Social Capital Development in Youth Development Programming: A Case Study of
California 4-H, Youth, Families and Communities Youth Development Program

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the relevance of social capital theory to youth development. Drawing principally on the social capital concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, James S. Coleman and Robert Putnam, it links their concepts of social capital with youth development by examining essential attributes of California 4-H programs. Drawing on key informant interviews with adult 4H leaders and staff as well as a review of training curricula, the thesis analyzes what is happening at California 4-H to create social capital development opportunities. Social capital is conceptualized as an individual's networks and associations that provide information, insight, guidance, and connections that may lead to jobs, educational opportunities and/or economic gain. Social capital assists youth to develop into successful adults and may assist in mitigating circumstances that create uneven opportunities wrought by poverty, fractured neighborhoods, single parenting and/or lack of educational aspirations. The key finding are: 1.) California 4-H does not have explicit mention of social capital in its volunteer training materials, outreach materials, core values or in the positive youth development framework that it employs to guide it programs. 2.) However California 4-H does promote opportunities for social capital development in the youth who participate in their programs—through adult youth partnerships, working on mutually agreed upon projects, and civic engagement opportunities. 3.) Community Clubs appear to be the sites of the most robust social capital development; however, this finding needs further research. 4.) California 4-H does not reach a large portion of California youth.

Table of Contents

Tables

Figures

Chapter One

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Introduction

I decided to choose youth development as a subject matter for my thesis because I believe in and have borne witness to the positive impacts of youth development done well. My background with the Lemon Hill Juvenile Crime Prevention coalition, The Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Sacramento, my own children's education and my current work at California 4-H has only strengthened my resolve to look for strategies and techniques that work to help youth become healthy, productive and thoughtful adults. Through my graduate work at UC Davis, I became aware of   social capital as being manifested in an individual's networks and associations that provide information, insight, guidance, and connections that may lead to jobs, educational opportunities and/or economic gain. I wanted to explore the role social capital may play in not only helping youth develop into successful adults but also the role it may play in mitigating circumstances that create uneven opportunities wrought by poverty, fractured neighborhoods, single parenting and/or lack of educational aspirations. I sensed but had no empirical evidence, that highly structured youth development organizations are offering social capital development opportunities. I wanted to examine a youth development organization's curricula, culture, and adult participants to see if I could learn what it is they are doing, if anything, to create social capital for youth, and how it connects to social capital theory.

In this regard my research question is: **Given that social capital is a valuable concept for consideration in youth development, what can be revealed about how youth development organizations assist with social capital development by examining their chosen youth development framework, curricula for volunteer training, and interviews with adults involved in the organization? In particular, what is happening at 4-H that creates social capital for youth?**

To guide my research I am using this definition of social capital: Social capital is a concept related to an individual's networks and associations that can be converted to economic or human capital, such as good information that can lead to employment, direct connections to available jobs, and/or information about educational opportunities. The literature strongly suggests that for youth, these networks and associations are developed through connections to resource rich adults. Ideally the resource rich adults are not people these youth would normally know or have the opportunity to "hang out with." I learned through my research that there is a process that includes youth and adults developing mutually satisfying partnerships, to tackle a community issue or complete a project. Through this process, both parties are enriched. The adults because they are able to learn more about the youth in their community, see them as a resource, and experience positive changes in their perceptions of youth. The youth become enriched for the same reasons however; they are also able to develop a bridge--a social capital connection that is related to the adult's resources. These resources manifest themselves in information about jobs, references for jobs, information about educational opportunities and through the theory of weak ties, connects these youth to the networks of these adults. This type of social capital development can be converted to human and economic capital.

In addition to the literature review I will be employing two research strategies which examine if and how these aspects of social capital are visible, evident, and/or operative in California 4-H programs. As I will relate later in my thesis, my examination of the 4-H curricula shows that it does not explicitly use the term social capital but I see attributes that are consistent with what the literature supports how social capital can be developed. This assessment is based on interviews with youth development professionals, volunteers, and adults, who work with youth, as well as a review of materials and curricula that are employed to instruct both participants and instructors.

By looking at the interview data I see that many (but not all) people appear to know about the term, and most think that 4-H is promoting social capital development in 4-H because they have witnessed social connections that have brought information to youth that aided their development, participated in activities that connected resource rich adults to youth, and have firsthand accounts of how youth and adult partnerships works to create bridging social capital opportunities to youth. The data my interviews pointed me to strongly indicate that 4-H Community Clubs are the sites of the most robust social capital development, however, there is much ground to be covered before this final assertion can be justified. All of my interviewees were eager to share their experiences of 4-H, many of them have strong beliefs and ideas about how 4-H can function better, and how in their minds, this connects to social capital development. All of these issues will be examined and articulated in the pages that follow.

Literature Review Social Capital—three views

I have discovered from the literature that social capital can be conceptualized in a variety of ways and for the purpose of this thesis I have focused on the interlinking social capital concepts found in Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. In choosing to examine youth development through the lens of social capital development opportunities, I am working most closely with the operationalization of social capital that is aligned with all three theorists. I find they have an interesting way of being interconnected and linked, but yet can also stand alone as concepts for having implications for youth development. Their linkages to each other and as concepts for consideration in youth development are illustrated in Table 1, page twenty-three (23).

To briefly illustrate, I find Bourdieu 's theory of social capital acquisition and conversion that includes the social connections found in intentional development of personal networks has implications for how youth development programming develops networking opportunities for youth, and in particular whom youth should be connecting with and the intentionality and goals of the social connections.

Bourdieu is linked to Coleman, as they both see social capital as a concept that is rooted in sociological and economic terms; however I found Coleman's concepts of family social capital and the connection to human capital development useful when thinking about and assessing how social capital is mitigated. I also find that his conceptualization of social capital as a public good has policy implications for youth and education, which I will discuss later. Putnam, whom I would assert is aligned with Bourdieu in that he sees associations as rich vehicles for the creation of productive networks, presents valuable concepts in his social capital theory related to bridging social capital and the sites and methods in which these opportunities can occur which contain a nod to Coleman, who asserts that social capital development is intertwined with social structures.

The key to linking all of these social capital concepts to youth development is the Jarrett, Sullivan, and Watkins article, "Developing Social Capital Through Participation in Organized Youth Programs" (2005), that examines the social capital development strategies found in three youth development organizations and provides a roadmap for thinking about and articulating how adult and youth partnership can create social capital development opportunities. In the following pages I will examine each of the theorists' concepts in more detail and revisit how I see them connected to each other and how these connections can inform youth development strategies.

"The Bigs" on Social Capital

Social Capital

"It is what makes the game of society--not least, the economic game

something other than simple games of chance

offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle."

Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu "Forms of Capital"

In Bourdieu's seminal article, "The Forms of Capital[1]" (1986), he asserts that cultural and social capital are embedded concepts directly related to and directly informing economic capital. Bourdieu states that "It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one re-introduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory" (46).

"The Forms of Capital" builds his case for expanding the concepts of capital by stating that economic theory has (unduly) reduced consideration of capital to the exchange of goods and services and in doing so limits consideration of capital to the boundaries of profit and loss; in particular, the maximization of profit becomes the driving force of all exchanges. Bourdieu then posits that, if maximizing profit is all that informs economic theory, then by default, all other forms of exchange are implicitly non-economic and cannot be related to economic theory. He posits that by ignoring social connections, relations and transactions enabling and also resulting in the culmination of a material transaction, economic science is incomplete. Hence, these social exchanges are what make the exchange of profits and procurement of goods possible (46-47). He further asserts that there are two forms of capital that can be converted to economic

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[1] From J.E. Richardson (ed) *Handbook of Theory Research for the Sociology of Education*. 1986. Reprinted by permission.

capital—*cultural* and *social* capital. He connects cultural capital to economic exchange as it relates to purchasing of cultural artifacts and admission to educational institutions and related educational qualifications, which in turn facilitate the pursuit of market goods. He posits that social capital is the net of social obligations and connections that may be converted to economic gain. (47).

Social Capital Acquisition and Conveyance

Social capital also has acquisition costs which may or may not be converted to economic capital. For Bourdieu, and what resonated with me as a researcher looking for insights into how social capital functions at the individual level, is the individuals' abilities to create networks and social connections. These networks are acquired through investment in time, energy, and strategic relationship building that may be activated to acquire insights or information that lead to economic capital. Bourdieu clearly posits individual contributions in the social capital scheme by defining social capital as the "aggregate of potential or actual resources which are linked to a possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition…which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital….These relationships may only exist in the material" (51).

Bourdieu also emphasizes that the amount of social capital is measured not only in the number and quality of connections and networks an individual holds but also the costs of the expenditures to attain it. In order to develop or keep social capital, an individual must be able and willing to spend time on an "unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed" (52). The quality of a connection is directly related to the amount of economic and cultural capital that individuals contribute and which results in a "multiplier effect" for the individual. These quality connections lead to paths

of exchange, each exchange strengthens recognition, and with each recognition, a potential new path or connection is created (52). Additionally these relationships are maintained through the concepts of collective obligation and/or institutionalized guaranteed rights (52). Collective obligation is exemplified in feelings of gratitude, respect and friendships while institutional guarantees is best demonstrated in families' whose large amounts of social capital, such as found in nobility, bestows that social capital to other family members.

In modern society families lose the ability to control marriage, which have been the traditional paths to controlling institutional guarantees. For Bourdieu, the new institutions are now the private clubs, elite sporting events, cultural ceremonies, gated communities, etc., in which groups are deemed acceptable or not to join. The process of inclusion of acceptable groups and exclusion of unacceptable groups provides the de facto institution for protecting or extending social capital with the assumption that included members benefit from institutional guarantees and that excluded members are not able to access the particular forms of social and cultural capital, hence excluding them from certain economic and educational opportunities (52). The exclusion is also manifested in the reproduction process of the social capital. Bourdieu asserts that transmutability of the capital is valued in terms of rate of loss and concealment and these characteristics share an inverse relationship--high degrees of concealment are connected to less loss. With certain social classes the degree of concealment is high which is made possible by the social norms and reputation maintenance that put pressure on the individual to honor their word or feel indebted to reciprocate (55).

Bourdieu's social capital concept is based on intentional creation and maintenance of networks and associations that work to build connections that can be converted to economic capital. I find this concept to have applications in youth development programming specifically because

of the intentionality of the network creation. How these connections are created and toward what goals these connections can fulfill are questions that Bourdieu does not answer. I posit however, that in the Jarrett, Sullivan, and Watkins article I examine in chapter 2, lays an explanation of a process that works to create the networks and connections that Bourdieu is referencing.

For now, my next section examines James Coleman's theory of social capital. His theory is linked to and builds upon Bourdieu in that he posits social capital is connected to human capital, and that family's social capital is one explanation for how well young people do in school.

Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital - James S. Coleman

In James S. Coleman's *AJS* article, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital" (1988), Coleman locates social capital very clearly in social relationships and gives an example of social capital informing high school dropout rates. He connects what he refers to as "two intellectual streams" --the sociological and the economic and views social capital as a *tool* to aid in uniting social organization with economic organization with in social systems (S97).

- For Coleman there are several forms of social relations and social structures that create high levels of trust, this trust is connected to ripe social capital development opportunities.

- He asserts that the more closed a community, the more trust, the higher the social capital.

- Another social structure that contributes to social capital are voluntary associations, or what Coleman refers to as "Appropriable Social Organization" (S108). This is exemplified

in groups that come together to address local problems and mobilize their concerted

resources for protest or change.

- Coleman asserts that information, who has it, how it gets disseminated and to whom,

  are all powerful components in the social capital toolbox and directly related to social

  relations (S104).

- One vehicle to acquiring information is through investment in relationships purely for

  that reason and he cites professional networks where information are shared and/or

  making concerted associations with people who are connected to similar interests.

However, there are three main points in Coleman's article where I find substantial ammunition

for positioning social capital as a youth development strategy. First, the conversion of social

capital via family social capital to human capital; second, the concept of intergenerational

closure and how it impacts families, and by extension, youth's social capital, and the public

goods concept of social capital.

Social Capital conversion to Human Capital

Coleman clearly states "but there is one effect of social capital that is especially important: its

effect on the creation of human capital in the next generation" (S109). Coleman examines how

social capital within families structures and outside of family structures works to impact how

human capital is facilitated through social relations and social capital. Within family structures

Coleman asserts that the level of human capital possessed by parent is irrelevant if it is not

invested, via social capital, in the children (S110).[2]

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[2] Coleman's *footnote*: "The complementarity of human capital and social capital in the family for a child's development suggests that the statistical analysis that examines the effects of these quantities should

When looking within the family structure, Coleman clearly sees social capital linked to the time and attention that a parent has to devote to children and notes that "structural deficiencies" contribute to a lack of social capital development in families. These social deficiencies are linked to explicit and implicit absences of adults which can occur in two parent homes if the adults spend their social capital embedded in relationships with other adults, two parents homes where both parents' work, and single parent homes. What all of these scenarios exhibit are adults who have limited time to invest in providing children information, time, guidance and energy-- their social capital-- which is what facilitates conversion to human capital (S111). Additionally, in his study of causes related to high school dropout prediction he includes the number of siblings in a family as a factor that lessens social capital in families because the more children in a household the less time a parent has to devote highly particularized attention (i.e. expend social capital) that is needed to promote strong educational values.[3] Coleman also notes a mother's expectation of a child attending college (not necessarily linked to social capital possession) as possibly contributing to drop out rates.

