

Qualitative Social Network Analysis With ATLAS.ti Increasing Power In A Black Community

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Abstract

Anthropologists have a rich tradition of using a networked approach in data analysis. The purpose of this article is to continue that tradition by demonstrating how social network analysis can be used by anthropologists to improve their analysis and reporting of ethnographic data, and thereby expanding the methodological tool kit traditionally used by anthropologists. We use a case study based on a 1967 social movement aimed at increasing black power in a small Midwestern community in the United States to demonstrate the utility of network analysis in ethnographic studies and reporting, particularly ones that use oral or life story narratives as primary data sources. In addition to examining the data through Multinet, we also expand the Network View functionality in ATLAS.ti in our analysis. We suggest that the networked approach taken in this case study can be used by anthropologists across all four subfields as a method to show relations embedded in the ethnographic data anthropologists are known for collecting.

Keywords

Social network analysis, anthropological methods, social movement, ATLAS.ti, CAQDAS, qualitative data analysis

Introduction

Social Scientists, in particular anthropologists, have a rich tradition of using a networked approach in data analysis (see for example for Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Mayer 1961; Mitchell 1969; Foster 1979; Schweizer 1997; Johansen and White 2002; and many others). This article builds on that tradition by demonstrating how social network analysis can be used by anthropologists to improve their analysis and reporting of ethnographic data, and thereby expanding the methodological tool kit traditionally used by anthropologists as well as other social scientists. Social network analysis is often conducted in a quantitative manner. The focus here is on the analysis of narrative interviews and how they can be prepared and utilized for social network analysis using the software ATLAS.ti as an analytic tool. As the principal investigator, Willie McKether conducted the fieldwork, the interviews and the initial analysis using ATLAS.ti 5 in combination with the SNA software Multinet (see McKether, Julia Gluesing and Riopelle, 2009). In the original study, narrative interviews were coded with ATLAS.ti and based on the SPSS export that ATLAS.ti provides. The data were then prepared for quantitative analysis in MultiNet. In newer editions of ATLAS.ti, new possibilities emerged that made it possible to conduct a social network analysis within the software itself. In the present paper, the authors explain how this can be done.

The data used for the study are drawn from a subset of 96 interviews used in a larger study of Black migration (McKether 2005). The original study population was comprised of individuals who had migrated to Saginaw, Michigan as adults before 1967 or individuals who moved to Saginaw as children with their parents and came of age there before 1960. The subset for which this study is based is comprised of 27 men and women¹ who had direct or indirect ties with a social movement organization and/or with movement leaders. The interviews used in this study were selected specifically to illustrate the power of

¹ All interviewees signed a public disclosure form allowing their names and transcripts to be held in public domain. - All interviews are part of a public library collection in Saginaw, Michigan.

gathering information about social relationships and then using a structured process to convert oral history data into visual social network maps.

Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis is a methodological approach that examines the relationships (referred to as links, edges or ties) an individual actor or actors (referred to as nodes, alters or vertices) have with other individuals, groups, or organizations in an environment. Specifically, as articulated by Wasserman and Faust (1994): "The concept of a network emphasizes the fact that each individual has ties to other individuals, each of whom in turn is tied to a few, some, or many others, and so on" (p. 9). A primary goal of social network analysis is to depict the structure of a group (Wasserman & Faust 1994) by examining important relationships reflected in the strength, direction, and complexity (or number) of ties embedded in a network. The strength of such an approach is that it enables an analysis of social phenomena beyond the abstract social structures (e. g., social, economic, political) traditionally studied by researchers in the social and behavioral sciences (Wellman 1999).

Depending on the goals and magnitude of the research project, social network analysis typically begins with the researcher identifying the appropriate study population and data collection methods. In social network analysis, data collection methods may include techniques that range from non-narrative survey instruments that ask informants exclusively about relationships to narrative-based interviews where relationship questions are embedded in the narrative interview (e. g., McKether 2005). Once collected, network data may be entered, stored, and manipulated through a variety of interactive software programs² designed specifically to examine and visualize individual or ego-centered networks (e.g., UCINET, EGONET) on the one hand, or whole social networks on the other. The generated output provides visual and textual patterned network representation leading to new interpretations of the data.

Ego-centered (or personal) networks make the individual the focus of attention where a person (*ego*) describes people (*alters*) close to him or her (Boissevain 1974; Wellman & Berkowitz 1988). According to Wellman (1999), such investigations "enable researchers to study community ties, whoever with, wherever located, and however structured...and avoid the trap of looking for community only in spatially defined ways" (p. 19). *Whole networks*, which may include ego-centered networks, describe the structure of relationships of a population (Wellman 1999). In recent years, researchers across the social and behavioral sciences have used both personal networks (e.g., Bastani, 2007; Granovetter 1973; Grossetti 2007; Lubbers, Molina, & McCarty 2007), and whole networks (Stack, 1974; Wellman & Berkowicz 1988) in empirical studies to describe social phenomena in a variety of contexts and cultural settings.

² This is not intended to reflect the entire spectrum of social network programs, rather is intended to provide the reader with a sampling of programs used in analyzing social network data.

Social Movement Analysis

Social movement research focuses on social insurgency at the macro, meso, or micro levels of analysis. Although the various levels of social movement research are oftentimes examined separately and independently, they are interrelated and continuous (Staggerborg 2002). The level of analysis generally reflects the researcher's interest in a particular unit of analysis. The macro level of social movement analysis examines large-scale demographic, ideological, social, economic and political factors in an environment that predispose individuals and groups toward mobilization (Tilly 1978; Gerhards and Rucht 1992). A micro level social movement analysis directs attention away from large-scale features of society and focuses on individual motivation for participation in social movement activity. The meso or intermediate level of social movement analysis examines how individuals and groups mobilize for social insurgency and is viewed as the critical link that bridges the macro and micro levels. Social movement scholars McAdam et al. said:

...we come away convinced that the real action in social movements takes place at some level intermediate between the macro and micro. It is there in the existing associational groups or networks of the aggrieved community that the first groping steps toward collective action are taken... it is this level that we know the least. (1988:729).

To provide a methodological process for examining the important role of the meso level of social movement mobilization, McAdam et al. (1988) introduced the micro-mobilization context as the mechanism and process that links the meso level with the macro and micro levels of social insurgency. According to the concept, the meso level is the setting in which political (e. g., unions) and non-political (e. g., churches) groups as well as groups of informal networks amalgamate to mobilize others into collective action. Additionally, within the micro-mobilization context several processes important to mobilization occur, including frame alignment³; individuals make rational decisions about whether or not they will participate in the movement; and where resources, such as members, communication networks, and leaders are mobilized.

Method

The methodological approach that was used in this study was based upon the application of traditional anthropological research methods of inductive, naturalistic inquiry. Data collection consisted primarily of ethnographic oral history interviewing combined with an examination of resources such as news articles, census data, photographs, church, and organizational records. Ethnographic data, in particular narrative text, provides data types ideally suited for networked approaches in data analysis (White and Johansen 2005) and is the ideal complement to traditional methods and approaches (such as coding, linguistic, word and theme analysis) used by anthropologists in data analysis. While such traditional approaches continue to produce ethnographies that tell us much about social and cultural life across a range of set-

³ Frame alignment is the process where social insurgent members collectively articulate their grievances.

tings, we potentially miss social interaction at a deeper level of understanding when we rely solely on such traditional methods. As White and Johansen (2005) observe:

The benefits here derive from taking the same data as used by the ethnographer in analyzing observations to produce an ethnographic report but, through the avenue of network coding and analysis, to reach a set of results and explanations that may add entirely new dimensions and explanations to the ethnography. (p. 6).

Consistent with White and Johansen's observation, the purpose of this article is to show how social network analysis can be used to provide additional insight into an anthropological study of a social movement aimed at increasing Black power in Saginaw, Michigan. Network analysis is particularly appropriate to examine this public effort to increase Black power⁴ because the important relationships that contributed to the success of the movement may have been missed if only the observable aspects of the movement were examined. As such, this article describes how social network analysis was used to examine ethnographic data and illustrates how taking a structured approach to data analysis reveals important relationships embedded in interview and other ethnographic data.

Data Collection

For data collection, the life history method was chosen because it offered the maximum opportunity for people to speak for themselves. In the aggregate the interviews serve to produce a representative cultural vector (Gwaltney 1976:237). The data corpus consisted of individual and collective memories of those who led and participated in the 1966-67 social movement. The principal investigator (Willie McKether) was born and raised in the field site from which the data was drawn for this study. Being both a native of the community and African American gave him several advantages and insights he would not



Figure 1: Riot/Rebellion in Downtown Saginaw, Michigan 1967

have had if I was an outsider. In particular, inside knowledge of the community informed initial decisions about key people to target for an interview, such as the former black mayor, members of United Power, and people that formed their networks. Such knowledge reduced the time required to discover informants that could shed light on the social movement that occurred 38

4 For this study, Black power refers to increased and equal access to skilled as well as unskilled jobs; equal access to good housing, public spaces, and political offices; and local Black control of government funds.

years earlier. Further, the shared understanding of the local environment helped to establish a rapport with interviewees that facilitated the swift establishment of trust between the researcher and the people interviewed. This trusting relationship was critical in this study because it not only allowed access to interview subjects but also allowed them to discuss and share experiences that they had never talked about with other persons interested in discussing or documenting this important epoch in local African American history.

