

Vying for the Urban Poor: Charitable Organizations, Faith-Based Social Capital, and Racial Reconciliation in a Deep South City

Robert Mark Silverman, *Wayne State University*

In this article the mobilization of social capital is examined as it relates to the formation of collaborative partnerships among charitable organizations. It is argued that social capital, expressed through social ties and mutual trust, forms the foundation for such partnerships. Specifically, collaborative activities built upon religiously based social capital mobilized among charitable organizations are focused upon in this study. The extensive role of such social capital, combined with the historical context of the research setting, overshadows alternative forms of social capital that might be accessed for neighborhood revitalization, particularly social capital based on race. Consequently, this article's findings suggest that a color-blind approach to racial reconciliation has emerged among charitable organizations in conjunction with the hegemonic role of religiously based social capital in this local context. The unique nature of this outcome is significant because it emphasizes the impact of local context on the manner in which social capital is mobilized within localized networks.

Social Capital and Urban Charitable Organizations

This article examines the relationship between social capital and collaborative partnerships among charitable organizations. It argues that these partnerships are formed and sustained through the mobilization of social capital, and that this process is reinforced by the emphasis that key actors within individual organizations place on such resources. In essence, this article asserts that partnerships do not form in an unstructured manner, but are highly dependent on the presence of social ties that promote trust among organizational actors. This theoretical proposition has a general application to all organizational settings, although it is particularly pertinent when discussing the activities of charitable organizations. These organizations are unique for several reasons, three of which are relevant to this article's focus. First, this grouping is characterized by organizations that are either small in size or nurture an organizational culture that values volunteerism and a grassroots orientation. Second, charitable organizations characteristically strive for and maintain a high degree of congruence between their stated mission and organizational activities. Finally, charitable organizations operate in an environment where formal collaborations and related commitments are limited in terms of scope and duration, making it necessary for strong social ties to exist between organizational actors to ensure the continuance of partnerships.

The importance of such ties has been discussed by scholars in relation to various social processes. Some of this work is noteworthy since it establishes a framework for the analysis of collaborative activities among charitable organizations. For instance, in early examinations of the relationship between social ties and group cohesion within ethnic networks, trust was identified as an important component of the decision to engage in collaborative activities (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Light 1972; Velez-Ibanez 1983). In some instances trust was based on ethnic affiliation, in other instances it was grounded in familial relations, and in others it grew out of occupational similarity or neighborhood association. These themes have been expanded upon by other scholars, predominantly those who studied the role of ethnic networks within the context of entrepreneurship (Butler 1991; Kim and Hurh 1985; Light and Bonacich 1988; Portes and Bach 1985; Yoon 1991; Zhou 1992). The importance of trust and mutual ties in the research on ethnic networks and entrepreneurship has relevance for other forms of collaborative activities as well. And, although much of this literature has incrementally moved away from these core themes, examples of current scholarship exist that recapture its earlier focus on trust and mutual ties (Landa 1994; Silverman 1999).

Although this body of research does not always identify these factors as being linked to social capital, implicitly each study illustrates how an expression or form of social capital acts as a catalyst for social and economic action. In each case, the analysis has centered on processes and mechanisms that reflect those associated with social capital. This parallel is discernable when considered in light of the core literature dealing with social capital, which describes it as any structure composed of networks, norms, and mutual trust that affects society in a positive or negative manner by facilitating coordination and cooperation (Coleman 1988; Foley and Edwards 1999; Putnam 1993, 1995; Velez-Ibanez 1983). Of course, the social capital literature takes an additional step, suggesting that social ties can be harnessed at an institutional level to promote community development and change. This is an important distinction since this literature argues that social capital is not necessarily confined to parochial activities or various niches in society; instead, it is accessible to larger organizations with the capacity to address inequalities found in society (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Wallis 1998; Wallis, Crocker, and Schechter 1998; Wilson 1997). From this perspective, social capital is accessible to the broader community, and not simply bound within the context of parochialism.

