Network will need to have concrete, anti-racist actions planned with and for marginalized groups in the neighborhood.

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Appendix A

Table A1

Network Organizations

Organization	Subgroup
Bailey Gatzert Elementary	Institution
Bureau of Fearless Ideas	Nonprofit Agency
Center for Community Engagement (Seattle University)	Institution
Chinese Information & Service Center	Nonprofit Agency
Crescent Collaborative	Nonprofit Agency
Department of Education & Early Learning (City of Seattle)	Institution
Denise Louie Education Center	Nonprofit Agency
FAME- Equity Alliance of Washington	Nonprofit Agency
Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation and Development Authority	Nonprofit Agency
Seattle Housing Authority	Institution
Seattle Public Library	Institution
Seattle Public Schools	Institution
Technology Access Foundation	Nonprofit Agency
Washington Middle School	Institution
Youth Media Project/MMRTI	Nonprofit Agency
Youth Development Executives of King County	Nonprofit Agency
Youth Tutoring Program (Catholic Community Services)	Nonprofit Agency

Appendix B

PARTNER Survey Questions

Q#	Question Text	Question Response Options or Descriptive Text
	Your organization should be listed below. If it is not, please return to the original email and click on that link.	
1	How long have you been connected to the Seattle University Youth Initiative and/or the Seattle University Center for Community Engagement (in months):	
2	Please indicate what your organization/department contributes, or can potentially contribute, to other education partners involved with the Seattle University Youth Initiative (choose as many as apply).	• Funding • In-Kind Resources (e.g., meeting space) • Paid Staff • Volunteers and Volunteer staff • Data Resources including data sets, collection, and analysis • Information/ Feedback • Specific Education Expertise • Expertise Other Than in Education • Community Connections • Fiscal Management (e.g. acting as fiscal agent) • Facilitation/Leadership • Advocacy • IT/web resources (e.g. server space, web site development, social media) • Other (fill in text box)
3	What is your organization's most important contribution to supporting education within the Seattle University Youth Initiative?	Same as #4
Section Break	Organizational Actions Related to Anti-Racism	The following question will help us understand organizational actions related to anti-racism within the network. These scores will be reported at the network level. Individual organizational responses will be kept private.

4	How would you characterize the following aspects of your organization? • Decision-making • Budget Creation & Decisions • Source of Money • External Accountability • Internal Power & Pay Structures • Physical Location of Organization • Membership (includes internal and external members) • Organizational Culture • Program Design & Implementation	1 = Organizational actions related to this topic are rooted in White dominant norms and 5 = Organizational actions related to this topic reflect anti-racist principles. (Prefer not to answer is also a choice)
5	From the list, select organizations/programs with which you have an established relationship (either formal or informal). In subsequent questions, you will be asked about your relationships with these organizations/programs in the context of the Seattle University Youth Initiative.	All organizations listed
6	How frequently does your organization/program work with this organization/program on issues related to the Seattle University Youth Initiative goals?	• Once a year or less • About once a quarter • About once a month • Every week • Every day
Section Break	Perceptions of Value & Trust	The following three questions will help us determine the perceived value of the partnerships within the network.
7	To what extent does this organization/program have power and influence to impact the overall mission of the Seattle University Youth Initiative? *Power/Influence: The organization/program/department holds a prominent position in the community by being powerful, having influence,	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal

	success as a change agent, and showing leadership.	
8	What is this organization/<u>program</u>'s level of involvement in the Seattle University Youth Initiative? *Level of Involvement: The organization/program is strongly committed and active in the partnership and gets things done.	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal
9	To what extent does this organization/program contribute resources to the Seattle University Youth Initiative? *Contributing Resources: The organization/program/department brings resources to the partnership like funding, information, or other resources.	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal
Section Header		The following three questions will help us determine the perceived trust across partnerships within the network.
10	How reliable is the <u>organization/program</u>? *Reliable: this organization/program is reliable in terms of following through on commitments.	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal
11	To what extent does the <u>organization/program</u> share a mission with the Seattle University Youth Initiative's mission and goals? *Mission Congruence: this organization/program/department shares a common vision of the end goal of what working together should accomplish.	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal
12	How open to discussion is the <u>organization/program</u>? *Open to Discussion: this organization/program is willing to engage in frank, open, and civil	Not at all A small amount A fair amount A great deal

