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INCREASING POWER IN A BLACK COMMUNITY: A NETWORKED APPROACH

Although social network analysis can contribute insight about social relationships embedded in ethnographic data, such as oral history interviews, seemingly few anthropologists use social network analysis as a method for examining ethnographic data. Expanding upon a study of an African American migration from southern regions of the United States to Saginaw, MI, this article uses network analysis to examine a 1967 dual mobilization network structure that emerged as two combative African American networks fought to increase black power in the small community. This research demonstrates that social network analysis can provide qualitative researchers insights not easily or even readily gained through simple narrative analysis. [*network analysis, anthropological methods, social movement*].

INTRODUCTION

Few anthropologists (e.g., Barnes 1954, White and Johansen 2005; Foster 1979) use social network analysis as a method for examining ethnographic data. Although ethnographic data collected by anthropologists provides data types ideally suited for networked approaches to data analysis (White and Johansen 2005), the vast majority of anthropologists seemingly rely on traditional methods and approaches, such as coding, linguistic, word, and theme analysis for their examination of collected data. While such traditional approaches continue to produce ethnographies that tell us much about social and cultural life across a range of settings, we potentially miss social interaction at a deeper level of continuity 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. [6]

Consistent with White and Johansen's observation, the purpose of this article is to show how social network analysis was used to provide additional insight into an anthropological study of a social movement aimed at increasing black power in Saginaw, MI. Network analysis is particularly appropriate to examine this public effort to increase black power[1] 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.

Based on an ethnohistorical study of a 1967 social movement in Saginaw,[2] MI that erupted into a community-wide riot/rebellion, this article specifically shows how economic and political power was increased in the black community as the direct outcome of competitive network structures. One of the networks was embedded in a grassroots organization known as United Power; the second network was led by the city's powerful black mayor. The combative mobilization structures emerged when the class-based networks framed their grievances differently as they each challenged the same political opportunity structures that constrained the black community's social, economic, and political development.

For qualitative researchers, interview or narrative data are an important and often used source of data. Through both manual techniques and computer software programs designed to store, analyze, and manipulate narrative data, qualitative researchers typically examine words and code data in order to make inferences and construct the social worlds of people based on lived experiences. While such traditional approaches to examining narrative data continue to be widely used by many anthropologists, investigators seldom take advantage of quantitative methods like network analysis to explore their data from a structured approach.

Social network analysis is a methodological approach that examines the relationships (referred to as links or ties) an individual actor or actors have with other individuals, groups, or organizations (referred to as alters) 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" (9). A primary goal of social network analysis is to depict the structure of a group (Wasserman and 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 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 programs[3] 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 qualitative data.

Ego-centered (or personal) networks make the individual the focus of attention where ego describes people (alters) close to him or her (Boissevain 1974; Wellman and 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" (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 et al. 2007), and whole networks (Stack 1974; Wellman and Berkowitz 1988) in

empirical studies to describe social phenomena in a variety of contexts and cultural settings.

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 (Staggenborg 2002), reflecting 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 (Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Tilly 1978). A micro level of 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 (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., union) and non-political (e.g., church) 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 alignment[4]; 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 I used in this study of African American social insurgency 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. In addition to these traditional qualitative research methods, I also used social network analysis to provide insights about the types and strength of ties movement participants had with one another and with others in the community.

STUDY POPULATION

The network data and maps generated for this article 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, MI 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 women[5] who had direct or indirect ties with a social movement organization or with movement leaders. The interviews used in this study were selected specifically to illustrate the power of gathering information about social relationships and then using a structured process to convert oral history data into visual social network maps and data. In addition to the people interviewed for this study, the study population is also comprised of people interviewees said they had ties with during the time of the social movement.

DATA CONVERSION AND PROCESSING: CREATING SOCIAL NETWORK MAPS

Converting the interviews into social network data required the following five software programs: Microsoft Office Word, Excel 2003, Atlas.ti 5.0, SPSS Version 13, and MULTINET Version 4.44. The data conversion and processing involved five major steps: (1) transcribing and storing interviews, (2) data cleaning and preparation for importing into Atlas.ti, (3) importing and coding the interview-rich text files in Atlas.ti, (4) creating the Atlas.ti SPSS data extract, and (5) creating an Excel Multinet link file.