When the three sources, with the potential to negatively impact family social capital are taken together--number of siblings, number of parents in the household and expectations of college attendance, it is not a surprise that the dropout rate is markedly higher in families who have four siblings, single family head of household and no expectations of college--30.6% versus 8.1%

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take a particular form....In the analysis reported here, however, a simple additive models without interaction was used (*footnote* 4 S110).

[3] Coleman: "This is consistent with research results for measures of achievement and IQ which show that test scores decline with sibling positions, even when total family's size is controlled, and that scores declined with number children in the family. Both results are consistent with the view that younger siblings and children in larger families have less adult attention, which produces weaker educational outcomes" (S111-112).

(S113).[4] The point Coleman makes is that social capital, or lack of social capital in a family has direct impacts on high school dropout rates. The implications are startling, alarming and promising at the same time. In Coleman's work, I believe there are paths to be found that can lead to the development of social capital in youth through support of families looking specifically at some of the "risks" Coleman's research has identified.[5] Coleman also examines social capital outside of the family which has promising information for youth development. The social capital found within the community and linked to families is what Coleman refers to as "Intergenerational Closure" (S114).

Intergenerational Closure Concept frames Social Capital Development Opportunities

Coleman defines intergenerational closure as the network and connections that link parents to the community and create social capital which may be passed on to their children**.** When families frequently move, their children are denied this generational closure and the attendant information and guidance that can lead to investments in human capital. Coleman examines public and private school dropout rates and determines that when controlling for human and financial capital the dropout rates for public schools is four times higher than for Catholic schools.[6] Coleman connects, through his research, the low dropout rate to the *frequency of attendance at religious services* but not to the religion of the students or to the degree of

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[4] Explicated in Coleman's TABLE 1: Dropout Rates Between Spring, Grade 10, and Spring Grade 12, For Students Who's Families' Differ in Social Capital, Controlling for Human Capital and Financial Capital in the Family (S112).

[5] For instance youth development institutions may provide homework help, model college aspirations, etc.

[6] Coleman: "Adjusting the dropout rates for differences in student-body financial, human and social capital among the three sets of schools by standardizing the population of the Catholic schools and other private schools to the student-body backgrounds of the public schools shows that the differences are affected only slightly" (S114).

religious observation (S114).[7] He uses this information to make the case that frequent

attendance in this type of activity creates social capital that is related to intergenerational

closure, and this form of social capital depresses dropout rates. More precisely, this type of

activity can work to replace lack of intergenerational closure.

Social Capital as Public Good: Opportunities for Policy Development

Coleman notes that physical and human capital are private goods managed and maintained by

private seeking and private benefits, and because of this there is a direct connection to

investments and incentives to invest. This is not found with social capital. In social structures

that propagate norms and sanctions that create the environment for social capital, it is rarely

the person who creates this environment that exclusively reaps the benefits and this is what

Coleman asserts as the public goods aspect of social capital. He notes that while social capital is

an important resource for individuals it is not created by those individuals *per se*. Social capital

is frequently a byproduct of others actions such as a few individuals working to create a safe

neighborhood or improve a school system.

Coleman asserts that is it the public good quality of social capital that requires it to have a very

different recourse when it comes to having purposive action, "this social capital arises or

disappears without anyone's willing it into or out of being and is thus even less recognized and

taken account of in social action*[8]* than its already intangible character warrants" (S118). This

assertion suggests that creating intentional *social capital development opportunities* is a valuable

consideration for policy development. . The intentionality, while meant as an individual

endeavor in Bourdieu's case, is still a concept closely aligned to Bourdieu's and can in fact work

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[7] Catholic students in public schools are only slightly less likely to drop out than non-Catholics. What
Coleman found was that 19.5% of students who dropped out surveyed as never or rarely attended
religious services versus 9.1% of those who often do (S114).
[8] my emphasis

to create the opportunities that Bourdieu's associations and networks create—information and connection to sources that can increase an individual's human or economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Coleman, 1986; Putnam, 2000; Halpern, 2005).

Coleman does a great deal to further the discussion about social capital by connecting social capital to the structures, relationships and opportunities that having social capital creates. Coleman's work emphasizes that social capital can be converted to human capital. This conversion of social capital to human capital is also one of the observations that Bourdieu adheres in his examination of social capital. In this regard, Bourdieu and Coleman both have connections to youth development strategies. For both of them offer theories that can inform the role youth development strategy may play is in mitigating the lack of family social capital that leads to lack of human capital and creating linkages to the community . Additionally, when you interject Coleman's thoughts on social capital as a public good, youth development can and should be embraced as a public good. If so, institutions have a role as advocates in public policy development for appropriate and well done youth development.

Bowling Alone the Collapse and Revival of American Community Robert Putnam

My final addition to the triumvirate of social capital thinkers is Robert Putnam. Through his widely read and often referenced book, *Bowling Alone the Collapse and Revival of American Community,* he examines how the decline of civic engagement is attributable to the unraveling of social structures that promote social capital. He uses examples of civic organizations with shrinking membership, decreasing church attendance and increased voter apathy to demonstrate the diminishing sites and activities where the most vibrant social capital has traditionally developed and been manifested. With the withering of these institutions

community cohesion is lessened and with this lessening comes increased general distrust and social fragmentation. For Putnam, the repercussions are a lack of civic engagement that may have resounding implications for democracy. Additionally, if the aforementioned associations, referred to as civil society, are experiencing extinction then where or how is social capital to be produced? Putnam addresses these issues in *Bowling Alone.*

Putnam begins by expanding upon the definition of social capital that Coleman promoted. For Coleman, social capital provides individuals and families access to human capital, for Putnam individual social ties and connections have value and impact on a slightly larger social scale "…social capital refers to the connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them….and call attention to the fact civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations" (19).

It is a very interesting exercise to read the book with a youth development lens as Putnam advances concepts that have applicability to youth development. These concepts are what I will be focusing on in this literature review. For example, he introduces the concepts of bridging and bonding forms of social capital[9], the theory of strength of weak ties, and expands upon the concepts of trust, trustworthiness and reciprocity that Coleman addresses. Putnam provides examples and explanations of these concepts that posit them as a variable that may be intentionally strengthened.

Bridging and Bonding Social Capital--Linking to Theory of Strength of Weak Ties

Putnam differentiates between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Putnam states that bonding social capital is inward looking and reinforces particularized identities and may be

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[9] Putnam notes: Footnote 20 "So far as I can tell, credit for coining these labels belongs to Ross Gittell and Avis Vidal, Community Organization: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy, 1998."

exclusive and bridging social capital is found in networks that are outward looking and are better at creating external assets and information acquisition and disbursement (22). He notes Economic Sociologist Mark Granovetter's theory of strength of weak ties[10] as an explanation of how distant acquaintances have "more valuable" ties than those who are closest to us particularly when it comes to seeking a job (22-23).

In Granovetter's "The Strength of Weak Ties" (1973), he uses network analysis to examine how micro and macro processes create and/or promote diffusion, social mobility, political organization and social cohesion (1361). Granovetter uses triads to demonstrate the concept of bridges to explain how close ties inhibit the formation of bridges particularly if they only share one length in the triad. This model works to show how a person with multiple connections composed of weak ties has in fact more opportunity. Strong ties can form bridges "only if neither party to it has any other strong ties"[11]. He asserts that all weak ties are bridges: "as with bridges in a highway system, a local bridge in a social network will be more significant as a connection between two sectors to the extent that it is the only alternative for many people— that is as its degree increases. A bridge in the absolute sense is a local one of infinite degree. By the same logic used above only weak ties may be local bridges (1364). Bridges, in this case, serve to function as conduits for efficient means of interpersonal flows because they provide not only the shortest path, but also are frequently the only path. He also asserts research that weak ties are easier to get, easier to maintain and easier to exploit (1367-1370). Granovetter states that weak ties are an "important resource in making possible mobility opportunity" and creating social cohesions (1371).

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[10] Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties". The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.78 No. 6. 1973.
[11] Granovetter: In a triad composed of A-B-C-- Consider the strong tie A-B: if A has another strong tie to C, which implies in turn a tie between B and C, so that the path A-C-B exists between A and B; so A-B is not a bridge (1363).

As an example he cites the case of a worker who relocates and in doing so takes his network with him and forms a bridge or weak tie between his former and new network. These networks are realized through professional organizations and meetings in which the opportunities to share technical and specialized information is shared. This linking through mobilization sets up elaborate weak ties that work to provide social cohesion by providing a vehicle for the flow of information and creating a sense of community through the quasi-formal and formal sharing of ideas and information (1371). The theory of strength of weak ties has great implications for use in youth development. As later literature will show, youth develop strong ties rather easily, but weak ties, the bridging mechanisms that can lead to more robust opportunities, must be developed with assistance from adults (Jarrett, etal, 2005; Benson, 1997; National Research Council Institute of Medicine, 2002).

Putnam connects bridging social capital to the development of broader concepts of identities and opportunities for reciprocity while bonding social capital tends to reinforce exclusivity. Optimally individuals and groups will have both bonding and bridging social capital which create opportunities for reciprocity and trust development—both essential components in social cohesion: "The norm of generalized reciprocity is so fundamental to civilized life that all prominent moral codes contain some equivalent of the Golden Rule" (135). Reciprocity is based on the concept of trust and trustworthiness, two concepts that Putnam separates by way of noting that trustworthiness is a result of the social norm which is promoted through thick networks of positive exchange—as a member of this community you are somewhat assured that you can trust variable social transactions to have certain outcomes because you have a wealth of experiences to bolster these expectations (136). Putnam divides trust into thick and thin categories. Thick trust is the type found in families and close associates, thin trust is more generalized and rests on the "implicit background of shared social networks and expectations of

reciprocity" (136). Putnam posits that thin trust is more useful for social cohesion because it extends the reach of trust beyond our immediate circle—thin trust works to give people we don't personally know the "benefit of the doubt" and helps to create the environment in which social trust can thrive (Rahn and Transue, 1998).[12] Putnam notes that social trust is associated with all forms of civic engagement, volunteerism, philanthropy, and is clearly linked to the concept of the development of social capital (136-137).

I found that Putnam's explanations of bridging and bonding trust, as well as the examination of the theory of strength of weak ties do much work in laying the ground work for making "the leap" from social capital as a concept rooted in economic theory to social capital development as a youth development strategy by teasing out and validating social interactions and institutions that may be reinforced or introduced in youth development strategies.

Putnam builds upon the case that both Bourdieu and Coleman have made in that he acknowledges the role of social capital that is primary in Bourdieu's explication—that having social capital can make a difference in how effective you are in your community, what connections and abilities you have to make change in your community, and how you are regarded in your community. He most clearly connects with Coleman in the concepts of social trust and social capital as a public good.

These connections and strategies will be explored further in the next chapter where I examine the literature on the value of social capital theory in youth development and the links between **where and how** social capital is developed to institutional roles in helping to create opportunities to develop it.

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[12] Wendy M. Rahn and John E. Transue, "Social Trust and Value Change: The Decline of Social Capital in American Youth, 1976-1995"

Table 1. Social Capital Components Related to Youth Development

Inter linking of social capital concepts	Relevant Social Capital components	Connection to youth development	Possible areas of mitigation opportunities
Bourdieu Linked to **Coleman** through intentional development of family social capital—conversion of social capital to human capital	Intentional investment of time and strategy to create valuable personal connections and associations in resource rich groups	Creation of opportunities through the intentional identification and nurturing of relationships to resource rich adults and associations	Youth development programming to create relationships, associations and/or connections to mitigate, class distinctions, single parent disadvantages and educational failure
Coleman Linked to Bourdieu and Putnam through concept of public goods—creating social capital benefits families and the community.	Public goods concept creates opportunity for policy development and institutional interventions that work to intentionally create social capital in family's and community's	Afterschool and youth development programs can create social capital opportunities by providing sites of educational support, associational opportunities, and places for family's and other community members to gather	Educational failure, and single parent head of household Mitigates lack of lack of family social capital Creates opportunities for intentional social capital development
Putnam Linked to **Bourdieu** and **Coleman** through intentional development of associations to create impacts in the community, mitigate lack of social cohesion, create public goods through civic engagement	Social Capital is created in neighborhoods, families, and communities through trust building activities and associations that create social norms of trustworthiness. If these associational activities are not happening then the opportunities for social capital development (for everyone) are greatly diminished.	Create associational opportunities for building both bridging and bonding trust. Connect youth and adults through civic engagement activities.	Mitigates neighborhood and/or community lack of social capital : Increases opportunities and valuation of civic engagement Which in turn strengthens neighborhoods and communities Enhances creation of economic and human capital opportunities

Conclusion

The above table summarizes the main tenants of the three previous social capital theorists and how they are connected to my inquiry and to each other. In Bourdieu I find the intentional creation of networks and associations offer insight into the importance of intentional connections. I believe it is through deliberate and thought filled associations that some groups and individuals do better than others, if this is indeed so, then a mechanism for creating social capital should have intentionality around creating productive networks that can lead to jobs or information about educational opportunities. In Coleman, looking at institutional roles to mitigate lack of family social capital and the public goods aspect create roles for youth development organizations. For instance, a role for a youth development program could be one to provide guidance, information and aspirations related to education—thus mitigating family's lack of social capital that can be converted to human capital. Another institutional role could be that institutions become the site of community connections and offer activities and programs that strengthen family's connection to each other and the community. Institutions working to develop youth into healthy adults should be the recipients of public good will and have advocacy roles in policy development. What if for example, it became public policy to create social capital development opportunities for youth and their neighborhoods, in afterschool programs, or in organized clubs like 4-H? What if it was propelled by public funding? I believe if the funding were available to research and design clear guidelines for social capital development in youth development programs, it would happen. In Putnam, he clearly supports the intentional development of associations which become fertile ground for social capital development. I believe that there is a place for youth in associations and creating those opportunities are indeed worthy endeavors. In Chapter two, I will continue to link these concepts to youth development.