	discussion (especially when disagreement exists). The organization/program is willing to consider a variety of viewpoints and talk together (rather than at each other). You can communicate with this organization/program in an open, trusting manner.	
13	How would you describe this organization as a current or potential partner? [please pick one]:	• Just learning about this organization, not really aware of how a partnership would benefit my organization • Aware of how my organization could benefit from a partnership with this organization, but have not built that relationship • Aware of how my organization could benefit from a partnership with this organization, and have interacted a few times to try out a partnership • Aware of how my organization could benefit from a partnership with this organization, and consider this organization a steady partner in our work • Fully engaged with this organization as a partner
14	Do you have any final questions or comments regarding this survey or partnerships in the Seattle University Youth Initiative Network?	

Questions 6-13 are relational questions, meaning that the respondent will answer each question about each of the organizations they selected in Q5.

Appendix C

Anti-Racist Organizational Development Rubric from Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book

	All White Club	**Token or Affirmative Action Organization**	**Multi-Cultural Organization**	**Anti-Racist Organization**
Decision Making	- made by white people (often men) - made in private in ways that people can't see or really know	- made by white people - decisions made in private and often in unclear ways	made by diverse group of board and staff - token attempts to involve those targeted by mission in decision-making	- made by diverse group - people of color are in significant leadership positions - everyone in the organization understands how power is distributed and how decisions are made
Budget	- developed, controlled, and understood by (one or two) white people (often men)	- developed, controlled, and understood by (one or two) white people	- developed, controlled, and understood by (one or two) white people	- developed, controlled and understood by people of color and white people at all levels of the organization
Money From	- select foundations - wealthy or middle-class college-educated white donors - often a small number of very large donors	- foundations - wealthy or middle-class college-educated donors	- foundations - wealthy or middle-class college-educated donors - some donations from people of color and lower-income people	- comes from the community most affected by the problem(s) being addressed - supplemented by foundation grants and donations from allies (those concerned but not directly affected)
Accountable to	- funders - a few white people on board or staff	- funders - board - staff	- funders - board and staff - token attempts to report to those	- communities targeted in mission

			targeted by mission	
Power and Pay	- white people in decision-making positions, paid very well - people of color (and/or women) in administrative or service positions paying low wages \ - few if any benefits, and little job security - people at bottom have very little power	- white people in decision-making positions, paid relatively well - people of color (and/or women) in administrative or service positions that pay less well - few, if any benefits for anyone - sometimes 1 or 2 people of color in token positions of power, with high turnover or low levels of real authority - people at bottom have very little power	- white people in decision-making positions, paid relatively well - people of color in administrative or service positions that pay less well - 1 or 2 people in positions of power, particularly if their work style emulates those of white people in power - training to upgrade skills is offered - people of color may not be at equal levels of power with white people, but a level of respect is present	- people of color in decision-making position that pay a decent wage comparable to the wages of white people in the organization - administrative and service positions perceived as stepping stone to positions of more power (if desired) and those positions reflect some decision-making power and authority - training and other mentoring help provided
Located	- in white community - decorations reflect a predominantly white culture	-in white community - decorations reflect some cultural diversity	- physically accessible to people of color - decorations reflect a commitment to multiculturalism	- physically accessible to community served - decorations reflect a commitment to multiculturalism and power sharing
Members	- white people, with token number of people of color (if any)	- white people and people of color, with only a token ability to participate in decision-making - people of color	- from diverse communities - token encouragement to participate in decisionmaking	- from range of communities targeted by mission - encouraged to participate in decision-making