The conversion process required me to use the functional features of the multiple software programs. For example, I used the functionality of Microsoft Word to store and edit each of the interviews, and subsequently to save them as text documents. I used Microsoft Excel to create a simple Node file with a name and assigned ID. I then used Atlas.ti to code and create relationship links to export the data as an SPSS data file, and then exported the data from SPSS into an Excel Link file. Finally, I imported the Excel Node file and the Link file into Multinet for social network analysis. Although the data tables created in SPSS could have been exported to various networking software programs, I used Multinet because it was designed to manipulate nodes with multiple attributes, such as demographic data and links with multiple relations.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: CASE STUDY

On July 27, 1967 a public display of discontentment erupted in Saginaw leaving United Power member Joe Cain and many others, including women and children, injured and traumatized. The riot/rebellion[6] occurred after a privately held meeting between leaders of United Power and Mayor Henry Marsh fell apart when Marsh said to members of United Power, "I wouldn't be here if I didn't want to listen to this garbage."[7] While the exact events leading up to the rebellion/riot are still debated 41 years later, there is agreement that the black protest led to positive social, economic, and political changes for African Americans in the growing black community.

THE POWERFUL BLACK MAYOR: HENRY G. MARSH

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, 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 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (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 few was mostly

assigned to the same school in which African American children attended. 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. [Henry Marsh in discussion with the author, April 2002]

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. [Henry Marsh in discussion with the author, April 2002]

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 voters,[8] 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.

THE EMERGENCE OF UNITED POWER

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 adults whose parents had migrated to Saginaw between 1920 and 1940, and whose fathers worked for General Motors. One exception was then 48 years Jessie Daily. Other early leaders of United Power included Alfred Loveless and Omowale Art Smith.

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."[9] 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 27, 1967.

RESULTS

Network data generated through Negopy[10] show that the movement's mobilization structure at the meso level was comprised of two network structures or groups, and that bridge links existed between the two networks. Results also show that the two combative network structures exhibited different characteristics that, baring other explanations, helped contribute to the overall success of the black power movement. Differences between the two network structures include network type and maturity, node composition, tie structure, and network composition.

Figure 1 is a visual representation of the dual mobilization network that existed leading up to the 1967 riot. The network map 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.

Based on information extracted from the interviews, Figure 1 reflects how people in the community mobilized in each of the groups.[11] Group One, the Marsh network, is comprised of people who said in their interviews that they had a friendship, economic, or political relationship with Henry Marsh.[12] Group Two, the United Power network, was comprised of a number of people who either said they were members of the grassroots organization or were identified by past leaders as being members of the organization.

THE MARSH NETWORK: GROUP ONE

Network data show that the Marsh network was comprised of at least 12 central nodes[13] with a standard deviation[14] of 0.238 (see Table 1).

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 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 distance ratio indicates that he was the most
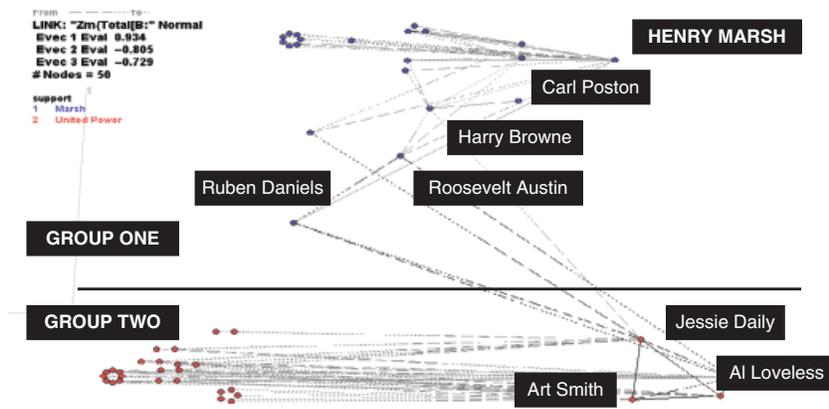
Figure 1. Marsh and United Power networks.
Note: **Network map generated using Multinet social network software program.**

Table 1. Marsh network.

Node	Network member	Distance ratio
5	Henry Marsh*	− 2.61
8	Carl Poston*	− 1.08
2	Harry Browne	− 0.32
1	Roosevelt Austin*	0.06
11	Ruben Daniels	0.83

*Person interviewed for study. Standard deviation: 0.238.

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 strong ties with Marsh, such as Carl Poston or Harry Browne.

Network and interview data also show that the most central people in the Marsh network had multiple relationship ties with one another, and hence had multiplexed relationships that made group members either strong or weak tie members of the group. In general, the more ties group members have with one another the stronger the tie; members with fewer ties are considered to have weaker ties (Neogpy Manual 1995) (see Table 2).

