

**The Role of Social
Capital in Building
Healthy Communities**

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The Role of Social Capital in Building Healthy Communities

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Introduction

The Annie E. Casey Foundation's *Making Connections* initiative envisions healthy neighborhoods with "optimism and a willingness to look out for each other."¹ While increased economic security for neighborhood families and investment in community institutions are necessary for healthy communities, these ingredients are not sufficient in and of themselves to engender neighborhood cohesion. In addition, fostering communities where residents have a sense of ownership for the neighborhood as a whole, as well as shared responsibility to other members, requires a complex mix of investment in individuals and institutions combined with measures to build trust and strengthen already existing social networks. Establishing healthy communities also requires that communities develop trusting connections with citywide institutions, markets, and policymakers to ensure that the neighborhood receives the resources that it needs, and that families have a bridge between their local communities and the wider society to achieve their goals.

In a series of influential papers, Robert Putnam suggests that social capital provides the key to healthy communities. While the definition of social capital is the subject of much debate, it is generally understood to refer to trust-based networks. Putnam (1993, 2000) argues that communities that have high levels of social capital do well while those lacking social capital suffer political disengagement and a host of social ills. I agree with Putnam that social capital is an important ingredient for healthy families and communities. As described throughout this paper, social capital includes much more than just connections, it depends on the quality of relationships among families, communities, and organizations. This is particularly true in situations that bring people together with unequal levels of power or access to the social and economic resources available in a city. The case studies described in this paper reflect various aspects of social capital and show ways that social capital can help or hinder community development.

For many years, scholars and practitioners of urban community development have argued about whether solutions to poverty should concentrate on strengthening neighborhood-based institutions or fostering bridges to resources outside of a geographically defined neighborhood.² Neighborhood-based solutions presume that physical geography is more important than social geography. The research that serves as the basis for this paper suggests that social networks become more important for families than geographically defined neighborhoods. Sometimes neighborhood conditions can have indirect effects on families if their resources are circumscribed by neighborhood-based institutions like schools, or their social networks only consist of people exclusively from their neighborhood. For this reason, policy and programmatic interventions should not abandon efforts to improve neighborhoods. However, this paper demonstrates that healthy families and communities find resources through networks and organizations

that reach beyond the places where they live. For this reason, I concentrate on social geography throughout this report. Understanding how cross-city social capital provides resources for families to succeed becomes important to ending poverty. At the same time, comprehending ways that families and organizations foster trust-based links to each other can help build place-based healthy communities.

Throughout this report, organizations chartered to serve everyone in a city are contrasted with those created by a particular group. I also make distinctions between networks consisting primarily of those who control power in a locality and members of various parts of the city with limited access to the social, economic, or political capital of the city as a whole. Organizations serving anyone in a locality are labeled *citywide* institutions and networks of the elite are called *citywide* or *elite* social capital. Neighborhood, ethnic, and race-based organizations are called *community-based* institutions, and the social capital within less powerful communities is referred to as *community social capital*.

This report focuses on the role of community-based institutions—particularly nonprofits and faith communities—in fostering social capital and building healthy communities. These organizations serve several functions. First, they become places where community residents use preexisting social capital to meet needs. People draw together their friends and families into organizations to provide services to themselves and others as well as to advocate for social change. Second, community institutions serve as places where people can build social capital networks. Third, organizations as institutions represent their communities within the neighborhood and to citywide forces. Organizations provide the point of entry for efforts to work with community members. In addition, organizations have social capital networks as institutions that can help or hinder community development and relationships with citywide institutions.

The discussion here concentrates primarily on marginalized communities, specifically native-born people of color, immigrants, and refugees. As the *Making Connections* initiative recognizes, neighborhoods with many people from these communities face particular difficulties due to racism, changes in urban labor markets, legal issues for emigres, language barriers, and cultural differences. Fostering social capital is particularly important to overcome these barriers.

This report has several tasks:

- To define social capital and show how it is useful to help families escape poverty and build healthy communities.

- To demonstrate how social capital operates for families and organizations in order to show its strengths and limitations for practical applications.
- To place the social capital developed by individuals and institutions into a citywide context by exploring the systems that provide assistance to either families or communities as a whole. Discussion of social service systems show how social service organizations, government, and faith communities can work together to foster healthy communities. I also explore barriers to collaboration between organizations as well as the limited ability of some community-based institutions to provide resources to their constituencies that will help them move out of poverty.
- To outline strategies that policymakers and program developers can use to foster healthier families and communities.

This report uses case studies from four cities—Philadelphia, Washington DC metropolitan area, and Milwaukee and Kenosha, Wisconsin—to illustrate various aspects of social capital, local social service delivery systems, and the role of faith communities in supporting families and communities.

I. Social Capital in Four Cities: Data Sources and City Profiles

Scholars have several approaches to studying issues related to poverty and community development. Some studies look at national trends or citywide indicators. Most of these studies rely on statistical analysis of national or citywide survey data. Other scholars develop detailed analysis of events in particular neighborhoods, organizations, or among specific populations using qualitative methods like interviews with people in communities or participant observation.³ The research used here combines these various methods, developing a holistic picture of social capital in four communities.

While some scholars and practitioners argue that each community is unique, others presume that community development strategies should work everywhere. This report takes a middle road, acknowledging that attributes unique to each community influence successful strategies, but similar patterns exist in each city.

Data and Methods

This paper draws on ethnographic research in four metropolitan areas—Philadelphia, metropolitan Washington DC, Milwaukee, and Kenosha, Wisconsin—conducted as part of several studies. Ethnography approaches research holistically, looking at factors in a setting that lead to current conditions through multiple research methods. Research in Philadelphia started with a Ford Foundation-sponsored study, *The Changing Relations Project: Immigrants and Established Residents in Philadelphia* conducted in 1988-1989. This paper follows organizations first encountered in this study through 2002. This research is combined with a series of studies on welfare reform and community development conducted in Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Kenosha, Wisconsin.⁴ Research for these projects combined participant observation in organizations and communities; interviews with families, institution leaders, politicians, and agency staff; and statistical analysis of available data. Material from Washington DC comes from an interview study of 25 organizations serving new immigrants conducted in 2002-2003 as part of the *Religion and the New Immigrants* study in Washington DC, one of the Pew Charitable Trust's Gateway Cities projects.⁵

City Profiles

These four cities provide important contrasts in order to understand the ways that social capital plays out in U.S. cities. The metropolitan Washington DC area, including two states and the District of Columbia, represents a cosmopolitan nation's capital, including a diverse array of organizations that interact with government and an international community that includes the World Bank as well as embassies from around the world. In addition to government employment, the metropolitan Washington DC area's economy has primarily consisted of services, professional, and technical employment. The Washington DC area retained the African-American/white racial dynamics of a small Southern city until comparatively recently. While the region has always had a small international population, it only became a magnet for immigration in the 1980s. The metropolitan area, particularly the suburbs, has become increasingly cosmopolitan, drawing immigrants from throughout the world. The emigre community includes a large number of highly educated and skilled professionals, in addition to those with fewer human capital resources.⁶

In contrast, Philadelphia and Milwaukee are industrial cities transitioning to a service economy. Both cities are the largest metropolitan areas in their respective states, are the most racially diverse cities, and have the greatest concentrations of poverty. Both are considered highly segregated cities.⁷ Affluent, predominantly white suburbs that increasingly house major employment sources, particularly industrial employment, surround these two cities. Both developed insular white ethnic communities through 19th century migration, with remnants of ethnic organizational structures remaining today. The two cities differ in their age and certain cultural attributes.⁸

With a population of 90,352 (2000 U.S. Census), Kenosha represents smaller cities in the United States. Located on the Wisconsin/Illinois border, Kenosha originally served as a small industrial center, agricultural hub, and vacation location for Chicago elite. The city economy was dominated by auto manufacturing until the mid-1980s, when it transitioned successfully to a mixed service and small industrial economy. The Kenosha suburbs have also become a bedroom community for the northern Chicago suburbs in recent years. Kenosha is predominantly white, with small Latino (8 percent) and African-American (10 percent) populations (2000 U.S. Census). While Kenosha working class Latino and African-American residents have developed informal social ties with their white coworkers and neighbors, these two communities are just beginning to combat institutional and political marginalization.

Ethnographic research in these four communities showed some variation in local strategies, but many common themes. While I stress comparative data across the four cities, successful strategies in each community pay attention to local labor market conditions, power structures, and cultural attributes. Similar policies and programs appear to work in all four communities, but they also need to be tailored to fit local conditions.

II. Defining Social Capital

Since social capital works within communities and in conjunction with local culture and power dynamics, the relationships between social capital and these other important elements of city dynamics are also explored. This section addresses the following questions:

- What is social capital?
- How is community defined in this report and how are community and social capital related?
- How do three different types of social capital (closed, bridging, and linking) help or hinder family and community development?
- What is the relationship between social capital and community culture?
- How do citywide or community power dynamics interact with social capital?

What Is Social Capital?

Social capital refers to *the social relationships and patterns of reciprocal, enforceable trust that enable people and institutions to gain access to resources like social services, jobs, or government contracts*. Social capital is a structural aspect of communities,

embodying the context-specific networks that people and institutions use to achieve their goals. Drawing on the works of Portes (1998) and Bourdieu (1986), social capital is more of a process, rather than a quantifiable set of relationships. Confusion about social capital in policy circles comes from the ways that researchers measure social capital. Some simply count the number of friends someone has or the number of organizations that they belong to. However, researchers and policymakers cannot necessarily identify social capital by counting connections because often the quality of these relationships is more important than the quantity.

A connection is defined as social capital only if it includes three elements: 1) networks, 2) trust specific to that network, and 3) the network enables access to resources. The kind of trust typical of social capital involves specific trust among network members, not generalized trust in the community or city as a whole. People can distrust people of their own race that they don't know or people from other groups in their city, but still have strong, trusting relationships among friends and institutions that help them find the resources they need.

If friends or organizational ties help someone access resources they need to achieve their goals, they represent social capital. An organization or individual may only know a few people or institutions, but these connections can help them find stable employment or improve the quality of life in their community. That individual or organization has positive social capital. Others may have many connections, but the people and institutions in their networks do not have the resources that they need to achieve a particular goal. That person or organization also has social capital, but those connections may not work in all circumstances. In yet other instances, someone may know many people or institutions, but not have trusting ties with them. These weak connections may not represent social capital because an individual or organization cannot depend on them to get access to resources.

The same is true of community-wide social capital. Rather than determining the amount of social capital in a locality by measuring the aggregate of the number of ties individuals have or the number of institutions in that place, community-wide social capital depends on the quality of relationships among individuals, institutions, and socially defined groups. This view of social capital recognizes inequalities among individuals, organizations, and communities in the United States. Most families have networks they rely on to find work, locate funds to reach family goals, and meet basic needs. Every nonprofit and church has a cadre of supporters that provides some form of funding, in-kind supports, volunteer labor, and members. However, not everyone has access to resources that provide family supporting jobs, vibrant organizations, or other indicators of a healthy community.

Functional social capital has two ingredients: 1) trust-based relationships with people or organizations who have access to resources, and 2) knowledge of cultural capital cues,⁹ which indicate that an individual or organization is a member of a group and should be given access to those relationships. This definition links social capital to community culture. People and organizations that have the right kinds of context-specific relationships and know the cultural-specific cues required to access resources achieve their goals. Since local communities depend on the social capital of their members and institutions, the kinds of social capital available to community members shape outcomes for the entire community.

What Is Community?

The concept of community used throughout this paper is not limited to a geographically defined neighborhood. Community refers to the instances when individuals develop the common recognition of shared interest, culture, and potential for trust envisioned as the basis for social capital and mutual action. Communities can either develop in geographic areas like neighborhoods or in social communities like parts of a racial, ethnic, or immigrant group. While neighborhoods can become communities, more often geographic areas include people who belong to several communities that transcend the neighborhood where they live. People participate in different social networks to find various resources. For example, the Millers¹⁰ are an African-American working class family living in a low-income neighborhood in West Philadelphia. Jake, Sandy, and their children have networks of friends and relatives in their neighborhood that provide social capital to find child care, transportation, and other things they need. However, their social capital to find work and schooling comes from networks outside of their neighborhood: coworkers, a training program that Sandy attended, cross-city youth programs the children belong to, and church.

In addition, neighborhoods often contain many communities. While social capital could draw from an entire community, more often resources come from smaller networks within each community. For example, one Milwaukee neighborhood included several race-based communities: 1) African-American communities based in a public housing project and family members living in the surrounding houses, and 2) white people living primarily in neighborhood houses and apartments. The African-American residents were further divided by links within the public housing complex and membership in various churches. Social ties for the whites were primarily based on workplaces outside of the neighborhood, school, and membership in one of several local Catholic or Protestant churches. In each case, social capital came from a selected group of people within various race-based subcommunities.

Communities develop shared cultural attributes either because people with similar lifestyles join the same groups or the institutions that serve as communities socialize

Social Capital and Community

members to hold similar values. As discussed earlier, social capital networks often use cultural cues to determine who should be a member of a network and receive access to its resources. The next section clarifies the relationship between social and cultural capital.

Cultural Capital and Social Capital

Using appropriate cultural cues is an important aspect of social capital. Culture refers to the way of life of a community, including its economic strategies and social organization in addition to its habits and belief systems. Groups like African Americans or immigrants from a particular country often develop distinct subcultures, and several different subcultures can exist within a racial or ethnic group based on class or other factors. Suggesting that culture is significant for social capital does not mean that only people with identical values can share resources. However, it does indicate that people use culture as one way to determine who to trust.