Chapter Two

Youth Development and Social Capital

"At base, social capital is an expression of trust-based relationships in groups, the outcome of which will depend on the goals to which the group's life is directed. Youth culture is essentially inward looking defining its own generally short-term goals and the means of achieving them, while keeping the long term commitments of the adult world at bay."

John Bynner

"Leisure, Life and Social Identity," *Youth and Social Capital*

This chapter will examine the literature related to why social capital is a valuable concept for consideration in youth development programming-- the benefits to youth for developing social capital and how social capital development opportunities are created.   In this regard social capital development will be linked to bridging engagement opportunities, adult and youth partnership development, and institutional roles in creating social capital. These processes will also be linked to the social capital theory conceptualized by Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. This chapter will also examine how social capital is negated for clues as to how social capital may in fact be created.

Transitioning to Adulthood

Adolescence is the period when children transition to adults. While many youth actively seek independence from adults, it is in fact a crucial time for parents and other adults to play a

positive role in this crucial transition, by actively guiding youth in making choices and taking advantage of opportunities that will help them become healthy adults *(Community Programs to Promote Youth Development*, 2002). This developmental stage is marked by experimentation and risk taking, peer pressure to fit in, and great leaps in emotional growth and independence. Bonding trust, particularly with peers is prevalent. Bridging trust, the trust that connects people to others different from themselves, is more difficult. It is in this period that the opportunities for social capital development are the most likely to create lasting impacts (*Youth and Social Capital,* 2007).

Why Social Capital?

The literature supports social capital as an important construct to consider when assisting youths' successful transition to adulthood.[13] Richard Enfield's monograph, "Social Capital and Implications for Positive Youth Development" (2008), links several studies that found positive impacts directly related to social capital development in young people. Specifically he notes that creating trust- filled and productive connections and linkages, the main harbinger of social capital, works to establish healthy relationships with adults who are not family members, schools and communities, and is a major factor in youth making the transition to healthy adults (9).

The mechanism of creating positive relationships and connections to others--bridging engagements—is participation in positive, diverse experiences with others whom you would not normally have the opportunity to associate. These bridging engagements work to create bridging social capital which may be converted to increased economic and human capital

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[13] A quick search of JSTOR database yielded 3497 journal articles that deal with 'Social Capital' and 'Education.'

opportunities. These forms of social capital, specifically bridging and linking social capital—the

connections to individuals who possess more resources than yourself, manifest most

productively for youth in information and directions regarding educational paths, connection to

job opportunities, insights and guidance into life skills development techniques, new and

diverse resources, and positive experiences on building and reciprocating trust (Enfield, 2008;

Benson, 1997; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine 2002; Seales, Benson,

Leffert, and Blyth, 2000). Enfield further cites K.M. Ferguson's compilation of research that

indicates social capital "may reduce adolescent pregnancy, delinquency, academic failure and

child maltreatment" (Ferguson, 2006).

To further emphasize the role of social capital in child welfare and youth development,

Putnam states that "social capital is second only to poverty in the breadth and depth of its

effects on children's lives....Social Capital is especially important in keeping teenagers from

dropping out of school, hanging out on the streets, and having babies out of wedlock" (2000:

297-298). [14] It would appear social capital development provides not only vital connections and

links for youth, but can serve to mitigate *at risk behavior*, high school dropout rates, and

economic inequity. Granted these are all normative assessments so the challenge becomes

twofold: how to assess what role social capital development plays in creating positive results

and how are these opportunities best created? More importantly, what role can institutions

play in creating social capital opportunities particularly if families or communities cannot?

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[14] Kids Count indicator measuring social capital as a contributing factor holding constant socio-economic
and demographic data reveal that social capital can be linked to child well-being.

Social Capital in Youth Development Organizations: How Adult-Youth Partnerships Create Social Capital

A key to all types of youth development of social capital are relationships with adult and

connections that effectively work to create all forms of social capital--bridging, bonding, and

linking intra-generational and inter-generational. Robin Jarrett's, Patrick Sullivan, and Natasha

Watkins article, "Developing Social Capital through Participation in Organized Youth Programs:

Qualitative Insights from Three Programs" (2005), examines how and what types of social capital

is developed through particular adult youth interactions. They introduce the concept of

resource-rich or resource bearing adults and how intentional programmatic efforts can bring

these adults and youth together in a way that produces or increases youth social capital.

Underpinning their work is social capital that is conceptualized as the intentional creation of

associations and networks that can be converted to human or economic capital. Thus, their

work is informed by the concepts of social capital found in Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's

theories.

They examined three youth development programs to assess how youth are connected to

resource-bearing adults in a manner that supports the development of social capital (41). The

three programs in were in Illinois-- FFA (Formerly known as Future Farmers of America), a rural

agricultural leadership program; Art-First, an urban art program; and Youth Action, an urban

civic engagement program.

Table 2. Organized Youth Programs: Outline of Activities

Program Name	Description	Goal	Activities	Adult Connections
Clarkson FFA	Rural Agriculturally focused program in the local high school that focuses on leadership development in youth. It is an afterschool program	Adults and high school aged youth work together to plan a summer day camp for local 4th graders	Youth leadership opportunities through meeting and event planning and presentations Community Service activities Conference attendance Regional and statewide competitions related to agricultural projects	FFA Alumni Teachers Local business people Adults that lived in the community Other FFA officers from across the State Judges
Art-First: An Urban Art Program	Art education program for urban youth which brings youth together from across the city who share an interest in art.	To provide training, information and connections for youth who are interested in a career in art—each session has a final product—this particular session created murals on several train platforms	Guest speakers Visiting work sites Resume training and writing Interview training Internships at local non-profits and Work on the Arts First Group project	Professional artists and designers Gallery owners Other art program representatives Other art professionals
Youth Action: An Urban Civic Program	Connected diverse group of youth from many areas in the city who are interested in social justice issue.	Engage in activist campaigns of their choosing Organizing a city-wide Youth Summit focused on various social political topics such as sexuality and inequalities in school funding	Conduct research develop and implement a plan of action	City and school officials School-board staff Teachers, school counselors Adults in the community of other social activist orgs.

These programs were selected because they were highly regarded by youth development professionals, because they were youth centered and engaged youth and adults in working towards a goal or set of goals over a cycle of activity (44). Each program was evaluated through interviews, observations and discovery and then codified for social capital aspects[15]. **The findings elaborate how social capital is a process oriented endeavor** and highlight how "youth can bridge the divide with the adult world and build social capital" (52).

Key findings: There are three stages in youth developing positive relationships with adults:

(1) Programs bring youth and adults together for something positive—a shared goal based on genuine interest and/or concern.

(2) Working together *as partners* on a structured activity set the stage for youth to begin to view adults in a positive light which develops comfort and trust. With trust and comfort

(3) Come meaningful connections that work to bridge the different worlds of adults and youth (48-49).

The types of social capital that were formed in all of these programs were access to good information, assistance, and exposure to adult worlds as well as support both emotional and material, and encouragement (50-52). These programs provide valuable information about how to create **bridging experiences, the experience of doing something new or different than what you would normally do, with people whom you would not normally hang out with,** which create **bridging social capital**; additionally, an important aspect of this study is the intentionality of the relationship creation opportunities. "These types of opportunities for youth and adults to connect in meaningful ways were not accidental, but were fostered in the programs" (49).

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[15] Transcripts of open-ended interview answers were codified based on how the youth responded to questions about their relationships with adults in the programs and in the community.

According to these authors the challenge becomes where or how to "find highly resourced community adults with whom youth can make these connections" (53).

How is Social Capital Development Negated?

In looking for social capital development opportunities, it behooves us to look at what has been identified as negating social capital development for additional clues on how to develop social capital. For Putnam, it is the lessening of voluntary associations and civic engagement that lead to lack of social cohesion. Coleman notes that having more than one child and being a single family head of household contributes to lessening social capital in families.

William Julius Wilson asserts in *The Truly Disadvantaged, The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (1987), that economically productive social networks are virtually nonexistent in neighborhoods of highly concentrated poverty. Wilson refers to this as the theory of social isolation--as opposed to the culture of poverty, and relates this isolation to lack of exposure or interaction with people or families that have stable jobs and productive social networks (60-61). Additionally, these residents are geographically isolated from family or friends that live in more secure conditions: "...they also seldom have sustained contact with friends or relatives in the more stable areas of the city or in the suburbs" (60). This social isolation works to perpetuate poverty by preventing information and access to job availabilities, as well as generates norms that are not conducive to creating positive job work histories, educational aspirations, and productive networking. In Wilson's explication of social isolation, there is the embedded concept of negated social capital directly related to abject poverty. As Wilson notes, neighborhoods wracked by poverty are not able to avail themselves of bridging or linking social capital because, "building" these types of bridges requires knowledge, financial resources, and some baseline of productive connection to build your bridge to. In this sense bridges are not

productive themselves, they only enable (more/different) productivity, and may in fact exponentially increase productivity.

This strongly suggests an institutional role in creating these opportunities for youth in these particular neighborhoods and communities.

Connecting the dots: Intentional Social Capital Development and Institutional Roles

By revisiting the literature on social capital, I see clear links to youth development strategies that create or enhance social capital development, in particular:

- **Bourdieu** notes that individual networks are created with intention. The intention is both around the creation of the networks and how the networks are operationalized to create human and economic capital development opportunities. I see connections to intentional network creation being facilitated by institutions

- **Coleman** believes that closed generational networks, i.e. **bonding social capital,** are rich sources of social capital and when these types of networks create social capital "spill over" into the community they create a public good where others benefit. He also posits as the "traditional" family model, where most generational networks are developed, becomes stressed, their social capital, created by investments of time, is lessened. For Coleman this is manifested in decreasing human capital as evidenced in high school dropout rates. An institutional role would be one that creates opportunities for youth to have access to educational support such as tutoring, homework help, role models for educational success, goal setting and goal attainment related to finishing high school and further education after high school.

- **Putnam** clearly connects voluntary associations as sites of social capital development, particularly because they create opportunities for diverse groups to come together, share information, and develop productive **bridging and linking networks**. For Putnam and others, it is the bridging and linking networks that create the most opportunities for tolerance development, social equity, as well as "good" information sharing and economic development so it follows that a productive institutional role would be to create opportunities for bridging and linking associations between resource rich adults and youth.

- **Wilson** notes that impoverished neighborhoods are socially isolated and this isolation negates the development of productive social capital, although he refers to this as social networks—an institutional role would be one the creates institutions in these neighborhoods that promote social capital development through connection to resource rich adults, modeling of social norms of trust and "good" information sharing.

- **Enfield** notes: " When studying or promoting social capital for youth, it is important to consider social capital from four perspectives: **family, neighborhood, school and community**" (2008; ACT for Youth, 2003; Coleman, 1988; Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement in America, 2001). The challenge is how to connect the literature to specific instances of social capital development opportunities for youth and then connect to institutional roles.

Below is a matrix **(Table 3)** that organizes social capital development sites, types and implications for youth development institutions[16], as supported by the literature. The Table demonstrates how sites of social capital can be linked to youth development strategies by

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[16] Youth development institutions refer to extra-educational, such as youth development organizations, afterschool programs, etc., Not formal K-12 educational institutions.

looking first at the benefit (implications) of social capital and then connecting the procurement

of those benefits to strategies that can be deployed at youth development institutions.

