Issues in Children's and Families' Lives

Alva G. Greenberg
Thomas P. Gullotta
Martin Bloom
Editors

Social Capital and Community Well-Being

The *Serve Here* Initiative

Springer

Issues in Children's and Families' Lives

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Research Assistance by Jessica M. Ramos

A Sponsored Publication of the Child & Family
Agency of Southeastern Connecticut

Springer

Child & Family Agency of Southeastern Connecticut, Inc.
It's About Children

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ISSN 1572-1981
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives
ISBN 978-3-319-33262-8 ISBN 978-3-319-33264-2 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016946175

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

To Alexander de Tocqueville who saw in America's "Habits of the Heart" its promise and in unbridled individualism leading to selfishness its Achilles heel.

Preface

This is a book of hope, promise, and opportunity. In it, there are chapters that explain the importance of social capital and offer ways in which America's dwindling reserves of that precious resource can be rebuilt. Other chapters describe compassionate capitalism and the benefits such a model has over a ruthless business model that celebrates the heartlessness of "I'm in it only for myself" behavior. These discussions are built around the Millennial Generation and a social policy initiative called "Serve Here."

Much has been written about the Millennial Generation. These young adults came of age as the world tittered on the brink of an economic depression unrivaled in modern times. Yes, we avoided that depression caused by the myopic greed of some within the financial sector, but the resulting "Great Recession" has left many within that generation trapped with crushing college debt, low-paying service-sector jobs that do not match their educational qualifications, and a bitter cynicism that America cares first and foremost about its 1 %, and the rest of us be damned.

Against that backdrop, the editors of this volume assisted by a very talented group of scholars from across the country crafted a social policy initiative to jump-start this basement generation lost in America's de-evolving economy. This initiative not only offers a way to pay down part of one's existing college debt, but for those without advanced education, it is a pathway to achieving that goal. Most importantly, with this book as a guide, "Serve Here" is a call for all people to re-engage with their communities. Only then will the promise of this nation be realized.

Old Saybrook, CT, USA	Alva G. Greenberg
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Acknowledgments

The editors would like to recognize the contributions of the authors who contributed their time and energies to this work. They graciously traveled to Connecticut to spend a long and intense weekend exploring the subject matter of this volume. We also acknowledge the Hartman Scholars Program that is part of the Child and Family Agency of Southeastern Connecticut for funding that time together. Over the years, the Hartman Scholars Program, Child and Family Agency, and its board of directors have supported groundbreaking explorations in the development of social policy initiatives that prevent illness and promote positive behaviors. We can think of no better positive social behavior than increasing America's social capital. Lastly, we wish to thank several Connecticut legislators who championed the partnership between "Serve Here" and the state of Connecticut. They are Representatives Ernie Hewett and David Alexander and Senators Steve Cassano and Mae Flexer. We are especially grateful to Senator Beth Bye whose leadership made this social policy initiative a reality in Connecticut.

Contents

About the Editors

Alva G. Greenberg has a deep philanthropic commitment to the arts and to the welfare and education of children. She is a 1974 graduate of Kenyon College with a major in drama. She has served on the board of the college as well as the Kenyon Festival Theater. Alva started her postgraduate career as the co-owner and editor of a weekly newspaper in Old Lyme, CT, called *The Gazette*. In 1997, she opened ALVA Gallery, a contemporary art gallery in New London, CT, while simultaneously making a significant commitment to the redevelopment of downtown New London by purchasing and rehabilitating four buildings and starting a Saturday market at the waterfront.

She has served on many community boards including the Eugene O'Neill Theater Center; the Garde Arts Center, Inc.; the Pequot Foundation; and the Florence Griswold Museum. She currently sits on the board of the Child and Family Agency of Southeastern Connecticut, Read to Grow, and the Gund Art Gallery at Kenyon College.

Thomas P. Gullotta, M.A., M.S.W. is Serve Here Connecticut's chief advisor. Prior to this appointment, he was the chief executive officer of the Child and Family Agency of Southeastern Connecticut retiring in 2015 and a member of the Psychology and Education Departments at Eastern Connecticut State University retiring in 2014. His scholarship encompasses the co-authorship of two college textbooks and the founding editorship of *The Journal of Primary Prevention* (Kluwer/Academic, 1980–2000), and he is co-editor of *Advances in Adolescent Development: An Annual Book Series* (Sage, 1985–2000), editor of *Prevention in Practice Library: A Monograph Series* (Plenum, 1996–2001), and senior editor of *Issues in Children's and Families' Lives: A Book Series* (Springer, 1990–present).

In addition to authoring nearly 100 chapters, papers, or reviews, he has co-edited or authored over thirty volumes devoted to illness prevention/promotion of health for the treatment of children, adolescents, and families. Tom was the senior editor for the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Primary Prevention and Health Promotion* (Kluwer/Academic, 2003) and returned to that same role for the four-volume second edition of that reference work published in early 2015.

Currently, he is working on the second edition of the *Handbook of Childhood Behavioral Issues* to be published by Routledge.

Martin Bloom, Ph.D. is a practicing collagist who occasionally helps Tom Gullotta with editing encyclopedia tasks and is engaged in other research, evaluation and writing projects as befits a retired gentleman social psychologist. He is also a full-time househusband for his wife of 56 years. Interested parties may view his website at mbloomcollage.weebly.com.

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James R. Cook, Ph.D. has been a faculty member in the Department of Psychology at UNC Charlotte since 1980, after receiving his Ph.D. from Indiana University. Consistent with his training and identity as a community psychologist, he conducts research and works with community partners to foster change to improve the lives of people who are economically and socially disadvantaged and/or who have disabilities. Dr. Cook has integrated his service to the community into the primary faculty roles of teaching and research and has helped develop university-community partnerships that enable university students, faculty, and staff to work together with community members to address important community needs.

Colonel Timothy Coon is currently the curriculum manager for the Connecticut Police Academy. He has also been a high school teacher in history and English at Coventry and Rockville High Schools in Connecticut. In his military career, he is currently a colonel in the US Army Reserve and is the commander of the US Army Reserve, European Command. He enlisted in 1987 and was commissioned in 1988 through the Federal Officer Candidate School in FT Benning, GA, as a lieutenant of infantry. His decorations include the Bronze Star, Purple Heart, and Combat Action

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James Mattson grew up in Washington, DC, and is the son of publishers. Although he developed a love of reading and writing from an early age, all he wanted to be was a woodworker. His first major project at the age of 12 was a two-story treehouse with a working elevator. In 1980, he was the youngest contributing author to *Fine Woodworking Magazine*. In 1986, he built a conference table for Caspar Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, where, at the touch of a button, computer monitors would raise up at each workstation. In 1995, he bought his first computer and the domain name "woodworking.org." He then learned to hand-code web pages, founding the Woodworker's Website Association, an advertising-free zone to exchange information. Today, when not involved with the profession of custom woodworking, Jim spends his free time enjoying photography; motorcycle riding; dinghy sailing; astronomy; cello playing; growing some of the world's largest specimens of *Anubias frazeri* and *Anubias barteri*, both popular aquarium plants; and putting the finishing touches on his simplified theory of human behavior. Oh yeah, he also helps his lovely wife, Sharon, with this project.

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The Role of Social Capital to American Democracy and the Creation of Serve Here CT

Alva G. Greenberg, Thomas P. Gullotta, Martin Bloom, and Kevin Graff

Inspiration

This story begins with the pronoun—I. It began several years ago as my sons reached adulthood, and I reflected on their experiences and those of their peers growing up. In contrast to the uncomfortable cold war proxy conflicts of my childhood, they witnessed a more unsettled world in which regional struggles fueled by religion, nationalism, ethnicity, and dictatorial insanities gave political and economic power to some while violently taking it from others. They reached adulthood at a time when technology and especially communications were bringing us closer together and creating moments of enormous change like the "Arab Spring" while simultaneously disconnecting us from one another. In the United States we became a nation of talking heads scoring sound bite points on behalf of our own individual interests while rarely thinking of the collective whole.

Examples of this disunity seem everywhere to this day. Paralysis has gripped the American governing system as years of electoral district gerrymandering created safe political districts that only in the most exceptional circumstances might change. This in

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_1

turn has increasingly radicalized the nation's two major political parties such that the words reasonable and compromise are rarely, if ever, used despite the fact that the majority of Americans define themselves as moderates. Over the past 40 years economic stagnation has spread from its entrapment of those in poverty to slowly ensnare the supposed rock of American stability—its middle class. Put aside for a moment the women's movement's goal of economic equality to consider that to achieve the economic status of the middle class from the 1970s forward has required two wage earners in a family. The goal of working women is no longer a political or social policy objective (worthy as they were/are), it is now a necessity if bills are to be paid and opportunities afforded to one's children. A family with one average wage earner has a tenuous hold at best on a middle class lifestyle as the phrase "working poor" entering the American lexicon indicates.

Now, reconsider the word opportunity used in the previous paragraph. Combine it with words like freedom, success, democracy, independence and phrases like melting pot, hard work, and individual effort. These are the descriptors that my parent's generation used to explain their America to me. While I and others of my generation did not wholly subscribe to the imagery of this shining city on a hill and saw many of its flaws, we held great hope that America was a work in progress that could continue to approach our parent's ideals.

To this end, my Boomer generation sparked the resurgence of the environmental movement and made great strides in addressing issues of racial and gender inequality. We also contributed to the rise of the corporate state and the mentality that business and industry's allegiance was not to their community, their employees, or the nation of their origin but to their shareholders. A paradox? Yes and one that this nation has experienced before notably at the turn of the last century when even the price of maple sugar was manipulated by the sugar trust and fraudsters like Charles Ponzi played fast and loose with other people's savings triggering reoccurring financial catastrophes that washed like a tidal wave across the American economy every decade or so. The Progressive movement that rose in the late 1800s in reaction to these behaviors sought a return to truer Capitalist values replacing monopolies and their fixed prices with a broader base of competition. They sought a more open and transparent political process and the demise of the Party Bosses that corrupted government at every level, and they championed the establishment of rules. These rules—some would call them meddlesome laws and regulations—eliminated child labor, insured purer food and drugs, and, by the passage of the 17th amendment, provided for the direct election of individuals to the US Senate.

There are parallels between the problems plaguing the United States at the turn of the last century and those afflicting this nation at the present time. Comparisons can be drawn between the economic panics of the late 1800s and early 1900s caused by unscrupulous business behavior on the part of some individuals—think Great Depression- and the economic panics of the present day. There is the parallel increasing economic disparity between those with wealth and those without. During the Gilded Age (1870–1900), the richest 1 % of the US population controlled 26 % of the nation's wealth. Presently, 1 % of the US population accounts for 35.6 % of America's wealth. While the American economy has made a painfully slow recovery from the near total collapse it faced in 2008 due to the financial industry playing fast and loose with the US economy, the jobs that have been created to replace those that have been lost are lower paying, with fewer benefits, and many are part-time. Those entering this new economic order for the first time are between the ages of 18 and 29—the Millennial generation.

Like the new immigrant arriving with little wealth, this population finds itself with crushing economic debt incurred listening to the advice of their knowing elders to get a good education as the ticket to a good job and economic prosperity. In accepting that advice and attending college, the Millennial generation to date has incurred 1.2 trillion dollars in debt. That is more than all Americans owe on their credit cards. Much of that student debt is owed to the Federal government whose interest rates are punishing and who have made it nearly impossible to discharge that debt through bankruptcy. The combination of a near economic collapse, an economic recovery that has not provided job opportunities that pay meaningful wages, and crushing college debt has forced this generation into a developmental sense of "off time."

What's "off time?" Simply, it means late. Family developmental scholars use the concept of time to describe the social behavior of individuals in a generation compared to those before them. Family scholars look at behaviors like economic independence, moving from one's parental home, living with another person, having children, and the behaviors associated with this all happening on a particular timetable. That fairly reliable timetable established over the past 70 plus years is not in play for the Millennials. They are "off time." More are living at home (almost 15 %), are unemployed (5.4 %) or underemployed (approximately 44 %), with greater debt than any previous generation before them. They are delaying marriage, having children, and participating in the economy. While expressing optimism about their personal lives as a group they are (perhaps wisely) untrusting of stock market investments, less involved in their communities, and increasingly cynical of the political process. To state the obvious, this is not good. The challenge is what can one individual do?

Ideation

Consider this remark by Margaret Mead "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed, citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has" and the change in this story's voice from "I" to "we" is readily understood. To move from the singular "I" to Mead's "small group" requires sharing thoughts and ideas with others. In this instance, it means working with Tom Gullotta who in turn invited Martin Bloom to this brain storming journey to develop an approach for involving young adults in the civic life of their communities. Further, we needed to develop an approach that offered opportunity rather than disappointment to these increasing numbers of economically trapped young adults.

As the title of this book makes clear, we are interested in increasing this nation's social capital especially among those 18–29 years of age. This age cohort is on the verge of shaping this nation's future for the next 20 years. Their successes and failures will have a direct and immediate social, political, and economic impact on the generation that follows. So what is social capital? First, it is not a new concept born of some scholar but it comes from an observation by Alexis De Tocqueville (1835/1945) as he traveled across America from 1835 to 1839. In his journey he observed certain behaviors that he labeled "habits of the heart." Chief among these was interest in one's family, religion, and involvement in local government. In this volume Johnson (2016) defines this behavior as:

> … the connections among individuals such that, over time, a social network is created in which people come to expect mutual support and trust. This leads to: (a) potential increases in each individual's physical health and social/emotional well-being, as well as, (b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society.