People or organizations in a social network use a few attributes of their culture as *cultural capital*¹¹ when determining who they should trust with their resources through social capital networks. Cultural capital refers to cultural cues that people or organizations use to identify who is a member of a community and should be trusted with the social capital resources available through community networks. For example, citywide funding institutions base their decisions on which community-based organizations to support on local agency ability to demonstrate the culturally approved hallmarks of a thriving organization such as appropriate presentations of materials, accepted bookkeeping measures, and expected staff behavior. Employers look for culturally determined dress styles, language use, and other subtle workplace behaviors when deciding who to hire. It is up to the community networks and institutions that socialize potential employees to teach appropriate behaviors.

Trust-based social capital networks often serve as these socializing agents. The same is true for organizations, which rely on informal socialization through the previous generation of community leaders to establish organizational norms. Cultural capital cues for both organizations and individuals may change over time when new standards are introduced and eventually widely accepted in the community. People in bridging networks often expand or alter the kinds of cultural attributes they consider appropriate through relationships with others different from themselves.

At the same time, social networks are less likely to offer their resources to people who fail to follow community cultural norms. This is even more true of agencies, who risk their reputations if they refer people for employment or training who lack the social skills to succeed. Agency social capital depends on reciprocal relationships, which in turn is based on their service reputation. For example, an employer may come to depend on an

educational institution for new employees because that organization referred successful candidates in the past. This becomes a reciprocal relationship because the agency and employer depend on each other to meet their respective goals of finding employees and placing graduates. However, if the agency starts to send graduates to the employer without the requisite social, technical, and cultural skills, the employer might begin to question the relationship. If the organization continues to send unsuccessful candidates over time, the employer may seek another source for new employees. Given a long-term relationship, the employer may first discuss its concerns with the educational institution before breaking the relationship. However, if the employer hires new human resources personnel who lack connections to the educational institution, this courtesy may not be followed.

Cultural capital also plays a role in which agencies people use. In Washington DC, several Muslim organizations formed to provide culturally appropriate services to people belonging to this faith. The agencies functioned as referral networks, relying on links to health professionals, lawyers, and material goods through social capital resources associated with the mosques. For example, someone needing a doctor would call the referral agency, which would give the individual the name of a Muslim doctor known through the mosque.

People needing services found these agencies through the mosques or word of mouth. While some new immigrants contacted these agencies because they offered appropriate languages, the primary reason for seeking help from them was the expectation of culturally appropriate services. In one case, the organization started in order to avoid Islamic children being placed into the general foster care system. In another case, citywide domestic violence programs asked a mosque to participate in developing services to this community.

Cultural capital serves as a powerful determinant of who is allowed to use the resources of a particular network. Since culture often is specific to a city or region, learning the appropriate cultural cues for that locality became particularly important as people sought to succeed in citywide circles. Social capital is important both within communities and between them. In instances where people develop social capital outside of their home communities, they often share cultural capital attributes considered important by network members. To succeed, newcomers can learn what cultural capital attributes are important to relevant partners. For example, professional school students are socialized into the norms of their chosen career while attending programs that successfully place their graduates.

People that cross between very different networks on a regular basis often learn several types of cultural cues. For example, working class African Americans employed in citywide organizations learned to use different dialects of English at work and in their

home communities. Sometimes, they would switch dialects to make a new employer or agency client feel more comfortable. In other instances, an African-American employee may clearly use the local white dialect of English with another person of their race displaying underclass culture to indicate differences between them. This was particularly true when a new employee or client was acting inappropriately for that agency.

These examples of the role of cultural capital in relationships among people attempting to move outside of their home communities highlight that all forms of social capital are not the same. Three kinds of social capital—closed, bridging, and linking—operate in different ways and offer various kinds of supports in marginalized communities. The next section explores these three types in more detail.

Three Kinds of Social Capital

Most of the social capital literature uses bonding to refer to closed social capital. Putnam and others describe *bonding social capital* as strong ties within insular communities like family networks or those specific to separatist communities. While Putnam recognizes that bonding social capital may have positive uses, most scholars, policymakers, and practitioners think that bonding social capital is negative. For example, bonding social capital is associated with poor families who do not have access to the resources they need to succeed. Hate groups like the Klu Klux Klan or other white supremacist groups often serve as the other example of bonding social capital. Instead, I have used *closed social capital* since 1996 to refer to relationships within closed communities. For example, low-income African-American families develop networks of kin and close friends that share resources to meet the basic needs of the group. I use closed social capital here because it does not as easily bring forward negative connotations.

Most scholars and practitioners use *bridging social capital* to refer to relationships across groups, regardless of power relations. In contrast to some others, I stress that bridging social capital relies on long-term trust-based relationships. Weak ties across groups or institutions offer the potential to develop bridging social capital, but networking with those outside of one's home community in and of itself does not necessarily garner resources. Scholars at the World Bank have recently added the concept of *linking social capital* to describe relationships among people or institutions at different parts of the power hierarchy of a locality. This kind of relationship refers to connections between an organization or government office and the people it serves. Linking social capital can also refer to relationships between community-based organizations and government or other funders.

Closed and Bridging Social Capital

Social capital serves as a conduit to deliver services and effectively connect neighborhood residents to jobs and other resources. As such, building social capital is a necessary part

of any community development strategy. Further, fostering healthy communities involves expanding two types of social capital: closed social capital within the community and bridging social capital among local communities and citywide institutions.

Closed social capital refers to networks that include people or institutions that are similar to each other and participate in exclusive sharing relationships. Closed social capital comes from social networks within communities. Closed social capital involves strong ties within communities, like a cohesive neighborhood or ethnic group. The sense of community can come from shared interests, culture, and values from neighborhood, race, or other factors. For example, the Port Richmond neighborhood in Philadelphia was known in the late 1980s as a white ethnic enclave, home to many Polish emigres, as well as U.S.-born ethnics from Italy, Germany, and Ireland. Few people outside the community knew that two blocks of Port Richmond housed African Americans, who were considered as much a part of the community as the white residents. The neighborhood served as a cohesive community for all its residents, who got along well with each other on a daily basis. In addition, while white families in this neighborhood had crossed ethnic boundaries through intermarriage, they still maintained separate subcommunities based on church membership, participation in ethnic fraternal organizations, and workplace ties. Most social capital resources came from networks within these organization-based subcommunities.¹²

In this case, the neighborhood served as a closed social capital network for some resources. Port Richmond residents of all races and nationalities looked out for each other, shared information on housing available for sale in the neighborhood, and came together for recreational activities. As a result, the neighborhood was known for a cohesive quality of life. At the same time, Port Richmond residents also belonged to other closed social capital networks through their faith communities, families, and ethnic organizations that provided resources for jobs, health care, child care, education, and many other instrumental and social needs. The two types of closed networks did not preclude each other, but they did mean that an individual family living in the same geographical neighborhood might have access to different resources.

Bridging social capital involves long-term trusting relationships, but crosses boundaries of class, race, ethnicity, religion, or type of institution. For example, several prominent families in the African-American and Latino communities in Kenosha developed relationships with the white power elite in Kenosha by working together on various projects over 20 years. When the African-American and Latino nonprofits that these families supported ran into administrative and financial problems, each agency was able to engineer assistance from citywide agencies and Kenosha government because of these ties. In one case, the struggling agency was taken over by a highly respected citywide nonprofit, which intentionally retained all of the smaller organization's staff and programs. The bailout for the other agency required that the agency develop stronger

board ties to the local United Way and government by expanding its board to include people associated with citywide institutions, but kept its institutional identity in tact. As with its sister organization, agency programs changed little after the bailout.

As these two Kenosha examples demonstrate, closed and bridging social capital depend on each other, particularly in marginalized communities. The African-American and Latino families responsible for saving these two organizations had first developed strong closed social networks through their churches and informal networks that facilitated creating organizations to serve their race-based communities. These organizations worked with other exclusively African-American or Latino institutions to support their respective communities' move into Kenosha's stable working class. These organizations also continued to provide for the less fortunate in their communities. Closed social capital through organizations and informal networks remains essential for families in each of these race-based communities.

However, bridging social capital is equally important. Developing closed social capital is often the first step toward bridging social capital. The Latino and African-American social service organizations first developed links to each other to share resources and information. Building on these cross-group relationships, organization leaders also developed ties with the exclusively white citywide leadership. As is typical of bridging social capital, these white, Latino, and African-American leaders developed reciprocal relationships that benefited both the race-based communities and the city as a whole. The trust developed through these bridging social capital ties enabled citywide leaders to work with these African-American and Latino leaders to save two organizations considered important in their respective communities.

As noted earlier, both of the race-based organizations were able to retain their key staff and programs when citywide forces intervened. This strategy strengthened preexisting bridging ties among agency leadership while maintaining the closed community resources that made the struggling organizations a success in their respective race-based communities. African Americans and Latinos that turned to these organizations for help trusted the staff they already knew and were less likely to trust a stranger.

While providing additional resources and programs, the expanded leadership of the organizations—after the citywide assistance—recognized that the older programs still worked and brought people to the organization for help. Once people in need came to the organization through preexisting social capital relationships in their closed communities, they were more comfortable accessing newer services and bridging to other organizations outside of their communities for help. Closed and bridging social capital together led to positive change for community members.

Linking Social Capital

Researchers at the World Bank (2001) identify *linking social capital* as vertical ties between people in different power relations in a community. For example, ties between low-income families and government agencies providing services or between community-based nonprofits and citywide funding sources like local government and the United Way. Linking relationships become important for marginalized communities attempting to improve conditions for their members.

Linking relationships often depend on preexisting bridging social capital between key individuals in organizations situated in different parts of the power hierarchy of a city or town. For example, in Kenosha, the local homeless shelter staff had bridging ties with staff at the county government human services agency that provided welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, child care, and other resources for the people in the shelter. As detailed below, these bridging ties facilitated linking relationships between clients at the homeless shelter and government caseworkers. Likewise, leadership at the homeless shelter had bridging ties to most community churches, the unions, United Way, and social service organizations exclusively serving the Latino and African-American communities. Through these organizational bridges, these institutions developed cooperative agreements to establish service links that determined which agency would provide services to a particular family.

Comparing Three Types of Social Capital

Each type of social capital provides resources important to help families and communities gain basic necessities and achieve long-term goals. However, each depends on different types of networks. All families and organizations have closed social capital, but not everyone develops bridging and linking social capital. Both bridging and linking require that people develop trust outside of their familiar communities. Linking social capital often depends on the ability of those who control key resources like government, employers, citywide financial institutions, or foundations to create trust-based relationships with the people that rely on these powerful organizations' resources. At the same time, community-based people and institutions need to know how to work with those in power to build trust-based linking relationships.

Examples of bridging and linking situations point to the role of power relations in social capital. While positive relationships across groups can potentially improve social equity in a city, power dynamics remain a key part of community development. Since relevant cultural capital can be specific to a subcommunity or agency, even frontline workers or people seeking services can use cultural traits to keep others out. The next section examines the connection between social capital, cultural capital, and power relations.

Social Capital, Cultural Capital, and Power Relations

Power relations play out in all types of interactions among individuals and institutions. At a general level, impoverished communities often lack both the social capital to garner needed resources and the political clout to meet their needs. Employees may be at the mercy of their employers, who control economic capital. Employers may also develop important links to politicians so that government will favor their side in labor disputes. Other power relations are more specific to an agency or system. For example, low-income people needing medical care may have little power to change the policies of the insurers or health systems that determine what care they will receive. At a more basic level, the actions of frontline workers may raise barriers to receiving assistance through misinformation, denying access to services, or simply making service interactions so difficult that people do not use available resources through government or private organizations. This section explores the relationship between power, social capital, and cultural capital in each of these types of situations.

Citywide Power Dynamics and Social Capital

Some scholars and policymakers think that social capital only refers to positive relationships, ignoring power dynamics. This has never been the case. Bourdieu's (1984) original formulation of social capital described the way that the French elite maintained their advantages through social and cultural capital. Subsequent discussions of social capital in the U.S. have highlighted that social capital often serves as a means to exclude people from resources.¹³ Coleman's (1988) influential article on social capital discussed Hassidic Jewish diamond merchants who conducted business without contracts because they knew that reciprocal, enforceable trust within that closed community would maintain honesty among businessmen. At the same time, merchants outside of the network could not be trusted in the same way. Both members of poor communities and those in positions of power maintain the same distinctions.

This negative side of social capital shows that fostering bridging social capital is seldom easy. Linking social capital depends on the good will of the powerful to respond to those they allegedly serve. Examples below show that marginalized communities can succeed in developing linkages across lines of class and race or nationality-based power structures, but this often depends on trust developed with members of the citywide elite.

For example, the Kensington neighborhood in Philadelphia is a mixed African-American, Latino, and poor white neighborhood that has suffered significant loss of employment and has become a center for drug activity. One part of the neighborhood has many organizations striving to better local conditions. Several of these organizations were created by citywide elites with firm connections to resources in city government or local foundations. These members of Philadelphia's power structure had an interest in this neighborhood because of religious or political concerns for low-income communities or

Latino migrants. Other organization leaders came out of the Latino community, but also have strong ties in citywide political circles. Bridging and linking social capital with citywide power brokers led to sustained attention in this section of the neighborhood.