This discourse has particular salience when applied to discussions of urban revitalization, especially in light of Wilson's (1987, 1996) observations concerning the plight of urban social conditions in response to economic restructuring. In fact, much of the social capital literature focuses on the need to develop and utilize social resources in order to address various forms of decline in urban communities. For instance, Portney and Berry (1997) find that the mobilization of social capital based on race explains why Black Americans have

greater levels of participation in urban neighborhoods. As a result, they argue that this particular type of social capital should be seen as an important asset in promoting urban revitalization. Along the same lines, Greeley (1997) and Wood (1997) argue that religious organizations are adept at mobilizing social capital in inner-city neighborhoods since they are locally based and benefit from sustained community trust and broad-based social networks. Of course, organizations exist in urban communities where social capital based on race as well as religion is mobilized. However, the manner in which social capital growing out of these distinct foundations is mobilized, and the degree to which various forms of social capital are mutually exclusive, remains unclear. For instance, cases have been identified where social capital has been mobilized at the community level through interfaith networks and interracial organizations as well as through efforts exclusively within the Black community and through Black churches along denominational lines (DiIulio 1998; Rivers 1998; Thomas and Blake 1996). Yet, the overall impact of one mode of mobilizing social capital as opposed to an alternative mode of mobilization has not been examined thoroughly.

Given the limited amount of research in this area, it is instrumental to examine the manner in which social capital is mobilized by charitable organizations in inner-city neighborhoods and to derive from that analysis a better understanding of the implications that various forms of mobilization have for social relations in urban areas. Of particular concern is whether charitable organizations access many forms of social capital and foster broad-based partnerships in a community, or if they rely on a more localized pool of social capital when embarking on neighborhood revitalization efforts. This question is of particular interest when the site for this research is taken into consideration. This study focuses on the collaborative activities of charitable organizations in predominantly African American neighborhoods in a Deep South city. Given that context, this study focuses on the degree to which charitable organizations can mobilize social capital and form partnerships to promote urban revitalization while representing existing interests in the community in an equitable manner. This mode of inquiry has added pertinence given Chang's (1997) discussion of the need to access social capital from various sources in a community due to growing diversity in society.

Methods and Sample

The data for this article come from a series of in-person interviews with directors of charitable organizations in Jackson, MS. These interviews were conducted between June 1999 and August 1999. When contacted for interviews, informants were asked to be part of an academic study of nonprofit organizations and collaborative partnerships. During the interviews informants were asked a series of open-ended questions about the structure and operation of their organization, and the factors that influenced decisions related to partnering. The

questions were drawn from an interview guide that was prepared in advance. The interview guide consisted of 13 items and 18 probes. This research instrument focused on a core set of questions which related to the theoretical issues under examination. In particular, the research instrument focused on examining issues concerning the factors that influenced the decision to form a collaborative partnership, and the role of social capital in the decision-making process. Each interview was administered at the given informant's organization during normal operating hours. The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes in length.

The nature of this study demanded that the research instruments be concise and flexible. It was anticipated that informants would only be available for short periods of time, since they were involved in the operation of a charitable organization. As a result, the interview was designed to be administered in less than one hour. Of course, in some instances interviews exceeded one hour, but the placement of questions and themes in the text of the interview guide allowed for the acceleration of interviews if informants became anxious to resume their work. The emphasis on remaining nonintrusive helped facilitate rapport with informants, since they were reassured that the interview would not interfere with their daily routine.

The study focused on collaborative activities pursued by charitable organizations and voluntary societies located in Jackson, MS, particularly organizations providing social and neighborhood services to disadvantaged groups. Charities with programs in the following areas were identified: homeless services and shelters, youth and elderly programs, substance abuse counseling, community health programs, and low-income housing services. Given the potentially small population under examination, a number of methodological steps were taken to insure that the entire population of charitable organizations in Jackson, MS, was identified. Initially, organizations were identified using the local telephone directory. In conjunction with this activity, individuals in Jackson's nonprofit community were consulted to ensure that all organizations were identified. The identification of charitable organizations in the population was also achieved by means of snowball sampling throughout the research process (Jorgensen 1989). In total, a population of 10 charitable organizations was identified in Jackson, MS. The director of each organization was approached for an interview. All of them agreed to be interviewed. This was advantageous, since interviewing the directors of each organization identified in the population reduced several concerns related to validity and reliability that are often associated with studies of small populations (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

There was variation among the organizations identified in the population along several lines. In terms of tenure, both longstanding and relatively new organizations were found in the population. Interviews were conducted with the

directors of organizations founded in the city during three historic periods. Three of the organizations were established in the city between 1905 and 1940, the period during and just following the progressive movement. Four of the organizations were founded in the city between 1960 and 1975, a period influenced by the civil rights movement. And, three of the organizations in the city were founded between 1980 and 1996, a period marked by retrenchment in social welfare programs.