Thus, social capital benefits individuals who are connected to others and this interconnectedness has a positive pay off for the general population. In this volume and the social policy initiative that emerged from our efforts, we were and remain most interested in the benefits that accrue to communities from individual social capital interactions that lead to group activity. Thus, we use the phrase group social capital interchangeably with civic participation and civic involvement.

To illustrate, studies suggest that communities high in social capital have lower rates of reported crime, report higher satisfaction with their community and are healthier (Crowley, 2016, in this volume). How so? Consider this scenario. If you live in a low crime neighborhood, your fears of being victimized are fewer and the likelihood that you will venture out from home to walk to shop, eat, and take in the sights increase. Your presence and that of other law-abiding individuals on the street has a deterring effect on criminal behavior. Why? Because the likelihood a person can commit a crime and escape detection is dramatically reduced.

As walking is healthier than sitting on a couch, your health also improves. Multiply that by thousands and the average health of the community improves. Now, in this scenario, as you walk and pass others, being a somewhat social being, you might smile and greet them with a brief remark like "Good Morning." Over time these brief interactions are likely to grow into a sense of familiarity and the day arrives when you say to that other walker, "Isn't it a shame that there isn't a sidewalk here." That other walker stops, agrees with you, and the two of you begin a discussion that ultimately leads to the creation of "Walkers for Sidewalks." For skeptical readers we would remind you of Mead's sage observation and that the establishment of dedicated bicycle lanes, the beautification of public areas, and even dog parks owe their existence to movements initiated in a like manner. Thus, a set of positive interactions on the individual level increasing personal social capital provides the opportunity for behavior at a group level that can have a positive community impact.

This contrasts to neighborhoods in high crime areas where parents express fears of their children playing outside and their desire to move away from the violence. In the first instance of our imaginary story the characters are in control of their environment and seek to exercise even more control as they act to expand the community's sidewalk network. In the second instance, the streets understandably have been abandoned and control of the neighborhood is external to its residents. Walking for the pleasure of walking is replaced by somber marches to "take back the streets" after the violent death of a young person. In the second instance, police departments organize community block watches and mount announcements on utility poles in an attempt to discourage the exploitation of area residents. In the second instance, community beautification, recreation opportunities, and other neighborhood improvements are often lost to the ironic demands for increased police presence while those making these calls fear mistreatment at the hands of that same police force.

But the demise of social capital (civic involvement) is not just a problem of high crime areas. As Putnam (2000) eloquently expressed in *Bowling Alone*, on many levels civic engagement in the United States is declining. We suspect that for a variety of reasons ranging from individuals holding multiple jobs (little free time), to technology (smart phones), to cynicism (reoccurring political and financial dishonesty), individuals and especially the Millennial generation are less involved in the civic life of their communities than previous generations. This does not bode well for the United States as maintaining a healthy democratic republic demands that its citizenry be actively engaged at every level in the operation of that society.

It is important to note this does not necessarily mean joining a political party. There is nothing wrong with being an "Independent" providing one is registered to vote and votes when the opportunity arises. Active civic participation means that there are citizens voicing concern over such things as the proliferation of non-native invasive plants and animals, that there are advocates for improving public education, safety in the workplace, pure foods and so on. The point is that it is through civic involvement that groups of individuals influence and shape the direction of those elected to represent us. Those elected representatives carry our proxy to enact laws, pass budgets, and develop the social policy which could alleviate an individual's college debt and improve their chances for meaningful employment.

We would be remiss if we did not acknowledge that our construction of social capital so far is utopian in the positive achievements a group of like-minded individuals can accomplish. There is a "dark" side to social capital (Johnson, 2016, in this volume). More accurately, there is nothing in the concept of social capital that assures that an outcome will be positive for the larger society. The dystopian novels of Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), Orwell's *1984* (1949), and Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) well illustrate this point. In each instance the author describes a land in which the many competing voices of society have been silenced into a monotone of one. The vibrant, noisy, messiness of a democratic republic is turned into an intellectual and emotionless empty landscape where the pleasure drug "Soma" (*Brave New World)* quells rebellious thoughts, where "doublethink" (*1984*) enables one to simultaneously hold two contradictory opinions on the same issue, voicing either one as needed, oblivious to the contradiction and where the printed word and the universe of intellectual thought contained therein is replaced by brief regimented social media snippets (*Fahrenheit 451*).

Interestingly, while written decades ago, two of these three novels are situated in our present time. Each warns of the growing power of an uncontrolled government not recognizing that a new entity—the corporation—with its allegiances solely to its shareholders offer a different take on "dark" social capital. The concerns expressed by the Occupy Wall Street movement and others on the rise of the Corporate State focus on the social and economic inequality that results from the increasing concentration of wealth into the pocketbooks of 1 % of the American population. The contention is that greed to obtain even greater wealth leads to behavior that if not illegal, like the manipulation of foreign exchange markets, is not in the best interests of the majority of US Citizens, like the warehousing of 2.1 trillion dollars in corporate profits overseas to avoid taxes.

Having examined the positive and dark side of social capital, we should realize that it is generated in every social interaction that occurs. Many interactions are at the individual level. For example, a young person looking for a job learns from their mother that a friend who owns a software firm is seeking a new IT associate. Thanks to that relationship, the daughter interviews for the position and is hired. That is social capital at play. Or consider that two high school friends who share a similar interest in horticulture begin a successful landscaping business. This, too, is social capital. Now to move these examples to the next level, imagine that our IT associate observes that outdated computer equipment from her employer and other companies is brought to an area landfill and dumped not only wasting the opportunity to recycle materials used in the construction of those computers and monitors but adding harmful elements to the environment. Working with others, her community institutes a recycling program for all electronic equipment. This is positive group social capital. Imagine also that our high school friends operating their landscaping business in a drought stricken region encourage customers to choose landscaping options that use little if any water and working with local conservation groups encourage the planning and zoning commission to end development plans that encouraged the wasteful use of water. This is positive social capital.

There are also examples of positive social capital at the institutional level. As Gillespie and Mutignani (2016) share some of these are found in actions by legislative bodies that seek to aid the disabled and assist the elderly in retirement (Social Security), to ease the economic stress of sudden unemployment (unemployment benefits), and to provide near universal health care (Medicaid, Medicare, Affordable Health Care Act).

In recent years the concept of social capital has influenced the behavior of some within the business community. It is a movement called compassionate capitalism. In contrast to the belief that the sole interest of a corporation should be its shareholder, compassionate capitalism broadens that agenda to include employees and their families, the communities in which they reside, and larger issues affecting society like sustainability.

Compassionate capitalism can take many forms. For example, in 2015 the owner of a California credit card payment-processing firm announced that he would reduce his salary while increasing the salaries of his employees over a 3-year period (Cohen, 2015). The motivation for the company's owner, Dan Price, was the realization that chief executive officers salaries in some U.S. companies are 300 times more than that of the average employee. In that regard, "the market rate for me as a C.E.O. compared to a regular person is ridiculous, it's absurd," he said. In Massachusetts, 6000 employees of the privately held profitable "Market Basket" grocery chain walked off their jobs in 2014 to support ousted CEO, Arthur T. Demoulas, whose failure in the minds of the Board of Directors was not, "running the company at the expected level of ruthless corporate efficiency" (O'Neil, 2014). Under Arthur T's term as CEO, "Market Basket" employees received living wages, health insurance, and had retirement and profit sharing programs. One employee described Arthur T. as a boss who, "cares more about people than he cares about money." This labor action in support of management and the support it received from store customers effectively crippled the grocery chain and led to Demoulas' reinstatement and ownership of the company.

In both these examples the ownership of the company was privately held and the principle of "shareholder primacy" above all other concerns was not an issue (Dodge v. Ford Motor Co., 1919). To introduce compassion into capitalism where profit is not the sole purpose for existence has required a return to the Progressive creativity of the early 1900s. Then, influenced by *Looking Backward* (Bellamy, 1888), *The Jungle* (Sinclair, 1906), the Triangle Shirtwaist fire disaster of 1911 (cited in AFL-CIO American's Unions, 2015) and other events, company owners like Milton Hershey (Hershey's Chocolates) and Theodore Bodenwein (*The New London Day* newspaper) created new corporate entities to succeed their successful businesses that enabled their civic interests to continue after their deaths. In the first instance, Hershey endowed the non-profit school for underprivileged children he created with the majority of the stock of the company (The Hershey Company, 2015). Bodenwein established his company as a foundation with all profits turned back to the communities it served (Stone, 2000). Using similar creativity resulted in the creation of the for profit "Benefit" or B Corporation whose mission it is to make a profit *and* a positive contribution to society and the environment. Currently legislatively established in 28 states, the B corporation has two obligations to its shareholders. One is to be profitable. The second is to achieve social goals that benefit society. Importantly, neither goal is more important than the other.

Examples of the B corporation range from King Arthur Flour to the clothing maker Patagonia to the eyeglass company Warby Parker's. Each of these profitable enterprises defines its mission as being wider than making good flour, clothing, or eyeglasses and being profitable. Each describes itself as having equally important interests in their community, in enabling those with a disability better cope with that issue, or in improving the environmental health of planet earth. In the case of Warby Parker that translates into a policy where for every pair of eyeglasses the company sells another pair is donated to an individual in need. For Patagonia, it donates at least 1 % of its sales to environmental groups, and King Arthur is actively involved in supporting community groups in its area.

The bottom-line for these companies is good products, profitability, and creating community social capital.

Likewise, our bottom-line is increasing the social capital of the vast majority of young Americans for whom the promise of America had been tainted. Calling for increased civic participation and involvement is one approach, but after the call for "change you can believe in" fell short of the promise for many young people still under employed, living with parents, and in debt, we thought another approach might have better success.

Developing Serve Here CT

To accomplish our goal of increasing social capital and creating opportunity for the millennial generation, we needed to expand our circle of partners yet again. To this end we invited Kevin Graff, a respected area lobbyist, the presidents of Three Rivers and Quinebaug State Community Colleges, the president of the area community foundation and others to the table. Our initial discussions focused on the national level and the involvement of the federal government in this worthy effort. However, it quickly became evident that this concept would disappear in the partisan bickering that has gripped Washington for years. As this concept was never intended to create a new free-standing organization but rather a policy and process that could be incorporated into other organizations either private or public, our next thought was linking this concept to an existing organization. Here we discovered that the concept was not yet fully developed enough or even testable within a larger entity to pursue this pathway. We decided not to pursue a 501 C3 status and become a non-profit entity. Rather, we chose to remain as project and use an existing non-profit organization for administrative support and the Community Foundation of Eastern Connecticut as the fiduciary. After toying with several names for this 5 year research demonstration project, the one chosen was Serve Here Connecticut (Serve Here CT.). Why Serve Here CT? Because it represented our multiple intentions, the first being service and through that service the generation of social capital. The second being meaningful job creation in Connecticut for young adults who might otherwise leave the state for better opportunities both south and west and lastly, college debt reduction or future scholarship aid.

The design of the program is straight-forward. Young people between the ages of 18 and 29 residing in Connecticut are eligible to complete the web-based application. These young adults may have completed high school or not. They may have an undergraduate or even graduate degrees. The one requirement is that if employed through Serve Here CT they agree to participate in a two semester (one evening a week) learning community and service learning experience at a local community college. For those who successfully complete this learning community and concurrent employment experience, Serve Here CT through its community foundation fiduciary agent will reduce the participant's college debt by $10,000. If the participant has not attended college or technical school and wishes to do so after successfully completing the program, (s)he will receive a $10,000 scholarship to attend a non-profit educational institution. This scholarship must be fully used within 3 years of completing the Serve Here experience.

For employers, the process to enroll in Serve Here is similar. In its initial phase Serve Here CT is inviting non-profit organizations, municipalities, and local school systems public and private to participate in the program. Employers wishing to participate complete a web-based application and agree that the position for which they are hiring is either newly created or an existing part-time position that is increasing to full-time. They agree that this is not a 1 year position but one that will continue into the future. They also agree to allow their new employee to develop a case history that describes their job and the challenges that the employer faces in delivering services to the public. As an aside, Serve Here encourages the employer to help the employee in preparing this case history. Finally, the employer agrees to consider allowing the learning community to work on one or more of these challenges in the second semester. Employers chosen for the Serve Here experience who hire a Serve Here participant who successfully completes the first year of employment receive $10,000 towards the first year expenses of that individual.

It is the two semester learning community that is envisioned to be the catalyst for creating a new awareness of the power of social capital for Serve Here CT participants. Meeting once a week from September to early December, young people explore the meaning and uses of social capital through a variety of readings like the chapters in this book written especially for this experience, through film, music, and especially the case studies prepared by each young adult. Toward the close of the first semester, participants voted to choose one or more case studies to work on during the spring semester. During the spring semester, less time is spent reading and much more time doing as these young people develop approaches to address the problematic issues confronting one of the Serve Here CT employers. It is through this blend of discussion and active service learning that we expect participants to gain valuable experience in the power of social capital to effect change for good.