Another section of Kensington is served by a community development corporation founded by white working class community residents. Organization founders had strong social capital within their community, but few ties to citywide power brokers. Few other social service organizations pay attention to this community. The organization founder and director commented that “we are not Black enough, white enough, or Puerto Rican enough to get attention from the city.” Lacking social capital ties to either political, foundation, or business citywide elite structures, in the late 1980s the organization continued to get some Community Development Block Grant funds, but otherwise struggled to improve its surrounding community.

These examples suggest that communities that are able to bring in outside resources have bridging social capital with citywide elites that facilitate their work. Several organizations in the more institutionally rich portion of Kensington also developed social capital links to each other that allowed them to greatly reduce the drug traffic in their immediate neighborhood and enhance the quality of life among community members. The organization in the institutionally poor neighborhood was able to enhance the quality of life for some area residents through improved housing, but did not have the same impact for its area as a whole. In addition, because it lacked social capital links with citywide elites, this organization drew accusations that it favored people within its closed social capital networks in allocating housing. While organizations in the other neighborhood also primarily served people with social capital links to that particular organization, citywide elites in linking social capital relationships to those organizations did not raise similar concerns because of their positive bridging links with the organizations’ leadership. Trust-based ties among leaders meant that the activities of those community-based organizations were supported without question.

Power Relations Among Organizations

Power relations also play out within and between organizations. The Milwaukee welfare reform system gave contracts to five nonprofit and for-profit W-2 agencies to provide case management, determine eligibility for government cash assistance, and locate jobs.¹⁴ The contract for Medicaid, food stamps, and child care assistance was given to Milwaukee County government. The W-2 agencies and Milwaukee County were supposed to work together to provide benefits for Milwaukee residents in need. To facilitate this process, county workers were placed at the various W-2 agency sites. However, the county government agency never developed positive ties to the W-2 agencies and few county workers trusted or respected the agencies that housed them. Neither linking nor bridging social capital developed either at the agency leadership level or among most frontline workers housed at the same location. As a result, service often involved a

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constant battle between W-2 caseworkers and county employees, with needy families as casualties.

I saw positive relationships develop among county workers and a W-2 agency site at one agency that provided a benign work environment, but insisted that the county workers “be nice” to their clients. By requiring that non-cooperative workers be transferred and providing a supportive environment that the other county workers did not want to leave, agency management slowly developed bridging social capital among the people stationed at their site. As a result, this agency enabled linking social capital between its program participants, W-2 caseworkers, and the county workers.

These examples suggest that organizations need to develop bridging relationships with each other at the leadership level as a first step in facilitating collaboration among staff to enhance service delivery. Staff-to-staff relationships depend on two factors. First, the organization’s leaders need to clearly state that staff from different organizations placed at the same site should work together. Managers also need to facilitate the development of social capital among staff from various agencies through the structures that they create to manage programs and ongoing messages to staff. Second, management at the host site must create an atmosphere that encourages cooperation and clarifies appropriate behavior. Since frontline staff behaviors often determine the quality of services program participants receive, I next examine those relationships.

Frontline Workers and Power Dynamics

While power dynamics between agency caseworkers and the people they served sometimes proved problematic in all four cities, relationships with frontline gatekeepers often became even more troublesome. While frontline workers like receptionists or intake workers may have little power in the organization, they have tremendous influence in who gets access to requested services or information. Like other forms of street-level bureaucrats,¹⁵ organizations find that they have trouble controlling their behavior. These relationships frequently involved people suspicious of the people they serve because they had no social or cultural capital links to encourage positive interactions. Frontline gatekeepers sometimes maintained negative beliefs about the people they served or were quick to judge newcomers and deny them access to services.

Examples show various types of frontline power relations at play. I interviewed staff at New Community, a predominantly African-American community development corporation (CDC) in a mixed-race/class neighborhood in Washington DC. The CDC had originally been chartered to develop a then-struggling African-American residential neighborhood and business corridor. Neighborhood residents included long-time African-American residents ranging from low-income families to lower middle class. Newcomers to the neighborhood were primarily upwardly mobile white and African-American families rapidly gentrifying the Victorian row houses. These two types of homeowners disagreed over

appropriate housing standards and types of businesses on the commercial strip. The CDC often became the lightning rod for these arguments.

Agency staff found young, white professionals particularly active in presenting their view of appropriate development plans for the neighborhood. Since the white residents often wanted different results than the older African Americans, and they came to the organization much more frequently than any other group of neighborhood residents, they stood out as particularly needy to agency staff. Since even some of the professionals that worked at the CDC had different cultural expectations of appropriate development for the community than the professional whites, the white residents were viewed as problematic as well as time consuming.

All of these background interactions influenced ways that frontline staff greeted people at the agency. I arrived for my appointment to find an African-American secretary working with a temporary employee to teach her how to use the phone system. They ignored me for a few minutes, until I interrupted to ask for the person I was scheduled to interview. The receptionist snapped, "Do you have an appointment?" and pointed at a sign-in sheet. She then returned to working with the new employee, without calling back to announce that I had arrived. The professional I was scheduled to interview eventually came out looking for me.

This frontline worker presumed that I was another one of the white residents, coming in to voice their view on community development decisions without an appointment. Her failure to provide a professional welcome displayed her ambivalence toward these clients, demonstrating that—at least in her view—the upwardly mobile whites were not part of the community the agency served. I was labeled as outside of the social networks of the African-American neighborhood community that she came from, therefore not eligible for the social capital available through agency resources. Like others considered illegitimate users of agency services, I would receive attention from the staff only if I was willing to wait until the professionals happened to notice I had arrived.

A similar situation involved an African-American woman interviewing for a management position in local government in Kenosha. The white receptionist failed to tell the interviewers that the candidate had arrived for a screening test required for the job. After waiting several hours, the candidate left for another appointment. Fortunately, her potential supervisor called her and asked if she had been left waiting. The supervisor apologized for the frontline worker behavior, telling the candidate to make another appointment. Additional measures were taken by the supervisor to make sure that the candidate was served in a timely manner and she was eventually hired for the position. Other African-American professionals reported that white frontline workers at Kenosha County and city government offices told them that there were no low-level service jobs available when they asked about job openings with local government.

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Another situation in a Milwaukee social service agency involved frontline staff who played favorites with information and gave misinformation. People ineligible for certain in-kind services were told about giveaways for school supplies because they were members of the receptionist's social networks. Others were given inaccurate information, leading them to leave the agency in the mistaken belief that they did not qualify for services. Those who left were often newcomers who did not know how to get beyond the receptionist to find correct information. People with closer ties to the agency knew that the initial information was frequently wrong and how to find someone with accurate data.

Each of these examples shows people with limited power controlling their environment based on who they know and their beliefs about appropriate behavior or social hierarchy. Newcomers who are considered outside of the frontline worker's community or display the wrong cultural cues are denied service or ignored. Passive and active behaviors by frontline workers convey to professionals of another race that they need not apply. Frontline workers provide inappropriate assistance to their friends while offering inaccurate information to people requesting service that sends them away. In each case, frontline workers enacting their social and cultural capital frustrate the best efforts of social and health systems to provide quality service. Staff at various community-based and citywide organizations know about these problems with service delivery systems, using their own social capital to remedy situations like these.

Policy Implications

Analysis of social capital shows that it constitutes much more than just connections. Social capital refers to a mechanism that both individuals and institutions use to meet their needs. Social capital is only activated in particular contexts. It can occur within or between communities, but it is sensitive to cultural cues and local power dynamics. As such, simply increasing networks through such strategies as requiring that training organizations place their clients or community-based organizations collaborate with others in order to receive grants or contracts will not necessarily activate social capital in a given community. To understand how social capital can best be used to improve the quality of life for individuals and communities, the next two sections explore social and cultural capital for families and among organizations in more detail.

III. Social Capital and Family Resources

Policies to end poverty often focus on increasing human capital or work experience for poor families. Strategies to offer education or teach specific skills enhance the human capital of low-income individuals. Some popular programs also stress teaching cultural attributes important to the workplace like appropriate dress or arriving on time in order to help poor people succeed. Proponents of work experience think that simply connecting people to any job will place them on the ladder to success. Still others think that individuals need access to jobs that pay family supporting wages, advocating training for these kinds of jobs or attempting to break down social or legal barriers to well-paid employment. Some scholars and policymakers recognize that families require much more than work to succeed. They need adequate child care, education, health care, recreational opportunities, and programs for the elderly. Social service systems attempt to link people to these resources.

In each case, social capital is an important ingredient to help families or individuals gain the resources that they need. This section examines the role of social capital in helping or hindering low-income families attempting to find stable housing and employment. Case examples look at the role of closed, bridging, and linking social capital in helping families achieve their goals. This discussion also pays close attention to the importance of trust in fostering new social capital for low-income families, and addresses the following questions:

- How does trust influence the ability to use social capital to meet family needs and foster new social capital relationships?
- What is the role of closed, bridging, and linking social capital in helping low-income families escape poverty?
- How important are cross-class resources in helping low-income families achieve their goals?

Family stories about finding employment and other resources document the importance of social capital in achieving individual goals. People frequently find work, training programs, and other resources through a referral. However, connections alone do not lead to effective social capital. Examples from Kenosha illustrate the importance of trust for social capital relationships. Two African-American families in Sunrise, a homeless shelter, responded differently to resources offered through local government based on trust in the nonprofit, government, and community-based networks.

Duane was a father of two made homeless due to a fire. He worked at a service sector job that barely paid his bills and was interested in completing college as a way to find

better employment. However, he felt that he could not continue his studies due to lack of child care. Sunrise staff tried to connect him to the local government welfare-to-work agency to get help with child care, locate better employment, and facilitate his educational goals. However, Duane ignored agency advice based on information from his family and friends that the welfare-to-work program would not pay for child care for educational purposes. Duane trusted the information from his closed social capital networks more than the Sunrise counselor's suggestions. He chose which resources he would access based on those trusting relationships, even though he potentially lost an avenue to a better quality of life by relying on community-based social capital.

Alicia, another shelter resident, handled the social capital resources offered by the agency differently. Alicia had a stronger relationship with the shelter from the beginning because she heard about it through a relative that lived nearby. Based on this social capital referral from her closed network of family and friends, she trusted the nonprofit from the start. She relied on the agency counselor to help her obtain welfare benefits. Trusting relationships between Alicia, the agency counselor, and the welfare-to-work counselor led Alicia to establish rapport with her government caseworkers.¹⁶ As a result, government workers supported her goals to attend college by concentrating on finding part-time work that would allow her time to complete her education. The employment counselor also targeted finding jobs for Alicia similar to her long-term goals so that she could combine work and college to eventually develop a professional career.¹⁷ Alicia also developed a trust-based relationship with a student fieldworker placed at Sunrise who helped her connect to the local college.

When Alicia's daughter had trouble with the after-school program teacher at the homeless shelter, her shelter counselor used social capital connections to the Boys and Girls Club to find alternative programming. Counselors from the Boys and Girls Club, in turn, offered an additional set of resources to both Alicia and her children. In each case, Alicia and her family expanded their social capital networks because they trusted agency staff. This trust led to various forms of bridging social capital through the college and Boys and Girls Club networks. These trusting relationships also facilitated linking social capital between Alicia and her welfare-to-work counselor.

Alicia's experience differed from Duane's because she developed trust-based relationships that enabled her to access the resources available through the agency. Comparing the two cases reveals that agency staff did more for Alicia than Duane because the agency had a stronger relationship with her. Social capital is a two-way street—the network needs to trust the person asking for help as much as that individual trusts the network. The homeless shelter staff found Alicia much more trustworthy than Duane because she responded positively to their initial suggestions.

While closed social capital resources from family and friends provide important supports for most low-income families, not everyone can depend on them equally. These networks are also a two-way street—families become unwilling to support kin who constantly need aid. For example, Alicia came to the shelter because she felt she had asked too much of her family and they were no longer willing to help her. She had broken the trust within her closed family network by asking for help over and over without any reciprocal return on their investment.¹⁸ Looking for a new set of resources to get her out of the trap of low-income employment and welfare, Alicia relied on those same closed social capital networks to find linking social capital through the homeless shelter. Unlike Duane, Alicia trusted the referrals from the homeless shelter staff because her closed network of family and friends told her that she could rely on this agency's advice. As with closed and bridging social capital, successful development of linking social capital often depends on preexisting closed social capital. Lacking support from within his closed networks to access government aid, Duane was unwilling to trust attempts to link him to government funded child care.

The types of resources available to the social capital network affects the life trajectory of its members. Alicia eventually developed strong relationships with a group of women in the shelter at the same time. They all found housing in a section of Kenosha known for rundown housing and high levels of poverty. She and her friends relied on neighborhood resources for child care, locating work, and other supports. Their life choices soon matched those of other neighborhood residents, despite Alicia's continuing relationship with people at the college that she met while in the shelter. When research in Kenosha ended, it was unclear whether or not Alicia would rely on her college networks to eventually move out of poverty or remain in her previous cycle of low-income work and welfare through dependence on her friends from the shelter for social capital.

This example demonstrates that individual social capital is easily influenced by neighborhood or other community factors. Alicia and her friends in the shelter developed a new closed network of like individuals, finding others in their new neighborhood like themselves who became their social capital network. The resources available in that network quickly resembled those available at the neighborhood level. Offering new resources to some network members may not necessarily lead to change for the entire network, community, or neighborhood. For example, Alicia might use her bridging ties to government workers and the college students to succeed, but she did not appear to share those ties with the other people that she met in the shelter.