Table 3. Linking Sites of Social Capital to Youth Development Strategies

Sites of Social Capital	Most prevalent forms of Social Capital	Implications (benefits) for youth	Possible social capital procurement strategies—YD Institutional Roles[17]
Families	Bonding Intergenerational social capital ala Coleman	Creates **thick trust,** important for day to day coping and modeling of trust and respect.	Including families in activities, providing associational opportunities to encourage intergenerational closure
School— afterschool programs	Bridging, bonding and linking	Provide additional educational support that may be lacking in community or family Youth need bridging social capital **or weak ties to** create broader networks, experience diversity and learn to work as a member of a larger community	Afterschool programs to support additional learning as well as site for developing connections to diverse groups. May assist with human capital development through educational goal setting, modeling of goal attainment and additional educational support

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[17] These roles are supported by Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework outlining the supports young people need in order to be successful. PYD emphasizes the importance of focusing on youths' strengths instead of their risk factors to ensure that all youth grow up to become contributing adults (*Community Programs to Promote Youth Development*, 2002)

Sites of Social Capital	Most prevalent forms of Social Capital	Implications (benefits) for youth	Possible social capital procurement strategies—YD Institutional Roles[17]
Neighborhoods Neighborhood associations, organizations	Bridging and linking	Create opportunities for richer **networks and links** to educational and job opportunities Source of information currency	Youth programs conveniently located in neighborhoods, create access and increased attendance probability. Create opportunities for adult youth partnerships that are positive and meaningful. Site of resource rich adults
Communities	Bridging and linking	Youth need opportunities to learn trust in others not like them, as well as develop sense of larger community through participation in community enhancing activities. This can create a sense of influence, understanding of adult world, and be a source of **linking connections** to people of influence. Source of information currency	Civic engagement opportunities that connect youth with adults and local leadership--in a meaningful way. Provides opportunity for positive engagement with governmental institutions. Give youth validation as a valuable community resource, able to make change and have a voice. Site of resource rich adults

Risks to Intentionality of Social Capital Development: The Dark Side of Social Capital

What are the risks to having intentionality around social capital development? Putnam devotes

a chapter to the dark side of social capital and focuses on the tensions between individualism

and community, tolerance and inequality—the subtext being that individualism breeds liberty

and tolerance, but not the creation of social capital; while community building counters liberty by creating oppressive norms that prohibit independence and may increase instances of exclusion.

Putnam admits that "social inequalities may be embedded in social capital" (358) but sees a clear positive connection between community development, social capital development and economic equality development. Or put another way, if **community** is where social capital is created, social capital may work to create economic equality**, then it is imperative** that social capital be fostered in a productive manner with careful consideration for who and how the community is defined (i.e. who benefits from social capital and who is excluded must be part of the conversation) (358).

Putnam acknowledges the premise that social capital is most often created in opposition to something or someone else; the more homogeneous the composition of the group, the more they are steeped in social capital. In particular, bonded groups may be in opposition to other races or ethnicities and can work to create not only exclusionary practices, but also work to adversely affect policies that create equity. Putnam believes bridging capital is one answer to this dark side of social capital— he states "for our larger collective problems, we need the sort of bridging social capital that is toughest to create" (363).

There are other dark aspects of social capital which Enfield notes as *excess claim* on a network's member which occurs when a member is called upon to do so many favors that it impacts their ability to make economic progress (Enfield 2008; Portes, 1998). Enfield also notes *demand for conformity* requires intense adherence to group norms which negates or obliterates privacy or personal freedom; and "the notion of downward leveling norms" (9). This phenomenon may

happen in groups that are bonded by a common adversity or in opposition to the mainstream. (Enfield 2008; Portes 1998).

Lastly, drug lords, street gangs, domestic and foreign terrorists, and prisons are sites of rich social capital. It is in fact the deep pools of bonding social capital that work to create and maintain these malevolent endeavors (Putnam, 2000: 22). All of the above mentioned attributes highlight the realization that "social capital is not the fix-all for all social ills" (Enfield, 2008:8).

Youth Social Capital -Research Opportunity

In Youth and Social Capital (2007), Helena Helve and John Bynner posit that traditional modes of social capital transmission are rapidly changing, which Putnam clearly illuminates in *Bowling Alone*. With these rapid changes creating social instability in families and the community, it is imperative that studies continue to look at massive cohorts of young people to understand how the transitions to adulthood are being reshaped, renewed, and redefined. For Halve and Bynner, this "global" reshaping is also creating opportunities for policy and research that only examines but supports the development of social capital in youth (10). Helve and Bynner note that adolescence is the time when youth are shaping the new future. Their adoption of technology, the creation of their own modes of communication and community creation are laying the tracks for how the future will be manifested for not only them, but their communities: "Thus young people's social capital is not just a product of the social capital of their parents....but as a vital means of renewal and development for society as a whole" (9).

Conclusion

The literature illuminates how social capital is an important concept for consideration in youth development. I concur with this assessment. I have also included literature demonstrating the value of adult youth partnerships in creating social capital through examples of three youth development organizations that demonstrates the theories of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. Bourdieu's intentionality of associations and connections is found in intentionality of connecting resource rich adults with the youth who are participating in the programs. These resource rich adults' networks are then accessed on behalf of the youth in the form of job referrals, educational opportunities, and guidance in navigating the adult world. Coleman's social capital concepts can be seen in the organization's role in creating community social capital and also creating educational aspirations in the youth who participate. Putnam's concept of bridging trust creating bridging social capital is clearly evident in the connections the youth are able to make with the adults and vice versa. The next chapters will focus on one particular youth development organization, California 4-H, to parse out what this organization is doing to develop social capital and how these efforts are connected to social capital concepts examined in chapters one and two.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology and Interview Protocols

The research question that I am attempting to answer is: **Given that social capital is a valuable**

concept for consideration in youth development, what can be revealed about how youth

development organizations assist with social capital development by examining their chosen

youth development framework, curricula for volunteer training, and interviews with adults

involved in the organization? In particular, what is happening at 4-H that creates social capital

for youth?

For this thesis project I employed the concept of **Rapid Reconnaissance Research.** This research

concept is prevalent in rural research where it has been deployed to identify system dynamics,

opportunities and constraints in a quick and cost effective manner. Through informal interviews

and case studies, this technique can work to capture subtle and dynamic organizational

characteristics as well as organizational and systemic challenges and opportunities. All of these

factors can then be assessed to assist with directing future research (Holtzman, 1986).

My research methodology using this concept includes a case study of California 4-H and informal

interviews with a representational section of youth program providers--adults who work as staff

or volunteers at California 4-H.

My case study of California 4-H includes a review of the 4-H mission, structure, core values, as

well as an examination of the delivery system for their programming, and a review of some of

4-H's materials and curricula. The curricula and materials were selected for review based on

interviews with 4-H staff and volunteers who directed me to materials that they believed addressed social capital development in youth.

Interview Protocols

As a part of my case study, I conducted informal interviews with a representational group of adults who are involved in 4-H. I strived to capture a mix of rural, urban and suburban 4-H program staff and volunteers, as well as hierarchical levels of staff. I interviewed the California 4-H Director, a County Director, 4-H Youth Development Advisors, Program Representatives, and 4-H volunteers. What follows is a matrix of the interviewee pool related to the role and self-assessed type of area i.e. rural, urban, suburban:

Table 4. 4-H Interviewee role in 4-H programs, geographic area description

4-H Role	Rural	Suburban	Urban	Work with Volunteers
State Director of 4-H (1)	n/a	n/a	n/a	Yes (advisory committees)
County Director (1) Merced*	x	x	x	Yes
Youth Advisor (2) **Merced County*** in this county the County Director is also the 4-H Youth Advisor **Los Angeles County**	x	x	x	Yes
Academic Coordinator (2) State-wide **Healthy Living** **Science Engineering and Technology (SET)**	x	x	x	Yes Yes Yes

Program Representative(3)				
Citizenship Mission Mandate (Statewide)	x	x	x	Yes
Sacramento	x	x	x	Yes
San Mateo and SF County		x	x	Yes
Volunteers				
Community Volunteer Leader(2) San Mateo	x	x		Yes
Project Leader (1) -Tehama County	x			Yes
Project Leader and Executive Volunteer (1) - Sacramento	x	x		Yes
Project Leader (1)- El Dorado County	x	x		Yes
Project Leader (1)-Yolo	x			Yes

I interviewed a total of fourteen (14) staff and volunteers that represent every level of 4-H. My interviews were based on pre-determined questions which I offered to give to all of the interviewees ahead of time and were tailored to address the connection of the interviewees to 4-H (*see appendix A for interview questions*).

I submitted an application for an IRB exemption. I applied for an IRB exemption because in this phase of the research I was only speaking with adults and only speaking with them about their experiences with 4-H. I conducted the interviews over a three week period beginning on September 26, 2011. This was an ideal time to begin the interviews because this is also the beginning cycle for 4-H programs.[18]

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[18] 4-H closely follows the K-12 school. Enrollment and programs begin in September and conclude in June.

Due to the nature of 4-H- it is distributed State-wide- the funding and time constraints, most of my interviews were over the phone. I was able to conduct three interviews in person and these three interviews were recorded. [19] The interviewees were told about my thesis title and topic , which is youth development and social capital and that I was examining 4-H in particular, to ascertain programs, policies, activities and materials that could be linked to increasing social capital development in youth.

My interview questions were based on my research regarding social capital and how it is developed and included questions to assess 4-H programmatic incorporation of concepts of bridging and linking social capital. My goal in my research, which informed my methodology, was to speak to people who would have the strongest propensity to understand the concept of social capital. My interviews played a vital role in helping me to understand 4-H's youth development strategies and how social capital development concepts are embedded in 4-H's volunteer training and programs. Specifically the interviews informed me of the institutional intentionality around social capital, directed me to specific curricula, the mode of 4-H program delivery most likely to create social capital, and provided anecdotal information on their personal experiences of social capital development in 4-H.

For example, I determined, through my first interview that there are two programs that create bridging and linking social capital implemented at the State level. These two programs are Cal Focus, a State Government education and community service learning program and a 4-H International Exchange program.

I also identified three ways that 4-H delivers programs- clubs, afterschool, and camps. Through my interviews with 4-H staff and volunteers one area that was consistently brought to my

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[19] I was able to record Shannon Dogan, Director 4-H, Pat English, Program Representative for the Citizenship mandate, and Judy Hayes, a former 4-H project leader.

attention was the club programs. A majority of the interviewees shared with me that they

believed the club programs offer the richest opportunities for social capital development

because of the extensive volunteer training, diverse project development opportunities, and

adult youth partnerships that are happening at the club level

I also determined other curricula and materials that may develop social capital in youth,

specifically many of the interviewees suggested I review the "Project Leader's Digest " and

"Building Community: A Blueprint for Action: Service Learning Coach's Manual". I also have

included The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program brochure. The brochure is

used to develop interest and recruit teen and adults into Cal-Focus and Washington Focus

programs which are composed of civic engagement activities and trips to the State and National

Capitols. These materials and curricula will be examined in more detail in **Chapter Five 4-H**

Curricula and Materials Review.

All of the interviews provided valuable insights into how 4-H develops social capital. Below is a

table that codifies the interviewees' responses.

Table 5 Interviewees and responses supporting curricula to review and sites of social capital development

Type	# knew correct definition of social capital	# needed the definition of social capital	Assessed Clubs were best sites for social capital development	Camps	Afterschool	Curricula recommendation
Administrative 4-H Staff (State Director and County Director) **n=2**	2	0	1			Project leaders Digest (1) Thrive (1)
Research related 4-H staff (YD Advisor, Academic Coordinators) **n=3**	3	0	3			Project leaders Digest (2) Thrive (2)

Program Representatives n=3	2	1	2--1 had no opinion			Project Leaders Digest (2) Building Community a Blueprint for Action (2) The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program
Volunteers--Project Leaders *at the Club level* n=6	2	4	6			Project Leaders Digest (4) Building Community a Blueprint for Action (2) Thrive (1)

The case study which includes the material review and interviews are not meant to be the *end all and be all* of what 4-H is doing to create social capital, but serve as the beginning of an outline to guide additional thinking on the opportunities and challenges of California 4-H related to social capital development. The next chapters will examine 4-H in more detail and begin the work of connecting what 4-H is doing to create social capital in California youth.

Chapter 4

California 4-H--Case Study

As a True 4-H Member, I pledge
My head to clear thinking
My heart to greater loyalty
My hands to larger service
My health to better living
For my club, my community, my country, and my world.
4-H Pledge

Why California 4-H?

I choose to research California 4-H for social capital development opportunities for very specific

reasons:

- 4-H is highly regarded by youth development professionals, is a youth centered

  organization, and actively promotes youth- adult partnerships (Jarrett, etal, 2005).

- 4-H promotes, in its publically available materials, the development of youth adult

  partnerships and responsibility to the community.

- The above mentioned attributes are harbingers of social capital

- I have access to 4-H because of my professional role.

What is 4-H?

An examination of any youth development organization intuitively begins by examining the

materials and information that is publically available. In this era, that information should be

readily available on a website. The California 4-H website (ca4h.org) provides a wealth of

information on the mission, programs, policies and youth development framework that guides all 4-H programming. In order to develop a cursory understanding of 4-H I have created a brief summary:

- 4-H is available to youth ages five through nineteen.

- 4-H is a Positive Youth Development (PYD) organization focusing on the 6 C's- competence, confidence, caring, character, connection and contribution; and practiced through hands-on experiential learning.

- 4-H is available through three modes of delivery: Clubs (which are formed at the local level and managed by youth and adult volunteers; Afterschool programs (in partnership with school districts) and Camps (staff and volunteer run one week summer camp programs).

- 4-H allows for a diversity of projects that include but not limited to animals, domestic arts, science, technology, fine art, photography, dance, and robotics (projects are only limited by the desires of the 4-H members and their adult partners).