A total of 96 people were interviewed for the original migration study. Each person interviewed was asked a nearly identical set of open-ended questions in interviews that lasted for not more than two hours. Interviewees were also asked to provide specific names of people, businesses, and organizations they had past relationships with, and to describe the nature of those relationships. Each person, for example, was asked to provide the address (or cross streets) of where they lived either growing up in Saginaw, or upon their arrival, who they lived with, the names of their closest personal friends, the schools they attended, names of businesses they patronized, names of people they associated with in their fights for social, economic and political justice, the church(es) they attended, and other organizations to which they belonged in Saginaw during the time period of the study. The single-person interviews were designed to create a collective story of the process and outcome of a twentieth-century African-American migration. Although the interviews were key sources of data for the migration study from the outset, the desire and ultimately the decision to examine the social networks embedded in the interview data emerged as an outcome of preliminary interview and secondary data analysis. For this, 27 oral history interviews with past leaders and movement participants were selected. By the time of the interview, their ages ranged from late sixties to early eighties.

Interviews were transcribed and false starts, utterances such as "um," and repeated words such as "yes, yes," were removed in a way that did not alter the meaning and intent of interview conversations. Each transcribed interview was approximately 40 double-spaced typed pages. Following the content editing, each of the interviews was saved as a rich text file in Microsoft Word and added to an ATLAS.ti project.

Coding In ATLAS.ti

The data were coded for major themes that described the migration experiences of the interviewees and for social relations. To simplify the coding process, the interviews were coded first using the interview codes and then re-coded using the social relation codes for the social network analysis. While this process was slow and tedious, it helped to ensure that both the original qualitative and quantitative objectives of the process were met with equal concern and attention.

A key problem in the original analysis was creating social network data from qualitative interviews and determining how to code the interviews in ATLAS.ti in order to generate a LINK and NODE file for further analysis in Multinet. For this to be possible, a path needed be created between ATLAS.ti, SPSS, and

Multinet in order to export data across each of the programs. This required us to develop an appropriate numbering and labeling scheme that would allow the node and link data to be generated and used as network input files for Multinet. The numbering scheme began by assigning each of the interviews a number from 001 through 096. Each of the interviews served as a Node. To define the kinds of relations interviewees had both with one another and others in the community or to people not interviewed, a separate Relation File was created in Excel to record and capture the various types of relations mentioned in the interviews. Each relation was assigned a three-digit number beginning with 001. The numbering scheme is shown below.⁵

Nodes	Object in ATLAS.ti	Numbering scheme
Interviewees	Primary document	001 – 096
Names of people mentioned in Interviews	code	100 – 299; 700-1100
Names of churches	code	300 - 350
Church denominations	code	351-370
Names of organizations	code	400 – 450
Names of businesses	code	501-599; 670 -699
Names of schools	code	601 – 659

Table 1: Node File Numbering Scheme

When coding for social relations, it became obvious that people not only had significant links with other people but that they also had important links with places and organizations, such as the riot/rebellion location, United Power and the Mayor's Couple's Club. To capture all of the nodes embedded in the interview data, each time an interviewee mentioned a person, church, organization, etc., that named person or organization was assigned. The passage was also coded with the relation type like kin, personal friend, college, work with, etc. The format used to create and enter nodes is indicated below.

For name codes: N_LastName_First Name_ID Number
 Example: N_McKether_Willie_101

Format for link codes: L_Link Relation_ID Number
 Example: L_Brother_001

As codes in ATLAS.ti are sorted in alphabetical order, all name codes beginning with "N_" or "L_" were automatically sorted by names or links for easy retrieval. The "Lastname_Firstname" format helped to keep a clear distinction between the Lastname and Firstname⁶ (see Figure 2).

⁵ This numbering scheme is in parts still visible in the code labels in the updated ATLAS.ti project, however, the numbers are not relevant for creating social network maps within ATLAS.ti.

⁶ As the code labels were originally developed for further analysis in Multinet, the "Lastname_Firstname" designations were 24 characters or less in order to meet MULTINET labeling limit requirements. The "_ID number" tag at the end of the person's name allowed the list of all nodes to be prepared by ascending ID number in Excel. The "_" underscore formatting allowed "text" columns to be easily parsed into "text to columns" and for sorting Nodes alphabetically by name and by ID number. This was very handy later in reformatting the ATLAS.ti coding into a MULTINET file format.

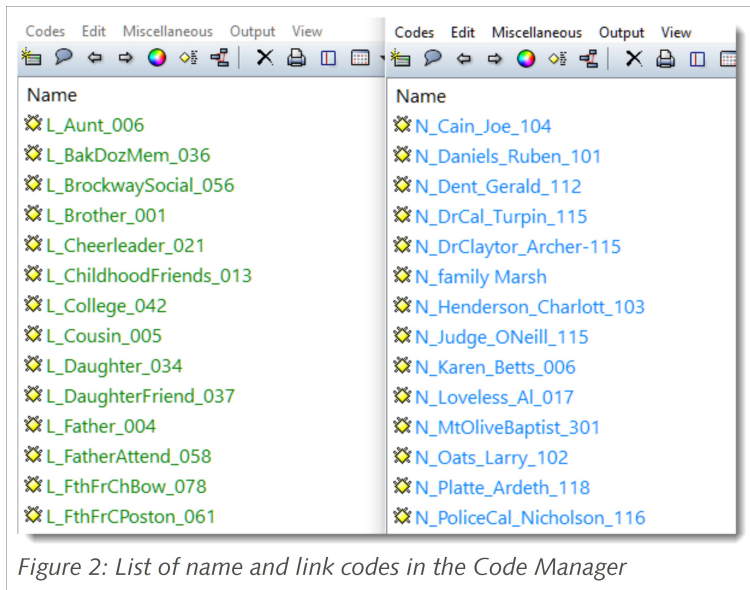


Figure 2: List of name and link codes in the Code Manager

Below an excerpt from the coded data is shown:

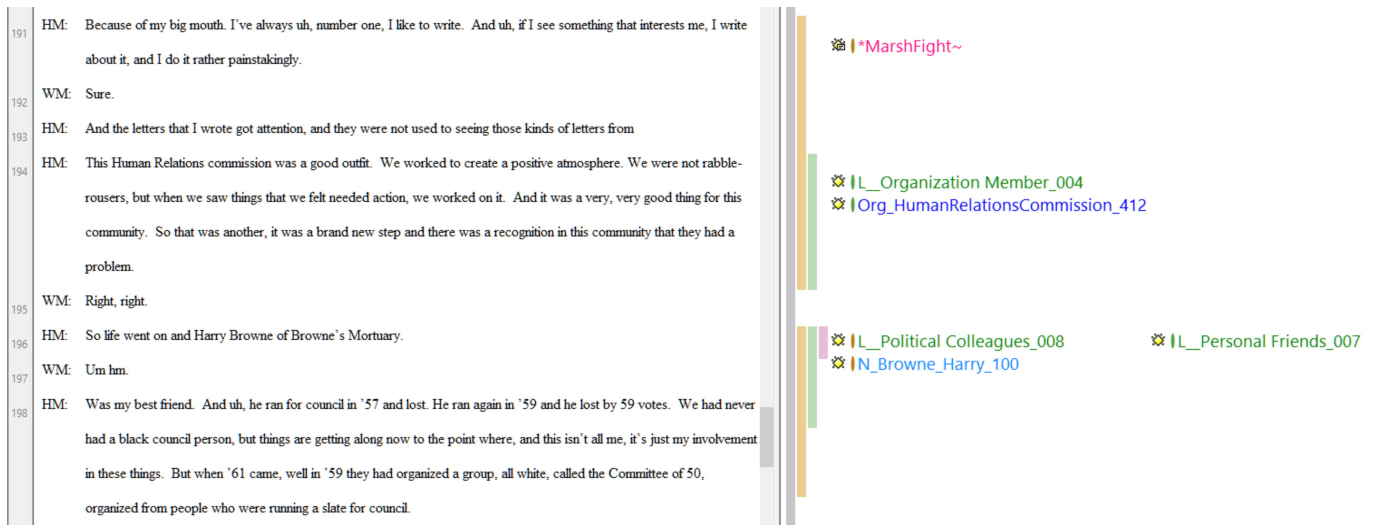
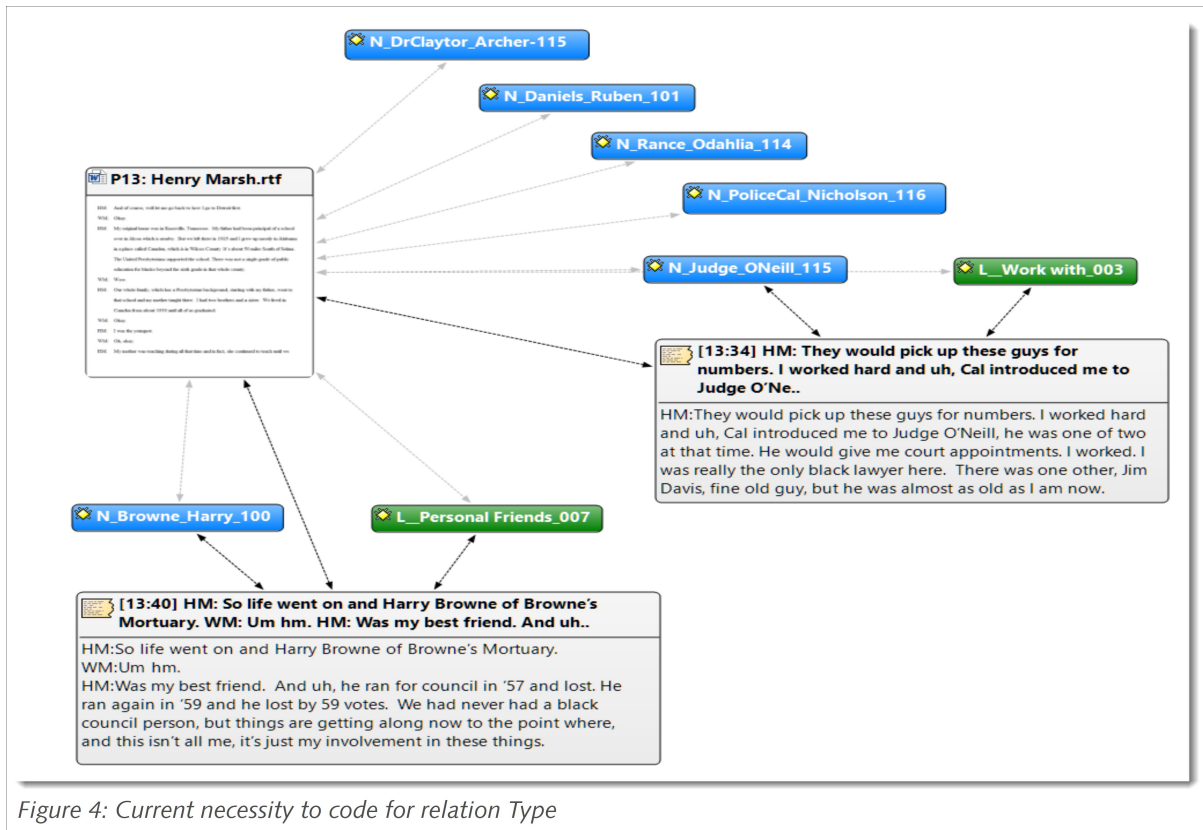