There were also important distinctions to make about the organizations' staff and directors. The staff of each organization varied in size, ranging from 2 individuals to 85. Two organizations had 5 or fewer staff members, five organizations had 5 to 15 staff members, and three had 15 or more staff members. The racial and gender composition of the organizations also varied in important ways. Eight of the organizations had integrated staff, although the ratio of Black to White staff members varied in this group from an equal distribution between racial groups in two of the organizations to majority white organizations in the other six. One of the other two organizations had an all White staff and the other, an all Black staff. In terms of gender, all of the organizations' staff were at least 75 percent female, with two of the organizations entirely staffed by women.

The characteristics of directors of the charitable organizations also varied along the lines of race, gender, age, educational background, and tenure. In terms of race, eight of the directors were White and two were Black. In terms of gender, six of the directors were women and four were men. In terms of age, two of the directors were in their thirties, two were in their forties, four were in their fifties, and two were in their sixties. Along educational lines, all of the directors had college degrees. Of these, three were trained social workers, two had degrees in education, one had a degree in theology, and the other four had social science and business training. Finally, in terms of tenure, five of the directors had worked for their charity for less than 5 years, three had worked for their charity between 6 and 15 years, and two had worked for their charity for 20 years or more.¹

Faith-Based Partnerships

The charitable organizations shared common ties despite distinctions along the lines of organizational history, staff size, and the individual characteristics of their directors. One of the more prominent forms of social capital that linked charitable organizations involved their faith-based orientation. Seven of the 10 charitable organizations found in the population self-identified as being faith-based. This orientation was clearly expressed by the directors of these seven organizations, and it was also incorporated into documents and literature produced by these groups. For instance, one organization's letterhead included the phrase, "Faith Meeting Needs in Our Community." Other organizations had similar statements incorporated into pamphlets and newsletters that they

distributed. The use of religion as a guiding principle was also readily identified by the directors of these organizations during interviews. For instance, one director discussed how religion played a central role in the activities of the charitable organization she operated:

We're teaching people that many of the things in our biblical heritage, be it Hebrew, be it Islam, be it the Christian tradition tells you that you need to do these things. Yet, for so long in our country we've made it a no-no for the church to become active in making our cities safer and better, and children getting educated no matter what color they are. It's like, those people of faith are involved in politics, and we don't mix religion and politics. You know that whole law was because they didn't want a country that told people what religion they had to be, but it never meant that people of faith could not take their place in the public discussion.

The directors of faith-based organizations incorporated religious principles into the community work done by these organizations. This blend of principle and purpose became a part of each group's identity. The connection between an organization's religious identity and its work was indistinguishable. As one director put it, "we feel that we have been given a charge as a church to address the needs of the poor." This ethos was a driving force behind the collaborative partnerships that charitable organizations formed.

When the directors of charitable organizations discussed the types of groups they had formed partnerships with, all of them identified at least one faith-based organization. Even the charitable organizations that were not faith-based indicated that they entered into collaborations with faith-based groups. However, important distinctions did exist between the networks that faith-based and non-faith-based charities accessed when forming collaborative partnerships. These differences are illustrated in Tables 1 and 2, which identify the types of entities the directors of faith-based and non-faith-based charities indicated their organizations formed collaborative partnerships with in the past.

Two aspects of Tables 1 and 2 merit further discussion. First, faith-based charitable organizations formed most of their collaborative partnerships with religious groups, while non-faith-based charities primarily focused on developing partnerships within the nonprofit sector. Even within the relatively small population of charitable organizations examined, partnerships emerged from distinct networks. Second, despite the presence of dual networks, the preeminence of faith-based organizations in this setting generated a need for non-faith-based charities to access networks within the faith-based community. This was done by forming partnerships with local religious institutions, by forming partnerships with faith-based charitable organizations, or by combining resources from several networks.

In many instances, this was a necessity since religious groups were so prevalent at the grassroots level. In other instances, partnerships were considered

Table 1Organizations Identified as Collaborative Partners by Faith-Based Charities^a

Organizational Type	Frequency	Percent
Churches and Synagogues	33	42.9
Neighborhood Associations	2	2.6
Public Sector Organizations ^b	13	16.9
Private Sector Organizations	7	9.1
Charitable Organizations	10	12.9
Other Nonprofit Organizations ^c	12	15.6
Cumulative Frequency/Percent	77	100

^aTotals for all collaborative partners identified by the faith-based charitable organizations ($n = 7$) interviewed. Individual collaborative partners that were identified by more than one faith-based charity were counted once for this table.