- 4-H is not a year round program, it is implemented during the school year September through June.

- 4-H has a University of California Cooperative Extension research connection.

- 4-H is a brand and there are specific requirements to be referred to as 4-H and to be sanctioned by the University and National 4-H.

- California 4-H will be celebrating its centennial year in 2013.

4-H History

In the early 1900's there began a national will to extend education to rural families.[20] Rural youth programs became a way to introduce new agricultural technology to adults. A.B. Graham is credited by National 4-H with starting such a program in Ohio in 1902, and it is now referenced as the first 4-H program in the U.S. When Congress created the Cooperative Extension Service in the USDA in 1914 it included these types of programs which became known as 4-H clubs.

4-H was established in California in 1913 and followed the model of all 4-H programs throughout the United States, by being initially rooted in agriculture and is the result of a collaboration between Federal (USDA) State (through University Cooperative Extension-Youth Development Advisers) and Counties. California has a rich agricultural history and 4-H has thrived here, being actively practiced in all but one County in California.

4-H prides itself on changing with the times and reflecting the community, the country and the world. For instance in the late 1940's the international exchange program was created to send young people abroad, which reflected an expanded world view due to World War II. In the 50's 4-H became a more intentional site for educational and youth development research and in the 60's California 4-H aggressively expanded into urban and low income areas, particularly in southern parts of the State.

Today 4-H is working hard to expand its brand to change the perception that 4-H is only about cows and cooking. Through its "Mission Mandates" which are **Healthy Living, Science, Engineering and Technology (SET) and Citizenship,** 4-H is striving to position itself as a place where all youth can find a point of entry, develop relevant projects that reflect the 21st Century, and receive the full benefits of the latest youth development research.

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[20] http://www.ca4h.org/About/History/

California 4-H's mission

The University of California 4-H Youth Development Program engages youth in reaching their

fullest potential while advancing the field of youth development.

California 4-H advances the field of youth development via the professional positions of Youth

Development Advisors—academics in the field who are actively doing various forms of research

connected to youth, through the 4-H Youth Development Center (YDC)[21] with responsibilities for

program evaluation and research coordination, and through several academic coordinators at

the State level.

4-H Positive Youth Development Framework

 4-H is very clear that it is a Positive Youth Development (PYD) Organization. PYD has been

conceptualized in a variety of ways, but generally refers to a focus on the developmental

characteristics which lead to positive outcomes and behaviors among young people. The

components of a positive youth development framework are the internal and external factors

which help young people to lead successful lives into young adulthood. The PYD concept is

partly a reaction to work from the 1980's which focused on problems and deficits among young

people. Small and Memmo (2004) describe the PYD approach as being based on several key

assumptions:

1. Youth who achieve their full potential are less likely to experience problems.

2. Supports and opportunities are important to success for young people.

3. Communities are critical shapers of youth development, and can improve their capacity to

build successful young people.

4. Youth need to be viewed as resources and in a positive light.

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[21] YDC was officially closed on October 2011

California 4-H Demographics—Who are benefiting from 4-H Programs? [22]

Race	% of 4-H participants in these categories
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0.88%
Asian	3.60%
Black of African American	8.23%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0.08%
White	40.98%
Hispanic or Latino	40.59%
Youth Indicating more than one race	3.35%
Undetermined	1.54%
Gender	Male 48% Female 52%
Ages 5 to 9 years old	46%
10 to 13 years old	31%
14 to 19 years old	23%

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[22] 4-H enrollment data National 4-H Council website. These percentages reflect the total number of 4-H enrollees in camp, afterschool, and clubs.
http://www.reeis.usda.gov/portal/page?_pageid=193,899783&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&smi_id=3 1

Table 6. Where in California is 4-H Happening?

Place of Residence of 4-H participants	% of participants who live in these areas
Farm	7.3%
Towns of under 10,000 and rural non-farm	20.7%
Town and cities 10,000 to 50,000 and their suburbs	35.0%
Suburbs of cities over 50,000	8.0%
Central Cities of over 50,000	29.0%

4-H has traditionally been seen as a predominately white, rural and male oriented organization. The 2009-2010 demographic information shows that there are now more females than males, there is a wide range of ages being served , and it is more ethnically diverse than usually presumed. Also, the majority of 4-H programming is happening in small towns and cities, with urban centers being the second largest segment of 4-H club programs. However, this data reflects all 4-H programming and includes participants in afterschool , special interest/short term programs, school enrichment programs, and camp programs. Club programs constitute 15% of the total 4-H programs.

California Youth Development Program (YDP) 4-H Structure

The Structure of 4-H is complex. One reason for this complexity is related to the partnerships of the University and the County and how this affects the hierarchy of reporting. For instance, The State Director of California 4-H supervises staff at the State office, but does not have responsibility or control over County Directors or Advisors who oversee local 4-H programs. Program Representatives, who are charged with implementing 4-H programmatic mandates,

report to the Advisors and in many instances, the County Director and the 4-H Youth Advisor is the same person. The County Director reports to the Vice President of Program Services at UCOP and the Youth Development adviser reports to the County Director. The State Director of California 4-H reports to the Youth, Family and Community Director who reports to the Vice President of Program Services, UCOP. County Directors positions may be funded in part by the County, the State via UC, or by a combination of both sources. The 4-H Youth Advisors are all UC employees.

The State office has a staff of eleven (11), including the State Director of 4-H, whose sole focus is 4-H. Their responsibilities include direct support to counties for enrollment, fee collection, rule compliance and risk management oversight as well as providing curriculum development, training, and strategies around curriculum implementation. The State office staff also works with leadership advisory groups (volunteers) to vet curriculum, prepare for events, conferences, and workshops, and/or receive policy advice related to volunteer management, program management and fiscal matters.

Three of the State Office staff is charged with implementing **4-H Mission Mandates: "**The 4-H mission mandates clearly articulate program priorities, nationally, but also provide state and county administrators, faculty and staff the framework to organize and focus their program development, management and implementation strategies. The mission mandates are: 1) citizenship; 2) science; and 3) healthy living" (*Cloverpedia*, 2011).

4-H is a volunteer run organization and volunteers compose, by far the major population of people charged with delivering 4-H programs. The direct oversight and training of program volunteers is the responsibility of the program representatives who are funded through counties and UC. There are forty-seven (47) 4-H program representatives in 45 out of 57 counties. Some

counties share a program representative and many counties do not have a full time program representative.
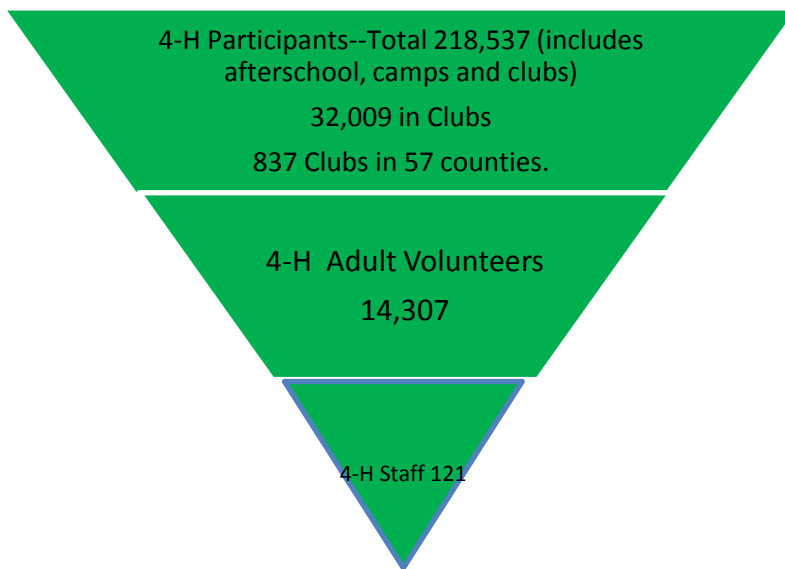
Figure 1. Pyramid Graph of 4-H Incorporating Youth, Volunteers and Staff

Volunteers have Policy and Fiscal Responsibility Roles

There are 10 advisory committees composed of State and County staff and volunteers. The Youth Development advisory committees roles include insight, review, and input for the operation and management of the Statewide 4-H YDP to the State 4-H YDP Director.

There are also Leader's Councils or County Councils that are composed predominately of volunteers who have assumed responsibilities for the management the 4-H programs in their County.   In this regard, many of the Leader's Councils have

Advisory Committees

1. Policy
2. Incentives and Recognition
3. Citizenship Service Learning
4. 4-H International Exchange
5. Animal Science Education
6. Camping Advisory Committee
7. 4-H Technology Leadership Team
8. Healthy Living
9. Shooting Sports
10. 4-H Military Partnership

fiduciary responsibility (meeting 501 c 3 reporting requirements) for the club and camp

programs because almost all of 4-H clubs participate in some form of local level fundraising.

The fundraising efforts are overseen and approved by the County Director, but neither the

University nor the County have direct involvement or fiduciary responsibilities with these local

level fundraising efforts.

4-H Relationship to University of Californian Division of Ag and Natural Resources (DANR)

In 2009 Ag and Natural Resources-Cooperative Extension (ANR) began to align all of the

Cooperative Extension programs under nine key initiatives-see **Appendix Two** for complete list

of the nine initiatives.

- The California 4-H program is under ANR initiative *Healthy Families and Communities*

- The 4-H State office is co-located on the UC Davis campus with Division of Ag and

  Natural Resources (DANR)

- County Directors are located at County offices throughout the State

- In some instances County Directors also serve as the 4-H Youth Development Advisors

- There are currently seventeen (17) 4-H Youth Development Advisers

- There are currently six (6) County Directors/Youth Advisers and Forty (40) County

  Directors

- There are forty-seven (47) 4-H Program Representatives

Below is a simplified organization chart that illustrates the hierarchy of University and County

Personnel that have 4-H Responsibilities.
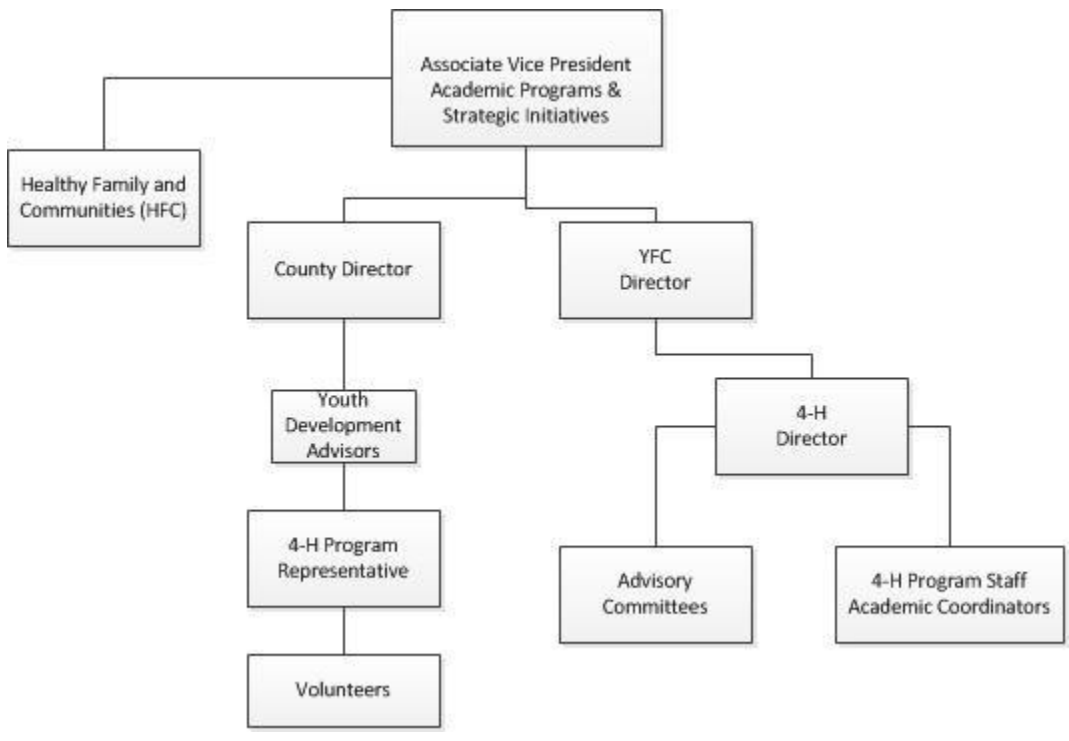
Figure 2. 4-H Organization Chart within UCCE ANR

4-H Delivery modes

4-H has three ways to deliver programs: Clubs, camps and afterschool.