Figure 3: Data coded for content, linked persons and type of relation

In the current version, it is still necessary to code for the relation type as the code-quotation link cannot be named. Figure 4 shows that Henry Marsh (document P13) has social relations with a number of persons (the blue N_ codes) like Harry Brown or Judge O'Neill. From the green link codes (L_) we know that Harry Brown is a personal friend, and Judge O'Neill someone he worked with. After coding the Link codes later need to be translated into proper links and relations.⁷ How this works will be shown in the next section.

⁷ In future program versions, this step will no longer be necessary as it will be possible to directly name the link between quotations and codes.



Building Network Views To Represent Social Relations

In order to display who is related to whom and how the various persons or organizations relate to each other, the ATLAS.ti network view, various filter settings and the import option is used. Below the process is demonstrated using Henry Marsh as a central actor.

- A code family that contains all social network related codes was created.
- The interview with Henry Marsh was loaded, so that it became the active document.
- A network view on the primary document "interview with Henry Marsh" was opened.
- This code family with all social network codes was set as global filter (see Figure 5).

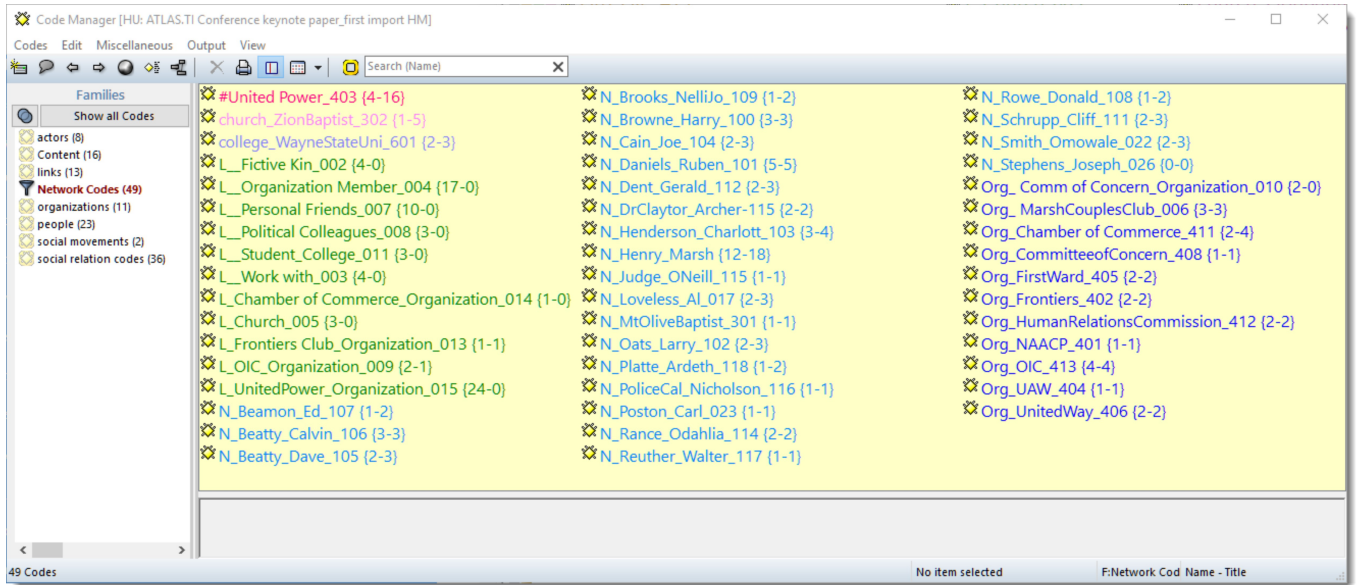


Figure 5: Social relation codes grouped and set as global filter

All social relation codes that occur within the coded transcript were imported (right click on the document node and select IMPORT CODES).

Now it could be seen to whom Henry Marsh was connected and the type of links (Figure 6).

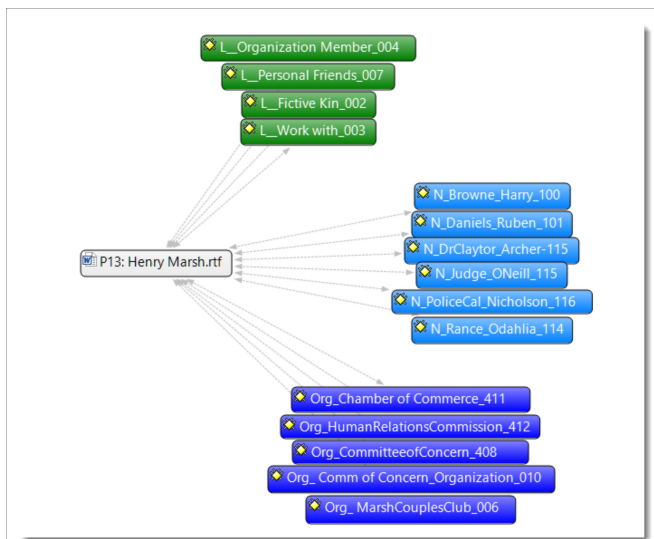


Figure 6: Imported link and social relation codes for Henry Marsh

What is not visible yet, however, is which link applies to which person or organization. In order to make this visible, all related quotations needed to be imported into the network view as well. This requires to set a second filter, so that only quotations of the Henry Marsh interview will be brought into the network view:

- QUOTATIONS / FILTER / SELECTED PD
- Next the related quotations for each code were imported: right click on each code IMPORT NEIGHBORS / IMPORT QUOTATIONS

Figure 7 shows the network view after organizing the nodes by link, name and organization codes. The PD node was removed from the view as it is no longer needed. Instead the name node for the actor Henry Marsh was added, as the aim is to link the actor using named relations to the persons and organizations in his network.

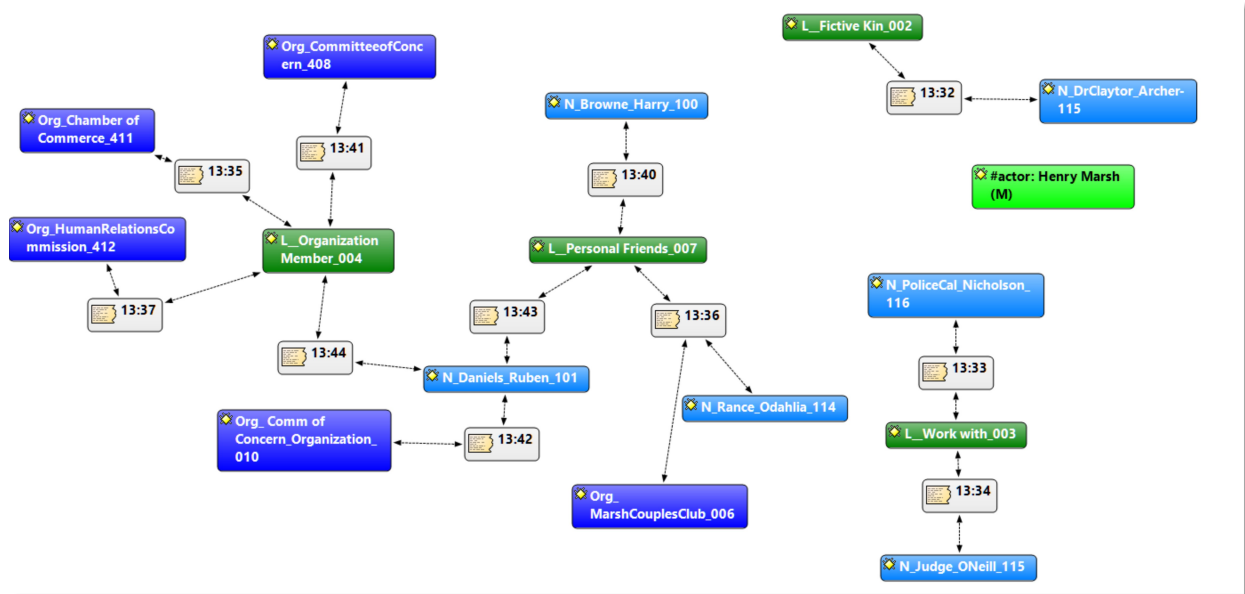


Figure 7: Importing quotation neighbors to see how persons and organizations are linked

The link codes can now be replaced by proper relations. In order to do this, the needed relations were created in the relation editor for codes (see Figure 8).