^bColleges, universities, and public schools are included in this category.

^cAll nonprofit organizations other than those defined as charitable organizations in this study are included in this category.

possible since the philanthropic missions of nonreligious groups were perceived as being compatible with the religious missions of faith-based groups. As the director of a non-faith-based organization indicated, faith-based groups were “natural partners” because of their focus on community service projects. Nonetheless, a common project orientation was not the sole criteria for forming a partnership; an organization also had to share common values. This requirement became clear when one director of a faith-based organization discussed the distinction between a true partnership and a mere collaborative effort:

Now there’s a difference in my mind between a partnership and a collaboration. We can collaborate with people who may not share our values. But our partnerships are always with people who share the same values that we share, because they’re the only ones that really understand how important it is to transfer values within this development process.

It was a group’s ability to infuse religious values into its charitable activities that helped to solidify sustained partnerships with faith-based organizations. In short, partnerships with charitable organizations were facilitated through the mobilization of religiously based social capital. This was true where partnering occurred among faith-based organizations exclusively, as well as when bridging took place between these organizations and nonreligious institutions.

Table 2Organizations Identified as Collaborative Partners by Non-Faith-Based Charities^a

Organizational Type	Frequency	Percent
Churches and Synagogues	3	6.7
Neighborhood Associations	1	2.2
Public Sector Organizations ^b	7	15.6
Private Sector Organizations	2	4.4
Charitable Organizations	5	11.1
Other Nonprofit Organizations ^c	27	60.0
Cumulative Frequency/Percent	45	100

^aTotals for all collaborative partners identified by the non-faith-based charitable organizations ($n = 3$) interviewed. Individual collaborative partners that were identified by more than one non-faith-based charity were counted once for this table.

^bColleges, universities, and public schools are included in this category.

^cAll nonprofit organizations other than those defined as charitable organizations in this study are included in this category.

In some cases, the role of religiously based social capital was identified when directors of faith-based organizations described how they were solicited by local churches to assist with a common problem. For instance, one director discussed how its soup kitchen was established after a group of local churches pooled their resources to address the issue of hunger among the poor. Similar interfaith coalitions formed around issues such as homelessness, youth programs, and community health. In each instance, the religious community was mobilized to address a local issue. Charitable organizations that were invited to work on social problems tended to be faith-based. Those that were successful in forming such partnerships found themselves being approached more frequently by local churches for technical assistance. As a result, faith-based networks became institutionalized and religious organizations were associated with relief efforts in the community. This brought a great deal of legitimacy to faith-based approaches. For instance, one director of a faith-based organization believed that, "it would be the best circumstance if on every street there was a church, and there was a program that was modeled after every church on the next block." This director felt that locally based religious organizations were the proper venue for the development and delivery of urban community services.

This type of legitimacy extended beyond the network of charitable organizations, allowing faith-based organizations to benefit from their reputation as effective and trustworthy. One director described how volunteers and supporters would contact her organization unsolicited. In her assessment, her organization was, “very blessed in that [it had] developed a very good reputation in Jackson as an organization that people can feel good about giving their money to because they know that it’s going into the right services.” The connection between the assessment of an organization’s performance, the trustworthiness of religiously based institutions, and sustained public support was corroborated by the directors of other charitable organizations. Moreover, religiously based social capital was mobilized in other ways that allowed for faith-based organizations to bridge with nonreligious institutions. In fact, all of the charitable organizations indicated that they collaborated with groups outside of faith-based networks.

In addition to other charitable organizations, each director indicated that collaborative partnerships were pursued with various governmental agencies, the public schools, local colleges and universities, and other nonreligious institutions. Yet, these collaborative activities were facilitated by accessing religiously based social capital. Personal and professional networks were the source of key contacts that led to partnering activities between charitable organizations and other institutions. Interestingly, many of these key contacts were identified and recruited in religious settings. For instance, one director described how many of the representatives from local government who helped to facilitate partnerships between their agencies and her faith-based organization were identified through the church affiliate of her organization. In essence, religiously based social capital was mobilized to screen for partners who saw faith-based organizations as legitimate and trustworthy, particularly in the areas of community and social service delivery.