The table shows that 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 run for local government, they were all members of the local branch of the 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 Daniels[15] were members of the Marsh network, and each of them powerful and influential men in the community, they 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 2 shows the composition of the Marsh network and how members of the Marsh network were connected to one another and to organizations.

The map reflects a Marsh network comprised of individuals who shared the Marsh social justice ideology, and thus a common identity. The map also indicates 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 that Marsh himself did not have membership.
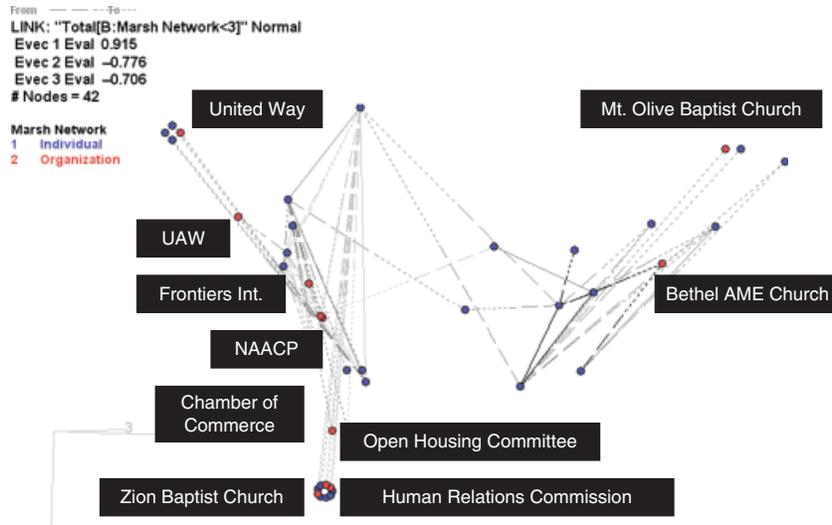
THE UNITED POWER NETWORK: GROUP TWO

Network data show that the United Power network was comprised of 22[16] central nodes with a standard deviation of 0.239 (see Table 3). The network's small standard deviation indicates that the group had little variability and was a tightly connected group of in-

Table 2. Marsh multiplex network.

Network member	Link/relationship types						
	Marsh Couples Club	Personal friends	Work colleagues	Political friends	Member NAACP	Member Frontiers	Chamber of Commerce
H. Marsh	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
C. Poston	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
H. Browne	X	X		X	X	X	X
R. Austin				X	X	X	
R. Daniels		X		X		X	

NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Figure 2. Marsh networkcComposition.
Note: **Network map generated using Multinet social network software program.**

dividuals, where in general, all group members had 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.

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 shows members of the organization did not have significant social, economic, or political ties outside of the organization, making it a single-stranded network (see Table 4).

A listing of 11 of the 22 central nodes that comprised the United Power network and their ties reflect the organization's single-stranded tie composition. As a single-stranded network, the United Power organization was comprised primarily of individual members who had a tie to the organization and other members, but few or no ties to external organizations

or groups. 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.

Figure 3 provides a visual representation of United Power's network composition and show that the network was comprised primarily of the organization, around which members clustered. The single-stranded United Power network suggests it was a weak tie network, in that, organizational members had few ties among themselves and even fewer with organizations and groups external to the network.

Consequently, as an inward-focused network the organization had to rely mostly on its membership for human and financial resources, and leadership. Additionally, because the organization lacked external ties with other local social justice

Table 3. United Power network.

Node	Network member	Distance ratio
50	United Power	− 3.28
4	Al Loveless*	− 2.08
3	Jessie Daily*	− 1.29
7	Omowale Smith*	− 0.89

*Person interviewed for study. Standard deviation: 0.239.

Table 4. United Power single-stranded network.