Relations:						
ID	Label 1	Label 2	Menu	Width	Type	
001	001		childhood friend	1	transitive	
002	002		fictive kin	1	transitive	
003	003		working with	1	transitive	
004	004		organisation member	1	transitive	
005	005		via church	1	transitive	
007	007		personal friend	1	transitive	
008	008		political colleagues	1	transitive	
011	011		student - college	1	transitive	

Figure 8: Code-Code Relation Editor

The results of translating the link codes into ATLAS.ti relations can be seen in Figure 9 below. The Link codes are no longer necessary as they are now represented by named links and thus were removed from the network view.

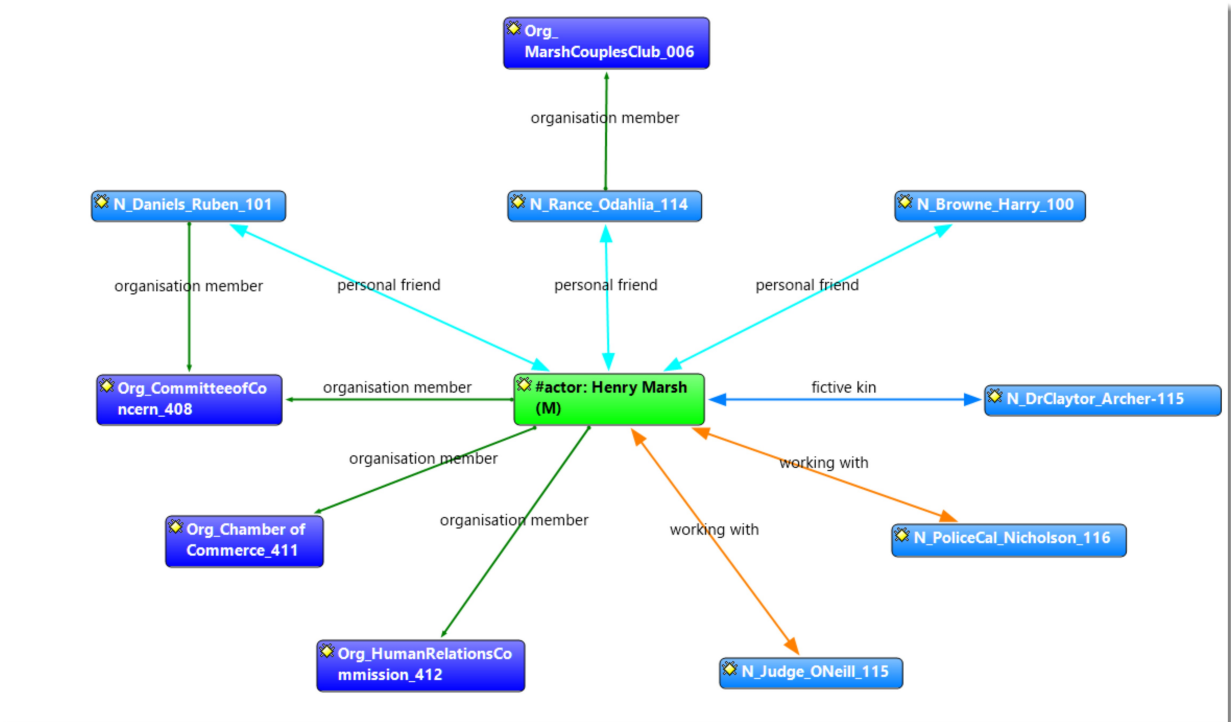


Figure 9: Translating Link codes into code-code relations

Through creating such a network view for each actor, the network of relations becomes denser as there are also relations between the various actors and their networks. Below, you see the final ego networks of Mayor Henry Marsh and Jessie Daily, the founder of United Power. If it was not clear which relation to use, via a click on the quotation, the original data could be reviewed. Thus, in approaching the social network analysis qualitatively, there is no need to just work with the reduced name, organization and link codes. The data is always available and can be accessed for further clarification.

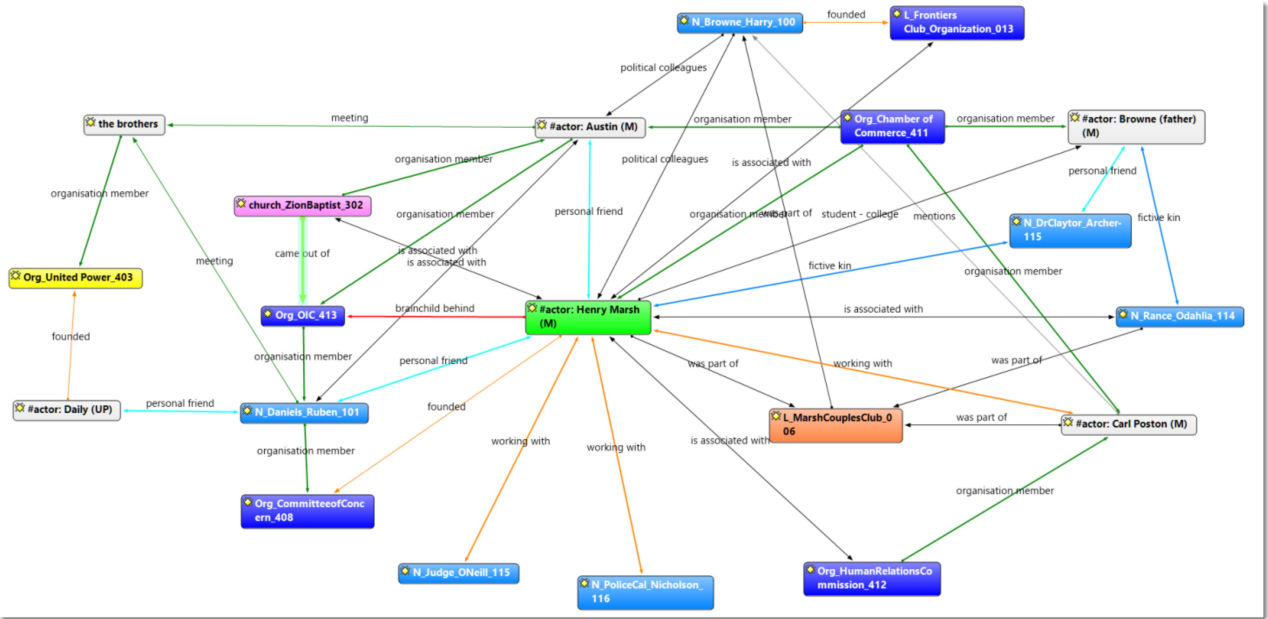


Figure 10: Ego network of Henry Marsh

The Story Of Henry Marsh Told By The Narrative Data

Attorney Henry G. Marsh migrated to Saginaw in 1954 after earning his law degree from Wayne State University and after practicing law in Detroit for several years. By the time of his arrival in Saginaw, as they had since at least the early 1940s, African Americans in the city were already engaged in individual and largely unorganized fights against their limited social, economic and political opportunities. Although there had never been a publicly elected Black leader in Saginaw, leadership within the African American community came primarily from labor leaders, business owners, and members of the Black clergy.

Upon his arrival, Henry Marsh became active in several organizations, including the Saginaw Branch of the NAACP and the Frontiers Club of Saginaw, an African American men's service club that provided men in local communities throughout the United States a collective vehicle in which to improve their local communities. In the process of becoming acclimated to the city, Henry Marsh observed race-based discrimination and disparate treatment of African Americans. He observed, for example, that the vast majority of African Americans lived within a few wards on the city's east side, that almost all African American children attended the same East side school, that there were few African American teachers, and that these few were assigned mostly to the same school attended by African American children. Of the pre-existing conditions he found upon his arrival to Saginaw, Marsh said:

There wasn't a single restaurant in Saginaw, white restaurant that blacks could go in, only one... The Bancroft Hotel was a big hotel, but it did not accept Blacks in their restaurant, bar, or to live... This would have been true for at least the first four or five years...But there were no bars, none, that were integrated...Housing was almost totally segregated, confined to what they call first ward. (P13, 118 to 128).

To address these and other issues, although he was a member of the NAACP and Frontiers group, Marsh personally organized a group he called the community council. Marsh recalled:

I've always been mouthy, so I gradually got involved in community affairs. We organized a club called the Community Council...it was a group of black activists, and we set about doing some things in the black community. Unlike now, we used our own money, and the news started getting around that we were doin' things...I was sort of a rabble-rouser. We did a lot of things and we gained the respect of a good many people in the community. (P13, 80-86).

Based in large part on his activist work in the community and successful law practice with partner Carl Poston, in 1957 Henry Marsh was invited to join Saginaw's Junior Chamber of Commerce, which according to Marsh expanded his circle of friends. In 1959 Marsh was asked by fellow Junior Chamber member, then Saginaw Mayor James Harvey, if he would join the newly created Human Relations Commission. Marsh accepted and was elected chairman of the commission.

In late 1959 Henry Marsh decided to run for a position on the Saginaw city council. With endorsement of The Committee of 50, a group comprised mostly of white business owners and professionals, in the 1961 election Henry Marsh was elected to Saginaw city council, becoming the first elected African American official in the city's history. After his election to Saginaw city council Marsh continued his criticism of race relations in the city. He openly criticized white as well as African American residents. He continued his criticism of whites for their overt and covert race-based discrimination against African Americans, and he criticized African Americans for not doing more to help themselves, and for, in general, blaming "the white man" for all of their problems.

During his term in office Henry Marsh was criticized by some segments of the African American community for being too closely aligned with powerful whites, for publicly criticizing African Americans, and for being too slow in responding to issues that directly affected the African American community. Despite such criticism, he continued to receive political support from African Americans in the city. For example, with help of Black voters⁸, in 1965 Henry Marsh was re-elected to a second term on the Saginaw City Council. In the second election, as in his first run, Henry Marsh received more votes than any other candidate, which contributed to his colleagues on city council electing him Mayor of the city. During his second term as a council member and first as Mayor, which coincided with the height of the civil rights movement taking place throughout the United States, Henry Marsh faced perhaps his biggest critics: a group of young impatient African Americans and sympathetic whites organized as the United Power:

⁸ Based on review of voting precinct and election results.