These examples of social capital resources for families show that all families have social capital, but that network resources do not necessarily lead people out of poverty. As Alicia's network of formerly homeless women shows, people often turn to familiar networks of people like themselves to find resources. While those networks can provide important instrumental supports like child care, they may limit mobility. Organizations

can play a role in expanding networks to provide resources to escape poverty, but linking social capital between program participants and organization staff is often fragile—dependent on developing trusting relationships. As comparing Duane to Alicia shows, the ability to trust organization staff may depend on the reputation of the agency among members of the individual's primary closed social networks.

Research on families that moved from low incomes into either the stable working class or professions shows that these families develop bridging social capital that leads to new opportunities.¹⁹ This occurs either because they find individuals that help them bridge, they belong to programs that provide bridging opportunities, or organizations within their communities help entire communities find stable employment. Sometimes linking social capital with social service agencies or government fosters these connections. However, just as Alicia depended on her family to refer her to the homeless shelter and found child care through closed community networks, closed social capital is equally important. Often closed and bridging social capital depend on each other.

These examples show that organizations can prove a powerful instrument for change. But organizations do not exist in a vacuum. They are products of communities and develop social capital themselves. The next section outlines social capital for organizations.

IV. Social Capital in Organizations and Faith Communities

Closed, bridging, and linking social capital prove equally important for organizations. Scholars of organizational dynamics highlight that organizations depend on connections to find funding, develop programs, and locate members or program participants.²⁰ However, as with individuals, social capital can also help or hinder relationships among organizations. Social capital for organizations also depends on trust-based relationships. Like individuals, organizations also exist within communities, although they may build bridges between them. That said, social capital is not identical for organizations and families because organizations both act as corporate entities and are based on the resources, skills, and culture of their various employees. Since organizations also serve as important venues to create community, they have a much greater impact on community development. This section examines the role of social capital for organizations in building healthy communities and addresses the following questions:

- How does social capital among staff or institutions help organizations serve their communities?

- What is the role of closed, bridging, and linking social capital among organizations in building healthy communities?
- Is social capital at the organizational or leadership levels of an organization sufficient to expand social capital for the constituency served by that organization?

Social Capital Among Agency Staff

Social capital for organizations exists at two levels: ties among individuals associated with the organization and ties among organizations as institutional actors. People who are board members of several organizations often serve as individuals who foster social capital between organizations. Like the homeless shelter staff person in Kenosha who called her counterpart at the Boys and Girls Club to help Alicia, staff-to-staff organization ties can also help program participants develop bridging social capital across organizations.

Linking social capital among agency staff also helps agencies better serve their program participants. Another Kenosha example shows how linking social capital among agency staff can provide needed resources to program participants. Maria was a Latina resident of the Kenosha homeless shelter with an infant that had several health problems. The shelter counselor had already used her bridging links to staff at the Kenosha County human services department to ensure that Maria received public assistance after the birth of her child. When the baby developed health problems beyond the expertise of Kenosha doctors, Maria ran into trouble because her Medicaid HMO would not cover a referral to a specialized children's hospital in Milwaukee. The homeless shelter staff person quickly called a supervisor at Kenosha human services for help. Within a day, staff at the Kenosha County human services offices had negotiated with the state and the HMO to arrange for appropriate treatment in Milwaukee for the child. Without this linking social capital, Maria's baby would not have received the medical care she needed.

This example suggests that bridging and linking social capital among staff prove important to facilitate holistic services. Had Maria tried to navigate the system by herself, it is likely that she would have spent days simply trying to reach her W-2 case manager, only to find that this low-level staff person did not have the authority to negotiate with the HMO. Connections between agencies at the supervisor level cut through that red tape. As the next section describes, the same kinds of relationships among organizations as institutions can also aid program participants.

Social Capital Among Organizations

Social capital among organizations often proves equally important in developing resources simultaneously for an organization and the community it supports. For

example, Neighborhood Empowerment, a center-city nonprofit organization in Philadelphia, relied on ties to neighborhood-based nonprofits to deliver a literacy and welfare-to-work program. These long-term, reciprocal relationships allowed the center-city agency to find venues to provide services, community service placements for welfare-to-work program participants, and tutors and students for its adult literacy program. The neighborhood-based organizations, in turn, garnered tutor training and administrative support from the center-city organization for the literacy program. Community-based agencies also found a trusted source for interns and new employees through the referral, training, and counseling system provided by Neighborhood Empowerment as part of the welfare-to-work program. Bridging social capital between citywide and neighborhood institutions benefited everyone involved in the network.

Organization-to-organization relationships can also simultaneously develop awareness among social service agencies about a marginalized community while expanding resources for community members. Women associated with a mosque located outside of Washington DC founded a small nonprofit called Renewal to help survivors of domestic violence in their community. The organization quickly developed bridging relationships with interfaith organizations and other domestic violence organizations throughout its county. Renewal continues to rely on these ties in order to develop the organization and provide their program participants with the resources they need.

These bridging social capital resources quickly provided support when the mosque was vandalized after the September 11th attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center. Renewal staff reported that local religious institutions provided in-kind assistance. During this time, Muslims found themselves the objects of harassment when shopping or in other venues. Hearing about these problems through the interfaith organization that Renewal belonged to, Christian and Jewish women who belonged to congregations connected to the interfaith organization took mosque members shopping to help control the harassment. These organizational networks provided many other forms of support. These cross-faith/cross-cultural links also facilitated education about U.S. Muslims throughout Washington DC, while showing Muslims that not everyone in the community regarded them as terrorists.

Another Washington DC example shows how a community-based organization can eventually become a citywide resource, providing links between government, various nonprofit organizations, and a marginalized emigre population. Spanish Social Services was founded by Cuban immigrants in the late 1960s to provide referral and services to immigrants from their country. Over its 30-plus years in operation, it has expanded to provide information, referral, and direct service to Spanish-speaking people from many countries living in a section of the metropolitan Washington DC area.

It was founded by a small group of people who attended the same church, relying on social capital through the church community to find initial resources. Spanish Social Services has developed a strong referral and collaborative system with most of the citywide social service organizations in the Washington DC area, other Latino community-based organizations, and local government. The agency can depend on this widespread network to help the Spanish-speaking population it serves. Nonprofits, government, and faith communities throughout the Washington DC area refer Spanish-speaking people in need to this agency. In addition to bridging social capital links to other organizations, the agency also draws on the citywide business community and local universities for volunteers, in-kind donations, and financial support.

The citywide reputation that the agency has developed comes from gradually developing closed, bridging, and linking social capital throughout metropolitan Washington DC. Agency prominence does not simply come from making connections, but its reputation for providing quality, creative services to its community. Its ability to maintain cross-community social capital depends on these trust-based, reciprocal relationships.

While organizations like Spanish Social Services and Renewal can develop cross-community social capital that encourages bridging for the people they serve, not all positive examples of using social capital to support marginalized communities foster bridging relationships. A Philadelphia example shows that one community can use its social capital to support another without expanding bridging social capital.²¹ The Burial Ground Project is an example of an organization that uses social capital through citywide elite networks to support a marginalized community, but maintains closed social capital boundaries at the same time.

The organization was started in the 1990s by white and African-American Quakers who belonged to a central Philadelphia Friends Meeting. Its mission was to renew a distressed, mixed African-American and Latino neighborhood by restoring a historic cemetery in the neighborhood that had become a magnet for drug use and other criminal activity. The people who started this initiative had firm connections to the business, foundation, social service, and religious elite of Philadelphia, using their elite social capital to garner resources for the project. The project began a small settlement house in the community aimed at providing a range of community development activities.²² However, it rapidly refocused on restoring the burial ground when the social service activities had limited success.

Over several years, the organization secured and beautified the burial ground, developing volunteer and paid support to maintain the property from Quaker Meetings throughout the greater Philadelphia region, a drug rehabilitation program located at the edge of the cemetery, and a few neighborhood residents. The project has also developed a relationship with a local Latino school.

The school and organization together developed a history project based on the early civil rights leaders buried in the cemetery. The life history project attempted to acquaint Latino children with citywide history on social justice and civil rights. By teaching Latino children about the role of elite whites and African Americans in civil rights, they hoped to lay the groundwork for these children to develop bridging and linking social capital outside of their community.

While the Burial Ground Project has succeeded in removing a source of blight from this neighborhood and restored an important citywide resource, it has not succeeded in building bridging social capital between neighborhood residents and citywide Quakers. In fact, project leaders never intended to foster bridging social capital. Middle class Quaker volunteers remain eager to help with ongoing efforts to maintain the cemetery. These volunteers see themselves as combating poverty in the neighborhood as well as keeping the cemetery in good shape. A few neighborhood residents have become active in the project, receiving keys to the cemetery for their own use in return.

However, after some initial failed attempts to include neighborhood residents in the board, the organization stopped trying to give the community active control of the project. These efforts failed because elite board members found that the community residents were uncomfortable with the culture of board meetings and disinterested in the mechanics of governance. Instead, the elite Quaker trustees and staff for the project view this activity as doing something for the community, rather than with it. They hope that by providing the infrastructure for a healthy community through using their social capital to maintain the cemetery, they will provide a quality of life that will allow neighborhood residents to develop their community on their own.

On the other hand, examples from two Kenosha African-American churches show that marginalized community social capital resources can be expanded through organizational activities. Church members originally consisted primarily of factory workers and service workers who supported each other through closed social capital, but who had few ties to other institutional structures throughout the city. In the 1980s and 1990s, newly hired activist pastors began a series of programs to promote education and expand relationships with other faith communities, particularly white liberal churches. These activities started with church leaders and middle class African-American newcomers to Kenosha taking the lead in developing relationships among churches. Church leaders also became active in the local interfaith coalition, developing bridges to leaders in the school system and social service organizations important for their community. Over a period of time, this sustained effort helped to improve educational and occupational achievements for the congregation, led middle class community members to join the churches, expanded existing social capital networks, and brought the churches into a visible position in the community as a whole.

Several factors allowed these churches to change social capital resources and life trajectories for their members. First, trusted members of these communities initiated the change. Second, this involved sustained activities that offered members new resources over a period of time. Third, both churches emphasized developing bicultural behaviors and trust in citywide institutions as part of a program of individual development.

Taken together, these examples of organizational social capital show that people within organizations can use agency ties to assist the people they work with. As with the Burial Ground Project and the linking social capital efforts of the government and nonprofit staff in Kenosha, these activities can provide a better quality of life for individuals or communities without building bridging social capital across class, race, or nationality boundaries. On the other hand, as the Renewal, Spanish Social Services, and Kenosha church examples show, organizations can develop bridging social capital among themselves as well as expand resources for the communities they serve. In some instances, like the Kenosha church examples, steadily developing links among institutions can expand social capital resources for marginalized populations and enhance social equity across the city as a whole.

However, the impact of institutions on either the people they serve or the citywide structures depends on the larger systems in which they participate. In addition, the goals and structures of different organizations influence the kinds of social capital they create and their role in regional social welfare systems. For example, faith communities have very different structures, missions, and objectives than social service agencies. The next section outlines the systems of social welfare in these communities and examines the various roles of social service agencies and faith communities in these systems.

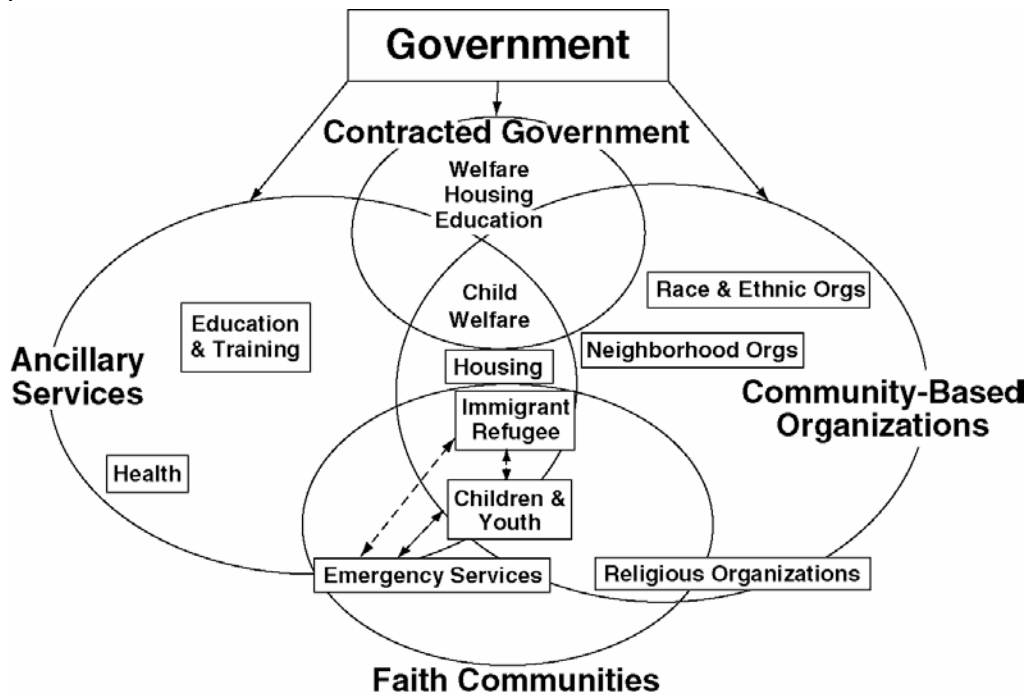
V. Community Support Systems

Organizations and individuals navigate social service systems in each of these cities. While these systems often rely on social capital to function, they also stem from regulatory and funding systems at the national, state, regional, and citywide levels. This section describes these systems, discusses the role of social capital in each system, and addresses the following questions:

- What are the components of social service systems in each community?
- What is the role of social capital for the social service organizations in these systems?
- Do closed, bridging, and linking social capital affect organizational behavior and successful service?