How do we know that will happen? We don't and for that reason this 5-year research demonstration project has attached to it an evaluation plan. Using paper and pencil and ethnographic interviews, we attempt to answer the questions: Does providing college debt reduction improve the economic trajectory of an individual? Does helping an unemployed or underemployed youth obtain a full-time job paying a meaningful wage improve the career path of that individual? Most importantly, does educational exposure and service learning focused on social capital increase civic involvement and participation? We hypothesize that the answers to these questions is yes.

Establishing Serve Here CT

The remaining challenge to this social policy initiative is funding. True, this 5-year demonstration project has the financial backing of a philanthropist but that person's commitment does not insure that this effort will continue nor does one person's support provide a useful model that can be copied by other states. Thus, from the beginning we envisioned state government as a funding partner. If we can show positive empirical results in college debt reduction, full-time meaningful employment, and increased civic participation among the project participants, then we might hope that the federal government would join the states on similar cost sharing projects.

The legislative roller coaster story of State funding for Serve Here CT is watching social capital being created, re-imagined, and recombined into the viable policy initiative now underway. It is encouraging to those who would be discouraged to realize that setbacks are temporary if one keeps clearly focusing on the end game. From the beginning, we knew we had several strong arguments and many potential allies for Serve Here CT. With Connecticut still feeling the effects of the Great Recession, we knew that the tangible job creation from the program would be a selling point. We also had a great message to communicate to the public and policy makers. Crippling debt in the form of student loans was already on the public radar. President Obama, leading members of Congress, and politicians in Connecticut, were all rallying around the importance of addressing what many economists refer to as the "next bubble." These public postures were more than just good politics for the problem was real and pervasive. Everyone either had a direct experience with significant student debt or knew a friend or relative who was in over their heads. It was not a complicated problem to explain to policymakers and many of them were already looking for solutions.

The Serve Here team spent much of 2014 researching how to construct the program and building allies within Connecticut to support the effort. Early on, we received positive feedback from the Office of the Governor about the potential investment of state funds but as the state's budgetary predicament worsened, it became clear that it would be nearly impossible for any new programmatic funding to come from the Governor's Administration.

In early 2015, understanding the challenging political environment in Connecticut, we began searching for a legislative solution. Two separate pieces of legislation were introduced on our behalf. The first, House Bill 5799 (2015), an act establishing a matching grant program for Serve Here Connecticut was introduced by State Representative David Alexander (D-Enfield), a Marine Veteran recently returned from Afghanistan. In the Senate, State Senator Steve Cassano (D-Manchester) introduced, along with Rep. Ernest Hewett (D-New London), Senate Bill 632 (2015), an act creating a public–private partnership between public institutions of higher education and the Serve Here Connecticut initiative. The first piece of legislation required the state to establish a grant of $150,000 for the program to be matched by private dollars. The second sought to ensure that higher education institutions in Connecticut would work collaboratively with Serve Here. In reality, both pieces of legislation were largely symbolic and designed to plant seeds for future legislative action to provide state dollars to Serve Here. Our hope was that by asking for "matching funds" we could appeal to the legislature that if they provided state funding, they would be leveraging outside dollars.

In January, Alexander, Hewett, and Cassano came together with Serve Here founders to hold a press conference to announce their legislative proposals. The media attention was largely positive and included the important messages of reducing student debt while creating jobs and social capital. The press coverage included an admission of what was our greatest challenge: continued budget deficits. In fact, the lead of a story about the press conference by the online news outlet CTNEWSJUNKIE said it all: "A small group of lawmakers and advocates began a difficult push Wednesday—asking the state to help fund a new apprenticeship program during a session when the legislature is focused on making difficult budget cuts." Despite the positive media attention, we struggled with garnering additional legislative support for our proposal. That is, until we discovered another piece of legislation proposed by State Senators Beth Bye and Mae Flexer.

Their Senate Bill 445 (2015), an act concerning a plan for the ConnectiCorps program intended as they testified, "to help students build critical job skills and gain valuable experience… retire student loan debt… help young people participate in service projects… and work in helping professions. Here was an opportunity to take two very similar ideas traveling on parallel paths and merge them into a viable piece of legislation.

Within days, we scheduled a meeting with Senators Bye and Flexer to see if there might be a synergy and partnership opportunity between their ConnectiCorps vision and Serve Here CT. Their enthusiasm for such a partnership exceeded even our own expectations—it became clear that while each idea had been conceived separately, there was a unified vision that had to be combined. In addition, Senator Bye's original plan had been to try to include funding in the state budget that would allow for a "planning" year between the State Department of Labor and colleges and universities. Since Serve Here had already done the legwork and planning for a program, Senator Bye now entertained the idea of advocating for the Serve Here pilot instead. After additional meetings and exchanging of information, the Appropriations Committee budget which Senator Bye chaired released its budget and Serve Here CT was included for $150,000 in the first year and $300,000 the second year. We had succeeded in the first major legislative process hurdle—funding for the program would now be included in the budget document that would become the basis for negotiation between the legislative and executive branch. Despite significant pressures to cut spending and many programs originally proposed in the Appropriations budget (like Serve Here) being cut significantly or eliminated entirely, the final budget agreed to by the Governor and Legislature included $100,000 in year 1 and $200,000 in year 2 for the program. Serve Here CT is one of the very few "new" investments contained in the budget.

Closing Thoughts

When De Tocqueville (1835/1945) spoke of "habits of the heart," he voiced concern that American Democracy left unfettered could give rise to a society focused more on self-interest than the common good. He wrote:

> …I see an innumerable multitude of men, alike and equal, constantly circling around in pursuit of the petty and banal pleasures with which they glut their souls. Each of them withdrawn into himself, is almost unaware of the fate of the rest. Mankind, for him, consists in his children and his personal friends. As for the rest of his fellow citizens…he does not notice them. He touches them but feels nothing. (p. 692)

Many would state that these fears have been realized in that the concentration of wealth in America is creating a financial aristocracy and that education—the imagined great equalizer—has morphed into a new form of indentured servitude. The "greater good" is now lost to "what's in it for me."

This raises the question: Is "Serve Here" the way to spur civic involvement and participation among the many uninvolved young adults in this country? Is it the way to re-establish "habits of the heart?" Is it the answer to resolving the crushing college debt that is holding many of the Millennial generation hostage and preventing many more from acquiring skills that could lead to better lives? Is it the most effective pathway for replacing low paying service sector jobs held by well-educated individuals with careers? We are not so presumptuous as to believe it is "the" only way but it is "a" way. We have no doubt that as the program is implemented improvements on this model will emerge. We also have no doubt that the time to act is now before the American promise of opportunity that is lost to perpetual disappointment.

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Millennials and Social Capital: Explorations in Re-inventing the American Dream

Jill W. Sinha

Co-inspirator of this project, Tom Gullotta, observed "The great American dream: go to school, work hard, get an education, apply yourself … Somehow or another that covenant is not playing out the way it was supposed to [for younger generations]." The "not playing out" was set in motion long before the recession of 2007, but, that Great Recession exacerbated economic trends which contribute to what some have called Millennials' "failure to launch." For example, Millennials get married later or not at all, have children later, are less likely to buy a home and car, and have had serious struggles finding jobs at an income that allows independent living and paying off college debts (Fry, 2013). Self-appointed Millennial spokesperson Ryan Donegan, who writes for The Blog at the Huffington Post, confirms "No longer was a college education and hard work the ticket to success; and now, rightfully, my Millennial Generation is… unemployed and frustrated" (Donegan, 2013).

Based on slow future economic growth and the existing levels of wealth disparity in the United States, income generation and stable livelihoods *are* serious concerns for young adults. The high cost of college, college debt, and diminishing returns in terms of wage levels for college graduates, combine with limited future social security income; over a trillion dollars in public debt, and lack of transparency in the US financial sector. This combination does not paint a robust economic future for many young adults. Some analysts have gone so far as to call Millennials the cheated generation (Kotkin, 2014).

To older generations, it can appear as if Millennials are choosing not to engage in traditional institutions of family, community, politics, and workplace. Younger generations might say they are disillusioned or rightfully cynical about traditional or institutionalized forms of engagement and are seeking alternative forms. In order to assess these various views, the chapter proceeds as follows. First, recent statistics

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_2

and trends of Millennials (defined here as ages 18–34) are presented. Next, three interpretations of these statistics on Millennials are offered. Each reader may select which of the interpretations you think is most accurate, from: a) *the "Stalled" generation*, pertaining to Millennials' late entry into expected societal institutions of paid work, political representation, marriage, childbearing, and homeownership; b) *the "Cheated" generation,* pertaining to growing wealth disparity, stagnant wage levels, a job market with fewer "middle level skill" positions due to outsourcing of jobs and use of technology to perform lower-skill and lower-wage jobs (Autor, 2010), and the continuing impact of the recent recession; and c) *the "Enterprising" generation,* an optimistic interpretation pertaining to Millennials' activity in less recognized, or non-institutionalized forms of work, including start-up ad social enterprise, volunteering, and use of social media. The chapter concludes by discussing the role and expected potential benefits of social capital among Millennials. Recent findings are described to suggest how individuals' and their communities' social capital may be related to whether the Millennial generation will, in the end, be viewed as stalled, cheated, or enterprising.

Just the Stats Please: Who Are Millennials and What Are They (NOT) Doing?

Born between 1980 and 1999, the Millennial generation is the largest cohort in US history. More than 80 million strong, this cohort is larger than the Baby Boom generation (National Chamber Foundation, 2012). Despite troubling national and world events—the 9/11 terrorist attacks, school shootings, hurricanes and tsunamis, the Arab spring and now the Arab winter, the rise of terrorist attacks, the collapse of large automobile makers, the Great Recession of 2007–2010, three decades of stagnant middle class wages, and drastic increases in wealth disparity in the US and around the globe, with its impact on media and political influence—despite all this, Millennials report being optimistic. Two-fifths (41 %) of Millennials report satisfaction with the way things are going in the country, compared to one-fourth (26 %) of individuals older than 30 years of age who are satisfied (Pew Research Center, 2007; Taylor & Keeter, 2010). Paradoxically, nearly half of Millennials expected to be "worse off" than their parents, and this generation may be the first to see life expectancy decline (National Chamber Foundation, 2012). So who are these Millennials?

Racially, Millennials are more diverse than previous generations. Eleven percent have at least one parent who is an immigrant (Pew Research Center, 2007) and two-fifths (43 %) of Millennials over age 18, are non-white (Pew Research Center, 2014). Millennials report more tolerance and support of racial, sexual, and religious diversity, despite nearly half (49 %) who describe themselves as "patriotic" and report similar beliefs as older cohorts about life after death, the existence of heaven, hell and miracles (Pew Research Center, 2010). As for religious tradition, fewer Millennials are affiliated with any faith tradition (about 75 %), compared to about 80 % of older cohorts. As for voting behavior, in 2008 and 2012, Millennials under age 30 made up nearly one-fifth of voters in the Presidential elections. More Millennials voted Democratic, with nearly two-thirds voting for President Obama (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Employment, Unemployment, and Income

What proportion of Millennials is working and how much are they making? For *Aspiring Adults Adrift: Tentative Transitions of College Graduates*, Arum and Roksa (2011) surveyed 918 college graduates 2 years after graduation. Their data reflected the reality of recent graduates: more than half (53 %) reported earning less than $30 K per year, including full-time and part-time jobs and those who were not employed. In addition, 70 % reported receiving financial support from their parents (2011). Nationally, unemployment among adults under age 25 is higher than the national average and this has been the case for two decades: Since 1989, unemployment among younger adults, which is typically about twice the rate of all adults, has been *more* than double the unemployment rate for all adults (Fry, 2013; Shierholz, Davis, & Kimball, 2014). This trend of higher than normal unemployment is likely related to the Great Recession. Labor Market Analyst, Heidi Shierholz observed that while it is common for young workers to experience more unemployment during economic downturns, the impact of the Great Recession and its aftermath represent the most severe period of economic weakness for young workers in more than 70 years (Shierholz et al., 2014). Among older teens aged 18–19, unemployment is the highest it has been since 1980 (Taylor & Keeter, 2010).

Several trends have had an impact on younger adults' unemployment and employment, compared to previous generations when they were teenagers. First, older Americans are staying in the workforce longer rather than retire. Second, a number of jobs, particularly entry-level or lower-skill jobs are now performed overseas rather than in the US. Third, a sluggish economy and fiscal policies have depressed new job creation in the US for jobs that pay meaningful wages, while job creation has occurred primarily in low income jobs in the service sector (Autor,2010). Similarly, as noted by Shierholz et al. (2014), the sluggish economy creates less demand for goods and services and a slower hiring rate by existing businesses. Finally, the average hourly wage rate, after taking inflation into account, has been flat, or even fallen, compared to 1979 average wage (Desilver, 2014a).

Among employed Millennials, growth in the job market has shifted from manufacturing to healthcare, IT, computing, and finance since the 1980s, and these jobs often require college education (Berrett, 2014). Further, job creation since 2009 has occurred primarily in part-time and lower-income positions such as healthcare, caregivers, food service and temporary agencies rather than in full-time employment (Desilver, 2014b, 2015). The higher rate of under- and unemployment can also be attributed to a proportion of young adults who attend college and graduate school, and thus are not employed or are employed part-time, but the proportion of adults aged 16–24 who reported they were not looking for employment increased from 30 % to nearly 40 % in 2014 (Desilver, 2014b).