			- provided training to enhance skills and abilities to be successful in the organization and their communities
	- members have no real decision-making power	are only aware of the organization because it is providing a direct service	
Organization Culture	- top down, paternalistic - often secretive - success measured by how much is accomplished - little if any attention paid to process, or how work gets done - little if any leadership or staff development - no discussion of power analysis or oppression issues - conflict is avoided at all costs - people who raise issues that make people uncomfortable are considered troublemakers or hard to work with - leaders assume " we are all the same"	- still top down although inclusivity is stressed - those in power assume their standards and ways of doing things are neutral, most desirable and form the basis for what is considered "qualified" - people expected to be highly motivated self-starters requiring little supervision - some training may be provided - no power analysis - conflict avoided - emphasis on people getting along - discussion of race limited to prejudice reduction	- organization looks inclusive with a visibly diverse board and staff - actively celebrates diversity - focuses on reducing prejudice but is uncomfortable naming racism - continues to assume dominant culture ways of doing things most desirable - assume a level playing field - emphasize belief in equality but still no power analysis - workaholism desired and rewarded - still uncomfortable with conflict	- organization actively recruits and mentors people of color - celebrates diversity - has a power analysis about racism and other oppression issues - a diversity of work styles encouraged with active reflection about balancing what gets done and how it gets done - a willingness to name racism and address conflict - resources devoted to developing shared goals, teamwork, and sharing skills and knowledge (mentoring)
Programs	- not about building power for communities of color	- intent is to be inclusive - little analysis about root	- designed to build power until people speak up and out - some	- designed to build and share power

	- designed to help people who have little or no participation in decision-making - emphasis is on serving or "helping" those in need	causes of issues/problems - people in programs appreciated until they speak out or organize for power - designed to help low-income people who have little or no participation in the decision-making	attempt to understand issue/problem in relation to big picture - some participation by those served in program planning - constituency may have only token representation in the organization.	- designed to help people analyze and address root causes - people most affected by issues/problems centrally involved in program planning - opportunities for constituents to move into leadership roles in the organization

Appendix D

Table D1

Value Scores of Network Actors

Organization	Total Value	Power/ Influence	Level of Involvement	Resource Contribution
Institution 1	3.42	3.73	3.55	3.00
Institution 2	3.59	3.67	3.44	3.67
Institution 3	3.36	3.18	3.64	3.27
Institution 4	2.89	2.78	3.00	2.89
Institution 5	3.61	3.75	3.42	3.67
Institution 6	3.70	3.67	3.86	3.57
Institution 7	3.45	3.29	3.79	3.29
Nonprofit 1	2.53	2.20	3.20	2.20
Nonprofit 2	2.38	2.29	2.57	2.29
Nonprofit 3	2.80	3.00	2.80	2.60
Nonprofit 4	2.81	3.00	2.86	2.57
Nonprofit 5	3.39	3.50	3.67	3.00
Nonprofit 6	2.89	3.00	3.33	2.33
Nonprofit 7	2.62	2.71	2.86	2.29
Nonprofit 8	2.58	2.75	2.50	2.50
Nonprofit 9	2.67	2.80	2.80	2.40
Nonprofit 10	2.13	2.00	2.40	2.00
All Nonprofits	**2.68**	**2.73**	**2.90**	**2.42**
All Institutions	**3.43**	**3.44**	**3.53**	**3.34**

Table D2

Trust Scores of Network Actors

Organization	Trust	Reliability	Sharing a Mission	Open to Discussion
Institution 1	3.39	3.36	3.64	3.18
Institution 2	3.41	3.33	3.56	3.33
Institution 3	3.30	3.27	3.45	3.18
Institution 4	3.39	3.63	3.33	3.22
Institution 5	3.08	3.08	3.17	3.00
Institution 6	3.38	3.43	3.43	3.29
Institution 7	3.74	3.79	3.79	3.64
Nonprofit 1	3.53	3.6	3.6	3.4
Nonprofit 2	3.36	3.5	3.43	3.14
Nonprofit 3	3.73	3.8	3.8	3.6
Nonprofit 4	3.14	3.00	3.29	3.14
Nonprofit 5	3.39	3.33	3.5	3.33
Nonprofit 6	3.78	4.00	4.00	3.33
Nonprofit 7	3.52	3.71	3.57	3.29
Nonprofit 8	3.42	3.75	3.00	3.5
Nonprofit 9	3.40	3.4	3.2	3.6
Nonprofit 10	3.33	3.6	3.2	3.2
All Nonprofits	**3.46**	**3.57**	**3.46**	**3.35**
All Institutions	**3.38**	**3.41**	**3.48**	**3.26**