- What roles do faith communities play in these systems?
- How does social capital within faith communities and between faith communities and other institutions influence their ability to provide for their members or foster bridging and linking social capital?

FIGURE A



Social service systems in all four communities had similar features. While each city had unique qualities based on the political, socioeconomic, and cultural systems of that area, the general system design responded to common national policy trends and the partnership between government and civil society characteristic of social service systems in the United States. Figure A outlines the system that provides instrumental and social support to families and communities. Social welfare service delivery in U.S. cities consists of four overlapping systems comprised of government, social service organizations, and congregations.²³ As illustrated in Figure A, these subsystems together provide for the needs of people in that locality.

The *government dominant system* refers to agencies providing services that are generally either provided directly by government, through government contracts, or with significant government oversight. In the U.S. social delivery system, local government and social service agencies often share such close relationships that they become equal partners in service delivery.²⁴ This subsystem includes public housing, cash assistance, food stamps, medical assistance, public education (including charter schools), refugee resettlement, and child welfare. In many states, services may be provided by nonprofit or

for-profit organizations, like the private organizations contracted to provide TANF programs and refugee resettlement. However, the government carefully monitors program design and outcomes.

The *ancillary services system* includes a wide array of programs that people need on a regular basis, but where the role of government varies. These include housing development and subsidized housing, education and training, health care, child care, recreational and enrichment programs for children and youth, adjustment services for immigrants and refugees (English as a Second Language, employment assistance, housing assistance, and other adjustment services), and emergency services. Emergency services generally refer to short-term assistance, including food, clothing, household goods, furniture, temporary shelter, disaster relief, material goods for impoverished families, and special holiday packages of food or gifts for the needy.

The ancillary services system actually consists of several separate systems focused on a particular need. While a family may need assistance with housing, health care, youth services, education/training, employment, and emergency services, often each type of assistance is offered by a set of agencies with limited connections to organizations providing another kind of service. This silo style of service provision is pervasive throughout the United States due to a combination of the history of service development for each separate need, funding systems, and long-established connections among agencies providing similar services.

While the ancillary services system and the government dominant system may provide some similar services, ancillary services organizations have more freedom to set program direction than their government dominant counterparts. For example, private hospitals are required by law to provide some charity care, but they have much more discretion over who they serve and what services they provide than government community health centers or veterans administration hospitals. Private schools have much more latitude over who they hire, curriculum, and students they accept than public schools. However, these differences do not mean that ancillary services organizations do not receive government funds. To the contrary, many ancillary services agencies in sectors like housing, education, and health care had government funding.

The *community-based system* exists alongside the ancillary services and government dominant systems. This system includes organizations chartered to serve a particular geographic area like a neighborhood or people from a specific race, nationality, ethnicity, or religion. Like Renewal and Spanish Social Services, some community-based organizations were created by marginalized communities to provide for their members. In other instances, like the CDC network, outside forces encouraged the formation of organizations to serve a particular neighborhood. Types of organizations include ethnic clubs, arts organizations oriented toward a particular group or neighborhood, and

community-based political associations, as well as social service organizations, housing organizations, schools, and health facilities for that community.

Often, the services offered by the community-based system echo those in the ancillary services system. For example, both the community-based and ancillary services systems include summer programs for youth. However, those in the community-based system would be targeted to a particular community while general programs may be focused on a particular interest like music or for the population at large. As with Renewal, sometimes community-based programs provide an alternative to government dominant services or organizations targeted toward people with a particular need citywide. In some cases, marginalized communities create separate, parallel institutions to maintain culturally appropriate services or because they think their members will not receive adequate services in citywide institutions. Like Spanish Social Services, these organizations sometimes can serve as bridging agents between marginalized members of a community like Spanish-speaking emigres and regionwide social service systems.

Faith communities encompass the fourth system. This system primarily consists of houses of worship, and other religious institutions such as an archdiocese or denominational conference. This system would also include institutions founded to assist people from that religion in spiritual development or their relationship to the wider society, including educational institutions and religious lobbying organizations.

These four systems interlock in significant ways. For example, faith communities overlap with the emergency services organizations founded by religious communities or that rely on congregational volunteers to provide services. An example is Sunrise, which was founded by women involved in an elite church and relies heavily on faith community volunteers to carry out its work. As an emergency services organization that also provides transitional housing and other social services, it belongs to ancillary services system networks for emergency services, housing, and youth services. It also has strong ties to government, particularly to obtain TANF, Medicaid, food stamps, and child care services for its program participants.

As described below, organizations can be part of several of these systems. For example, Spanish Social Services is a community-based organization that also is part of the ancillary services system. Renewal is part of the domestic violence network, the interfaith social service organization, and the network of mosques supporting the needs of the Muslim community.

Each of the subsystems within the four general systems serve as communities for the organizations that are part of them. As such, organizations develop social capital links to help them carry out their work. Sometimes, these links develop through formal coalitions. For example, the Philadelphia adult training institutions had several coalitions

to share information and attempt to influence policy. Several collaborative relationships came out of these networks. In other cases, organizations know of each other because they attend government- or foundation-sponsored forums on a particular issue. For example, Neighborhood Settlement House, a Milwaukee organization, collaborated with two other organizations providing similar services in different neighborhoods to compete for a government contract to offer child welfare services. The organizations knew each other through participation in similar citywide activities.

Organizations also develop strategic links with others providing complementary services outside of the various subsystems. Like other bridging and linking activities, these connections often come through links outside of these professional organizations. For example, a training organization developed links to a housing organization based on key staff participating in the same political networks and attending the same church. The next section examines the different types of social capital in these social service systems.

Closed, Bridging, and Linking Social Capital in Social Service Organization Systems

The three types of social capital all play a role in how organizations within each system interact with each other. The various ovals in Figure A represent groups of organizations that belong to similar communities of entities that provide the same kinds of services. They often participate in common collaborative organizations or attend events on similar issues. As they get to know each other through these activities, they sometimes develop social networks that lead them to share social capital through service provision or formal collaborations. Organizations also develop links across these communities of similar organizations. This next section looks at ways that closed, bridging, and linking social capital function in the service delivery system.

Closed Social Capital Systems

These social service systems often functioned as silos with organizations providing a particular service only talking to each other. In a form of closed social capital, leaders at housing organizations might know about the services provided by other housing providers, but only have limited knowledge of the employment services, training systems, child care services, health services, and elder care that the people who lived in their buildings needed to thrive. These organizations would often depend on the resources of their staff to find related services. Sometimes these closed systems result in duplicative services. For instance, housing complexes would create their own day care center when another child care center with openings existed nearby. Due to closed networks, the housing agency and the child care center may not have known about each other. Or the two organizations may have been aware of each other, but had no social capital connections to facilitate developing a partnership.

Community-based systems also functioned as closed social capital systems, but could provide more integrated service delivery if organizations offered complementary services. For example, one small Washington DC homeless shelter exclusively serves Latinos in its mixed-class/race neighborhood. The organization has three paid staff and occupies a small row house. In order to provide holistic services to its program participants, it developed links to a mental health organization and an emergency services provider targeted toward the Latino community. The organization developed ties to these organizations through common Latino community networks. However, this organization had little ability to move its program participants outside of the Latino community.

Successful Bridging and Linking Systems

Despite the effects of silo service delivery systems on organizations within the same community or those providing housing, education, or youth services only connecting to each other, this interlocking system offers opportunities to foster bridging, closed, and linking social capital that could lead to healthy communities. Examples show that organizations respond to this opportunity in different ways. Like Spanish Social Services or Renewal, some organizations can develop strong relationships with community-based systems, appropriate organizations in the ancillary services system, and faith communities. Other organizations focus on one community, type of organization, or neighborhood for partnerships. Participation in the social capital resources of various systems does not mean that one type of organization necessarily provides better services than another. However, the networking strategies of organizations as they maneuver this system can potentially take their service delivery strategies and the potential resources that they offer their program participants in varying directions.

Spanish Social Services provides an example of an organization that has a wide reach across various sectors of the service delivery systems, as well as resource development ties with the business community. Originally founded as an emergency services provider within the Cuban community, it has grown into a holistic information and referral organization that also offers some direct services like mentoring programs for Latino school children. The service system involves the creative use of a large array of resources available in the region. Service delivery combines closed, bridging, and linking social capital within and among the various parts of the service delivery system.

For example, when working with a low-income family struggling to make ends meet, a counselor might ask a local church to provide rent assistance for them. By contacting the church, the counselor links the family to the faith community system. Sometimes these contacts involve closed social capital as the counselor connects the family to a Latino church, but the organization has also contacted non-Latino faith communities for assistance. The counselor would also link the family into the ancillary services system by contacting an interfaith emergency services organization for food or clothing and connecting them with a child care agency. Finally, the counselor might use their linking

social capital with government to help them fill out forms for Medicaid with the county human services agency for U.S.-born children eligible for medical assistance, as well as send the adults to ESL classes sponsored by the public school system.

Each of these connections to help a particular family depends on bridging, linking, or closed social capital ties that the organization has developed during its over 30 years in existence. New caseworkers receive copies of a several-inch-thick resource manual that provides a list of contacts. The organizations listed as sources of assistance include citywide institutions, government, and non-Latino churches as well as community-based resources. Caseworkers are also encouraged to rely on their own networks to find resources for the people they serve. Since agency staff are predominantly Latino, they rely on closed social capital within parts of the Latino community for help. Volunteers come from the local colleges, churches, and other sources, predominantly drawing Latinos or non-Latinos interested in assisting this particular community.

Financial and in-kind donations to the organization come from a much broader array of institutions and individuals. Spanish Social Services draws support from government, citywide foundations, national businesses that are headquartered in the region, as well as Latino community institutions, businesses, and individuals. The level of support from citywide sources has developed over time as the agency's reputation has grown.

Taken together, this example shows an organization that has developed bridging and linking ties to carry out its work, while simultaneously relying on closed social capital within its community to find resources for the Spanish-speaking families it serves. Agency practice encourages its staff to continue to develop bridging, linking, and closed social capital for the agency and its program participants. While many families in need find the agency through social capital in the Latino community, citywide social service agencies, faith communities, and government also refer Spanish-speaking families to the organization because of their preexisting ties. As with referrals between Spanish Social Services and citywide organizations offering various services, relationships involve both reciprocal trust and the sharing of resources to provide services.

Bridging and Linking Systems That Create Barriers to Service

Sunrise, in Kenosha, participates in a social service system that has some similarities to the metropolitan Washington DC system discussed in the previous example, but does not always engender the same level of holistic service. Sunrise is a citywide agency that draws financial, in-kind, and volunteer support from throughout Kenosha, including county government, local foundations, unions, businesses, schools, membership organizations like the Boy and Girl Scouts, and many churches. The agency offers an array of emergency services, short-term housing in its shelter, assistance to homeless families to find permanent housing and stable income, overnight housing in local

churches, some educational programs, and counseling. It has bridging and linking connections to county human services offices, the W-2 agency, many ancillary services organizations, church-based food pantries, and the organizations serving the Latino and African-American communities. Most of the churches that participate regularly with the organization are white citywide institutions, but current leadership is developing stronger connections with some African-American churches. While anyone in the community can receive assistance, most of the people in the emergency housing programs are African American.

To facilitate assistance, prevent double dipping, and equitably spread resources available in the community, the various organizations offering emergency services in Kenosha worked together to develop a referral plan. Energy assistance is provided by another ancillary services organization through referrals from both community-based and ancillary services organizations, but families must register with the W-2 agency to apply. Likewise, Sunrise has an agreement with a Latino organization that all Spanish-speaking families will be sent to the Latino organization for emergency assistance. A sign in Spanish at Sunrise instructs families where to turn for help. Sunrise has no Spanish-speaking staff.

While these agreements represent rational choices by agencies based on bridging social capital, they result in some people, particularly Latino emigre families, receiving fewer services. Sunrise is the only homeless shelter in Kenosha, offering no alternative to Spanish-speaking families lacking shelter. The closed social capital networks within the Latino community interpret the sign as saying that they are not welcome in that agency, increasing preexisting barriers between the Latino community and citywide systems. While Sunrise and the Kenosha Latino social service agency leadership have bridging social capital ties, staff from the Latino agency have no connections to either staff at Sunrise or the organization with the energy assistance contract. As a result, Sunrise staff remained puzzled regarding why no Latinos access their agency while Latino agency caseworkers comment that their clients can't use either the homeless shelter or energy assistance in Kenosha.

This example shows that citywide organizations can develop bridging and linking social capital at the leadership level with their community-based partners, but those connections can fail to yield better services or bridging social capital for their program participants if the same trust-based connections do not exist for staff and program participants. Further, families in need may interpret agency decisions to share resources as attempts to limit services to specific marginalized populations.

Many families of all races who do not want to register for TANF do without energy assistance in order to avoid that requirement. Kenosha agencies' agreement with the W-2 agency that all families registering for energy assistance contact the government was

meant to provide families with access to a greater array of services. However, many of Kenosha's residents found this requirement to be a barrier to receiving the service they needed because they did not want to use public assistance. The reasons struggling families refused government aid varied from expectations that they were not eligible among immigrants, the working poor, and the elderly; to concerns about having to report paternity;²⁵ to a simple aversion to using welfare. Without understanding the concerns of staff and program participants, citywide attempts at fostering linking social capital to enhance benefits to low-income families resulted in less service to targeted communities rather than an increasingly equitable system.