A troubling aspect of young adults who are not earning wages or are earning lower wages comes into view by looking at longer-term net worth. The long-term picture of net worth—or wealth, disparity between older and younger generations is severe. This is how net worth compares: For individuals under age 35, median net worth, or household income plus other assets such as home ownership and value of investments, *decreased* 37 % in the 5 year period from 2005 to 2010. Meanwhile, among individuals 65 or over, this decrease in net worth was a much smaller—a 13 % decrease, during this 5 year period (Taylor & Keeter, 2010). In other words, the US is witnessing the largest wealth gap ever between older and younger Americans. Looking at this trend another way, since 1984 households headed by persons 65 or older *gained* a median net worth of 42 % while households headed by someone younger than 65 *decreased* in median net worth by 68 % (Taylor & Keeter, 2010. The transfer of wealth is happening in reverse.

Education, College Enrollment, and College Debt

As noted, one reason that young adults are not employed or are "underemployed" is to attend college and graduate school. In fact, a larger proportion of young adults attend college and graduate school now than in 1990: Nearly three-quarters (72 %) of young adults complete high school and more than two-thirds (68 %) enroll in college (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). In 1990, about one-fourth (26 %) of adults aged 18–24 attended college but by 2012, the proportion enrolled in college had increased to two-fifths, or 41 % (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). During this same time period, the proportion of adults aged 18–24 in the paid labor force declined about 10 %.

Unfortunately for some, the benefit of earning a college degree, in terms of being able to earn a higher wage, has leveled off. As the number of college graduates steadily increased over the past two decades, the potential to earn a higher wage leveled off and then disappeared between 2004 and 2012 (Autor, 2010). In other words, earning a college degree no longer offers the same potential for increased wages today as it did before 2004.[1] As many as 60 % of recent college graduates reported being underemployed in jobs which previously went to high school graduates and dropouts (Kotkin, 2014; Shierholz et al., 2014).

Even more frustrating is that during this same time period, the cost of a college or graduate degree escalated. The decades from 1940 to 1980 saw modest increases in the cost of tuition, which kept college affordable for a wide range of households. But, from 1980 through 2008, compared to the cost of living, which increased by

[1] For females, this trend is different. Median earnings for women with a bachelor's degree rose 20 % since 1980. Women's earnings are not yet the same as for men, but a college education is likely to continue to offer women increased wage earning potential (National Chamber Foundation, 2012. The Millennial Generation Research Review).

about 3.25 times, and medical costs, which increased about sixfold, college tuition and fees expanded nearly tenfold (Baum & Ma, 2011; Kotkin, 2014)!

As would be expected, college debt levels have soared. From 1990 to 2012, average college debt among fourth year college students rose from $14,700 (1990) to $25,400 (2012) (Fry, 2013). The average student today also reports an additional $12,700 in credit card and other debt (Nance-Nash, 2012). Total aggregate debt accumulation by college graduates, measured by student-loan debt from both private and public sources, surpassed $1 trillion in 2011 (Shierholz et al., 2014).

Living Arrangements and Home Ownership

With the discouraging economic and educational picture painted so far, can one fault Millennials for delaying entry into "Adulthood"? Some call this pattern extended adolescence, but trends regarding marriage, having children, or owning a home may just not be "delayed" but are altogether different patterns. Many young adults in the US, as well as other developed countries such as Japan, have trended towards staying single or unattached for longer periods of time and have either delayed having children, choose to have children outside of marriage and chose not to have children at all.

Having children: The rate of birth to women aged 15–44 in the US has been on the decline since 2007 and is at a historic low (CNN Money, 2013). This pattern is likely when younger adults face economic adversity such as inability to work or get a job, or face uncertain prospects. In the US, as in Japan, young women and men marry later or not at all and romantic relationships between the genders have changed: relationships between female and male peers become more interdependent and platonic rather than romantic (Cancian & Reed, 2009; Kotkin, 2014).

Forming a household: As might be expected, the rate of households being formed, whether single, partnered, with or without children, has decreased. From 1997 to 2007, over one million (1.2 M) households formed each year, but since 2007, this rate dropped nearly half, to 600,000 households formed per year (Peralta, 2014). In addition to not forming a *new* household, slightly more than half of young adults (56 %) aged 18–24 reported living with a parent in 2013 (Fry, 2013). In this survey for the Pew Research Center, young adults stated that their decision to delay marriage or having a child was related to lowered wage-earning potential (Fry, 2013).

Owning a home. Like older cohorts, Millennials delayed buying a home, except that the delay is longer. Census Bureau data show that the rate of home ownership among Millennials is the lowest since 1982, at 36 %, and this is the lowest of any generation at that age (Kotkin, 2014; Peralta, 2014). The rate of persons age 34 and less who own their own home dropped to about a third (33 %) from 41 %, especially after 2007. The sharpest drop in home ownership occurred among younger Millennials ages 24–29 (down to 21 % from 33 %) followed by Millennials ages 30–34 (down to 36 % from 41 %). Nationally, for all ages, the rate of home ownership (65 %) is at its lowest rate since 1995 (Peralta, 2014). Why is this important? Studies have shown that homeowners are more likely to stay in a residence longer than renters and become active in community life and social networks, such as volunteering in schools, sports leagues, community organizations and events (McCabe, 2013). In an analysis of the Harris Poll data, the National Association of Realtors found more than 50 % of respondents who owned a home reported being "connected" and "committed" to their community, and to feeling safe in their community, as opposed to fewer than 40 % of respondents who rented (Summerfield, 2011).

Despite statistics which indicate that fewer Millennials will marry at all, or will marry later, many still identify marriage and family as important life goals (Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010). Surveys suggest that young adults value "happiness" as a primary objective, including a better work-life balance, and report a higher valuation of love and friendship over money and power (Euro RSCG Worldwide, 2010). This may be a hopeful sign among Millennials, among whom "nearly half," recognize that they will be "worse off" financially than their parents (Taylor & Keeter, 2010). Another interesting trend is how some Millennials made downward mobility into a positive challenge. The TV show "Tiny House Nation" on A+E Networks LLC, "fyi,"channel showcases couples and individuals who have chosen to radically downsize their possessions and home to reside in very small homes (under 500 square feet) which use far less energy and require less time and money to upkeep. Participants believe that smaller homes, and choosing to buy less and store less stuff, frees up their time and resources for other pursuits such as mountain biking, travel, working at a lower-paying job because they believe in it, or being able to afford living in a beautiful but expensive environment, as well as spend more time with family.

Engagement: News, Volunteering, Voting, and Entrepreneurship

How engaged are Millennials in the day-to-day happenings of their town, region, and the world? Has this media-savvy generation turned completely inward to selfie-posting, Snapchatting, FB-ing, twitting, tweeting, and Instagrammng, or has social media connected Millennials more in civic, professional, and social life? In their book *Academically Adrift,* Arum and Roksa (2011) surveyed recent college graduates about their interactions with news media and current events. After graduation, two-thirds of recent graduates reported they did not read news online or in print each day, and the remaining one-third said they did read news every day. Less than a fifth (16 %) reported that they talked about politics and public affairs with friends or family daily. In terms of a public service as a career option, very few college graduates (2 %) stated they would seek employment in the federal government (Partnership for Public Service and the National Association of Colleges & Employers, 2012). A brief look at volunteering, voting behavior, and entrepreneurial activity helps assess Millennials' engagement in these three areas.

Volunteering: The US has one of the highest rates of participation in religious communities and in volunteer behavior of any developed country. This statistic is related to high rates of religious attendance: among people who attend a religious service at least weekly, the volunteer rate jumps upward 2–3 times (Putnam, 2015; Putnam & Campbell, 2010). Among all adults in the US, about 25 % report volunteering. Increases in the rate of volunteering since 1989 can be traced to increased hours reported by older teens (ages 16–19), mid-life adults (ages 45–64), and older adults (age 65 and older) (Grimm, Dietz, Foster-Bey, Reingold, & Nesbit, 2006). Compared to older generations, over half, (57 %) of Millennials surveyed said they volunteered in the past year, although it should be noted, that this rise in volunteer activity among high school-aged youth is likely to be limited to kids in higher-income homes who plan to attend college (Parry, 2015; Taylor & Keeter, 2010).

Still, even if high school-aged volunteering is carried out to increase resume value, service-learning type projects have seen an upward trend in course offerings in high schools and colleges over the past three decades, along with a corresponding increase in the number of youth and college students who volunteer. The Corporation for National & Community Service's *College Students Helping America* (Dote, Cramer, Dietz, & Grimm, 2006) reported a 20 % increase in number of college students who volunteered during 2002–2005. Further, a recent poll by the Associated Press (2014) indicated a third (29 %) of respondents under age 30 who reported volunteering is a "very important obligation" for citizens (The Associated Press, 2014).

Voting: In 2008 and 2012, young voters (under age 30) turned out to vote more than they have for any other presidential election since 1972. Although it may come as a surprise, the proportion of Millennials who voted is about the same proportion of Baby Boomers who voted when they were younger—about 50 % of both cohorts voted in presidential elections when they were younger adults. Unlike Baby Boomers, about 50 % of Millennials identify as Independents even while they are more likely to have voted Democratic (Pew Research Center, 2012, 2014). On many social issues, such as homosexual marriage, immigration and gender equality, Millennials are more liberal than past generations but when it comes to how large or active a role federal government should play, Millennials are split: 42 % say "government is doing too many things" while 53 % say "government should do more to solve problems" (Taylor & Keeter, 2010).

Entrepreneurship: Engagement can be expressed through many venues. In addition to volunteering and voting behavior, another form of civic or social engagement has expressed itself through for-profit enterprises (social enterprise) and nonprofit organizations. Many Millennials who start businesses or nonprofits seek both to make a living and "make a difference" about a social cause and this combination is termed "social enterprise."

Millennials have reported being more likely than older cohorts to plan to or want to start a business or nonprofit- a trend reflected in new course offerings on entrepreneurship in over 2000 colleges and universities, as reported by Donna Fenn in her book *Gen Y Upstarts* (2009). The Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation and the

Young Invincibles (2011) surveyed the start-up sector and found that nearly 160,000 start-ups, *per month*, were launched by Millennials (ages 20–34) who make up nearly one-third (29 %) of all entrepreneurs.

"It's (Not Just) the Economy, Stupid": Wage Levels, Wealth Inequality

You are almost ready to vote on Millennials as Stalled, Cheated, or Enterprising. Before you decide which interpretation you most agree with, three broad economic and social trends should be considered. These trends may shed light on why, with more people graduating from college, more of them are not working at jobs paying more than $30,000 per year? Why isn't "having a job" translating to better wages, stable income, and less debt for more young adults?

Labor market, wage levels, and job opportunities: Since the 1980s, several related trends have deeply impacted the labor market. First, manufacturing jobs, which offered good compensation and opportunity to "move up" the ladder into management and administration, began to decline. Second, competition from growing foreign markets made cheaper labor available elsewhere and some jobs were outsourced (Autor, 2010). Third, during this time the number of US workers joining unions declined and union bargaining became less effective (Mishel, 2013; Reich, 2012). Fourth, minimum wage increases lost pace with cost of living increases. In the 1960s, the federal minimum wage level was about half or 50 % of the average wage earned by non-supervisory employees. Even after recent increases to the federal minimum wage, the 2011 minimum wage level was two-fifths or 37 % of the average wage of non-supervisory employees (Mishel, 2013).

Changes in job opportunities and the weakened level of minimum wages contributed to growing income and wealth disparity over the past 40 years. Even during decades when the US productivity expanded and its economy grew, the growth was not more evenly dispersed among all income levels. Notably, wage levels for lower- and middle-income earners did not grow with the pace of expanding productivity. This wage-flattening pattern can be traced to the late 1970s. In response to flattening wage levels, middle- and lower-income household workers began work more, including the rapid entry of women with children into workforce: In the 1960s 12 % of married women with young children worked for pay, while in the 1990s 55 % of married women with young children worked for pay. Further, overall, from 1980 to 2007, middle and lower-income households (bottom three-fifths of income distribution) reported nearly double the increase in annual hours worked, than the top two-fifths of household income groups (Economic Policy Institute, 2012). Despite the addition of hours worked, and additional household members in the workforce, growth in average household income for the bottom three-fifths of income earners began to level off after 1980 while continuing to rise more steeply for the top two-fifths of income earners (Economic Policy Institute, 2014). Not surprisingly, middle-income household debt has grown by a third during this time frame (Reich, 2012).

A more recent trend in the job market is polarization in new job creation. Since 1999, new job creation has occurred primarily in lower-skill, lower-wage, service-related sectors such as security, food prep, grounds work, and personal care services including home health aids (Shierholz et al., 2014). Along with fewer new jobs in higher-paying categories such as managerial, finance, technical, sales, and administration, these combined factors contributed to a "hollowing out" of middle management jobs—essentially taking away the "rungs of the corporate ladder" which had allowed US employees to "climb up" to increased responsibility and wage levels (Autor, 2010; Kotkin, 2014). On the bright side, job skills which continue to be in high demand include sales representatives, engineers, technicians, executive assistants, and machine operators (Dill, 2015).