Network member	Link/relationship type	
	United Power	Personal friends
Al Loveless	X	X
Jessie Daily	X	X
Art Smith	X	X
L. Oats	X	X
C. Henderson	X	X
J. Cain	X	X
D. Beatty	X	X
C. Beatty	X	X
E. Beamon	X	X
D. Rowe	X	X
N. J. Brooks	X	X
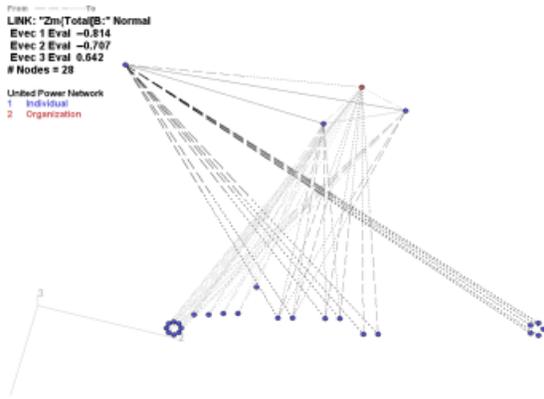
Figure 3. United Power network composition.
Note: Network map generated using Multinet social network software program.

organizations[17] 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.

THE STRENGTH OF WEAK TIES: BRIDGE LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO NETWORKS[18]

Through liaisons and bridge links, 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).

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, show that at least two members of the Mayor's ego network, Roosevelt Austin and Ruben Daniels, had ties or a relationship with Jessie Daily and the United Power network. As members

Table 5. Bridge link table.*

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

*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.

of the Mayor's weak tie network, both Austin and Daniels served as bridge links between the two networks through their ties with Daily and United Power.

Reverend 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. [Jessie Daily in discussion with the author, September 2002]

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" (Henry Marsh in discussion with the author, April 2002). 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 27 riot/rebellion.

According to interviews with members from both networks as well as news accounts, by late 1966 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. [Roosevelt Austin discussion with the author, August 2002]

Although Austin served as a bridge link, as he indicates in the above interview excerpt and as reflected in the Negopy bridge link data, according to Jessie Daily and Henry Marsh's interviews, Ruben Daniels likely served as the strongest weakest link between the two contentious networks.

In the months following the July 27 rebellion/riot, Mayor Henry Marsh established a committee comprised of over two hundred members of the Saginaw community. The committee included residents from various socioeconomic backgrounds and gender, including members of United Power. The Committee of two hundred 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, 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 U.S. 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.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

With an overall goal of showing how the anthropologist's methodological tool kit can be expanded by using network analysis, in this article I used features of network analysis to examine the dual mobilization network structure of a 1967 social movement. Through selected network data and simple network maps, I described and interpreted the data in a way unattainable through traditional anthropological methods. In the analysis, I showed 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.

In this article I also described how I converted ethnographic and qualitative data, particularly interview data, into social network data and maps. The interview method of data collection allowed data to be gathered from an insider's perspective and provided first-hand accounts about the social movement. The rich interview data allowed me to assess the social, economic, and political relations that produced the dual network structures.

Social network analysis enabled me to examine the people and organizations mentioned across each of the interviews. The analysis of social network data and maps facilitated my investigation of both the ego-centered networks embedded in each interview, as well as the whole social network that emerged in the analysis of all the interviews taken together. 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, but also allowed for visualization, through the mapping function in Multinet, of the links and relationships across all of the interviews. Through such an analysis, I was able to uncover the effect of specific individuals on the social movement as well as on the interactions within each of the groups.

This ability to extract and examine ego and whole social networks embedded in interview data can be used by researchers across a wide range of disciplines and with a variety of purposes to supplement existing strategies and research methods. The network analysis methods are particularly useful for scholars who desire to explore specific kinds of links in and across interview datasets, no matter how the data are collected. While network analysis played an essential role in my anthropological study of a black social movement, the analysis processes described in this article can be replicated by researchers in other disciplines who want to combine the rich explanation of qualitative data with the analytical strength of quantitative analysis methods.

NOTES

1. 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.

2. The field site is located approximately one hundred miles north of Detroit, MI.

3. 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.

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

5. 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, MI.

6. Former Mayor Henry Marsh prefers to use riot while members of United Power prefer rebellion. This is an attempt to placate both sides.

7. Members of United Power and former Mayor Henry Marsh agree that either these exact words or something very close were said by the mayor.

8. Based on review of voting precinct and election results.

9. Omowale Art Smith in discussion with the author, December 2002.

10. Negopy is a 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.

11. Specific names are highlighted to show particular kinds of relationships within and between the two network groups.

12. Because not all people mentioned in the interviews were interviewed, in some cases the author inferred a reciprocal relationship between the interviewee and the person they mentioned.

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.

16. All members of 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.

17. In their interviews, leaders of United Power said they sought financial support, leadership, and legal advice from groups and individuals outside of the Saginaw community, such as the Congress on Racial Equality, and attorneys from cities located up to one hundred miles from Saginaw.

18. 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").

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