Table 7. Table of Delivery Modes

Mode	School Year	4-H Curriculum	Majority Volunteers	Dosage
Afterschool	Yes	Yes--in partnership with afterschool programs	No	Possibly once a week for 2-3 hours but not year to year
Camp	No--seasonal	Yes	Yes	Once a week once a year

Mode	School Year	4-H Curriculum	Majority Volunteers	Dosage
Clubs	Yes	Yes--Project oriented	Yes	The Club must meet at least once a month-however project participation and completion may require more meetings

For my thesis, I have focused on the delivery mode of the club programs. I made this choice based on my interviews with staff and volunteers who , when asked where they thought social capital was most likely to be developed, a majority thought it was happening more robustly at the club level. This is not to say it is not happening in camps or afterschool, the people I spoke with self-assessed the clubs. Clearly a larger sample needs to be taken to draw a definitive conclusion however, below is a preliminary list of reasons why clubs were chosen:

- The site of the highest propensity for the development of adult and youth partnerships.
- Clubs provide the longevity of programming i.e. a youth can be involved in a club for many years.
- Youth are charged with managing the clubs, electing officers, setting meeting agendas, planning and implementing fundraisers.
- Adults are provided with extensive volunteer training

 All of these aspects contribute to the development of social capital by helping youth make connections with resource rich adult, supporting diverse projects and activities and providing youth with valuable life skills.

What is a 4-H "Club?"

"4-H Club: A 4-H club is a group of 5 or more 4-H members (ages 5 through 19) **from 3 different families** who meet regularly to conduct business, learn in projects, conduct community service projects, and **develop a sense of belonging through social activities**. Most 4-H clubs meet

monthly from September through May. 4-H Clubs promote positive youth development through offering educational activities for youth to develop the 6 C's (competence, confidence, character, **caring, connection, and contribution**). 4-H Clubs structure an environment that emphasis the four essential elements include **belonging (caring relationships),** mastery (constructive learning experiences), independence (leadership opportunities), and **generosity (service to communities)**" http://www.ca4h.org/Programs/Clubs/

Projects and Activities

4-H distinguishes between projects and activities. Projects are required by all enrolled 4-H members. There is a wide diversity in projects and there are limitless possibilities provided there is an adult who is willing to be a project leader. Through my interviews with project leaders I heard about projects that included animals (rabbits, guinea pigs, goats, cows, sheep, swine) to sewing, to mountain biking, snowboarding, robotics, photography, mural creation and so on. The website outlines what constitutes an official 4-H project and highlights that the project must be completed and reported on, and must have some kind of educational component. The reporting aspect is usually manifested in a 4-H Record Book that members can submit for judging.

All projects have a presentation component and all projects are eligible to be judged by peers and others. 4-H has a hierarchy of judging that can propel a youth's project through local clubs, to county to state, national and even international levels of competition.

4-H members coalesce over projects as needed. Some projects may require weekly meetings to complete. As presentation and/or competition time nears, most clubs begin to meet more often. People who visit the County and State fairs are viewing 4-H projects (animals and other projects) that have risen through the ranks of competition.

Project completion is also the point where social capital development opportunities occur. It is the most prevalent site of adult youth partnerships. It is also the time and place where youth are

> A 4-H project is:
>
> - Planned work in an area of interest to the 4-H member.
> - Guided by a 4-H adult volunteer who is the project leader.
> - Aimed at planned objectives that can be attained and measured.
> - Summarized by some form of record keeping.
> - A minimum of six hours of project instruction.

exposed to diverse and new experiences, and other youth; and projects work to link youth to a larger community through project planning, implementation, fundraising, and final presentations.

 Activities are events that require the entire club to come together. Activities are also when an entire county or multiple counties of clubs can come together. It is these occasions that are also sites of robust social capital development. Activities can include county-wide fundraisers or a community service project. These types of coalescing activities are essential in developing bridging and linking experiences that can translate to social capital development. It is during activities that youth meet youth from other clubs, connect to their communities through service projects, develop understanding of how to manage events, communicate with others (especially other adults) and where 4-H can demonstrate its value to the community through community service projects.

4- H Connection to Research

4-H, due to its beginnings in education and its connection to land grant institutions benefits

from research in youth development. 4-H serves as both the subject of research and the leader

in youth development research. Detailed information about 4-H's *connection* to research can be

accessed on the California 4-H website ca4h.org. Below is a sample outline of recent research

involving 4-H members and research personnel which was taken directly from the 4-H website

http://www.ca4h.org/Research/Repository/CurrentProjects/

- 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development
  Led by Jacquie and Richard Lerner at Tufts University in Boston, this national study of
  youth development indicators among 4-H and non-4-H youth has provided new
  information about the impacts of the 4-H program.
- 4-H Thrives
  Through a grant from the Thrive Foundation, California 4-H is implementing a new
  model of positive youth development based on four components--Sparks, Growth
  Mindset, Goal Management, and the "6 C's"-competence, confidence, caring, character,
  connection and contribution
- 4-H Youth Adult Partnership Experiences in Science (YAPES)
  This multi-county project features community-based science clubs that focus on
  positive youth-adult partnerships. The target age of these clubs is 8-12 with an adult
  counterpart (a parent, significant adult or mentor). Each youth-adult pair participates in
  learning and practicing the skills of scientific investigation through volunteer-facilitated
  hands-on inquiry-based STEM activities.
- Assessment Tools in Informal Science (ATIS)
  Harvard University's Project in Education, Afterschool and Resiliency (PEAR) worked
  with 4-H staff to develop the Assessment Tools in Informal Science website, which
  provides validated, reliable evaluation tools and resources for non-formal science
  programming.
- Children, Youth, and Families At Risk (CYFAR)
  Two projects have been funded through the CYFAR grant system. The first project,
  which began in 2009, involves science, engineering, and technology program delivery to
  lower income young people in after school programs. The program uses a teens-as-
  teachers model to engage elementary school students. **The second, funded in 2011** and
  just beginning, will offer community-based experiential learning in nutrition, fitness,
  food preparation, gardening and agricultural literacy through trained community teens
  and adult volunteers in 4-H project settings in Contra Costa and Nevada Counties.
- Marin 4-H Environmental Stewardship Project
  This pilot project was developed as a two-year collaboration between 4-H and the
  Conservation Corps North Bay (CCNB) to enhance community environmental education.

- On the Wild Side Program Evaluation
  The On the Wild Side program brings 130 4th-6th grade students from urban schools or after school programs to weekend-long environmental education experiences at a camp. The program is planned and led by teens. The annual evaluation has measured student learning, civic engagement and leadership in teens who plan and deliver the program.
- Social Capital in the 4-H Program
  Recent funding will allow research that will determine how unique partnerships, networks and associations contribute to the well-being of youth and of the greater community in which the 4-H youth development program is based.

Conclusion

4-H is a complex organization that prides itself on its embrace of diverse projects and core values that promote inclusiveness, positive adult and youth partnerships, youth leadership development and learning by doing. Through 4-H's connection to research, it is also able to provide members' access to the latest information and practices related to youth development. In the following chapters I will be examining the materials and curricula that are employed to carry out the core values of 4-H. I will also be relating my interviews into my findings that I hope will shed additional light on how 4-H creates social capital development opportunities and how it could do it even better.

Chapter 5

Curricula Review California 4-H

The focus of my curricula review is materials that specifically target adults and provide instructions on how to interact with youth. I sought out materials that promoted or instructed adults on how to facilitate bridging and linking engagement opportunities such as civic engagement and/or community service projects. I also examined materials for instructions or information or requirement in any activities that linked youth to people who are different from themselves, encouraged them to civically engaged, and/or exposed them to activities they would not normally have the opportunity to explore.

To begin a curricula review, I believe it is important to review what an organization asserts as its prime directive. For 4-H, these directives are **best exemplified in 4-H's stated mission, core values and youth development framework.** By examining these three pieces of information there emerges a consistent context for comprehending how youth development is to be undertaken at 4-H and by extension how social capital development opportunities are created. It is clear that 4-H believes all youth who participate in 4-H should have access to the following: experiential and learn by doing opportunities, connection with caring adults, leadership development opportunities and sense of connection or belonging to a larger community.

4-H promotes Positive Youth Development (PYD) programming. I would assert that embedded in the PYD framework is language that is strongly connected to social capital development strategies. I have noted the text in verbatim below (found on the California 4-H website) and highlighted the language that is aligned with social capital development.

"Positive youth development generally refers to a focus on the developmental characteristics which lead to positive behaviors and outcomes among young people. Positive youth development is a cornerstone of the 4-H program. Positive youth development occurs through an **intentional process that provides opportunities, choices, relationships,** and the support necessary for youth to fully reach their potential" http://www.ca4h.org/About/Mission/PYD/.

Additionally California 4-H has explicit language on their website that references opportunities for social capital development through connections with adults:

"Research shows that when youth are engaged and direct their own learning, that the capacity and desire to learn is increased. **Adult volunteers and teen educators are essential to this learning - facilitating the learning process using hands-on, experiential methods, where youth are free to explore**…. The **4-H YDP promotes positive relationships with caring adults,** a safe environment, the opportunity for youth **to develop mastery, and the ability to demonstrate their new skills in public service"** (http://www.ca4h.org/About/Mission/).

4-H Core Values

4-H has established core values to guide the design and implementation of educational activities and measure educational impacts. The core values are summarized below which I have quoted verbatim. Again, I have highlighted the language that implies social capital development opportunities.

1. 4-H YDP activities focus on education and meet identified ANR core issues and clientele needs.

2. **4-H YDP adult volunteers are guides to youth learning. They also respect others' viewpoints and abilities**.

3. 4-H YDP programs respond to a range of individual learning styles, abilities, and backgrounds.

4. 4-H YDP educational activities are inclusive, not exclusive. Educational efforts are available to the public on an equal opportunity basis

5. **4-H YDP staff and adult volunteers emphasize experiential "learn-by-doing" methods.**

6. 4-H YDP staff and adult volunteers teach new skills, validate achievement, **and encourage sharing of information and learning.**

As stated in Chapter Three, through my interview process I was directed to several curricula and 4-H materials. The recommendations were based on the interviewees understanding of social capital. In several cases I provided the following definition of social capital: ***Social capital is a concept related to an individual's networks and associations that can be converted to economic or human capital, such as good information that can lead to employment, direct connections to available jobs, and/or information about college.   I also explained that these networks and associations are in part developed by youth through connections to resource rich adults, who partner with them on mutually satisfying projects, and by having the opportunity for bridging and linking engagements developed by participating in diverse activities and having the opportunity to meet and interact with people who are different from themselves.*** These are all factors explicated in the literature that contribute to the development of social capital specifically Jarrett, etal (2005), which connects how social capital is developed when youth are connected with resource rich adults to work on a mutually defined goal; and Putnam's (2000), concepts of bridging social capital.

For this thesis I have selected for my curricula and materials review two different volunteer leader's manuals*: Building Community: A Blueprint for Action: Service Learning Coach's Manual* (1997) which is a training and instruction manual on how to implement community service learning projects. Community service is a required component in all 4-H programs and falls under the mission mandate of Citizenship. I also reviewed *The Volunteer's Project Leaders Digest.* The Digest is a required reading for all Project Leader Volunteers*.*

I choose to review these particular manuals because: One, they were both mentioned to me by different types of people in the 4-H organization- Volunteers, Youth Development Advisors, Program Representatives and Academic Coordinators--who all agreed that these materials provide language that could be related to social capital development; two, these are materials have been available to 4-H volunteers for at least three years, and have had time to penetrate the system; three, virtually every volunteer is required to read the *Project Leader's Guide* so it is widely disseminated throughout the organization; and fourth, these materials are free and readily available to 4-H volunteers .

Curricula Review Framework

The curricula examination was twofold. First, when examining the curricula I noted implicit language and concepts that connected to the literature on social capital theory. Specifically I looked for the concept of intentionality of acquisition of connections and networks and the reflection upon them that is a hallmark of Bourdieuian thought about social capital. I assessed for implicit and explicit language about family and community connections, educational goal setting and modeling of educational aspirations that would note Coleman's concepts of intergenerational closure and conversion of social capital to human capital. I sought out implicit and explicit language about bridging engagement opportunities that promote social

cohesion and trust, associational opportunities and civic engagement that are concepts Putnam asserts create social capital, and I looked for specific references to the nature of adult youth relationships and how these relationships are to be pursued to create trust and "good' information sharing in deference to Jarrett, Sullivan, and Watkins.

I also attempted to review the curricula for explicit references to various types of social capital development. For example, if the language was "to develop social capital" or " youth need adults to help them develop social capital", or "social capital is an important component for positive youth development and is developed by..." etc., I marked it in the curricula. Using these criteria to review the curricula allowed me to pull out the language and concepts at both the implicit and explicit level. Below are Tables 8-18 articulating my 4-H curricula review related to the curricula's connections to social capital development.

These tables highlight the curricula language connected to the concepts of social capital development by noting where the curricula implicitly or explicitly instructs on developing social capital and/or instructs on creating the *opportunity* for social capital development.

Table 8. Project Leaders' Digest (2007) - Social Capital Concepts

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development Jarrett,etal
• intentional network acquisition and maintenance • reflection	• generational closure • public good concept • educational aspirations	• connection to associations • civic engagement • social trust • bridging engagements - exposure to others or activities that are "different".[23]	• changing perspectives of teens and adults • resource sharing • mutually fulfilling project work

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[23] Different in this case can mean they are different from themselves--age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic and it also means they are able to participate in activities and experience things outside of their normal range of activities.