Responsibility-averse millennials? In the workplace, there are conflicting views about why Millennials are not advancing into leadership and better paying positions. Millennials have been described as being narcissistic, high-maintenance, and unwilling to take on additional responsibility at work or being unwilling to step into management roles, which may result in their being overlooked for promotions. Psychologists and educators echo this observation, noting that young adults, possibly due to their (helicopter) parents' active engagement, act more like adolescents. In college and at work, Millennials have been described as needing frequent feedback and instruction, have poor skills in independent time and task management, and struggle to resolve routine conflict with others (Donatone, 2013). Contrary to this view, Jessica Warnell's recent book *Engaging Millennials for Ethical Leadership* (2015) reports that Millennials are passionate about social and environmental issues and want their work to be purposeful. When Millennials work at the issues they care about and feel meaningful, they can be highly productive.

Disparity: poorly shared economic growth: Responsibility-averse culture of Millennials is just one layer in a larger economic story. As noted, increasing wage disparity and fewer upwardly mobile job options have translated into highly differentiated income brackets. And highly varied income brackets, over time, translate into drastically different wealth potential and household net worth. In the US, and globally, wealth has been increasingly concentrated into fewer and fewer households over the past 40 years. Attention to how economic growth has been concentrated rather than more broadly dispersed splashed into the public domain with the Occupy Wall Street movement during the presidential campaign in 2012. Notable politicians and social scientists magnify these concerns, including Robert Reich's "Inequality for All" media campaign, best-selling book "Capital" by French economist Thomas Pikketty, presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, and critical commentary by Senator Elizabeth Warren, among others.

Income disparity pales in comparison to the disparity in wealth acquisition. The Economic Policy Institute analysis for *the State of Working America* (12th edition) comparison of household net worth from the 1960s through 2010 indicated the following: In 1962, the wealthiest 1 % (making over $166,000) had 125 times the net worth of the median household (which earned about $40,000). By 2010, this ratio was 288:1. In other words, in 2010, the wealthiest 1 % (making over $297,000) had accrued

288 times the net worth of the median household (which earned about $52,000). In the US today, the wealthiest 1 % of citizens "hold" 90 % of the nation's wealth.

Joel Kotkin, in "The New Class Conflict" (2014) and Robert Putnam, in "Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis," (2015) warn Americans of the implications of this two-tiered economic reality in which "have-nots" will increasingly share less access to quality education, training, development, and job opportunities which could propel them into a more secure economic future. Further, widespread entrenched inequity and economic insecurity is believed to weaken democratic governance and participation in civil society. Contrary to the US value of hard work and merit as the primary factors which determine one's "success" in achieving the American dream of upward mobility, and the pursuit of happiness, the trends noted in this section portend an America filled with citizens whose mobility is far more determined by their parents' household net worth and locale. In other words, the socioeconomic status of the household into which you are born will determine the status to which you will be able to rise. Warren Buffett (2013) calls this predetermination of one's trajectory the "ovarian lottery"—the household, neighborhood and region we are born into largely determine our opportunity for upward mobility—rather than any amount of hard work, determination, innovation, or intelligence.

What Do You Think: Stalled, Cheated, or Enterprising?

Time to decide. Which statistics support the analysis that you think is right? If you are a Millennial, it's time to interpret yourself.

#1 Stalled: Are Millennials "stalled"? In this view, Millennials are just not willing to get out there. They are enjoying an extended adolescence and are unwilling to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. They want high-paying jobs and are not willing to settle for lower-paying positions where they will have to earn their way to the top. Rather than shoulder responsibility, they are choosing not to work, not to buy homes, and are not leaving their parents nest. They are also delaying or not marrying and having fewer or no children. In this view, things have come too easily to Millennials and they are not willing to work as hard as previous generations to earn their way and enjoy material rewards.

#2 Cheated: Economic trends cannot support upward mobility: In this view, Millennials are rightly cynical and they know that they are not going to reap the same kind of economic rewards for the same hours of labor, or the same level of education, as previous cohorts. Columnist for Millennials, Ryan Donegan (Huffington Post) writes: *As a member of this so-called entitled and whiny generation, I'd like to address this idea with a simple answer: We are. … We were told to stay in school, we did. To get our high school diploma, we did. To graduate from college, we did. We were engrained with the notion that the key to financial security and success was education and hard work. So we developed dreams, and we followed them. …The problem is, … No longer was a college education and hard work the ticket to success; and now, rightfully, my Millennial Generation is… unemployed and frustrated* (Donegan, 2013).

Cynicism or disillusionment with the American Dream can become an intentional unwillingness to be part of an economic and political process that has failed to deliver jobs and doesn't seem to respond to or represent their concerns. Rather than being "stalled," in this view, Millennials are deliberately not engaging in the institutionalized norms of work, household buying, marrying and having children. Is a "Tiny House Nation" the way to go, or rather, to remain somewhat detached or only temporarily attached, with lowered expectations for good wages, an expensive home, and even the permanency of marriage/life partner, or children?

#3 *Enterprising entrepreneurs:* In the third view, Millennials view entrepreneurship, and often, socially responsible entrepreneurship, as a way of life (Fenn, 2009). Younger corporations like Facebook, Zappo's, and Groupon, as well as self-employed bloggers, and social enterprise start-ups like Seattle, WA-based Cupcake Royale's owner, Jody Hall, often combine starting a business and supporting a social cause. Hall's Cupcake Royale distributes 25,000 cupcakes a year to local charities. Business profits were used to fund a documentary about unjust oil extraction methods in the Niger Delta and Hall lobbies on healthcare reform (Rex-Johnson, 2010).

Many Millennials have started their own business or nonprofit, selling ideas and information through blogs and opinion columns, rendering or distributing services and goods, such as upcycling thrifty craft ideas and home-made products or services, or custom-designing goods such as specialty cars, farm-to-table foods, jewelry, fish tanks, or motorcycles. Other Millennials innovate by combining several income-earning strategies: Part-time lecturers (adjuncts) teach at three or four institutions and cobble together an annual income of $30 K; Musicians or music teachers teach private lessons, repair or build instruments on the side; Grant-writers, technical writers, and website designers freelance and consult. Fenn (2009) suggests that widely available access to the internet and the relatively low-cost option of launching a website as reasons so many Millennials have been able to launch small businesses and can effectively target outreach to locate potential new customers and consumers. Are Millennials about to become the greatest entrepreneurial generation ever?

Social Capital: Can Connectedness Reinvigorate an American Dream

What do you think? Which interpretation fits the Millennials you know? However you characterize the Millennial generation, from "stalled" to "enterprising," the statistics suggest that Millennials have inherited a less generous economic climate for the foreseeable future: Less employment security, greater debt, and less opportunity for economic mobility, combined with slow overall US economic growth and uneven job creation, predict a riskier financial reality.

In addition, more frequent moves, such as for college or a job or other opportunities, may mean that individuals have transient, newer and shallower networks of friends, family and colleagues with which to buffer and share the realities of mid- and later life. Further, polls indicate that Millennials report lower level of general social trust of others, in response to the General Social Survey question "would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people"? Where older cohorts report higher levels of trust, from a high level of 40 % of Boomers reporting this kind of general trust, to a low level of 19 % of Millennials reporting general trust (Pew Research Center, 2014). In this riskier context and with potentially less "embeddedness" in a community because of lower rates of marriage, home ownership and trust, Millennials will need to cultivate both innovation *and* interdependence to thrive and survive. How might social capital play a role among Millennials, in terms of community connectedness and interdependence?

Social capital as voluntary associations—uniquely US: In the 1830s, French historian and philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville traveled widely in the eastern United States. De Tocqueville noted the frequency with which "voluntary associations,"—people coming together voluntarily for varied purposes, both for public or governance reasons, as well as to address private interests. De Tocqueville reasoned that such frequent meetings helped "commoners" create consensus and support for civil society, self-rule and regulation. Varied interests could be codified into a unified expression which influenced local and state politics and resulting laws (Zaleski, 2008). This practice of associating, Tocqueville believed, led people to care for one another's needs rather than serve only self-interest, and led to a type of civil society which was both personally and politically active (Zaleski, 2008).

Another philosopher who observed the unusual influence of voluntary associations in the US was German philosopher, economist, and sociologist, Max Weber. Weber, traveling in the US in 1904, wrote about the importance of shared values and mutual help. Weber used religious communities as an example. He noted how, an individual member of a recognized religious congregation (often Baptist or Methodist) could, when traveling into a different region, be "credited" with trust by another congregation of the same denomination. The individual's membership status "vouched for" the moral character of that individual and connected the individual to a wider community that was trustworthy. In this way "social" capital translated into economic capital. The individual's "word," or honesty, could be trusted, as well as their ability to pay for or provide what they said: Even if the individual didn't pay or do what they promised, the larger community could be trusted and held accountable for the individual's debts (Weber, Baehr, & Wells, 2002). The extension of "generalized trust" was not based on a personal relationship with the new individual, but on the assumption of shared values that were ascribed to the larger religious community.

Contemporary social capital and work: Do these early examples of social capital still hold true with and for Millennials? Does social capital still enhance one person's opportunities and likelihood of contracts or employment? Does a sense of connectedness to one's community and concern for its well-being still translate into action on behalf of the greater good? Yes, "social connectedness" still functions as a type of currency which can be used when finding a job, changing jobs, finding partners, employers, and accessing educational, career, and volunteer opportunities. For example, a referral from a trusted individual can "trump" other skills or marketability offered by other job candidates. Social connectedness also enriches us in times of need: Many individuals turn first to informal means of care such as family and friends to help with transportation, childcare, tutoring, mentoring, to the point of sharing food, housing, and finances. Putnam's definition of social capital refers to different kinds of connectedness, including links beyond friends, relatives and acquaintances, to participation in communal groups like churches, sports teams and other committees or organizations. In Putnam's (2015) conceptual framework, social networks have real value. As raised in his new book, *Our kids, The American Dream in crisis*, Putnam examines the effects that community bonds and social networks have on health, happiness, educational success, economic success, public safety on children specifically, as well as adults.

New findings from the National Conference on Citizenship (NCoC) (2012) highlight the benefits of living in communities with strong interconnected social networks. This nationwide study of states, counties and cities examined social connectedness in relation to rate of employment from 2006 to 2009, before and after the recession. A measure of "civic health" was constructed based on communities' social cohesion, which measured "trust of neighbors," "frequency of talking with or helping neighbors," and socializing activities with family and friends. The data were examined separately at state and county levels. All regions reported similar rates of unemployment in 2006 (before the Great Recession), but by 2009, regions with higher social cohesion reported 2 % *less growth in unemployment*. In other words, while all states had more unemployment, in states with high social connectedness and cohesion, unemployment rose less than 3 % from 4.4 % in 2006 to 8 % in 2010. Whereas, in states with lower social connectedness and cohesion, unemployment rose more than 4 %, from 4.5 to 10 % (National Conference on Citizenship, 2012).

A second finding from this study is relevant. The study assessed the number of nonprofit organizations in existence along with rate of employment. The NCoC report found that more nonprofit organizations (that is, a higher number of nonprofits per 1000 residents) was related to lower unemployment. Further, when analysts combined the level of social connectedness and density of nonprofits, the effect was magnified: States with the high nonprofit density *and* high social cohesion saw unemployment rise 3 %, from 3.6 % to just 6.5 % from 2006 to 2010, while states with the low nonprofit density *and* low social cohesion saw unemployment rise 5 %, from 4.9 to 10.8 % in 2010 (National Conference on Citizenship, 2012). The more social connectedness and greater density of nonprofits a state had, the less its *un*employment grew during this time period.

These findings offer important evidence that social capital matters for individuals and for local economies. Communities in which people are more connected and more frequently interacting, are those which also experienced less unemployment, possibly through job retention, employers' unwillingness to fire or lay off employees, or because unemployed more quickly reattached to work. As suggested by the NCoC study, in the post-2006 context, in which there were more job seekers than job openings, individuals with access to more connections were more likely to get the scarce jobs (National Conference on Citizenship, 2012). NCoC researchers offered the following framework to suggest how high social cohesion and the presence of nonprofits might be related to lower unemployment: In hard times, local business owners and investors who viewed their communities positively, who cared about, or understood and were invested in their communities through long-term relationships, who had trust with existing local partners, were more likely to act in ways that sustained local jobs and promoted local job creation.

Social capital, democracy, and dispersion of wealth: Research links strong citizen participation to a number of "civic health" indicators such as better educational outcomes, better physical and mental health of residents, and more "soft skills development" for youth (Putnam, 2015). The connection of social capital to fair democratic processes is especially important: Without the kind of connections among individuals so that a social network is created and reciprocity and trust are sustained—without social capital as this vehicle, democracy fails to thrive. It seems fair to assert that the US society, and its Constitution, was founded on a belief that the pursuit of happiness was ultimately served by an enterprising—that is, capitalistic, economic system. However, without the influence of a functioning democracy and strong civil society to facilitate the widely dispersed influence of many citizens, capitalism can also end up as [result in] an economic system in which wealth begets wealth and the more powerful interests dominate civil society. The US has grown increasingly and dangerously close to having financial wealth and its related political influence concentrated into "rule by the few" (Kotkin, 2014). When a society's political, justice, and other systems such as education, media, infrastructure, and healthcare fail to be responsive to citizens along the broad social and economic continuum, social capital becomes more narrowly constrained and civil society is weakened (Reich, 2012).