Of course, the public at large does not necessarily share the view that religiously based organizations should be the primary source of assistance in urban communities. In fact, the directors of faith-based organization acknowledged that people were leery of religious organizations and that this sentiment sometimes caused individuals and outside organizations to abstain from entering into collaborative partnerships. For instance, one director pointed out that his organization found collaborating with state agencies and other secular groups difficult because they did not incorporate religious issues into their strategies for addressing social problems. In such cases, key contacts were not identified, religiously based social capital was not accessible, and the requisite levels of mutual trust and perceived legitimacy to form partnerships were absent. Despite such obstacles, faith-based organizations remained open to bridging with outside groups. For instance, faith-based groups articulated broad platforms based on social justice and the elimination of poverty; however, these issues were often

subordinate to the religious mission of a given organization. This hierarchy was clearly articulated by a director of a faith-based organization:

What we are attempting to do is create a common vision for the people in Jackson, MS. And, to create a common vision that's common to all you have to have everybody at the table. So, we are intentional about our diversity as far as racial, geographic, socioeconomic, political, and denominational probably first and foremost. In essence, we are an interfaith organization. Not just Christian, we have a Muslim congregation and a Jewish congregation, we bring all religions, not all, but as many as Jackson, Mississippi sort of has. There are a few more but we aren't there yet, but if they were asked to come to the table we would surely welcome them.

These organizations incorporated a number of issues under a religious umbrella, but at their core these groups relied on the mobilization of religiously based social capital for sustained collaborative activities. At times, other forms of social capital are accessed by these organizations for specific projects, but only religiously based social capital is mobilized regularly.

Racial Reconciliation is Color-Blind

The utilization of religiously based social capital is extensive among charitable organizations in Jackson, MS. Typically, this form of social capital is embedded within the context of an organization's mission and is the driving force behind related goals concerning social justice. This synthesis of religion and advocacy is expressed in several contexts. Frequently, organizations incorporated the themes of religion, tolerance, and equality in their literature. For instance, a pamphlet for one faith-based organization described it as, "a nonprofit organization which serves everyone regardless of race, religion, or color." Another organization's brochure stated that its mission was to, "preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to meet the human needs in His name without discrimination." Still, another faith-based organization passed out business cards picturing intertwined Black and White hands to symbolize its commitment to racial reconciliation. And, the literature of another faith-based organization stated that its purpose was, "to help people overcome the problems of poverty and racism so they can become self-sufficient." In fact, 6 of the 10 charitable organizations incorporated some form of racial reconciliation into their mission.

Although the improvement of race relations was identified as an important goal by a majority of the charitable organizations, the degree to which this goal was pursued varied. In some cases racial tolerance manifested itself as a symbolic gesture. For instance, one director expressed pride in her organization's "wonderfully diverse board and volunteer base," and pointed out that, "you're not going to look at our board and see all White males or all Black males." However, the organization's written materials and programs had little or no focus on racial issues. In other cases, organizations might identify racial reconciliation

as a peripheral element of their mission, but when discussing these issues the directors would focus on a vague notion of social justice aimed at alleviating poverty, improving community health, and delivering youth services.

Blended into this service-oriented approach to racial reconciliation were pragmatic interests. In particular, 9 of the 10 charitable organizations targeted their services to an inner-city population that was quite different from both the City of Jackson and Jackson's metropolitan statistical area (MSA). For instance, Table 3 shows that in 1990 the inner city was almost entirely African American, and had both a median household income and a median housing value substantially below the city and the MSA. These population and neighborhood characteristics were a reflection of decades of disinvestment and urban sprawl. In many respects, charitable organizations forged their missions and programs in response to these processes. For instance, one director described how his organization was formed in the late 1960s in response to accelerating White flight. Interestingly, the organization institutionalized a commitment to integration during this period as its parent organization, a local White church, began to reach out to the Black community.

Although some organizations were able to synthesize religious principles with a commitment to improving race relations, others found the blending of social capital based on both religion and race tenuous. For instance, two directors of faith-based organizations described how friction emerged between their organizations and a group of local Black churches. The charitable organizations

Table 3
Demographic of MSA, City, and Inner City^a

Variable	Jackson MSA	City of Jackson	Inner City ^b
Population	395,396	196,594	59,063
Percent Black	41.24	55.74	93.56
Percent White	58.10	43.61	6.27
Median Household Income 1989 (\$)	26,365	23,270	14,068
Median Housing Value (\$)	59,300	53,600	36,576

^aSource: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (1990). *1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary Tape File 3A*. Washington, DC: Data User Services Division.