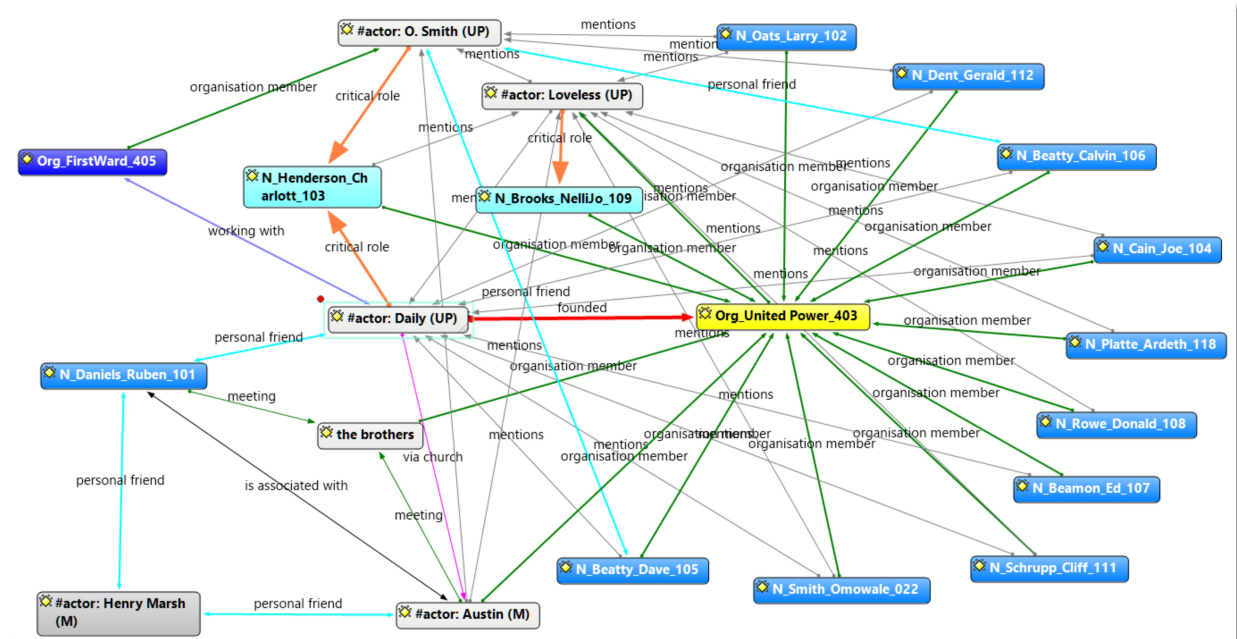


Figure 11: Ego Network of O. Smith from United Power

The Story Of United Power Told By The Narrative Data....

In 1966, a year after Henry Marsh was unanimously selected by an all-white Saginaw city council to become the city's first African American Mayor, a group of African American and white residents started a reading and debating group where they discussed and focused on issues affecting the African American community. In 1966 as the group started to meet on a regular basis and became formalized, it incorporated under the name United Power. The United Power organization was led mostly by young men and women whose parents had migrated to Saginaw between 1920 and 1940, and whose fathers worked for General Motors. One exception was then 48 year Jessie Daily. Other early leaders of United Power included Alfred Loveless and Omowale Art Smith.

The narrative data from the three former male leaders, however, indicate that at least two women played significant roles in the early organization and leadership of United Power. Although none of the women were interviewed for the study⁹, each of the former leaders said that Nellie Jo Brooks and Charlotte Henderson played critical roles in the organizing stages of United Power and participated in protest activities throughout the insurgency period. Former vice president Omowale Arthur Smith said in his interview:

...women were equal with us and sat in the inner circle and had equal voting power. We did group decision making by consensus and they were a part of that process...although United Power was dominated by men in terms of numbers, women were never subservient and their roles were never discounted. (Omowale Smith in discussion with McKether, November 2002).

⁹ Nellie Jo Brooks died in 1998 and former secretary Charlotte Henderson was not available to be interviewed.

In addition to these specifically named women, other local women participated in virtually every aspect of the local fight for Black power¹⁰, evidenced, in part, by local news photographs¹¹ that show women participating in the July 25, 1967 rebellion/riot that occurred in downtown Saginaw.

The primary purpose of United Power was to seek positive changes in the African American community by uniting African Americans and giving them a collective voice. Omowale Smith said the specific purpose of United Power was, "To inform, involve and unite black people to act in their own self-interest, and to identify, articulate our collective self-interest and to act on it." (P15, 264:264). United Power's purpose and mission was further articulated and expanded in 1968 in a second year anniversary issue of the organization's newspaper, *The Saginaw Afro Herald*:

"Our main interest is black people – more specifically, grass-roots black people with no voice, no freedom, no means, less money and very little hope. We shall give them a voice, teach them freedom, give them a means to obtain and use wisely that very powerful money, and we will keep alive their hope... Our motto is simple; right down to earth, in language that everybody can easily understand. It is "To Inform, Involve, and Unite." (1968:4).

United Power became a vocal and public critic of Henry Marsh, accusing him of being too white and too slow in responding to the immediate and pressing needs of the African American community: better housing, more and better jobs, and an end to racial discrimination in public places. United Power's newspaper characterization of Marsh as an "Uncle Tom" who had sold out the African American community is an indication of how its members perceived the Mayor. Between 1966 and 1967 United Power grew stronger in both membership as well as its criticism of the city's first elected Black mayor, ultimately erupting into a riot on July 25, 1967.

Comparing The Marsh Network And The United Power Network

After the relations for all actors have been created using the ATLAS.ti network view function, the relations within a particular group but also between groups can be compared. In order to be able to do this, PD families were created for each group (the Marsh group and United Power). Similar to the above described procedure, neighbors can also be imported for PD families. Below you see the social network structure of the Marsh group and the United Power group, respectively. These networks will be compared with the results of the quantitative analysis in MultiNet. As mentioned earlier, the procedures how

10 The male leaders talked about the important role of their wives in providing emotional support and of their overall support of United Power's activities. During a 2009 follow-up interview, Omowale Smith told me that his former wife Antoinette Smith had participated in the July 25, 1967 rebellion/riot in downtown Saginaw. During the follow-up interview he also told me that two other women, Dorothy Lawson and Dominican sister Ardeth Platte, also played important roles in United Power's early development. In addition to these women's participation leadership roles in the local social movement, other women inside and outside of the United States have led and helped to lead movements aimed at ending gender inequality, race-based disparity and human suffrage. Among many others see, for example, the work of Irma McClaurin, M. Bahati Kuumba, Yvette Richards, and Deepa Reddy for studies that highlight the important role women have played in leading and participating in social movements.

11 A July 26, 1967 Saginaw News photograph of the riot/rebellion aftermath show a large number of women participating in the United Power initiated sit down demonstration that ultimately led to improved conditions for African Americans in Saginaw.

ATLAS.ti codes can be transferred via SPSS to be used in MultiNet have been described in detail in McKether et al (2009).

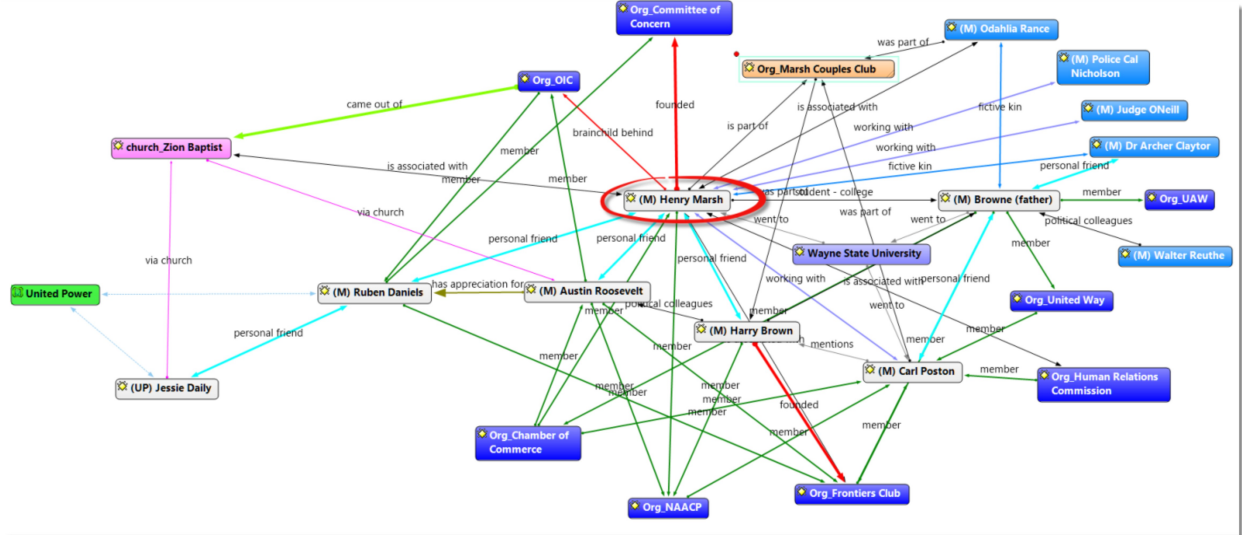


Figure 12: Henry Marsh network with Links to United Power

When comparing the two networks it becomes obvious that they are quite different. The main actors in each group are represented by the white nodes, other group members are colored light blue, the dark blue nodes represent organizational ties, pink nodes are churches, the lilac node shows that some actors know each other from studying at the same university and the orange node indicates linkages to a private group, the Marsh couples' club. In the United Power network, two actor nodes are colored in purple. These represent two women that played a critical role in the social movement and beyond. In comparison to the Marsh male-dominated group, in the United Power group the role and importance of women was emphasized by a number of key figures. Looking at the Marsh network, one can describe it as an "old boys" network: a network through which men of the same profession, social class, school, affiliation, or the like assisted one another in business, politics, etc. In this case, these men also became personal friends.