Re-balancing the dispersion of wealth and power in the US requires identifying policies and paths that reinforce fair economic play, promote equal access to opportunities and re-balance political representation. Enterprise is one avenue through which the middle and lower classes are able to control more of the value of their own labor and produce. Entrepreneurs, given what the market will bear, "own" or set the value of what their work hour or their product is worth. Organized union membership can be quite effective at re-negotiating wages and protections for workers. Enforcing rules that require transparency in funding and dispersion of funds allows others to hold all players accountable to fair play. Promoting equal access to information and opportunity through the internet, use of social media, and technology increases the potential for communities to discover and support merit, hard work, and creativity within its communities. For example, organized action around shared economic interests and quality of life, such as affordable healthcare, policing, environmental concerns, minimum wage levels, flexible work time, and childcare options for working parents, can influence policies and decisions at the level of school boards, corporate managers and owners, politicians, town councils, and hospital systems.

Economic growth that is dispersed widely—rather than concentrated within the Forbes' list of the 185 wealthiest families, will strengthen middle and working class families and communities. More importantly, broadly shared economic growth will restore stronger democratic engagement at all levels of government. The economic pie can be grown through re-inventing an American dream of enterprise and job creation. There is growth to be had if local governments are challenged to rebuild tangible infrastructure such as roadways, transportation, communication systems, and invest in energy, manufacturing, logistics and in some areas, housing construction (Kotkin, 2014). Other important investments include adult education and training to address a shortage of skilled labor including welders, machinists, operators, and middle level skilled manufacturing managers (see also Kotkin, 2014; Sirkin, Rose, & Zinser, 2012).

Millennials Re-creating an American Dream?

How do individuals within communities foster greater social capital and lively civil society that can support the kinds of change the US needs? Avenues to becoming more deeply connected to and invested in one's world, society, community, neighborhood, primary group, are as diverse as individuals themselves. The following ideas are intended to serve as inspiration to getting started. No step is too small and no step should be the last.

- Bowl, with friends!
- Take a lesson in something you've always wanted to try (photography, mandolin, painting?) Community colleges and local township or nonprofit arts organization often offer affordable short-term courses/lessons
- Join or start a book group, a dinner-out group, sports group
- Nurture inner spirituality and share it with others (meditate, join a Bible study or attend an event at a local congregation)
- Volunteer with a friend for a cause you care about (online meet-ups, websites, a local United Way, Yellow Pages, and near-by congregations are good places to search)
- Attend a community event with a friend (Township websites and Schools often post upcoming events)
- Educate yourself about your town, city, family or block and its residents. What history shaped your community?
- Find out what your town, a local school, or co-worker needs and consider helping as you are able
- Write that letter to a local representative or to a friend
- Invite someone in (or out) for dinner
- Help someone
- Invest in close friendships. Reserve time to be with family, to BE family: Fight, make up, and have fun together. Listen and watch your partner, friend, or child–What do they enjoy? What are they best at? Tell them your observations
- Introduce yourself to a new neighbor; Build time into your schedule to listen and chat with long time neighbors. Ask questions
- Host an impromptu neighborhood (BYOB) gathering

Participating more fully in, and re-creating vibrant, interdependent, and empowered civil society starts with accepting responsibility to care for one another as an integral part of community. Care has a cost, of time and effort, and often, some financial cost. Care also provides the benefit of enhanced well-being. *Looking not only to your own interests, but also the interests of others* means not only attending to our own needs and that of our families, but also the care of others, including those with whom we may not be very involved, and especially, those who are least able to care for themselves. Part of being a good neighbor and a good citizen is to use our voice, our power and influence on behalf of others.

Looking out for others means growing through observing and understanding of how people from different segments of society and of our town and region are affected. How are the elderly doing in your community? How are school-aged children doing? Where are youth in your community after school hours? Is there a shelter, food pantry, or homeless population in your community? Does everyone share access to affordable housing, healthy food options, internet, and educational opportunities? How well-shared are safety, good roads, decent housing, transportation, sanitation, and access to connectivity through internet? Looking out for others means growing in our understanding of who is included in our communities and, in taking responsibility—even if it is in a small way, of getting to know them (See Paul Loeb's (2010) *Soul of a Citizen: Living with Conviction in Challenging Times*, for a fuller discussion of living an engaged life and finding and connecting with others).

What is the alternative to an active, empowered, and engaged citizenry? The future societies envisioned through *MadMax* movies, *The Hunger Games,* or *Maze Runners,* as well as the recent re-fascination with heroes as portrayed in *The Fantastic Four* and *The Avengers* both fantasize about heroes and warn of the dangers of unequal power distribution taken to the extreme. Hopefully, the US will avoid these extremes, by recognizing and correcting the continued or heightened disparity of incomes and wealth which fosters inequality. Those with the most buying power benefit by access to safer neighborhoods, better access to resources which benefit health, and easier access to opportunity, and are better able to shield themselves from stress and misfortune. Indeed, the strongest predictor of life longevity and health over the lifetime is one's socioeconomic status or place on the economic ladder at birth (MacArthur Research Network on SES & Health, 2009). That is, rather than health being primarily determined by genetic code, our likelihood of experiencing a range of outcomes, from divorce to abuse, from cancer to smoking, to job loss, heart problems and depression, are strongly correlated to the economic status we are born into. We could, together, change that statistic.

Millennials, a full life and a life in pursuit of happiness, includes quality time for a variety of interests and relationships. Economic security and stability, not necessarily great wealth, promote lives which are enriched through opportunities, friendships, and possibly, lifelong pursuits which yield a more deeply satisfying and meaningful sense of living. Connectedness—to one's family, friends, neighbors, neighborhoods, schools, towns, cities, and the issues which thrill and invigorate your hearts, contribute to a more diverse and broad network of social capital and to a stronger, more active civil society as well as shared economic growth.

Strongly networked communities enjoy greater trust and tend, over time, to enjoy lower crime and violence, higher-functioning schools and educational achievement, better performing governmental institutions, as well as greater overall health (mental and physical) and longevity (Putnam & Feldstein, 2003). Greater social connectedness facilitates groups' ability to address public concerns, such as crime, construction of questionable industries or enterprise (think stadiums and waste facilities) or a community park. Communities with rich social networks also tend to have more shared activity and structures which allow residents from varied economic backgrounds to access resources like schools, daycare or childcare co-ops, loans to small business and individuals, and widely available community-based public goods like libraries, pools, healthcare, transportation, grocery stores, or parks. You are passionate about something. What are you living for? More importantly, what are you waiting for? Get connecting.

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Social Capital and the Returning Military Veteran

Colonel Timothy Coon

> "Social capital refers to the connections among individuals such that, over time, a social network is created in which people come to expect mutual support and trust. This leads to: (a) potential increases in each individual's physical health and social–emotional well-being, as well as, (b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society" (Johnson, 2016).

Veterans of military service are a special population with a unique place in American society. Understanding this population will be helpful in developing social capital in the general population. The definition that is being used in this text emphasizes the connections among people that lead to two positive outcomes; civic engagement and physical and social well-being. The five sections of this chapter begin with characterizing the military and veteran population for readers who may not be familiar with this topic. It describes why men and women join the military and how they are shaped by the military environment. A third section examines the context of the military in American society, before discussing health demands in the military and among veterans. A final section suggests ways in which the prior discussions may be useful in the development and maintenance of social capital in American society.

Technically, a veteran is an American who has left military service. It is important to understand that definition, as it is key to establishing the link between a military veteran and society as a whole.

Veterans are drawn from almost all parts of society. The exact breakdown can be found below, but in general, they reflect the demographics of American society.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_3

They perform their service and then return to society, shaped by their experiences in the military. Finally, how society treats them upon their exit from the service has an effect on how they interact with the society. As a demographic block in and of itself, veterans are a large component of society, comprising almost 22 million Americans.

A brief primer on the military is in order. For those readers who are veterans or current service members, this will be a bit basic, so feel free to skip ahead a little. The Armed Services (in order of establishment) consist of the Army (June 14, 1775), the Navy (October 13, 1775), the Marine Corps (November 10, 1775), the Coast Guard (August 4, 1790) and the Air Force (September 18, 1947). In terms of size the Army (under the Department of Defense 2015 budget) is the largest with 490,000 Soldiers, followed by the Navy with 323,000 Sailors, the Air Force with 310,000 Airmen, the Marines with 182,000 Marines and the Coast Guard with 41,000 Coast Guardsmen. The figures given above are for Active Duty (or full-time) forces and consist of about 60 % of the total currently serving military members. The National Guard and the Organized Reserves are the other part of the veteran population. Americans are not quite as familiar with this part, though they are the military segment most spread throughout the American landscape.

The National Guard and the Organized Reserves consist of part-time military members, available for missions to support Active Duty forces, though not always. The National Guard and under new legislation, the Army Reserve, has a specific role in support of state and local government, particularly in disaster response. These missions are often performed without Active Duty integration of their forces. These "Citizen-Soldiers" typically serve for 1 weekend a month and 2 weeks a year. However, due to the increased military operations tempo since 9/11, most reservists have served for longer periods. These Reserve forces (in size order with establishment date listed) consist of the Army National Guard with 350,000 Soldiers (December 13, 1636), the Army Reserve with 202,000 Soldiers (April 23, 1908), the Air National Guard with 105,000 Airmen (September 18, 1947), the Air Force Reserve with 67,000 Airmen (March 17, 1948), the Navy Reserve with 57,000 Sailors (March 3, 1915), the Marine Corps Reserve with 39,000 Marines (August 29, 1916) and the US Coast Guard Reserve with 8000 Coast Guardsmen (February 19, 1941). An astute reader will note that most of the Army is made up of citizen-soldiers: 490,000 Active Duty Soldiers with 552,000 Soldiers in Reserve status.

The figures given above represent those who are currently serving. An examination of current demographic data on these service members is illustrative. The following data is taken from the most recent, as of this writing, compilation of demographic data from 2013.

Active Duty personnel are divided into two general categories; officer and enlisted. Warrant officers are counted in the officer statistics. In 2013 the ratio of Officers to Enlisted was approximately 1–4.7 overall, with some variation amongst the services. For example, the ratio for the Air Force was 1–4.0, and for the Marines was 1–8.2. The other services were all closely clustered around 1–4.6 (Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense [ODASD], 2013).

The percentage of women on Active Duty averaged 14.9 % of the force, with men at 85.1 % (ODASD, 2013). This is the one significant demographic difference between the military community and veterans and the US population as a whole. In 2012, the US population was 51.2 % female.

In this report, less than one-third (30.7 %) of military members identified themselves as a member of a minority (ODASD, 2013). This must be understood in the context of how the Department of Defense defines minority. The DoD defines minority as Black or African American, Asian, American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, multi-racial, or other/unknown. According to the Office of Management and Budget directives, Hispanic is not considered a minority. In 2013, 11.6 % of service members identified themselves as Hispanic. This leaves 57.7 % identifying as White/Non-Hispanic (ODASD, 2013). For comparison measures, the US demographic numbers for 2014 were 79.96 % White and 20.04 % minority (Indexmundi, 2015). This would seem to indicate that the Active Duty force tends to be a little higher than the general population in terms of minority representation.

Most Active Duty personnel are assigned in the US and its territories (87.2 %) with East Asia at 6.8 % and Europe at 4.9 % as the principal duty stations overseas. The top States with Active Duty personnel are California (158,502), Virginia (125,477), Texas (122,479), North Carolina (104,942), Georgia (72,051), Washington (62,145), Florida (60,234), Hawaii (42,790), Kentucky (40,664), and South Carolina (36,694) (ODASD, 2013). These ten states comprise 70.2 % of the personnel stationed in the United States. For comparison purposes, these same states represent 41 % of the total US population (US Census Bureau, 2015).

Nearly one half (49.4 %) of Active Duty-enlisted personnel are 25-years-old or younger, with the next largest age group being 26–30-year-old (22.5 %), followed by 31–35-year-old (13.7 %), 36–40-year-old (8.8 %), and those 41-years-old or older (5.5 %). Overall, the average age of the Active Duty force is 28.6. The average age for Active Duty officers is 34.8, and the average age for Active Duty enlisted personnel is 27.3 (ODASD, 2013). The median age for the US overall was 37.6 (Indexmundi, 2015). The US military population skews towards the younger side of the scale, not surprising in a vocation that puts emphasis on physical ability and agility.

Another interesting comparison that can be seen is in the education level of military members. 97.5 % of all active duty service members have a high school diploma and/or some college experience (ODASD, 2013). Of course, this is related to the recruiting process which makes it difficult for an individual to be recruited into the military services without a high school diploma at a minimum. The US average, in 2012, was 86 % of the population with a high school diploma or higher (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015).

In terms of economic standing, the military member tends to come from the middle and upper-middle class. These two classes represent the top two quintiles (\$51,128–\$65-031 and \$65,032–\$246,333 respectively) and comprise 49.3 % of all recruits in 2007. Only 10.7 % of military enlisted recruits came from the bottom quintile of income (\$0–\$33,267) (Watkins & Sherk, 2008). This is perhaps not surprising considering the educational and other requirements for enlisting might have a tendency to exclude recruits from this income grouping.