Bridging and Linking Systems That Foster Closed Social Capital for Participants

A Milwaukee example shows how a community-based agency can use its social capital to bring resources into its community, but fail to serve either its entire neighborhood or provide bridging social capital to its program participants. Neighborhood Settlement House is a holistic agency in a mixed-race/class neighborhood that offers a variety of programs for children, emergency services, a medical clinic, and adult education; hosts a W-2 agency; and provides child welfare services under a government contract.²⁶ The agency's mission is to aid its program participants toward self-sufficiency through holistic services. The agency is a one-stop shop that partners with local universities, city and county government, the housing authority, the school district, and local youth organizations to provide its array of services. Funding comes from foundations, government, and individuals throughout the city while in-kind support comes from local businesses, schools, churches, and individuals. The organization has a board including many citywide elites who help it maintain its connections to key partner organizations and support services.

Staff leadership have strong ties in the various networks associated with the types of services the organization provides that influence program design and funding strategies. In keeping with the silo system characteristic of the ancillary services system, the child care staff connected with staff in organizations offering services to children, the emergency services staff knew of faith community food pantries, and the senior center staff connected to staff in other programs serving the elderly. The closed networks of staff working on different issues within the agency created the necessary connections to make each other aware of their bridging links to other organizations. Drawing on these internal resources, the agency used staff bridging social capital to develop reciprocal relationships with organizations offering the complementary services needed by the people they served. However, the organization ignores many local churches and views other service providers in or near its neighborhood as competitors, despite the participation of these various agencies in the same ancillary service system activities.

Neighborhood Settlement House was chartered to serve everyone living in a particular neighborhood. When the agency started, its community was predominantly white,

including people living in a newly built public housing project as well as starter homes surrounding the project. While the class background of neighborhood residents has not changed, the racial and ethnic makeup has shifted to a community largely divided between African Americans and whites, with a small Asian population. Given social segregation among races in Milwaukee, these three groups have little to do with each other.

While Neighborhood Settlement House began serving mostly whites, with the exception of the seniors program, the agency currently serves almost exclusively African Americans. The agency has altered the cultural messages of its programming to serve this new clientele. Many of the staff come from the African-American community either in this neighborhood or other African-American communities in the city. Rather than drawing its program participants from its surrounding neighborhood, families find the agency based either on closed social capital referrals in the African-American community or through referrals from citywide entities like the W-2 agency, the community college that has the adult basic education contract, or the child care referral network.

White neighborhood families feel uncomfortable with the organization for three reasons. First, they perceive the organization as serving exclusively low-income African Americans, fearing that agency programs might be “unsafe” for their children due to their perception of problems in the low-income African-American community. Second, the cultural targeting of the programs toward African Americans does not meet their expectations.

Third, while the white community includes many struggling working class families, Neighborhood Settlement House has discontinued programs aimed at the working or lower middle class in favor of those for the truly needy due to available funding. Government and foundation restrictions on who could be served by various programs led to these service delivery decisions. Many working poor or working class white families assume correctly that they may not qualify for services. As a result, these better-off populations are denied access to agency services. These decisions mean that Neighborhood Settlement House program participants are not exposed to the potential to develop the bridging social and cultural capital that networking with more financially secure whites or African Americans could offer.

Agency program participants use the organization in two ways. One set of program participants comes to the agency for a particular service like adult education or energy assistance through a referral from another social service agency or the government, but does not access other agency services. These program participants may either develop bridging social capital through other networks or rely exclusively on closed social capital.

Another set of program participants relies on the agency for an array of services as its designers intend, but this holistic system strengthens preexisting closed social capital within the African-American community centered on the agency. For example, a small group of public housing residents use multiple programs at the agency, refer their friends for services, and belong to a community support club that provides social activities and volunteer opportunities within the agency to its members. Some members of this network have also been hired by the agency for entry-level jobs, but none has felt comfortable seeking additional training outside of the neighborhood that would qualify them for better-paid employment. Relationships between these families and the agency are reciprocal because these families volunteer with the organization, serve as “community” representatives on the board, and refer others in their networks to the organization. These families develop limited bridging social capital and remain low-income families depending on a combination of low-wage work, welfare, and assistance through agency programs.

The Neighborhood Settlement House example shows how an agency can build a comprehensive system in its neighborhood, bringing in resources through citywide bridging and linking social capital, yet fail to develop bridging social capital for its program participants. The agency facilitates linking social capital by bringing other services into its site, but the use of services has become restricted to people in the closed networks and race-based communities connected to the organization. The organization improves the health and welfare of its community through its activities, but only a portion of the neighborhood benefits from its programs. While agency child care programs may enhance mobility for participants, the adult programs only maintain the kinds of employment available through the social networks of program participants.

Closed Community Systems That Rely on Bridging Social Capital

Taken together, these examples suggest that organizations serving marginalized communities can rely on a combination of bridging, linking, and closed social capital to effectively provide services for these communities. While these examples showcase organizations that cross outside of marginalized communities, each community contains many more organizations that exclusively serve specific populations within the community. Many of these organizations provide quality service relying on an array of organizations for assistance.

For instance, Esparanza Health is a clinic serving the Latino community in one part of Philadelphia. It has developed social capital relationships with Latino churches, businesses, housing organizations, social service organizations, and individuals that help them provide the array of assistance needed by the families it serves. While this organization may not have the level of economic resources or citywide contacts that Spanish Social Services or Neighborhood Settlement House enjoys, it is able to improve the health and well-being of the people it serves. Linkages between agencies and

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families in Latino closed social capital networks have made steps toward creating a healthy community.

Like other community-based institutions that provide a range of services for its community, Esperanza Health's staff and organizational networks cross class lines. Esperanza hires Latino health professionals with bridging social capital among both Philadelphia Latinos and their peers from other races and nationalities living throughout the region. These professionals use their bridging networks to bring resources into the low-income community where they work. The same networks also facilitate linking social capital because professionals have relationships with their peers in government and citywide foundations.

Policy Implications

These examples of various types of social capital in organizations highlight several factors that influence the ability of organizations to use social capital to successfully foster healthy communities. First, the organizations that most successfully find resources for their communities simultaneously rely on closed social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital to do their work. Networks cross class lines, bringing resources into a low-income community through institutional or professional staff social capital. This is true even for organizations with resources in a particular racial, ethnic, or national community. The organizations that bridge their program participants into other networks consistently develop bridging and linking relationships at the frontline staff and leadership levels.

While closed social capital remains an important resource, organizations that fail to develop social capital among either staff or institutions are more likely to limit opportunities for themselves and the people they serve. Agencies focusing exclusively on one segment of the community that they are chartered to serve are less successful in achieving self-sufficiency goals for their program participants. Organizations that are ignorant of resources available through other organizations, by remaining within their service delivery silo or their particular community, limit their ability to provide a range of services to their participants. Citywide institutions can equally rely on closed social capital to the detriment of the people they serve. Like the government and citywide agency elite that designed the emergency services system in Kenosha, organizations that only have leadership links into the closed communities of their program participants risk creating programs with the opposite of their intended effects.

The success or failure of any social service system targeted toward marginalized populations, particularly those focused on low-income communities, also depends on the labor market in that community. The next section briefly describes labor market factors that impinge on the social service system's ability to move families permanently out of poverty.

Labor Markets and Social Service Organizations

The social service systems described above indicates few connections to employers. While agency staff sometimes rely on their own networks to help program participants find more stable work, and agencies with welfare-to-work or training missions sometimes develop connections to employers, links between business and the social service system were often either attenuated or idiosyncratic. This lack of social capital between social service agencies and employers contributed to the limited ability of many organizations to move their low-income program participants into stable employment that offered family supporting wages and benefits.

The inability of Neighborhood Settlement House or other community-based organizations to assist their program participants in finding stable, family supporting work stems from several factors. First, all four cities face a bifurcated service and technical-dominant labor market with most good-paying jobs requiring substantial education, skills, and appropriate cultural capital, as well as social capital. Over half of the jobs in Kenosha, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia are low-paying employment with limited benefits. Most of the low-income families served by these organizations have networks and skills that will help them find work that does not support a family or provide adequate benefits.²⁷ Any social service agency faces an uphill battle to develop the skills its program participants need to successfully compete for more lucrative jobs.

Several of these programs attempt to develop bridging social and cultural capital for their program participants. However, while these organizations may offer important building blocks to complete higher education or provide the support services families need to maintain employment, most are not designed to develop the bridging social capital that upwardly mobile families require to succeed. While many of these organizations receive financial, volunteer, or in-kind support from stable businesses, so far these relationships have not fostered bridging opportunities between agency program participants and business employees.

Finally, observation of the social and economic geography of these four cities consistently shows that most families engaged in work that pays family supporting wages and benefits travel outside of their neighborhood for these jobs. This is particularly true in low-income neighborhoods. Scholars of employment for marginalized low-income individuals, particularly African-American men, report that employers are leery of the residents of low-income non-white neighborhoods as employees even if they locate their businesses in their communities.²⁸ Institutional and individual racism certainly factors into employer decisions. However, concerns regarding employees' abilities to display appropriate cultural capital for the workplace and the limited social capital into these businesses among community residents also are issues.

Social Capital and Community

For example, research during the Changing Relations Project examined hiring decisions in businesses located in a Philadelphia Enterprise Zone, a government community development initiative providing tax credits to employers that located in impoverished neighborhoods. While the legislation expected that the businesses would hire from the neighborhood, researchers found that most employees came from elsewhere in Philadelphia or New Jersey.²⁹ Employers had few links to community residents and often suspected that the people who lived nearby would not have the skills and work habits the employers wanted.

These observations suggest that families need a combination of social supports through organizations and bridging social and cultural capital to succeed. Another community-based agency may offer a hint at some of the factors involved in helping marginalized populations compete successfully in the citywide economy. Asian Development is a church project started by Asian immigrant professionals well established in the Washington DC citywide social and economic system to help new Asian emigres become equally successful. While the program offers similar youth training and adult programs to Neighborhood Settlement House, it insists on providing state-of-the-art equipment and instruction in its computer labs, its small business program provides concrete links to city agencies, and all its programs connect participants to mentors in their targeted professions.

To alleviate problems faced by Asian businessmen and the elderly, it has partnered with the city and several other Asian organizations to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate crime victim services. A case manager helps families in need link to an array of social services like the Spanish Social Services counselors. Although it is a small agency, it offers culturally appropriate holistic services in languages comfortable to its program participants while simultaneously building bridging social and cultural capital.

This agency's advantage comes from its strong ties to successful professionals through the church and the social networks of its members. The description of this agency suggests that churches play an important role in social service systems. However, few churches develop comprehensive social service organizations like the Asian church that founded this organization or the mosque that sponsored Renewal. Next, I briefly examine the role faith communities choose for themselves in providing support in their communities.

Faith Communities and Social Capital

Faith communities often serve as important venues to develop social and cultural capital. Faith communities may offer closed social capital that provides an array of social, emotional, spiritual, and instrumental supports to their active members and their families. Depending on the resources available through faith community connections,

these closed networks may also foster bridging ties to employers, schools, health care providers, social service agencies, and an array of supports. Faith communities function as communities of care that also contribute to society around them by collecting donations, encouraging volunteer activities, and other mechanisms to enhance community-wide or citywide quality of life.

While faith communities contribute to healthy communities, the consensus in the various studies of congregational social welfare activities shows that most faith communities prefer to engage in short-term emergency assistance and programs for children or the elderly rather than develop formal complex programs.³⁰ Some African-American churches, in particular, have played an important role in creating community development and social service organizations that remain connected to their congregations. However, these initiatives stem from the culturally and historically central role of religious institutions in the African-American community that not every marginalized community replicates.³¹ Most faith communities have little interest in replacing government or private social service or community development systems, but they do have an important complementary role to play.

Research found that faith communities in these four cities had three primary functions:

1. As a spiritual well for participants.
2. As a source of community, providing social and instrumental supports to their members and others who seek help, and fostering social and cultural capital among active participants.
3. As a source of empowerment and change, both for individuals and institutional/society-wide social change.

While faith communities often offered instrumental, social, and spiritual supports to their members, they seldom substituted for either social service organizations or government. Faith communities functioned as a key community for their active members, but their activities did not necessarily teach cultural values expected by citywide institutions or businesses. Belonging to a faith community did not guarantee upward mobility either. Faith communities could serve either as closed social capital networks or as institutions that fostered bridges for both the families that belonged to them and their marginalized communities as a whole. This next section explores the various ways that faith communities use social capital.

Bridging Faith Communities

The examples of the two Kenosha African-American churches described earlier and the Asian church discussed in the previous section fulfill all three functions while simultaneously building bridging social and cultural capital for their members. The mosque that sponsors Renewal works in a similar way. Each of these faith communities encourages the development of community within the congregation that leads to closed social capital that provides members with an array of supports and connections to jobs, education, and other services. These faith communities also sponsor educational programs, which teach the culture and values specific to that religion to its members.

At the same time, these faith communities look outward through a variety of activities. While maintaining the identity unique to their culture and faith, they encourage their members to bridge into the wider community by supporting higher education, creating links to interfaith organizations, providing volunteer opportunities, participating in advocacy efforts, and other mechanisms. Rather than asking their members to become identical to more-established residents, the citywide elite, or white Protestants, these faith communities encourage the development of bicultural behaviors and intergroup cooperation.