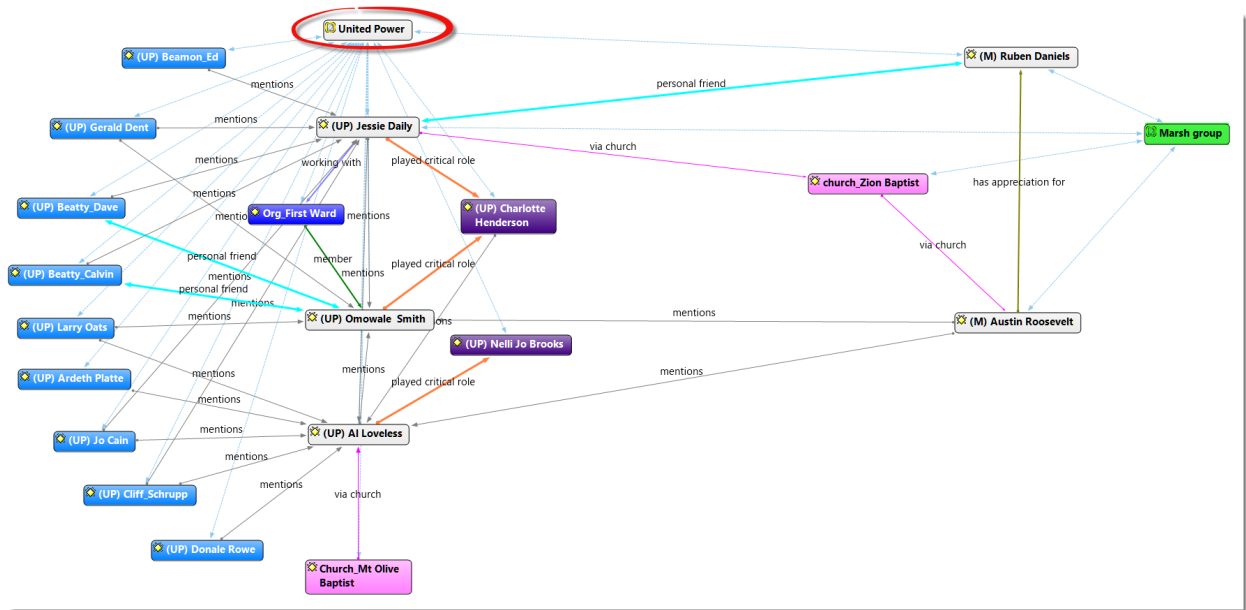


Figure 13: United Power with links to Marsh group

Ruben Daniels appears to be the key connector between the two groups as a personal friend of both Jessie Daily and Henry Marsh. Apart from one other link to Austin Roosevelt, all other members of the two groups are not connected.

For comparison purposes, let's take a look at the results of the quantitative analysis. The networks generated through Negopy¹² also show that the two social movement were very different at the meso level, and that bridge links existed between the two networks. Differences between the two network structures include network type and maturity, node composition, tie structure, and network composition.

¹² Negopy is network program designed to examine network structure among groups that comprise a dataset. A group is defined as a collection of individuals that have more interaction with members of their group than with non-members or members of other groups.

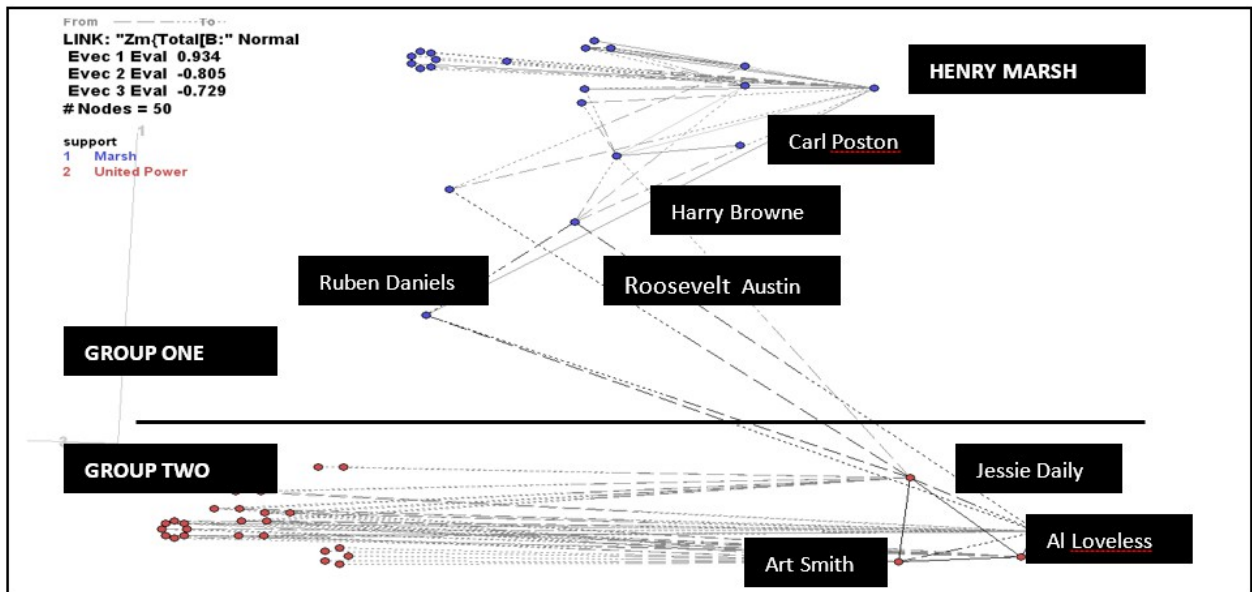


Figure 14: Results from the quantitative SNA

The network map in Figure 14 shows that the two network structures were comprised of the ego-centered Henry Marsh Network and the whole United Power Network. The longer dashed lines leading away from an individual indicate a tie (relationship) the person said they had with the person to whom the line extends. The shorter dashed lines leading to someone indicate that someone else in the network said they had a tie (relationship) with the person to whom the lines extend. A solid line extending between two people indicates a reciprocal relationship in that both people in the relationship mentioned each other in the interviews.

The United Power Network: Group Two

The social network data show that the Marsh network was comprised of at least 12 central nodes¹³ with a standard deviation¹⁴ of .238 (see Table 2).

Network Member	Distance Ratio
Henry Marsh*	-2,61
Carl Poston*	-1,08
Harry Browne	-0,32
Roosevelt Austin*	0,06
Ruben Daniels ¹⁵	0,83
Standard Deviation: 0,238	
* person interviewed for study	

Table 2: Marsh Network

13 All network members are not shown here. As this is to only demonstrate the usefulness of network data, only nodes that influence an individual network and relations between the two networks in the dataset are used.

14 A group's standard deviation is a measure of variability within the group. An individual group member's distance ratio is a measure of the number of steps it takes for the group member to reach other members of the group; it is also a measure of how central the individual is to the group. Individuals that are most central within a group will have a higher distance ratio than other group members.

15 Ruben Daniels died in 1993 and was not interviewed for this project. All of his ties are based on information provided by people who were interviewed.

The small standard deviation indicates that the Marsh Network was comprised of a tightly connected group with everyone in the group having easy access to other group members. However, Henry Marsh's -2,61, Carl Poston's -1,08, and Harry Browne's -0,32 standard distance ratios indicate they were the most central people in the group and thus had easier access to other group members than members with lower distance ratio scores. Henry Marsh's larger standard distance ratio indicates that he was the most central person in his ego-centered network, and that most decisions made in the network were made by Marsh directly, or indirectly by someone who had a strong relationship with Marsh, such as Carl Poston or Harry Browne. The positive scores for Roosevelt Austin and Ruben Daniels in comparison mean that they were less central in the group.

The qualitative and quantitative data both show that the most central people in the Marsh network had multiple links with one another (see Table 3), and hence had multiplexed relationships that made group members either strong or weak tie members of the group. In general, the more links group members have with one another the stronger the tie; members with fewer links are considered to have weaker ties (Neogpy Manual 1995).

Link/Relationship Types						
Network Member	Marsh Couples Club	Personal Friends	Work Colleagues	Political Friends	Member NAACP	Member Frontiers
H. Marsh	X	X	X	X	X	X
C. Poston	X	X	X	X	X	X
H. Browne	X	X		X	X	X
R. Austin				X	X	X
R. Daniels		X		X		X

Table 3: Multiplex relations of Marsh network

Carl Poston and Harry Browne had multiple personal, social, economic and political links with Henry Marsh. This portion of Marsh's ego-centered network constituted the network's effective or strong tie segment (Granovetter 1973). Each of the men and their wives belonged to the Marsh Couple's Club, a social club comprised of other skilled professionals including teachers, physicians, and small business owners. In addition to the Marsh Couples Club, the men were all close personal friends, they supported one another's runs for local government, they were all members of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), they were all members of the local Frontiers International Association, and were all members of the Chamber of Commerce. Attorneys Henry Marsh and Carl Poston also shared a law practice together. Such a multiplexed relationship meant that these leaders and central nodes not only spent considerable time together and shared a common social justice identity, but also, because of their overlapping membership in various groups and organizations, the network had increased visibility in the community. Although Roosevelt Austin and Ruben Daniels¹⁶ were members of the Marsh network, and each of them powerful and influential men in the community, they

¹⁶ Ruben Daniels died in 1993 and was not interviewed for this project. All of his ties are based on information provided by people who were interviewed.

had fewer ties to the Mayor and thus constituted the extended or weak tie segment of the network (Granovetter 1973).