The demographic data for the Reserves and Guard differ in some surprising ways. In terms of ranks, there is one officer for every 5.5 enlisted service members. (ODASD, 2013) Women are a higher percentage (18.5 %) in the Reserves and Guard (ODASD, 2013). Only 25.1 % identify themselves as minority, and 10.1 % as Hispanic, leaving 65.4 % to identify as White/non-Hispanic (ODASD, 2013). Befitting a Reserve mission, 99.1 % of the Reserve and Guard are in the US or its territories and is generally spread throughout the US more geographically (ODASD, 2013). The average age of the Reserves is 31.8 and is generally older than the Active Duty, which makes sense as many service members leave Active Duty and then join the Reserves in order to continue their service (ODASD, 2013). In terms of education, 88.2 % of enlisted members have a high school degree or higher (ODASD, 2013).

The above data is intended to convey who will become the veterans of the future. The 2013 Profile of Veterans published by the US Department of Veteran's Affairs, gives us a good sense of the demographic picture of veterans as a whole. This study finds that there are 19,672,717 veterans in the United States (US Department of Veterans Affairs [VA], National Center for Veterans Analysis and Statistics [NCVAS], 2014). This cohort is on average, older than the non-veteran male. In 2013 the median age of male veterans was 64, with the greatest percentage (25.4 %) in the 65–74 age group (VA, NCVAS, 2014). This age group is the group that served in the Vietnam War era when the US military was much larger than currently. The median age for female veterans was 50, and female non-veterans was 46 in 2013 (VA, NCVAS, 2014).

Male veterans were also more likely to be White/non-Hispanic (80.0 %) than non-veterans (62.1 %). Veterans were 13.9 % nonwhite/non-Hispanic (19.5 % of the US) and 6.2 % Hispanic (18.4 % of the US) (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Female veterans were 66.2 % White/non-Hispanic (64.4 % of the US), 25.7 % nonwhite/non-Hispanic (20.0 % of the US), and 8.2 % Hispanic (15.4 % of the US) (VA, NCVAS, 2014).

Male veterans were more likely to be married and less likely to have never been married than the general US population, 65.8 % vs. 48.7 % married and 9.6 % vs. 38.5 % never married respectively (VA, NCVAS, 2014). There was little statistical difference between female veterans and non-veterans in married percentage (49.1 % vs. 47.5 %), though they were less likely to have never married (16.4 % vs. 27.9 %) (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Both of these statistics are likely reflective of the greater age of the veteran population than the general population.

Economically, a higher percentage of male veterans were in management and professional occupations compared to non-veterans, 35–32.9 % (VA, NCVAS, 2014). These include occupations such as engineers, educators, doctors, and various types of managers. Male veterans were also twice as likely to work for government as non-veterans, 22.9–10.7 %, possibly as a result of veteran preference in public service hiring (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Female veterans were much more likely to work in management professions than female non-veterans, 47.2 % vs. 39.9 % (VA, NCVAS, 2014). The government pattern also held true for female veterans, with 35 % in government jobs vs. 16.6 % of non-veterans (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Male and female veterans also had significantly lower uninsured rates for healthcare, also likely a factor of age, as many are covered by Medicare (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Also, only 6.9 % male and 10.6 % of female veterans lived below the poverty line vs. 13.1 % and 15.9 % of the US general population (VA, NCVAS, 2014). Finally, on the economic front, male veterans had median earnings for year-round full-time work of $51,924–$45,990 for the US male population. This difference also held true for female veterans with their median income reported at $43,985–$37,664 for female non-veterans (VA, NCVAS, 2014).

Finally, in mental aptitude, today's American military scores well above the general civilian population on standard tests of intelligence. The services currently accept almost no one from the two lowest mental categories, IV and V (scoring roughly 72–91), with 1 % from Category IV and none from Category V. In contrast, 30 % of civilians fall into these categories. For the top two categories, I and II (above 108), the military takes more than its fair share, with 41 % of military personnel but only 36 % of civilians falling into these two categories. Finally, nearly twice as many military personnel as civilians fall into the middle category, III (92–107), with 58 % for the military and 34 % for civilians. Moreover, the reading level of new recruits is 1 year higher than their civilian counterparts (Shirk & Watson, p. 7).

These statistics give us a picture of the veteran population as being better educated, better off economically, more diverse (at least in make-up of currently serving members) and with greater mental aptitude than society as a whole. The next section will give a sense of how the service member is acculturated in the military environment.

How Military Members Are Acculturated

> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered-
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
> For he today that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
> This day shall gentle his condition;
> And gentlemen in England now-a-bed
> Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.
> (Shakespeare, 1599, 4.3.61–70)

In the famous St. Crispin's Day speech from Henry the V, the idea of a "band of brothers" who through their experience in battle are bonded in such an extremely strong and lasting relationship is given its most familiar hearing. This section is a discussion of the formulation of this bond.

It is useful to get an understanding of why people serve in the military. The largest contingents of veterans are those that served in the Vietnam era, followed by the Cold War and Korean War era vets. These veterans make up about 55 % of all veterans (VA, NCVAS, 2014). They were most likely not volunteers, as the all-volunteer military was not created until 1973. They were drafted. The remaining 45 % of veterans have come from the all-volunteer (after 1973) era. Of course, this percentage will grow rapidly in the coming years. It is therefore useful to get a sense of why we joined.

Using myself as an example, some basic outlines for why some Americans volunteer to serve in the military become clear. I initially enlisted in the Army Reserve as a Private at age 26, after completion of college and some graduate school. I enlisted with the understanding (contractual) that I would be going to Officer Candidate School to become an officer in the Army Reserve. I made this decision based on a number of factors. Our family history had many who served: my younger brother, my father (Korea), my uncle (Vietnam), my great-uncle (WW II), my grandfather (WW I), and numerous others all the way back to the Revolutionary War. Military service was not an unknown in my family. I joined because I wanted to serve my country and found military service as a way to do this. The possibility to see, and do new things was also pre-eminent in my mind. Finally, I was a poor college student, and needed the infusion of cash to continue my studies and get that initial bankroll to start my life. Now, some 28+ years later, I still serve and have reached the rank of Colonel, seen and experienced much.

My story is reflected closely in the research as to why we join. A recent Pew Research poll entitled "The Military–Civilian Gap: War and Sacrifice in the Post 9–11 Era" from 2011 gives a breakdown of the reasons why post 9/11 veterans joined. This cohort gave "to serve your country" as a reason by 88 % of the respondents. Interestingly, for pre 9/11 veterans, it was 93 %. The next most prevalent reason was "to receive education benefits" (75 % for 9/11 and 55 % pre 9/11), followed by "to see more of the world" (65–53 %), "to learn skills for the civilian world" (57–55 %) and finally, "because jobs were hard to find" (28–25 %) (Morin & Taylor, 2011).

Why we join, as reflected in my family history, is also a factor of geography, mainly whether one lives in close proximity to a military base. Much has been made of the overrepresentation of southerners vs. the underrepresentation of northeasterners in the military, though the actual distinction is not overly significant, and can mostly be explained by the prevalence of military bases in southern states. In fact, four of the five largest military bases in the United States are in the south. They are #1, Fort Bragg, NC, #2 Fort Campbell, KY, #3 Fort Hood, TX and #5 Fort Benning, GA. The only one of the four not in the south is Joint Base Lewis-McChord in WA.

In 2007, the Southern states comprised 36 % of the population and 43 % of military recruits, while the Northeast comprised 18 % of the population and 13 % of the recruits. A list of the 100 counties that produce the most military recruits is largely a list of military bases: #1—Los Angeles County, CA, Edwards Air Force Base, #4—San Diego County, home to Naval Bases Coronado and San Diego, #5—Bexar County, TX, home to Lackland Air Force Base, #8—Riverside County, CA, home to Camp Pendleton, #18—Cumberland County, NC, home to Fort Bragg, #19—El Paso County, TX, home to Fort Bliss, #20—Pierce County, WA, home to Fort Lewis (National Priorities, 2011).

How the military trains new recruits, and "socializes" them to be military members is important to understand. Officers are mostly accessed through ROTC programs, followed by the service academies (West Point, Annapolis, Air Force Academy, Coast Guard Academy) or Officer Candidate schools. Since the bulk of the military (approximately 85 %) is enlisted, a short discussion of what enlisted personnel go through in training will be discussed. This is what is generally known as “basic training.”

Military basic training runs from 6 to 12 weeks depending upon the service. All five services run basic training. Regardless of which service basic training a recruit is attending, all the programs are designed to instill the basic tenets of self-discipline, sacrifice, loyalty, and obedience. The program is designed to strip away patterns of civilian life and replace them with military patterns.

Most basic training centers around an initial phase where T.I.s (Training Instructors) or D.I.s (Drill Instructors) exert total control over the enlistee. This phase is usually where basic fundamentals of military service, physical conditioning, and core values are introduced. This is the phase most closely associated with the traditional picture of Drill Sergeants explaining in very loud and explicit terms, the failures of a recruit. This stressful situation, and it is intended to be, is not entirely humorless. One story circulating the internet concerns a Drill Instructor who, exasperated by the failures of one recruit, accused him of stealing oxygen. The DI then turned around, walked into a building, and came out with a potted plant, which he gave to the recruit. The plant was to replace the oxygen the recruit was stealing. The recruit had to carry the plant around until he proved he wasn’t “stealing oxygen.” I commanded a Drill Sergeant Battalion at one point in my career, though not seeing that particular reaction, I can picture some of my Drill Sergeants doing exactly that.

This initial phase is usually then followed by a phase centered around team building, mostly building around the concept of a “battle buddy.” This phase introduces the recruit to depending on, and being responsible for, someone other than one’s self. A recruit is responsible for everything his or her battle buddy does and vice versa. This relationship can be an intense and rewarding relationship, but can also be difficult if one of the pair has difficulties. A great deal of emphasis is placed on this concept. This phase is also the phase where the basics of weapons are introduced. This phase is usually centered around the behaviors needed to survive on the battlefield.

Most basic training then concludes with a final phase that puts all the basic skills taught thus far, into culminating exercises and testing procedures for the recruit to graduate. Greater freedom is granted in this phase, and emphasis expands beyond the battle buddy, usually to emphasis on squad or platoon. Physical fitness training continues throughout all of the basic training. Once a recruit graduates, they then proceed to their job training. This specific job training runs anywhere from 12 weeks to over a year, depending on the technical complexity of the training. Upon completion of this final training phase, military enlistees are then assigned to military units.

The final step in acculturation of the military member, comes at the unit level. The military places a great deal of emphasis on unit cohesion. Military units, small or large, must be able to perform in the difficult, dangerous, and demanding environment on the battlefield. This is where the web of relationships, begun in boot camp, must be strong and resilient. If not, the consequences can, and often are fatal.

It should also be noted that most military members will not see the actual combat. Less than 40 % of post 9/11 military members have actually seen combat. That said, even units outside of combat, will have to operate in stressful environments, often far from home and loved ones.

At the most basic level, combat, men (and now women) do not generally fight for country; they join for country (see above) but not fight for country. They fight for the Soldier, Sailor, Airman, Marine or Coast Guardsman next to them. Cohesion is essentially the bonds of trust that exist between unit members. The understanding of that bond is forged in basic training. The application of that bond occurs at the unit level. Cohesion can be divided into four main types: horizontal cohesion among peers, vertical cohesion from subordinate to leader, organizational cohesion within a service, and societal cohesion between a military and its society (McBreen, 2009).

The primary method emphasized for facilitating unit cohesion in the military, is good leadership. The military has, by far, the most extensive leadership training structure in the American society. Beginning at the initial non-commissioned officer level, all the way through the most senior officer ranks, military training emphasizes how to lead.

Cohesion, as stated above, is trust amongst unit members. It is formed in the shifting of individual loyalty to group loyalty. It subordinates the "I" to "We." Group pride, solidarity, and loyalty is emphasized. There is a reason why there is an Institute of Heraldry in the Pentagon (http://www.tioh.hqda.pentagon.mil/). It exists to foster unit history and pride in unit accomplishment. Cohesion is also demonstrated by the willingness of military members to risk death for the preservation of their fellow unit members and the unit mission.

The highest military honor awarded is the Medal of Honor. Military members (and most civilians) view this award with awe and reverence. Most are awarded posthumously. Below are two Medals of Honor citations, one from World War II and one from Iraq, that show the behaviors that rise to the level of the award.

MATHIES ARCHIBALD (Air Mission)

Rank and organization: Sergeant, US Army Air Corps, 510th Bomber Squadron, 351st Bomber Group. Place and date: Over Europe, 20 February 1944. Entered service at: Pittsburgh, PA. Born: 3 June 1918, Scotland. G.O. No.: 52, 22 June 1944. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at risk of life above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy in connection with a bombing mission over enemy-occupied Europe on 20 February 1944. The aircraft on which Sgt. Mathies was serving as engineer and ball turret gunner was attacked by a squadron of enemy fighters with the result that the copilot was killed outright, the pilot wounded and rendered unconscious, the radio operator wounded and the plane severely damaged. Nevertheless, Sgt. Mathies and other members of the crew managed to right the plane and fly it back to their home station, where they contacted the control tower and reported the situation. Sgt. Mathies and the navigator volunteered to attempt to land the plane. Other members of the crew were ordered to jump, leaving Sgt. Mathies and the navigator aboard. After observing the distressed aircraft from another plane, Sgt. Mathies' commanding officer decided the damaged plane could not be landed by the inexperienced crew and ordered them to abandon it and parachute to safety. Demonstrating unsurpassed courage and heroism, Sgt. Mathies and the navigator replied that the pilot was still alive but could not be moved and they would not desert him. They were then told to attempt a landing. After two unsuccessful efforts, the plane crashed into an open field in a third attempt to land. Sgt. Mathies, the navigator, and the wounded pilot were killed.