^bThe inner city of Jackson, MS, included a 16 census tract area.

came under fire for being critical of the Mayor's performance in addressing the needs of poor African Americans in the City. The group of local Black churches saw these criticisms as an effort by the White community to undermine the Mayor, who happened to be the first African American elected to the city's highest office.

Other directors also indicated that racial divisions had made collaborative activities difficult. The sources of these divisions were described as coming from both the White and Black communities. These factors fostered an environment where the discussion of race was polarizing and characterized by distrust. This atmosphere was aggravated by the history of racial turmoil in Mississippi, as well as the personal experiences of some of the directors linked to direct confrontations over issues of race. For instance, one director discussed an experience he had with a local White church while protesting segregation during the 1960s:

I was one of the folk who walked by [the white church] during that march, when all of those rabid white folk were out there talking about how we need to be shot down. Tried to get the state troopers to shoot us. To see where that church is now, I mean, it's a miracle to me.

This director went on to describe how the same White church had recently formed a partnership with his organization to build an urban worship center. The director described how this partnership had come about after his organization changed its emphasis on racial reconciliation to a more collaborative approach focusing on faith-based ties. The director described that the "goal has changed, and with regards to racial reconciliation, what we're doing is we're identifying groups of people, and churches that have been historically White, that we can involve as partners in our ministry."

In part, this change grew out of the lowering of barriers between the White and Black communities, but it also emerged as the charitable organization shifted from pursuing partnerships through the mobilization of social capital based on race to pursuing them through social capital based on religion. This is an important distinction because it highlights how the utility of mobilizing social capital is situational and how various forms of social capital can be mutually exclusive within a given context. In fact, in the following comment this director points out that collaborative activities built using religiously based social capital did not address impasses that grew out of a lack of social capital linked to race:

Like I say, I'm the old man here. So, I'm the one that brings a lot of this history. But, with history also comes baggage. These young folk don't have the baggage. I, therefore, am dealing with young folk at [the white church]. Now the only time we really have any issues is when some of those old folk come in, and I come in. Because we bring that historical baggage.

This director did not operate under the illusion that the formation of a partnership using religiously based social capital would heal old wounds. Instead, he attempted to identify forms of social capital that would serve as an asset in

generating a collaborative partnership while downplaying forms of social capital that might weaken a collaborative effort. The director's strategy was, "to sit down and honestly say, 'these are my strengths, but these are my weaknesses,' because what you do is you manage against your weaknesses, because your strengths are always going to be there." In this context, mobilizing religiously based social capital facilitated collaborative action among progressive forces in the community, while mobilizing social capital based on race pushed individuals to the fore who could derail collaborative efforts.

Bounded Social Capital

The findings of this study add clarification to our understanding of how social capital is mobilized to promote social change. Although the study focused on the role of social capital as it relates to the collaborative activities of charitable organizations in a Deep South city, it offers several insights that assist those who study and apply strategies based on mobilizing social capital for other purposes as well. In particular, three theoretical areas are furthered by this study. First, this research creates a context from which social capital can be analyzed in future studies. This framework is based on earlier scholarship dealing with the effects of social ties and mutual trust on ethnic and entrepreneurial networks. It is argued that a concentration on the nature of social ties and mutual trust between organizational actors makes social capital a more tangible and measurable variable for future researchers. Future research which identifies other dimensions of social capital that can be operationalized would build upon this foundation.

The second area that is developed in this research addresses the issue of whether accessing social capital is a localized phenomenon or if a given form of social capital is accessible to society at large. The data from this study indicate that social capital is primarily defined within a parochial setting and accessed within a localized context. The case of faith-based social capital adds clarification to the nuances of this phenomenon. Although religiously based social capital, expressed through social ties and mutual trust, is relatively common in society, it is hardly a universal condition. And, in a readily accessible form, social capital based upon religion is a much more limited social asset. Primarily, it is found among those who actively engage in religious networks and maintain the social ties from which mutual trust springs. This was the finding in Jackson, MS. Religiously based social capital was mobilized in a limited range of organizations that actively reaffirmed their commitment to a common set of values and goals. This finding has important implications for researchers and those engaged in community development practice, since it suggests that incorporating the mobilization of social capital into the structure of projects and programs needs to be targeted so that populations that are suppose to accrue benefits from such activities, in fact, do.