The Marsh Network was comprised of individuals that had ties to local organizations and churches, or in many cases, were leaders of the organizations and churches with whom they had ties. Such ties had the effect of extending Henry Marsh's power base and influence in the community. Figure 15 below and the ATLAS.ti network view (Figure 12) show the composition of the Marsh Network, and how members of the Marsh network were connected to one another and to organizations.

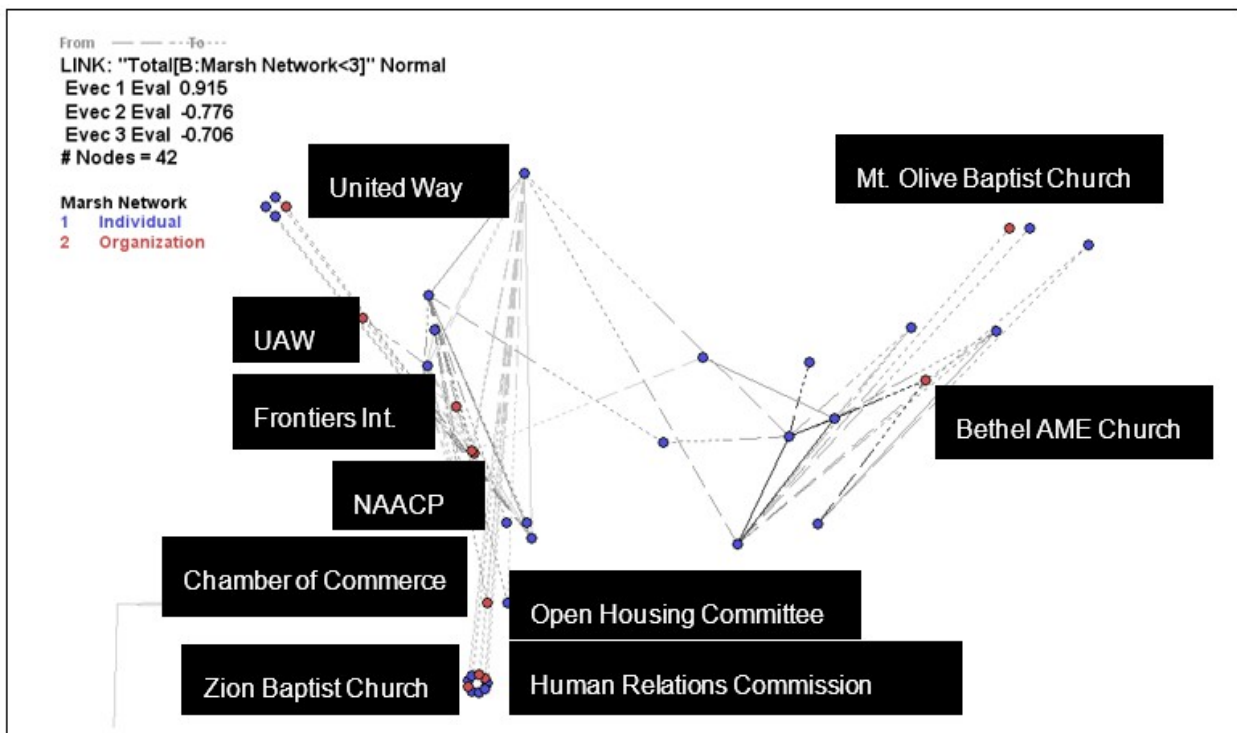


Figure 15: Organizational links of the Marsh group

Both the qualitative and the quantitative maps reflect a Marsh Network comprised of individuals who shared the Marsh social justice ideology, and thus a common identity. The maps also indicate that members of the Marsh network were linked to organizations and churches that shared the network's social justice ideology, such as the NAACP, the Frontiers organization, the UAW, as well as several of the city's most powerful churches. The map provides a visual representation of Henry Marsh's far reaching influence throughout the community through group members who belonged to organizations and churches in which Marsh himself did not have membership.

The United Power Network: Group Two

The quantitative network analysis showed that the United Power Network was comprised of 22¹⁷ central nodes with a standard deviation of 0,239 (see Table 4). The small standard deviation indicates that the

¹⁷ All members each network are not shown here. As this is to only demonstrate the usefulness of network data, only nodes that influence an individual network and relations between the two networks in the dataset are used.

Marsh Network was comprised of a tightly connected group with everyone in the group having easy access to other group members. Data show that the United Power organization was the most central node with a distance ratio of -3,28, and that the organization's President Al Loveless was the second most central node, followed by member and leader Jessie Daily's -1,29, and Vice President Omowale Art Smith's -0,89 distance ratios.

Network Member	Distance Ratio
United Power	-3,28
Al Loveless*	-2,08
Jessie Daily*	-1,29
Omowale Smith*	-0,89
Standard Deviation: 0,239	
*Person interviewed for study	

Table 4: United Power Network

These data suggest that the social movement organization served as the foundation around which members clustered, and where the organization's social justice and anti-establishment identity permeated. However, although members clustered around the United Power organization and were tightly connected, further analysis show members of the organization did not have significant social, economic or political ties outside of the organization, making it a single stranded network.

Figure 16 below provides a visual representation of how Multinet generated the United Power's network composition. Like the ATLAS.ti network view, it shows that the network was comprised primarily of the organization, around which members clustered. The single-stranded United Power network suggests that organizational members had ties mostly among themselves and few with organizations and groups external to the network. Even so, the single stranded composition of the United Power network served to reinforce the tightly connected group because network members were linked in a variety of ways where members played multiple roles in the network, such as officer, organizer, friend, co-worker, husband, wife, and neighbor as was learned from the interview data. These multiple roles meant members spent a considerable amount of time together, confided in one another, depended on one another, and thus provided the reciprocal emotional support necessary for such a network composition.

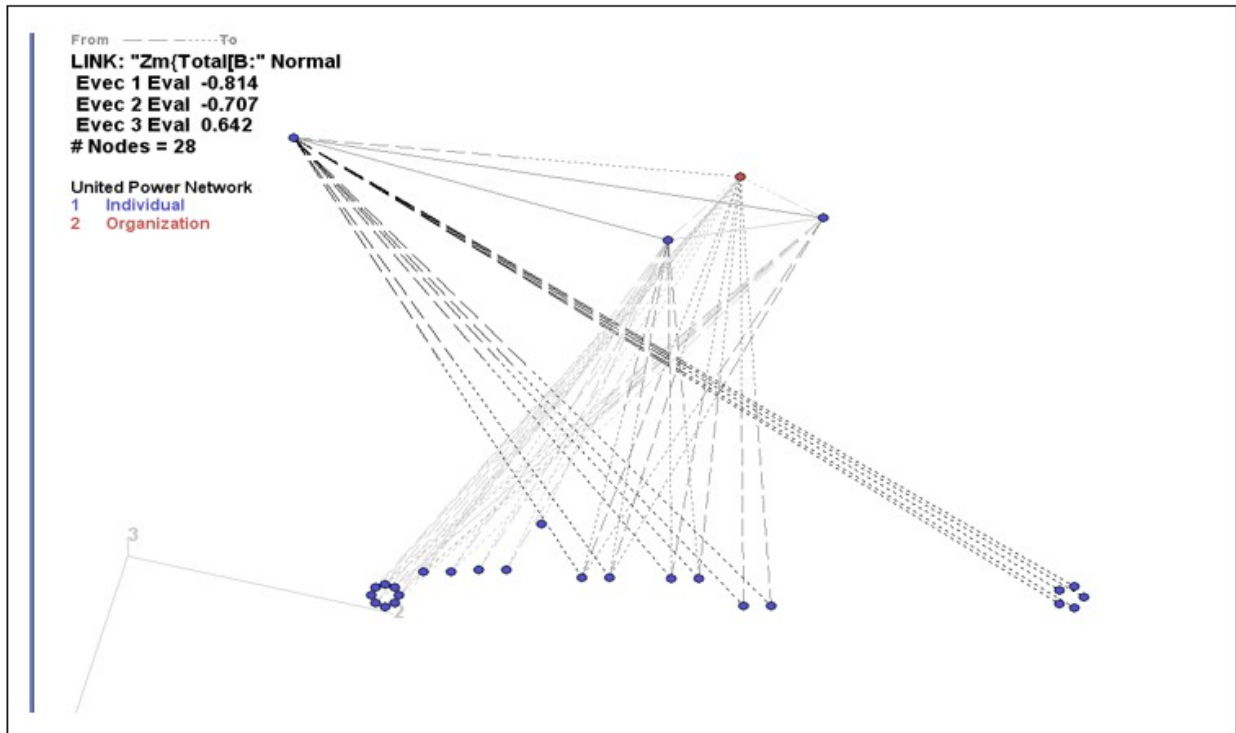


Figure 16: United Power network generated by MultiNet

Consequently, as an inward-focused network the organization had to rely mostly on its membership for human and financial resources, and leadership. However, several members of United Power interviewed for the study confided that several local Black businesses and churches supported them financially but did not want the public to know of their support of the grass roots organization. Because the organization lacked external ties with other local social justice organizations such as the NAACP, the Frontiers, and the UAW, it had to rely on its social injustice framing of issues to appeal to segments of the community that both identified with its framing and were marginalized due to their lower status in the community.

Bridge Links Between The Two Networks

Through liaisons and bridge links, quantitative social network analysis makes a distinction between node relationships that connect two groups. **Liaisons** are nodes (people) that do not belong to a particular group but have ties with group members that belong to different groups. **Bridge links** on the other hand are nodes (people) who are members of one group but have a relationship or ties with a node or nodes from another group, all the while maintaining allegiance with a single group (Negopy Manual 1995). This characterization of weak ties serving as bridge links in community organization reflects Granovetter's argument that in community organizing weak ties are more likely than strong ties to link members from different groups (see Granovetter's "The Strength of Weak Ties," 1973).