Table 9. Project Leaders' Digest (2007) - Best Example of Language

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development Jarrett, etal
	"As a project leader, you can help youth develop into responsible, self-directed, productive citizens of the world" (1).	***Essential Elements of Youth Development Programs*** Belonging..."being a member or participant of a recognized group in the community" Generosity-"....connecting to their community and feeling a part of something larger than themselves...sharing time and resources to assist others....learning to accept differences, resolve conflict, and empathize with others." (2)	"Youth and Adults Working Together" *Instructions to Adults* Build relationships and a cooperative environment. Understand differences. Know your goals and focus on the ones you have in common. Find a balance of power and find importance in working together Reveal skills and attitudes that will cultivate a successful partnership (10)

Table 10. Project Leaders' Digest (2007) - Additional Notes

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development Jarrett, etal
		This manual has several references to adults assisting youth with community connections, civic engagement and bridging engagement experiences	This manual has many references to adult youth partnerships

Table 11. Project Leaders' Digest (2007) - Implicit Concepts and/or Explicit Language

	Implicit Social Capital Concept	Multiple implied references found	Explicit Language About Social Capital
Coleman	Adults are not the primary recipients of the benefits of social capital =Public good	No	No
Putnam	Covers bridging, civic engagement	Yes: 4-H Community Service projects allow "Sharing time and resources to be assistance to others	No
Social Capital Development Jarrett, etal	Adult youth partnerships help change perspectives of both. Working toward mutually satisfying goals	Yes: " Youth need a safe environment to make mistakes and getting feedback, not as a	No

		competition but also as ongoing element for participation	

Table 12. Building Community: A Blueprint for Action (1997) - Social Capital Concepts

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal
• intentional network acquisition and maintenance • reflection	• generational closure • public good concept • educational aspirations	• connection to associations • civic engagement • social trust • bridging engagements - exposure to others or activities that are "different".[24]	• changing perspectives of teens and adults • resource sharing • mutually fulfilling project work

Table 13. Building Community: A Blueprint for Action (1997) - Best Example of Language

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal
"Job developers tell us that future jobs will go to those people who can effectively work in a team..." (4)	"When using the word 'success', we mean that the project is a positive experience for the youth and ...benefits the community in some way" (5)	The entire manual is about how to conduct a community service project which is an effort taken in part to connect the youth to the community and community resources--the manual talks about collaboration with other community groups, accessing other community resources such as local newspaper, library, city officials etc. (5-6)	Instructions on adult youth relationship: "Listen and talk, ask open-ended questions that promote reflective thinking and work with the teens to find answers" (2)

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[24] Different in this case can mean they are different from themselves--age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic and it also means they are able to participate in activities and experience things outside of their normal range of activities.

Table 14. Building Community: A Blueprint for Action (1997) - Additional Notes

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development Jarrett, etal
Manual describes ways to develop a sense of team that references intentionality around networks and connections:" Plan, make and eat a meal together, start each meeting with a fun icebreaker..." (5)			This manual is about constructing and implementing a community service project which implies that the adults and youth are working on a mutually agreed upon goal

Table 15. Building Community: A Blueprint for Action (1997) - Implicit Concepts and/or Explicit Language

	Implicit Social Capital Concept	Multiple implied references found	Explicit Language About Social Capital
Bourdieu	Intentional development of networks	No	No
Coleman	Youth increase social capital of community adheres to the concept of public good	No	No
Putnam	Bridging and linking social capital, community engagement	Yes: "The Groups should generate a list of community people to go talk to and go talk!"	No
Social Capital Development Jarrett,etal	Adult youth partnerships help change perspectives of both. Working together to fulfill mutually satisfying goals	Yes: How Do I coach this process? Throughout the project your role is to advocate for the teens as they carry out their action plan."	No

Table 16. Brochure for The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program: Citizenship Adventures for Teens and Adults

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal
• intentional network acquisition and maintenance • reflection	• generational closure • public good concept • educational aspirations	• connection to associations • civic engagement • social trust • bridging engagements - exposure to others or activities that are "different".[25]	• changing perspectives of teens and adults • resource sharing • mutually fulfilling project work

Table 17. Brochure for The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program: Citizenship Adventures for Teens and Adults - Best Example of Language

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal
"California Focus can be the beginning of a life of public awareness and participation that leaves you with a strong determination to get involved"	"Developing understanding of one's self to enhance positive relations with one's family's and peers"	Under Program Focus Areas and Goals: "Develop awareness and understanding of diverse cultures, races, and nationalities other than one's own." "Develop leadership skills for active involvement in public policies and the affairs of local, state, national and international orgs and communities."	An essential part of the Washington Focus program (includes a visit to D.C. and visit with legislators) is a community service learning project in which adults and youth are required to work together to plan, implement and complete--See A Blueprint for Action above.

Table 18. Brochure for The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program: Citizenship Adventures for Teens and Adults - Additional Notes

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal
		Many references to making connections and having experiences that are life changing.	Recruitment brochure so does not have instructional information

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[25] Different in this case can mean they are different from themselves--age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic and it also means they are able to participate in activities and experience things outside of their normal range of activities.

Table 19. Brochure for The California 4-H Citizenship Service Learning Program: Citizenship Adventures for Teens and - Implicit Concepts and/or Explicit Language

	Implicit Social Capital Concept	Multiple implied references found	Explicit Language About Social Capital
Bourdieu	Intentional development of networks	Yes	No
Coleman	Adults are not the primary recipients of the benefits of social capital =Public good	Yes	No
Putnam	Bridging social capital development opportunities, civic engagement	Yes	No
Social Capital Development opportunities-Jarrett,etal	Changing perspectives of youth and adults Mutually	Yes	No

If the success of the curricula is how many boxes are filled than a measure for what that threshold is needs to be determined. In my opinion, the more boxes that are filled in, the stronger the curricula for developing social capital in youth.

Assessments and Conclusion

Due to the nature of the Rapid Reconnaissance Research, I had to be very strategic about the curricula and materials I chose to review. I intentionally asked about and then selected curricula that would have the highest propensity to connect concepts of social capital to youth development through the adult volunteers who work with youth.

I must note that 4-H is currently involved in implementing a new youth development framework with related curricula called *i Champion Adult Leader Guide* and *i Thrive Member Guide.* The curriculum is literally "hot off the press" and as such I did not include it in my review. In my

opinion it has not penetrated the California 4-H organization but in years to come will definitely influence how 4-H trains volunteers to interact with youth[26].

In my assessment 4-H incorporates concepts of social capital in the volunteer training curricula as well as in the information in the recruitment materials and in what 4-H publishes on its website. However, none of the materials contain explicit references to social capital. What the youth development framework and related materials do reflect is the commitment 4-H has to creating positive and productive adult and youth relationships and linking youth to a larger community. Both of these concepts have implicit links to social capital development and do indeed help 4-H youth develop some forms of social capital. Where the curricula is lacking relates to instructions or information about the importance of social capital and how to develop it. In particular, there is nothing explicit about the forms of social capital that are formed by the intentional creation of productive networks and associations ala Bourdieu.

The curricula review was essential in enabling me to connect the dots of social capital theory to practice--it is where the rubber hits the road. In my next chapter, **My Findings,** I will organize all of my research and articulate how social capital is happening in 4-H.

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[26] I address this again in the Findings section of my thesis

Chapter 6

Findings and Recommendations

Research Question: **Given that social capital is a valuable concept for consideration in youth development, what can be revealed about how youth development organizations assist with social capital development by examining their chosen youth development framework, curricula for volunteer training, and interviews with adults involved in the organization? In particular, what is happening at 4-H that creates social capital for youth?**

Below is a list of my four key findings three of which are directly related to what is happening with social capital development in California 4-H and one that is related to the scale of California 4-H . The findings related to social capital development are based on the largest number of commonalities that I found in my research. In other words, these finding reflect evidence that was found in multiple areas from multiple sources and represents the majority view of the interviewees and is supported by the curricula and youth development framework. Additionally, I have based my findings regarding the existence of social capital development opportunities on the concepts found in the social capital theorists I have researched through my literature review: Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. Lastly, I have also used the findings in the work of Jarrett, Sullivan, and Watkins, whose article on social capital and youth development programs work to provide a schematic for what is happening that creates social capital when youth and adults partner on projects.

Four Key Findings:

1. 4-H does not have explicit curricula, materials or projects that address social capital development.

2. However, this does not negate social capital from happening at 4-H. Social capital, particularly as conceptualized by Coleman and Putnam, is happening for 4-H participants and is connected to what adults and youth do in 4-H.

3. My initial findings, which point to the need for further research, indicate community club programs offer the most robust opportunities for social capital creation.

4. When compared to the California population of youth ages 6-17, 4-H serves a very small portion of Californians.

Finding 1: 4-H does not have explicit language about social capital in the materials that I reviewed, nor is "social capital" mentioned on their website. I asked the interviewees if they had knowledge of materials that referenced social capital explicitly. None of them knew of any of these types of materials.

I have also reviewed 4-H's latest positive youth development model "4-H Thrive" which includes curriculum for framing volunteer training, youth development programming and evaluation. This curriculum was created in partnership with Thrive Foundation for Youth. The curriculum for volunteers is called *i Champion--Adult Volunteer Leader Guide for 4- Project Leadership.* It is my understanding this will replace the *Project Leader's Digest* at some point. The Thrive guide goes into much greater detail about adult youth relationships, how to work on project productively through finding a passion (referred to as" Spark") goal management -Goal setting (G); Pursuit of Strategies (P) and Shifting Gears (S), Mindset, and Reflection. It would appear to be the *Project Leader's Digest* writ large and has a component for evaluation that the

Project Leader's Digest does not. The *iThrive* and i*Champion* materials go into great detail and explanation about feeling connected, contributing and caring, as part of the 6-Cs of thriving.[27] It has only recently been unveiled and is still working its way through the system, so I have not included it in my curricula review. The Thrive materials that I reviewed do not have explicit language regarding social capital.

Finding 2: 4-H is creating social capital opportunities for its youth, through adult youth partnerships, exposing youth to resource rich adults, and offering unique life changing experiences that create bridging and linking engagements (Jarrett, etal, 2005; Putnam, 2000). My interview pool was very small (14 adults--4 men and 10 women), but I was struck by how the majority of interviewees said the same things, regardless of their connection to 4-H. Over and over I heard from staff and volunteers about the value of youth and adult partnerships and how 4-H, through its core values and curricula, is very intentional about creating a safe place for kids to attempt new things and tackle projects. These core attributes inform how projects are undertaken, work to give many youth opportunities that they may not have in their regular life and through this process change perceptions adults and youth have about each other (Jarrett, etal 2005).

Below is a table I have created that locates the types of social capital with the statements I heard from the interviewees:

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[27] Richard Lerner of Tufts Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development identified 6 C's as indicators of youth who are on the path to healthy adulthood. The 6 C's are competence, connection, character, caring, confidence and contribution (iThrive, 2011: 32)

Table 20. Connecting Interviewees observations with social capital concepts

Bourdieu	Coleman	Putnam	Social Capital Development opportunities- Jarrett,etal
• intentional network acquisition and maintenance • reflection	• generational closure • public good concept • educational aspirations	• connection to associations • civic engagement • social trust • bridging engagements - exposure to others or activities that are "different".[28]	• changing perspectives of teens and adults • resource sharing • mutually fulfilling project work
"I see a difference between Matt and my other three children. Matt was really involved in 4-H, he stayed in it until he aged out, participated in a major way. He went to college **and now is working with a vet because of his connection to 4-H.** His trajectory has been very different than my other kids. I wished they had been as involved as Matt. I think it would have made a difference-a positive difference." Judy 4-H Project Volunteer Yolo County	"You were involved in 4-H **and 4-H was involved in the community. You knew your neighbors, you were involved, because it was the right thing to do, you help your neighbors and you take care of your community--**4-H was very clear about that." Jaime project volunteer Tehama County	"I have heard from many of our youth that this program was life changing. **Almost all of them are changed by going through this program (Cal Focus/Washington Focus) and many youth have told me they want to go to work in the public sector** as a result of their experiences in this program." Patricia English, Program Representative, Citizenship Initiative	" Adults are the initial teachers but at the same time allow the youth to succeed or fail, but failure is seen as a learning experience-- adults and youth talk about what didn't work or could work better, **they find solutions together but the youth must implement but always with adult support and guidance."** Lorraine, Project Volunteer, El Dorado County
Carol told me how her son got a job at a hardware store because of his connection to 4-H. Her son's frequent trips to the store inspired the store owner to ask him what he was doing, and when he explained he was working on a 4-H project, the owner was so pleased to hear of this connection, he invited him to apply for a job.		"4-H does a really good **job of being open to any project or ideas and is welcoming to all youth by giving them a place to learn and grow and be a leader. For many of our youth this makes them be entrepreneurial, and I don't know if they would have been otherwise."** Mary, Program Representative, San Mateo/SF County	**Bruce and Maeve**, community volunteers in San Mateo, shared with me during our interview that they had a parent volunteer who was a writer with *Sports Illustrated* and was running a baseball project that included work on statistics and strived to create a much richer understanding of the variables of baseball.

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[28] Different in this case can mean they are different from themselves--age, gender, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic and it also means they are able to participate in activities and experience things outside of their normal range of activities.