Finally, this research explores the extent to which one form of social capital can be mobilized in a manner that is compatible with other forms of social capital. Specifically, it examines the degree to which religiously based social capital is compatible with social capital based on race. The finding that emerges from this examination is that all forms of social capital are not alike, and the degree to which various forms of social capital are compatible is structured by local history and context. In the case of charitable organizations in Jackson, MS, it is argued that the ability to mobilize race based social capital for neighborhoods development is hampered by the historical baggage carried by various segments of the community. Subsequently, faith-based networks are tapped in order to promote social change; however, a consequence of this alternative path is that the scope of activities aimed directly at promoting racial reconciliation in the community may be reduced. Arguably, Mississippi can be viewed as an extreme setting for the analysis of religious and racial interactions, but within that context it also constitutes a critical case study of processes that otherwise may not be as resonant. Given the findings of this study, other researchers need to identify settings where issues related to the compatibility of various forms of social capital can be explored further.

REFERENCES

- Bonacich, Edna, and John Modell. 1980. *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity, Small Business in the Japanese American community*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Butler, John Sibley. 1991. *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans, A Reconsideration of Race and Economics*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Chang, Hedy Nai-Lin. 1997. "Democracy, Diversity, and Social Capital." *National Civic Review* 86(2):141-147.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94S:S95-S120.
- Dilulio, John J., Jr. 1998. "The Lord's Work: The Church and Civil Society." Pp. 50-58 in *Community Works: The Revival of Civil Society in America*, edited by E. J. Dionne, Jr. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Foley, Michael, and Bob Edwards. 1999. "Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?" *Journal of Public Policy* 12(2):141-173.
- Gittel, Ross, and Avis Vidal. 1998. *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Greeley, Andrew. 1997. "Coleman Revisited, Religious Structures as a Source of Social Capital." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40 (5):587-594.
- Jorgensen, Danny L. 1989. *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Kim, Kwang Chung, and Won Moo Hurh. 1985. "Ethnic Resources Utilization of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Chicago Minority Area." *International Migration Review* 19(1):82-109.

- Landa, Janet Tai. 1994. *Trust, Ethnicity, and Identity, Beyond the New Institutional Economics of Ethnic Trading Networks, Contract Law, and Gift-Exchange*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Light, Ivan. 1972. *Ethnic Enterprise in America, Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Light, Ivan, and Edna Bonacich. 1988. *Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro, and L. Bach. 1985. *Latin Journey, Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Portney, Kent E., and Jeffrey M. Berry. 1997. "Mobilizing Minority Communities: Social Capital and Participation in Urban Neighborhoods." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40(5):632-644.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1): 65-78.
- Rivers, Eugene F., III. 1998. "High-Octane Faith and Civil Society." Pp. 59-63 in *Community Works: The Revival of Civil Society in America*, edited by E. J. Dionne, Jr., Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Silverman, Robert Mark. 1999. "Ethnic Solidarity and Black Business: The Case of Ethnic Beauty Aids Distributors in Chicago." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 58(4):829-841.
- Thomas, June Manning, and Reynard N. Blake, Jr. 1996. "Faith-Based Community Development and African-American Neighborhoods." Pp. 131-143 in *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*, edited by W. Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Star. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Velez-Ibanez, Carlos G. 1983. *Bonds of Mutual Trust, the Cultural System of Rotating Credit Associations Among urban Mexicans and Chicanos*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Wallis, Allan. 1998. "Social capital and community building: Part Two." *National Civic Review* 87(4):317-336.
- Wallis, Allan, Jarle P., Crocker, and Bill Schechter. 1998. "Social Capital and Community Building: Part One." *National Civic Review* 87(3):253-271.
- Wilson, Patricia. 1997. "Building Social Capital: A Learning Agenda for the Twenty-First Century." *Urban Studies*. 34(5/6):745-760.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged, the Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996. *When Work Disappears, The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing.
- Wood, Richard L. 1997. "Social Capital and Political Culture: God Meets Politics in the Inner-City." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40(5):595-605.
- Yoon, In-Jin. 1991. "The Changing Significance of Ethnic and Class Resources in Immigrant Businesses: The Case of Korean Immigrant Businesses in Chicago." *IMR* 25(2):303-331.
- Zhou, Min. 1992. *Chinatown, The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.