For example, the Washington DC mosque that sponsored Renewal offered space for home schooling for Muslim children as a means to maintain their specific culture while simultaneously fostering a range of bridging activities with non-Muslim organizations that encouraged developing bridging social and cultural capital. Faith Temple, one of Kenosha's bridging African-American churches, provided programs for both girls and boys that relied on African-American cultural heritage; at the same time, it promoted activities to teach social skills needed to succeed in higher education and employment that relied on citywide cultural attributes. As such, they foster both bridging and closed social and cultural capital simultaneously.

These faith communities also include members from a range of professional, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds. By encouraging connections among members with different resources, members can provide bridging social capital to each other through their networks outside of the faith community. The faith communities that accomplish this goal show the greatest contributions to their constituent communities and their city as a whole.

Church Membership Does Not Automatically Generate Social or Instrumental Supports

As with any form of bridging social or cultural capital, members need to first develop trusting relationships with each other before they can expand social capital networks through membership. Belonging to a faith community in and of itself does not foster either bridging or closed social capital. Like any membership organization, faith

communities have cliques that can keep others out. Religion is not always a positive influence. However, for the people that find support and a spiritual home in a faith community, they often serve as centers for instrumental and social supports.

An example from Philadelphia illustrates both the limitations and strengths of faith communities' use of social capital to provide supports to their members. Mabel, an elderly African-American nurse, was a member of a mixed-race, middle class Friends Meeting in Philadelphia. She fit into the community because of her class identity and because she shared its orientation to equality as well as common religious beliefs. Mabel had been in the forefront of integrating professional employment in Philadelphia and remained active in leadership roles in organizations aimed at promoting social equity until shortly before her death. As such, she was comfortable with citywide systems and integrated settings.

Mabel had limited ties to the younger members of the Meeting who served as the leadership on its various pastoral care and social concerns committees. Many active Meeting members considered her a constant, quiet presence, but knew little about her. Her young nephew lived with her, but most of her family lived at a distance. As such, Mabel was both a member of this community and isolated at the same time.

Mabel came to attention of the circle of care within the Meeting when she suddenly started speaking out about a Meeting initiative. Her comments were so uncharacteristic that members of the pastoral care committee became concerned that she was ill. They quickly contacted her children, who began asking her questions about her health. Her daughter discovered that she had advanced breast cancer, but had failed to go to the doctor because of discomfort with the medical system. When her daughter convinced her to seek care, they discovered that the cancer had metastasized to her brain and it was too late for her to recover. Meeting members and her family together provided supports to ease her death, but could do little else. If the Meeting had a stronger relationship with her, it might have encouraged her to seek care earlier. In either case, it did provide strong supports as well as activating Mabel's closed social capital network through family. Meeting members did not need to help connect her to services because the family and Mabel herself already had those links. However, the faith community had the resources to provide institutional links to an array of service providers through its members' social capital networks if needed.

Closed Social Capital Faith Communities

Not all faith communities provide bridging social and cultural capital. Research showed many faith communities that turned inward and were suspicious of outsiders. For example, Sanctuary, a Kenosha African-American church, developed strong closed social capital networks among its members, preaching that they maintain a moral life. Members of this church consisted exclusively of low-income and stable working class

families, many of whom were uncomfortable moving outside of their class and race-based networks. While discouraging its members from the lure of drugs and crime prevalent in the neighborhoods where many members lived, this church did nothing to promote developing bicultural behaviors that would encourage upward mobility or bridging social capital. This tendency to turn inward was not unique to the African-American community. It indicates a second kind of faith community that provides strong supports to its members and becomes a source of support for others in its closed community, but would prove ineffective in developing bridging ties.

Taken together, case studies of faith communities suggest that they serve as important centers for social capital. They are also powerful partners with social service organizations, and sometimes government, to provide the array of supports needed by healthy communities. Faith communities also build cultural capital and foster civic engagement. However, not all congregations are equally able to develop bridging social or cultural capital. As with any community institution, faith communities do not all have the same orientation toward their communities or citywide systems. Nor do all offer the same capacities.

Recognizing these limitations, one way to bridge between closed faith communities and the more bicultural faith communities may be to use existing connections between congregations of the same denomination and race/nationality. For example, Sanctuary has closed social capital links with one of the two activist African-American churches described earlier. The mosque that sponsors Renewal also has ties to more inward-focused mosques. While these bridging institutions would need to work slowly and carefully to encourage the more closed communities to participate in bridging activities, these connections might eventually lead to greater bridging across these communities.

Policy Implications

Taken together, these examples suggest that faith communities and various kinds of nonprofits work together to provide for family needs and build healthy communities. This social service system creates a circle of care that includes government, social service agencies, and faith communities. This system has attenuated links to the labor market through some organizational social capital and the personal connections of members in these various institutions. Each partner in this service delivery system had various strengths and weaknesses. This report concentrates on social service agencies and faith communities. Social service agencies may have strong relationships with government and often depend on government funding to carry out their work. They are not in a position to replace government or carry out comprehensive programs without the levels of support the government provides. Likewise, faith communities become important partners in the circle of care, but have little interest in doing the work of government or social service agencies.

VI. Conclusion: Indicators of Healthy Communities

The communities in these four cities that came closest to the Healthy Communities goals were communities of identity with bridging ties to the wider social structure in their respective cities. People were linked by participation in a particular religion or by self-ascribed racial, ethnic, or national identity. While these communities share some common cultural attributes, they do not represent unchanging subcultures. Instead, they are ever-changing communities with a shared self-defined boundary. Communities most often coalesce within organizations, and institutional links become as important as cultural markers of identity.

Institutions like nonprofit organizations and faith communities became the place where people met, developed relationships, and found the various instrumental, educational, or informational resources needed to meet their goals. These communities uniformly included people from various socioeconomic backgrounds interested in sharing their resources among members of the community regardless of class. Some community members had bridging social and cultural capital that allowed them to enhance assets in their marginalized communities. They used bridging, closed, and linking social capital to provide opportunities and tangible benefits to less fortunate community members.

Organizational activities simultaneously fostered closed social capital within the community, bridging social capital, linking social capital, and bicultural cultural capital that would allow all community members to benefit from resources available in that city. Organizations also fostered relationships outside of that community, which simultaneously brought more resources to closed networks and encouraged social equity and intergroup understanding in the wider community. As such, they slowly moved toward the Healthy Communities vision.

Spanish Social Services, Renewal, Asian Development, and the two African-American activist churches portrayed in this report all functioned as part of this kind of healthy community. Each is part of a network of nonprofits within and outside of its community, faith communities, and government that together enhance the quality of life for the people in its community. The better-connected organizations and individuals support the less fortunate so that they can become equally financially stable contributing members of the community. These systems fostered social capital among participants at all levels: organization leadership, staff, and program participants or members. By enhancing the social, economic, and cultural resources of all members, they gradually expanded connections among groups and began fostering social change.

The neighborhood-based organizations like Neighborhood Settlement House and New Community located in multicultural/multiclass neighborhoods face additional challenges because the organizations themselves became contested territory. While they reached

out through citywide networks to bring resources into their communities, they failed to develop social capital with the various constituencies in their neighborhoods. Both organizations also largely failed to develop social capital relationships with the faith communities in their area. As such, they limited their ability to participate fully in the circle of care.

Neighborhood Settlement House chose to concentrate on the African-American community because of a mandate to support public housing residents, but this decision meant that it lost its connection to the resources of the white community. The organization also failed to develop bridging relationships with many local churches and service providers. Instead, it selectively developed patron/client relationships with child care providers and built instrumental networks with local churches exclusively to serve its target clientele. Few of these relationships qualified as social capital because they lacked reciprocal, enforceable trust. The lack of connection to its wider community institutions echoed limited social capital at the grassroots. As a result, the organization became a closed social capital network for selected parts of the African-American community rather than an agent for building a healthy community for its entire neighborhood.

New Community shows some similar trends. The organization has strong links to citywide community development resources, local political structures, and some neighborhood organizations. Based on beliefs among key staff that church and state should remain separate, they developed organizational ties mostly to the local political leadership structure rather than the faith communities. Finding tension between Asian businessmen and neighborhood residents, the organization used citywide bridging social capital to find resources to increase intercultural understanding among African Americans and Asians. However, as the incident with the frontline worker described earlier suggests, it has not yet managed to develop a sense of mutual ownership or shared expectations among the various groups living in its neighborhood. The organization envisions achieving this goal through community development activities, but without fostering bridging social capital among community residents it may continue to have trouble creating a cohesive community.

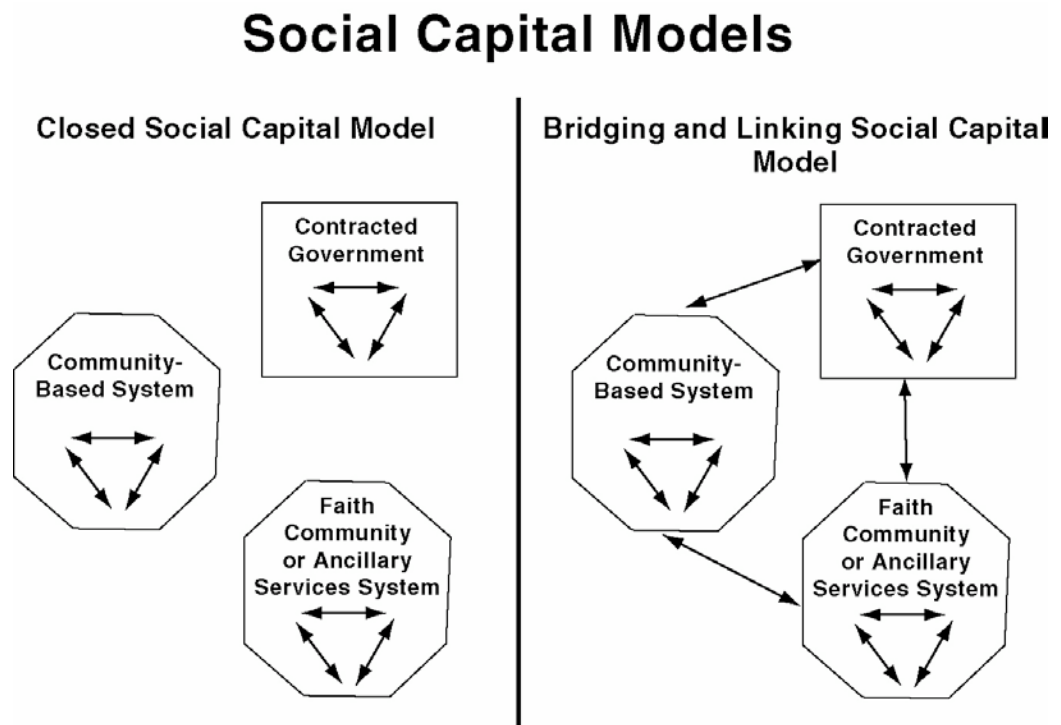
The Kenosha social service examples involving Sunrise and the limited reach of Sanctuary, the closed social capital African-American church, show that communities need to simultaneously build bridging, linking, and closed social capital. The community within Sanctuary provides social, instrumental, and spiritual supports. Members look out for each other, but there is limited optimism.

The social service delivery system developed by Kenosha citywide social service agencies, government, and the interfaith networks attempts to create a healthy community. This system intentionally reaches out to the leadership of organizations and churches serving the marginalized African-American and Latino communities. Government and citywide

organizations have developed linking social capital and bridging social capital that offer resources to these marginalized communities in exchange for key Latino and African-American organizations serving as venues to provide citywide assistance programs like Medicaid or food support to their constituencies. These systems involve interfaith networks that have some limited ties to low-income African-American and Latino community churches, but presume that the nonprofit organizations representing the Latino and African-American communities will provide the most effective social capital links to marginalized community churches. However, these efforts have failed to develop bridging and linking social capital among staff or program participants. As a result, well-intentioned efforts created more barriers for marginalized community members rather than enhancing quality of life.

Social Capital Models: Connections Among Closed, Bridging, and Linking Social Capital

FIGURE B



These case examples suggest that building healthy communities involves acknowledging the relationship between closed, bridging, and linking social capital. As outlined in Figure B, closed systems lead to limited resources while systems with strong bridging and linking relationships succeed in meeting the needs of their members. This is particularly true when attempting to strengthen social capital ties between communities and social

service organizations or government agencies that provide needed services. Any form of social capital involves reciprocal, trusting relationships. The people that maneuver the social service system best either know someone from their closed social capital network who has strong ties to that institution, or they have bridging ties into those institutions either through their own contacts or someone in their closed networks. The same is true for linking ties.

For example, the community members who most successfully used Neighborhood Settlement House to meet their needs were part of the closed social capital system that included organization employees, key volunteers, and board members from the housing project-based African-American community. Alicia developed linking ties with the Sunrise caseworker because people from her closed networks encouraged those relationships. She fostered bridging ties to the middle class, white college student who helped her find needed resources at school because her closed networks and Sunrise caseworker encouraged connecting to other students from different backgrounds. A combination of bridging and closed ties among government and Sunrise staff enabled linking relationships between Alicia and her TANF casework team.

In an influential article, Granovetter (1973) suggested that people and organizations facilitate change through weak ties between people who develop links with others outside of their familiar networks or home institutions. For example, an organization that develops a collaboration through contacting another organization that provides a complementary service. Presumably, these organizations do not know each other well. These collaborations also cross “structural holes” like the silos of the service delivery system, as when a community-based organization like Spanish Social Services crosses boundaries to collaborate with county government and a faith-based child care provider in the ancillary services system. Granovetter argued that organizations and individuals that succeed are able to develop weak ties into new systems in order to expand their set of resources.