			They told me of another volunteer who is a licensed contractor who "brings tremendous resources to the club." They have an engineer who works with club youth on a web design project.
		"The process of planning, implementing and completing a project **broadens your [the youth's] scope of knowledge by doing something you have never done before**, it gives them confidence and transferable skills." Carol, Volunteer Leader, Sacramento County	

The table is very similar to the table I created in the curricula review. I have noted the key

concepts of social capital, and then allocated the statements and observations from the

interviewees that best exemplified their understanding of social capital and how social capital is

being manifested in California 4-H to the applicable social capital concepts.

In addition to sharing with me their observations about the youth in their programs, several of

my interviewees are former 4-Hers and several shared with me that they benefited from social

capital found in 4-H as well.

Mary revealed to me that she grew up in 4-H in Montana starting at age eight. While in

Montana she had animal projects and stayed with 4-H throughout college. She was employed in

Montana at the 4-H Foundation and now works as the San Mateo/San Francisco Program

Representative delivering 4-H programs to suburban and urban youth. She directly attributes

her career path to the social capital she has developed through her association with 4-H.

Jaime, a 4-H club leader in Tehama County, told me that she also clearly connects that 4-H has informed her professional life, she is a high school English teacher and according to her " 4-H absolutely connected her to her adult path."

These anecdotes brought to my attention something that I had not considered- how social capital development experiences in 4-H has informed people who are now adults. I did not consider this aspect in my research design.

Of note, when I shared the definition of social capital referencing connections, networks and associations that create opportunities for youth, several of the interviewees **had different but relevant** ideas about how social capital was exemplified in 4-H. For Lorraine, who was widowed when both of her sons were young, found in the 4-H community male role models for her sons that continue to be a part of their lives as they enter adulthood. Both of her sons are going to college, one of her sons is the President of UC Davis Collegiate 4-H.

Jaime told me that "4-H because of the hands on projects that require management of planning and budgets, handling stress and managing resources prepares them (the youth) for adult life. The oral speaking skills provides so much of that academic and intellectual conversation-they have to defend their reasoning , they become comfortable expressing their opinion and doing it well."

All of these observations and the implicit social capital concepts found in the volunteer training manuals, strongly indicate that 4-H develops social capital development opportunities for youth on several different levels. One level is the connection to resource rich adults who can provide information and their own social capital networks, the other level is the partnering with adults that make these youth comfortable navigating in the adult world, and on still another level, 4-H's reputation is such that having a history of involvement with 4-H may be a door opener.

Finding 3: Clubs are the sites where social capital development opportunities are the most robust.

All of the volunteers I spoke with work in clubs, so it is not a huge surprise they find clubs as the most robust source of social capital development opportunities. However, further investigation does reveal that afterschool programs do not use many adult volunteers--most of them are in partnerships with school districts and the district staff use the 4-H curriculum. This relationship works to preclude some of the aspects of adult youth partnerships that create social capital development opportunities. It was also brought to my attention by Samantha, a 4-H Program Representative in Sacramento, that afterschool programs do not provide the continuum of experience over years that clubs can, and that afterschool programs use very few volunteers. Camps are great resources for developing bridging experiences for youth, as frequently youth from across the state are brought together, but they are seasonal and offer very limited exposure over a period of time, in most cases camp is only for one week. Clubs can and do last for years. As I stated earlier, this particular finding deserves further research.

Finding 4: 4-H serves a very small portion of California youth.

In the 2010 Census **California has a population of 37,253,956**

25% of the population is aged 6-17 years old = 9,313,489 youth

4-H has enrolled 218,537 (this figure includes all youth enrolled ages 5-19 and in all the programs--afterschool, special program, club and camps) = 2.3% of California youth are experiencing some form of 4-H programming.

If you only count the youth who are in the clubs(32,009) then the percentage = .34%

Less than 1% of California youth are enrolled in 4-H Clubs.

Recommendations

One of my interview questions was " What are some of the challenges facing 4-H

in creating social capital?"

I got various answers such as "4-H needs to develop cohesive programming and a cohesive way to evaluate what we do. We need to be able to show our value to our communities and our supporters" (Shannon Dogan, 2011). I also heard "4-H needs to have better programs for older youth, to draw them in" (Mary Meyer, 2011). However, almost everyone said that 4-H needed more resources. They see shrinking County and UC budgets that are directly impacting how many Program Representatives and Youth Advisors are in the field. Program Representatives function as the volunteer recruiters and trainers, participant recruiters, and compliance managers. If these positions are not funded then these areas are neglected and this directly impacts how 4-H clubs are able to function and grow.

Richard Mihacek, the County Director and 4-H Youth Advisor for Merced told me that it is getting more and more difficult to recruit adult volunteers. He attributes this to the fact that there is so much more for kids to do, both good and bad, and that 4-H has to compete with a gambit of activities that did not exist when he started with 4-H over thirty years ago. I would suggest that this is also directly linked to resources. How are people to know and understand what 4-H is and how they benefit from participation if there is no outreach vehicle to do so?

In light of these challenges and my findings I would recommend that 4-H develop more resources which will increase how many youth and adults can participate in 4-H. I would recommend that 4-H think outside of the box when seeking these resources, such as private

funders, entrepreneurial efforts and work on developing a comprehensive report about the value and impacts of 4-H that can be used to advocate for public funds.

For areas of further research I would recommend speaking with youth who are actively involved in 4-H. The next steps for researching social capital in youth should most certainly include them.

4-H does not talk about or evaluate on the benefits of social capital development in youth so a recommendation would be to assess the value of social capital in youth development at 4-H and then find a way to talk about it. Also, I would recommend 4-H becomes intentional about how it evaluates for social capital and how it creates social capital.

A logical next step would be to create an evaluation tool that could quantify some of the efforts of 4-H, such as where and how social capital is being developed. I would also recommend that 4-H develop materials that address social capital and how adult youth partnerships create it, what it does and why youth need it. Lastly, I would suggest that researching alumni and how they connect their 4-H experiences to social capital development would be a fruitful endeavor.

Final Words

This thesis is an attempt to corral the concepts of social capital and make the concepts "come alive" in institutional practices. I see Bourdieuian possibilities in the intentional development of personal networks that can serve to create connections to information and resource sharing that mitigate poverty. I see institutional roles that create the opportunities for this by bringing together social capital laden adults and young people and teaching young people how to network intentionally and well and then use those networks intentionally and well.

 I see Coleman's theory informing how institutions mitigate poverty and the effects of fractured communities by creating opportunities for youth to be connected to other youth and adults who

have aspirations for schooling and have resources and information on how to succeed in education.

I see Putnam's theory of social capital most clearly in institutions that intentionally promote civic engagement and tolerance. An institutional role would be one that creates a place where diverse groups can come together, learn with each other, and work towards something that benefits the community. This process can create social trust and with social trust comes social capital.

Narrowing the focus to look at youth development and 4-H in particular, with a social capital lens is quite challenging. Here are lofty ideals that don't quite seem to fit when you try to impose them on a *real* institution. Jarrett etal helps to bridge this divide by introducing the notion of resource rich adults who work with youth on a mutually agreed upon goal. The nature of their working relationship changes how youth perceive adults and vice versa. With this change becomes an empathy and understanding that creates trust that creates the fertile ground in which social capital can grow. Youth benefit from the adults social capital because one, the adults want to share it and two, the youth value it, and three the adults actually have some to share. **These bridging engagements, the network creation, and appropriate resources that create better opportunities for youth are what I am asserting creates social capital in youth.**

4-H does a great job creating opportunities for youth and adults to work together and in fact has written materials on how to do it. 4-H also has great civic engagement opportunities. Additionally 4-H offers such a diverse range of projects that youth are almost guaranteed to be exposed to something or someone new. The fact that 4-H is not intentional about creating social capital, yet it appears to be happening in many ways, speaks well of the choices 4-H

researchers, youth development staff and volunteers have made regarding the youth development framework and the way they have chosen to implement it.   The next steps in 4-H social capital research should involve speaking with youth and finding a way to quantify how social capital is happening and where.

I look forward to seeing how 4-H goes about it, as I know there is institutional will for 4-H to become more intentional about its evaluation process. If done well, this should enable 4-H to express more often and more clearly its positive impacts on youth and connecting how 4-H is a key player in community development . My research suggests that social capital development opportunities are worthy concepts to be considered as 4-H moves forward in its intentions.

Appendix A - Interview Questions

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Social Capital in Youth Development: 4-H Case Study -- 4-H Staff

Interview questions

Question	Related to
1. What is your position/background with this youth organization?	Defining their role in organization
2. How many years have you been involved in youth development?	Measuring their experience
3. How would you describe your county and the youth who participate in your 4-H programs?	Rural, urban, suburban, mix
4. How is 4-H delivered in your county?	Afterschool, clubs, camps
5. How would you describe 4-H's youth development framework: i.e. Targeting life skills, Asset based, Community Action framework, etc.	YD frameworks often have embedded concepts of SC, some more than others—some youth development professionals and volunteers might not know this answer.
6. Do youth in your program get leadership opportunities? What roles do adults play in the leadership development? What is the expected outcomes?	Assessing intentional and unintentional SC development opportunities
7. Do you have activities that link youth to other youth outside of your program? What are the activities and expected outcomes? How often do they occur *(prompts—once a week, a month, every day, etc.?)*	Assessing intentional and unintentional SC development (bridging networks)
8. Do you have activities that link youth to adults? What are these activities and expected outcomes? How often do they occur?	Assessing intentional and unintentional SC development (bridging and linking networks)
9. Do you have community engagement opportunities for your youth? If so, what are they? What are the expected outcomes? How often do they occur?	Assessing linking and bridging networking opportunities

10. How are community engagement activities or opportunities determined to be a success?	Assessing intentional and unintentional SC development through community engagement/service
11. Do you have parent programs? If yes, what do these programs involve? What are the expected outcomes? How often do they occur?	Assessing the intentional and unintentional strengthening family SC
12. Do you have speakers come to your program? What is the intent of their participation?	Assessing intentional and unintentional linking opportunity
13. How do you evaluate the success of your programs (*should I give choices such as number of kids who graduate high school, complete a certain level of participation, get jobs, etc.)*	Assessing SC development as a component of programmatic success
14. In your opinion which activities created the most long term success in your youth? How? Why?	Assessing intentional and unintentional program outcomes related to SC development
15. If you could add or change a programmatic aspect of your program what would it be?	Assessing valuation of SC in youth development program
16. Are you familiar with the concept of social capital? *(if the answer is no, is it ok to provide them with the answer in order to continue the interview or should the interview end at this point?)*	Determining their familiarity with the concept of SC
17. *If the answer is yes to above*: What does the term "social capital" mean to you?	Assessing their knowledge of the concept—qualitatively
18. *Provided their definition of social capital is correct:* As a youth development professional, do you see social capital as a concept that has value in youth development? If yes, how, if no, why not	Assessing the value of SC in youth development—qualitatively
19. What materials/activities or opportunities relate to the development of social capital in your youth development program?	Assessing intentionality
20. Do you have a way to evaluate the development of SC in your program? If yes, how?	Assessing existence of evaluation tool for

	measuring SC
21. Is there anything else you would like to say about your programs?	Additional opportunity to speak about program's success, evaluation or design
22. Is there someone else you would recommend that I contact?	Finding out about additional resources for the project

Definition of Social Capital—the existence of links and related associations to individuals that create more opportunities for economic, social and physical change. Linked closely to human and physical capital and supported by not wholly dependent on social trust.

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Social Capital in Youth Development: 4-H Case Study -- Club Volunteers

Question
1.   What is your position/background with this youth organization?
2.   How many years have you been involved in 4-H ?
3.   What kind of training does 4-H provide for volunteers? Was it helpful to you in your role with the program? What if anything, would you change about the training?
4.   How would you describe your club and the youth who participate in your 4-H programs?
5.   Do youth in your program get leadership opportunities? What roles do adults play in the leadership development? What is the expected outcomes?
6.   Does your club have activities that link youth to other youth outside of your program? What are the activities and expected outcomes? How often do they occur?
7.   Does your club offer activities that link youth to adults? What are these activities and expected outcomes? How often do they occur?
8.   Does your club offer community engagement opportunities for your youth? If so, what are they? What are the expected outcomes? How often do they occur?

9. What do think makes a community engagement activity or opportunity a success?
10. In your opinion which activities created the most long term success in your youth? How? Why?
11. If you could add or change a programmatic aspect of your program what would it be?
12. Are you familiar with the term social capital?

Appendix B - University of California Division of Ag and Natural Resources

*Strategic Vision 2025: University of California Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources (*2009)

1. Improve Water Quality, Quantity, and Security

2. Enhance Competitive, Sustainable Food Systems

3. Increase Science Literacy in Natural Resources, Agriculture and Nutrition

4. Sustainable Natural Ecosystems

5. Enhance the Health of California and California's Agricultural Economy

6. **Healthy Families and Communities**

7. Ensure Safe and Secure Food Supplies

8. Managing Endemic and Invasive Pests and Diseases

9. Improve Energy Security and Green Technologies through Innovative Science Linking Engineering, Agriculture, Biological and Environmental Sciences

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