Network and interview data show that bridge links, comprised of weak tie members, connected the Mayor's ego-centered network and United Power's whole network. Table 5, the Negopy-generated bridge link table, shows that at least two members of the Mayor Henry Marsh's ego network, Roosevelt

Austin and Ruben Daniels, had ties or a relationship with Jessie Daily and the United Power Network. As members of the Mayor's weak tie network, both Austin Daniels served as bridge links between the two networks through their ties with Daily and United Power. This however was already also obvious in the network views generated in ATLAS.ti.

From Node	To Node
Roosevelt Austin	United Power
Ruben Daniels	Jessie Daily
Ruben Daniels	United Power

Table 5: Bridge Link Table¹⁸

Roosevelt Austin migrated to Saginaw in 1953, and in 1955 was appointed senior pastor at Zion Baptist Church, one the city's largest and oldest Black Baptist churches. Ruben Daniels was a life-long resident of the city and was one the city's earliest Black police officers. In 1965 Daniels retired from the police department to become director of the First Ward Community Center, an urban-based center that provided social activities for the city's marginalized Black youth. As director of the center Ruben Daniels both supervised and became personal friends with United Power member Jessie Daily, who recalled Daniels with fond memories, saying:

Mr. Ruben Daniels was the best thing that ever happened to the First Ward Community Center... He was really sincere and he helped a whole lot of Black peoples get jobs that couldn't get jobs... everybody knew him, he was a good policeman, the white people said he was a likeable child, he was a likeable man. Everybody loved Ruben. (P11, 171:175).

In addition to being friends with Daily, Daniels also became close friends with Henry Marsh, who acknowledged, "I loved him like a brother...Ruben got jobs for people." (P13, 289:289) Although Daily and Daniel's friendships had been established well before the 1966/67 contentious period, his friendship with Marsh and Daily played a significant linking role during and before the July 25 riot/rebellion.

According to interviews with members from both networks as well as news accounts, by late 1960s the relationship between Mayor Henry Marsh and members of the United Power organization had deteriorated to a point where United Power was showing public contempt for the Mayor, for example labeling Marsh an "Uncle Tom" in the organization's newspaper. It was during this period of mutual distrust and dislike that both Ruben Daniels and Reverend Roosevelt Austin served as critical bridge links between the two networks. Austin recalled the role that he and Daniels played:

...there was Ruben Daniels and myself that were, what they called the Blacks that wanted to get things done... And of course Ruben and I were able to fit in both camps. We met with the brothers who wanted to burn and talked 'em out of it. We met with the brothers who were mad, and we said, 'If we use this energy together we can do much more.' And Ruben and I were the guys, you know, that were able to do that. Because back then the Art Smiths and that group didn't see eye to eye with Marsh and his group. (P9, 54:54)

¹⁸ Actually Negopy generated two bridge link tables, one for each group. The table shown is a combined table showing only bridge links that was common for both tables.

Although Austin and Daniels both served as bridge links, as Austin indicates in the above interview excerpt, according to Jessie Daily and Henry Marsh's interviews, Ruben Daniels' strong personal relationships with these two men created the strongest bridge link between the two contentious networks.

In the months following the July 25 rebellion/riot, Mayor Henry Marsh established a committee comprised of over 200 members of the Saginaw community. The committee included residents from various socioeconomic backgrounds and gender, including members of United Power. The Committee of 200 was assembled into subcommittees that focused on and made recommendations to the Mayor regarding ways to alleviate the city's deteriorating housing stock and shortage; employment; education; and public accommodations. The powerful employment subcommittee was chaired by Ruben Daniels.

Within two years of the committee's organization, the City of Saginaw received Federal grant money to establish a local Community Action Committee, a self-help, federally funded program designed to address problems in low income urban areas, such as unemployment, underemployment and deteriorating housing conditions. Members of United Power demanded and were granted positions on governance boards that made key decisions about how the government funds were used and allocated in the Black community.

In addition to the government grants that established self-help programs under the Marsh mayoral administration, Henry Marsh and Roosevelt Austin spearheaded a subcommittee that led to the establishment of a local Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a center that provided job training and preparation for unskilled and underemployed residents; and, with full support of the United Power organization, Henry Marsh headed a campaign that led to the establishment of a multi-million dollar Career Opportunities Complex, a center that partnered with local businesses to provide hands-on and technical job training for high school students. In 1969 the City of Saginaw was awarded the All American City honor by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, a designation spearheaded by Marsh but protested by United Power.

Both former Mayor Henry Marsh and past leaders of United Power claim responsibility for the positive developments in Saginaw's African American community that occurred after the 1967 riot/rebellion. Henry Marsh argues that the increase in Black power occurred under his mayoral administration, and if not for his political and social connections, and hence network, the positive changes would not have occurred. Members of United Power alternatively argue that positive changes in the Black community occurred as a direct result of their agitating and mobilizing people at the grassroots levels, and forcing members of "the establishment," including Mayor Henry Marsh, to take action to improve the social and economic conditions of people who could not speak for themselves.

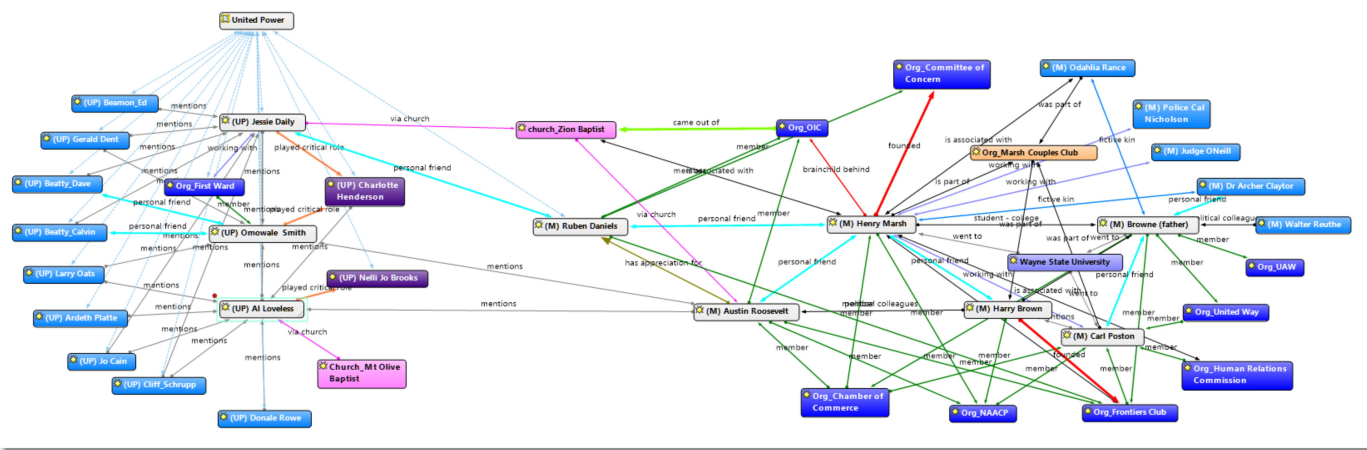


Figure 17: Both social movements compared in an ATLAS.ti network view

Discussion

Our overall goal was to show how the anthropologist's methodological tool kit can be expanded by using network analysis. Through selected network data and simple network maps, the dual mobilization network structure of a 1967 social movement was described and interpreted in a way unattainable through traditional anthropological methods. In the analysis, it was shown not only that the movement was comprised of two competing groups, but also how the structure and function of the groups contributed to the overall success of the fight for Black power. Whereas the original report of this study showed how ethnographic and qualitative data can be transformed for use in a quantitative social network analysis program, the focus of this paper was to examine how social network structures can be examined qualitatively. The results of the two analyses were compared.

It can be concluded that apart from a few statistical figures like distance ration and standard deviation, there was no further additional value in the quantitative analysis. Without the narrative interview data, it would have been difficult to interpret the results delivered by MultiNet and Negopy. The qualitative networks views also were richer as links can be labeled and it was already obvious that the ties in the Marsh network were multiplex based on social, economic, political and organization links. Further node colors can be adapted by the research to tell more of the story behind the data. It was not necessary to have a statistical program calculate bridge links—the bridge links were obvious.

The current drawback of the implementation in ATLAS.ti is that the analyst cannot immediately define the relation between the various nodes. First the links have to be coded and later translated into proper node links and relations. This is a bit of work and would not be possible to do for dozens of actors. One would, however, also not conduct dozens of narrative interviews. For this study, 27 interviews were used. In the future, the functionality of ATLAS.ti will be extended to allow for naming code-quotation links making this process less time consuming. Going through this process, though, also has its benefits: One works with the data, re-reads passages, can take notes, and advances one's analytical thinking about the data at the same time. Exporting the data to run the SNA in MultiNet or similar software takes away the

context. One only deals with the numbers of the coded segments and cannot check back what has actually been said about a particular relationship. Further, it is not possible to correct any mistakes as without the link to the qualitative data, one has no opportunity to notice it.

Thus, there are both pros and cons regarding both approaches. What is indisputable, however, is the usefulness of exploiting qualitative interviews to gain insights on social network structures. The data collected for this study provided an insider's perspective and first-hand accounts of the examined social movement, the struggle of black people for empowerment. The rich interview data made it possible to assess the social, economic, and political relations which, in turn, produced the dual network structures that at long last resulted in the success of the movement.

Social network analysis complemented the narrative data analysis as it provided a way to examine the structure of relations among the people, organizations and places mentioned across each of the interviews. This multi-faceted approach was particularly useful because it provided not only an analysis of the specific links individuals had with one another, with places and with organizations. It also allowed for visualization—through the mapping function in Multinet and ATLAS.ti—of the links and relationships across all of the interviews. Through such an analysis, we were able to uncover the effect of specific individuals on the social movement as a whole as well as their interactions within each of the groups.

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