Policymakers and program developers frequently think that simply creating weak ties among various people or institutions will foster positive change. However, in many cases, weak ties do not lead to long-term relationships. Organizations that collaborate solely based on limited self-interest or the expectations of funders, but lack trusting relationships, may not last or provide productive partnerships. The problems between Milwaukee County government and the TANF providers is one example of unsuccessful weak ties.

In contrast, this research suggests that successful partnerships may cross structural holes, but ties among people or institutions based in very different closed systems in fact represent strong ties—bridging or linking relationships developed through slowly evolving, long-term reciprocal trust. New organizations and younger individuals can also

use bridging or linking ties previously established by others in their closed networks. This kind of bridging and linking trust can be built by influential actors fostering collaborations. For example, Spanish Social Services slowly developed a relationship with county government because the Cuban refugees who founded the organization already had connections to government based on their successful resettlement by a U.S. government system. As a result, these influential community members began connections between the marginalized Latino community that included many undocumented emigres and local government. The relationship between Spanish Social Services and the child care agency involved an even more deliberate intervention by county government: several northern Virginia counties fostered coalitions of social service providers that included faith-based organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. The two organizations found each other through these coalition activities.

In each case, bridging and linking ties developed over time. Once established, the people served by each organization could use those ties through an established referral system to find the services that they needed. The relationship between these three institutions also created an accountability system because staff at all three organizations had the social capital ties that allowed them to easily report service delivery gaffs in another institution.

The people served by each organization largely found this institutional network through their referrals from their own closed social capital systems. Once again, closed social capital links are a necessary foundation for subsequent linking and bridging. This suggests that building trust among institutions in different closed networks is the necessary first step to foster healthy communities.

Social capital is also based, in part, on shared cultural capital. An accountability system like the one between county government, Spanish Social Services, and the child care agency exists because staff at all three organizations have similar standards of appropriate service. The shared culture in these relationships may in fact involve the same symbols, but cultural cues may be interpreted differently by various members of the network. Part of building bridging and linking relationships involves expanding meanings for relevant symbols to more comfortably include all partners in the relationship.

Sometimes these varying interpretations can cause friction in situations where mistrust historically exists between parties. This is most often the case with interactions between frontline service providers and the people receiving service. When these situations occur, staff need to use their connections to their program participants and colleagues to work through misunderstandings in order to ensure effective service.

For example, both a low-income head of household and a welfare-to-work caseworker may value paid work, but the caseworker may mean any entry-level job while the person receiving service may mean a job in a family supportive work environment with sufficient income and benefits. The recipient may resist accepting work if it does not meet her interpretation of a good job. If the caseworker and TANF recipient distrust each other, each may construe the actions of the other person negatively. For example, the caseworker may think that the program participant does not want to work while the program participant believes that the caseworker wants to force her into a poverty-level job. Unless a staffperson from another institution that the TANF recipient trusts—like a Sunrise or Spanish Social Services caseworker—hears about the problem and steps in to work it out, this misunderstanding may lead to service delivery failure through the recipient being sanctioned or leaving the TANF system on her own. These multiple links become essential to cross the power relations and subcultural misunderstandings so common in service delivery systems.

Taken together, these examples suggest that fostering bridging and linking ties involves paying careful attention to the communication patterns and cultural assumptions of all involved. Providing ombudspersons through trusted organizations is one way to solve this problem. Partnering organizations from different parts of the service delivery system with community-based agencies or faith communities tied to closed social systems as one part of a casework system is another effective alternative.

Analyzing social capital as a tool to promote healthy communities suggests that policies and programs need to pay equal attention to local factors and city- or regionwide systems. Each closed social capital system provides important assets to its members and their organizations. Each has its own set of values, norms, and behaviors that facilitate members fulfilling their needs. Any policy or programmatic intervention needs to respect these local systems and their cultures. However, these community-based systems cannot function effectively apart from the other elements of the citywide or regional system within which they exist. As such, policies and programs should pay equal attention to relationships at all levels, promoting better bridges and links as part of building healthy local communities.

Policy Implications

These cases suggest several policy and programmatic strategies:

- Families that successfully move out of poverty develop bridging social and cultural capital in their chosen professions while maintaining ties among their closed social capital networks. The various research projects show that bridging families rely simultaneously on the support of closed networks of like individuals while building trusting relationships across

groups.³² In many cases, these closed networks included people from home communities with various class backgrounds. However, some upwardly mobile professionals found themselves estranged from their original closed networks. These people developed closed social capital through faith communities or among first-generation professionals from the same race or nationality. To foster similar strategies for low-income families, programs should simultaneously encourage participants to develop their preexisting networks for appropriate supports while creating opportunities for new networks through mentoring, internships, or other bridging mechanisms.

- Since healthy communities include people from various socioeconomic strata working together, programs should include everyone in a neighborhood or target community as participants rather than those with specific needs. Education, training, and benefit programs designed for a mixed-class audience or that bring together people from different economic strata as equals have the best opportunities to foster connections across groups as well as enhance benefits to all participants. Inclusive programs are more likely to build bridging social and cultural capital while targeted programs that only include disadvantaged populations create networks of people with similar problems, but few resources to escape their current socioeconomic niche.
- This research clearly suggests that social geography supercedes physical geography in fostering the social capital that leads to upward mobility. Service delivery strategies should target social communities as a result. Place-based interventions such as increasing neighborhood infrastructure or improving local schools do have some indirect impact because many families rely on place-based institutions for human capital development and basic needs.
- Community development strategies should target organizations and faith communities that have the resources and inclination to develop both bridging and closed social capital at all levels of the community. Strategies should target organizations that can link into closed networks of the most marginalized community members while developing connections among staff and leadership in government, nonprofit, business, and faith community institutions throughout the target community.
- Social capital proves an important ingredient in developing healthy communities, but successful communities simultaneously foster closed, bridging, and linking social capital. Rather than bringing new resources into a community or encouraging a community to develop support

mechanisms exclusively among its residents, strategies should simultaneously foster all three kinds of support. Resources brought in from outside the target community are most likely to be accepted and used fully if trusted providers serve as links to these new programs.

- No community is an island, successful community development strategies concentrate on creating bridging social and cultural capital between marginalized communities and city- or regionwide resources for employment, education, and other supports. Bridging cultural capital involves fostering bicultural behaviors that encourage people to move between communities, eventually increasing understanding across communities.
- Current social service systems include government, nonprofits, for-profits and faith communities working together to improve the general welfare in U.S. communities, but each partner has its specific strengths and limitations. Silo systems for providing services and concerns that one partner will be asked to take over the work of another limit cooperation across various institutions and sections of this system. To strengthen this system, policymakers and program developers should affirm the distinct roles of government, social service agencies, and faith communities, and provide support for these various institutions to collaborate more closely.
- Policymakers and program developers should also encourage the development of holistic support systems rather than target particular problems or groups.
- Since frontline workers often are an important but weak link in service delivery systems, programs should pay particular attention to their roles and actions. Strategies should include providing supportive work environments for people in gatekeeping or front-level service positions, ensuring adequate training, and enhancing social capital development among employees. Efforts to foster bridging cultural and social capital among service providers and those served also would help improve these interactions, but may happen slowly given the power relations often inherent in those relationships. Providing independent feedback mechanisms through partnered community-based organizations or faith communities may prove the most effective first step to improve responsiveness in various parts of a service delivery system.

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Notes

¹. *Family Economic Success: A Framework for Making Connections*, p. 9.

². See Jargowsky 1997, Holzer 1991, Kasarda 1989, Wilson 1996, Wacquant 1998, and Galster 1996. A separate Annie E. Casey Foundation report, *Social Capital and Social Geography* (Schneider forthcomingb), provides a detailed discussion of the role of social and physical geography in outcomes for families in marginalized communities.

³. Participant observation refers to purposeful observation of events in a particular setting over time.

⁴. The paper primarily summarizes concepts developed in *Social Capital and Welfare Reform: Government, Non-profits, Congregations and Communities in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin* (Schneider, Columbia University Press, forthcominga). The book draws from a series of research projects conducted between 1992 and 2000 in Philadelphia and Milwaukee and Kenosha, Wisconsin. Detailed descriptions of research studies and methods are available in Appendix A of the book. Research was funded by the Philadelphia Private Industry Council, the Palmer Foundation, the Petit Foundation, and the Aspen Institute Non-profit Sector Research Fund. Final data collection and preparation of the book were funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

⁵. The Religion and the New Immigrants study involved multi-methods study of immigrant churches and their communities. The entire study combined a survey of 200 congregations serving immigrants, ethnography in representative churches, and a social service agency study. This paper relies primarily on data from case studies of social service agencies and church social welfare ministries. Data includes a semi-structured interview with staff at social service agencies that either served immigrants or partnered with faith communities in the congregation study. Interview data were combined with secondary analysis of agency annual reports, fliers, and other written materials. This paper primarily combines agency portraits from qualitative analysis of interviews and agency literature with demographic portraits of their supporting faith communities drawn from the survey for partnered agencies. I also draw on statistical analysis of the entire survey on community participation. Survey analysis is detailed in other papers (Schneider 2003, Schneider and Foley 2003). The project was directed by Michael Foley and Dean Hoge and funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.

⁶. See Myers 1999; Foley and Hoge forthcoming; Galster, Metzger, and Waite 1999 for discussion of diversity and immigration in metropolitan Washington DC.

⁷. See Massey and Denton 1993, Jargowsky 1997.

⁸. See Schneider forthcominga, chapter 1 and 6, Goode and Schneider 1994 for detailed discussion of the economic systems and intergroup dynamics in Milwaukee and Philadelphia.

⁹. See Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992.

¹⁰. All names for individuals and organizations have been changed to protect privacy.

¹¹. See Bourdieu 1986 for a discussion of cultural capital.

¹². See Goode and Schneider 1994 for a discussion of intergroup relations and social ties in Port Richmond.

¹³. See DeFelippis 2001, Waldinger 1986, Portes and Landolt 1986, and Wacquant 1998.

¹⁴. W-2 refers to Wisconsin Works, the Wisconsin public assistance system created by the 1996 welfare reform law, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Wisconsin created a competitive bidding system that allowed government, nonprofit, and for-profit providers to bid against each other to manage TANF programs. Milwaukee, the largest metropolitan area in the state and home of the greatest concentrations of poverty, was divided into six W-2 regions. Before competitive bidding began, the state determined that Milwaukee County was ineligible to bid for the TANF contracts due to poor performance handling Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the precursor to W-2. However, the state decided to continue to allow Milwaukee County human services to operate processing for the separate government programs for Medicaid and food stamps, as well as child care vouchers because the county already had systems in place to handle those programs. For a detailed discussion of Wisconsin welfare reform, see Schneider forthcominga, chapter 2, and Kaplan 2000.

¹⁵. See Lipsky 1980.

¹⁶. The Kenosha County Job Center, Kenosha's W-2 agency, attempts to solve some of the potential variability in quality of service due to power relations between clients and caseworkers by assigning a caseworker team to each family. The team strategy provides balance as the individual seeking service is not dependent on their relationship with one individual. The team shares information, thus also increasing the potential resources available to each program participant. Alicia reported an especially good relationship with the job placement counselor, but developed a positive connection to the caseworker who provided access to such resources as education and child care too.

¹⁷. My earlier research suggests that a combined strategy of training, related work, and career appropriate networks is most likely to help low-income individuals move into professional careers (Schneider 2000).

¹⁸. Katherine Newman (2001) found the same limits in family social networks among the New York families that she studied.

¹⁹. See Schneider 2001 and Schneider forthcominga, chapters 7 and 8, for a detailed discussion of upwardly mobile families.

²⁰. See Milofsky 1988; Milofsky and Hunter 1995; and Powell 1988, 1999 for examples of social capital and organizations.

²¹. For a more detailed discussion of this case, see *Trusting That of God in Everyone* (Schneider 1999).

²². Settlement houses developed in the mid 19th century as social service agencies where staff live in the neighborhood and worked with community residents to improve neighborhood conditions. While most settlement house staff do not live in the neighborhoods where they work today, these organizations tend to pay close attention to community wishes. The Burial Ground Project originally started using this model, but found limited funding for a generalized social service program in this neighborhood from citywide sources, and that local neighborhood problems were too complicated for the after-school programs and other activities the settlement house staff were able to organize. After a change of key staff, board members reverted to an elite, center-city driven model because it could effectively produce results and raise funds for this effort.

²³. I use social service agency to refer to both for-profit and nonprofit organizations that provide needed services. See Schneider forthcoming for a more detailed discussion of this system.

²⁴. I discuss the social delivery system in chapter 2, Schneider forthcominga. See Salamon 1995 for a general overview of the U.S. social welfare system.

²⁵. W-2 implementation required that single-parent applicants for aid name the father of their children so that the state could collect child support payments, even when applying for benefits like child care that were not central to the TANF system. Some people considered this a violation of privacy or feared that state intervention would disrupt functional informal child support agreements.

²⁶. See Schneider forthcominga, chapters 3, 9, and 10, for detailed discussions of social capital and Neighborhood Settlement House.

²⁷. See Schneider forthcominga, chapter 6, for a detailed description of the labor markets in these three cities.

²⁸. See Holzer 1996, 1998; Moss and Tilly 2001; Wilson 1996.

²⁹ Research conducted by Cindy Ninivaggi. See Ninivaggi 1994.

³⁰ See Chaves 2001 and Cnaan 2002.

³¹ See Lincoln and Mamiya 1990.

³² See Schneider forthcominga and Schneider 2001 for a more detailed discussion of social capital resources among upwardly mobile families.



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