SERGEANT FIRST CLASS PAUL R. SMITH

Date of Issue: 04/05/2005. Organization: US Army. Date Entered Service: October 1989

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty. Sergeant First Class Paul R. Smith distinguished himself by acts of gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with an armed enemy near Baghdad International Airport, Baghdad, Iraq on 4 April 2003. On that day, Sergeant First Class Smith was engaged in the construction of a prisoner of war holding area when his Task Force was violently attacked by a company-sized enemy force. Realizing the vulnerability of over 100 fellow soldiers, Sergeant First Class Smith quickly organized a hasty defense consisting of two platoons of soldiers, one Bradley Fighting Vehicle and three armored personnel carriers. As the fight developed, Sergeant First Class Smith braved hostile enemy fire to personally engage the enemy with hand grenades and anti-tank weapons, and organized the evacuation of three wounded soldiers from an armored personnel carrier struck by a rocket-propelled grenade and a 60-mm mortar round. Fearing the enemy would overrun their defenses, Sergeant First Class Smith moved under withering enemy fire to man a 0.50 caliber machine gun mounted on a damaged armored personnel carrier. In total disregard for his own life, he maintained his exposed position in order to engage the attacking enemy force. During this action, he was mortally wounded. His courageous actions helped defeat the enemy attack, and resulted in as many as 50 enemy soldiers killed, while allowing the safe withdrawal of numerous wounded soldiers. Sergeant First Class Smith's extraordinary heroism and uncommon valor are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, the Third Infantry Division "Rock of the Marne," and the United States Army.

This section examined why we join, why we fight, and how we are shaped to fit the requirements of the military environment. The underlying dynamics of the military experiences will be used to suggest plans to develop social capital in non-military life. The next section examines the relationship between the military as a whole and American society.

Civil: Military Relations

American civil–military relations were founded in the actions of George Washington at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. In late November of 1783, at Fraunces Tavern in New York, just 9 days after the evacuation of the British from the last occupied city in America, General Washington held a dinner for his assembled officers. Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge in his memoir provides us with the best known eyewitness account:

> "The time now drew near when General Washington intended to leave this part of the country for his beloved retreat at Mt. Vernon. On Tuesday the 4th of December it was made known to the officers then in New York that General Washington intended to commence his journey on that day.
>
> At 12 o'clock the officers repaired to Fraunces Tavern in Pearl Street where General Washington had appointed to meet them and to take his final leave of them. We had been assembled but a few moments when his excellency entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed which seemed to be reciprocated by every officer present. After partaking of a slight refreshment in almost breathless silence the General filled his glass with wine and turning to the officers said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.'
>
> After the officers had taken a glass of wine General Washington said 'I cannot come to each of you but shall feel obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox being nearest to him turned to the Commander-in-chief who, suffused in tears, was incapable of utterance but grasped his hand when they embraced each other in silence. In the same affectionate manner every officer in the room marched up and parted with his general in chief. Such a scene of sorrow and weeping I had never before witnessed and fondly hope I may never be called to witness again" (Tallmadge, 1904, p. 97).

Washington then, silently walked out of the Tavern and with his former officers and soldiers in tow, silently walked to the pier, on to his barge and sailed across the Hudson and home to Mount Vernon. He could easily have chosen to remain at the head of the Army and been acclaimed a King. He did not, following the ancient example of Cincinnatus, and retired to his farm. By this action, and his previous action at the officer revolt in Newburgh, New York in March of the same year, Washington set firmly in the American mind, that the military would always be subservient to the will of the people; the civilian government.

The civil–military relationship has been much examined and will continue to be as it is a crucial part of American government. There has been controversy as to whether this relationship has changed in the modern era, most specifically as to whether civilian control of the military is eroding. A number of scholars have argued this point. Yet, most importantly, though these scholars may see erosion, none of them foresee a military coup d'état as even a remote possibility, or even of the military ignoring a direct order from civilian leaders.

I can attest that in my studies at the Army War College in preparation for senior leadership assignments, this issue was the subject of an entire course. The universal consensus of the class was that we fully agreed with the concept of civilian control of the military and that we owed our civilian leaders our full professional expertise and advice. Yet there was an important consideration we felt that civilian leaders must understand; that the military would perform to the very best of our abilities as directed by the civilian leaders, but the decision to use the military, and the responsibility for that decision, was the charge of civilian leaders. This was expressed very well in the following quote: “The model works best in democracies which, by definition, identify the government as the rightful principal with the authority to delegate (and *not* to delegate) responsibility.”

This understanding that the military is subordinate to civilian government is a part of training throughout a service member’s career. Indeed it begins at the very start of service, in the Oath of Enlistment: “I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God” (Oath of Enlistment, 10 U.S. Code § 502, 2012). The equivalent Oath of Office for an officer is just slightly different: “I, [name], do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God” (Oath of Office, 5 U.S. Code § 3331, 2012).

Veterans, during their service, are obligated to follow the orders of their civilian government, and upon leaving the service, see civilian government as obligated to providing for them and their families as needed. The mutual trust and cohesion required for military effectiveness must also exist between the military and the society that it is sworn to defend. These relationships forged by self and institutional selection at the start of a veteran’s career, nurtured through training and experience in their service, existing in the surrounding framework of civil–military relations, upon release from service tend to set veterans up for the greater participation in society that is evidence of social capital acquisition.

Returning Veteran Treatment and Adjustment

Every era of veterans has confronted a number of issues. There are many similarities, and of course, many differences based on the era in which a veteran served. Technology, on and off the battlefield, can cause these differences, as well as economic conditions upon return, and in the case of the Vietnam war era veteran, that attitude of American society as a whole toward the veteran. This section will be concentrating on issues associated with returning veterans in the post 9/11 era.

The Pew Research poll of veterans cited previously, points out some of the issues confronting post 9/11 veterans. This poll found that 44 % of veterans say their readjustment to civilian life was difficult. Only 25 % of veterans who served in earlier eras reported a difficult readjustment (Morin & Taylor, 2011). Almost half of all 9/11 veterans (49 %) say they have experienced strain in their relationships with their family upon leaving the service. Additionally, 47 % said they had frequent outbursts of anger and 32 % reported that there were times when they didn't care about anything (Morin & Taylor, 2011). Closely associated with the above statistics, 37 % reported that they believe they suffer from post-traumatic stress (PTS). Only 16 % of veterans from earlier eras reported that they felt they suffered from PTS (Taylor et al., 2011). These problems were cited as occurring much more frequently in veterans who were in combat. About half (49 %) say they have suffered from PTS and 52 % said they had experienced emotionally traumatic or distressing events while in combat.

By the time this book is published, The Clay Hunt Suicide Prevention for American Veterans Act will have been signed into law. This Act requires among other things, that the "Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide for the conduct of annual evaluations of mental healthcare and suicide prevention programs of the Department of Veterans Affairs." It is intended to spur development of programs to significantly reduce the number of military member and veteran suicides. As a point of reference, the 2010 Army Health Promotion, Risk Reduction and Suicide Prevention Report reports that beginning in 2009, suicides and accident-related deaths (often the result of high-risk behavior such as drunk driving or drug overdose) began to exceed combat-related deaths. (U.S. Department of the Army, 2010) There were 259 suicides among active duty personnel (a suicide rate of 18.7 per 100,000) with 87 (23.4/100.00) in the Reserve component and 133 (28.9/100.00) in the National Guard (Smolenski et al., 2014). The suicide rates per 100,000 for the active components were; Navy—13.4, Air Force—14.4, Army—23.0, and Marine Corps—23.1. These rates are below the national average, but the fact that they have doubled since 1999 has caused significant emphasis and scrutiny on this issue by the DoD (Smolenski et al., 2014).

The suicide rates for veterans are a different story. They have remained relatively constant over the years, but are at levels higher than the general population. The Veterans Health Administration reports that in 2013 the suicide rate in 23 states for which the VHA was collecting data for veterans aged 35–64 (males and female) was 29 per 100,000 for VHA users and 45 per 100,000 for non-VHA users. The US rate for the same 23 states for that age group was 25/100,000 (Kemp, 2014).

On the physical injury side, 16 % of post 9/11 veterans reported suffering serious injury while serving in the military, most of which were combat-related injuries. About half (47 %) reported knowing someone who had been killed while serving, not a great deal different than the 43 % reported by earlier veterans (Taylor et al., 2011). Currently, about 3.7 million veterans are listed as having a service connected disability by the VA (Taylor et al., 2011).

Service members, injured while on active duty, receive treatment through the military medical system. As an example, Army Soldiers sustaining combat-related injuries receive primary treatment through a system called Warrior in Transition Units (WTU). The mission of the WTU is: "I am a Warrior in Transition. My job is to heal as I transition back to duty or continue serving the nation as a veteran in my community. This is not a status, but a mission. I will succeed in this mission because I am a warrior and I am Army Strong" (Cooper, Pasquina, & Drach, 2011, p. 4). Note the emphasis on serving the nation in the mission statement. The unit is organized around a Triad of Care, consisting of a primary care manager (normally a physician), a nurse case manager, and a squad leader to coordinate and optimize the healing process. Soldiers are rehabilitated in order to get them back to duty if possible, or to transition them as successful Veterans.

If service members are not able to continue in their military duties, they are medically reviewed and discharged back to civilian life. They are then accessed in the VA system, with the service connected disability mentioned above. The VA system is the largest integrated healthcare system in the country. Despite all the recent media reports concerning long wait times at some VA centers, and the administrative actions that served to cover up the wait times, the VA health system is still considered the top performing health system in the country, in terms of medical outcomes, efficiency, and most importantly, patient satisfaction.

There are numerous organizations that have a primary mission to aid injured service members. They are broken down into two major categories; Military Service Organizations (MSOs) and Veterans Service Organizations (VSOs). The primary distinction between the two is that MSOs support service members and VSOs support veterans. Needless to say, there are numerous overlaps, and a great deal of effort is being spent to make the transition from MSO to VSO for injured service members as seamless as possible. VSOs have a very important role in aiding veterans in navigating the Veteran's Administration bureaucracy, providing advocacy services and other important functions. Some of the VSOs are chartered by Congress and they must provide their services to any veteran, regardless of whether the veteran is a member of the VSO. A short list of these types of organizations includes: the Armed Forces Services Corporation, Blinded Veterans Association, Disabled American Veterans, Military Order of the Purple Heart, Paralyzed Veterans of America, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Wounded Warrior Project, United Service Organization, Association of the United States Army, Army Emergency Relief, American Red Cross, Wall Street Warfighters and the Salvation Army.

The largest organization devoted to assisting service members, injured or not, is the Veterans Administration. The roots of American society caring for veterans can be traced back to 1636 when the Plymouth Plantation Colony authorized support for wounded soldiers from the Pequot Wars. The modern Veterans Administration can be said to have begun in 1921 when the federal government consolidated all the existing federal programs into the Veterans Bureau. Today the Veterans Administration is more formally known as the Department of Veteran's Affairs and has three main divisions; the Veterans Benefits Administration, the Veterans Health Administration, and the National Cemetery Association. The total budget for 2015 for the Department was 163.9 billion dollars. The FY 2014–2015 Strategic Plan for the Department lists these as the primary goals: End Veteran Homelessness, Improve Veteran Access to VA Benefits and Services and Eliminate the Disability Backlog. The Department's goals have received much attention lately, and likely will continue to do so in the future.

Each of the separate divisions has numerous benefits available to veterans. Some of the more familiar benefits are the VA Home Loan Guaranty Program, the various versions of the GI Bill, Disability Compensation, Survivor's Benefits, Vocational Rehabilitation, Health Benefits, and Memorial and Burial Benefits. A visit to the VA webpage (www.va.gov) can provide the reader with an extensive education on the many benefits that veterans can receive. In addition, several other federal agencies also provide benefits to veterans, most notably the Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Social Security Administration and Office of Personnel Management. Finally, most federal jobs, as well as most state and local civil service jobs, provide preference in hiring to veterans.

As this section has shown, veterans have many needs as a result of their service to country, yet it can also be seen that the country in turn has recognized that service and provided extensive means to meet those needs. It can be argued that more can be done, but conversely, it can't be argued that nothing is being done to assist veterans. This brings us to our final section, veterans and community service as evidence of social capital.

Veterans and Social Capital

Carl Forsling, in an August 5, 2014 essay entitled "If You Call All Veterans Heroes, You're Getting It Wrong" writes:

> "I don't want a cheap thank you. I don't want to board the airplane first. I don't want your first-class seat. I don't want free admission to amusement parks. I don't want you to pay for my meal. I sure as hell don't care if you put a yellow ribbon sticker on your car. All of that is meaningless. It only allows Americans to assuage their guilt and feeds an outsized sense of entitlement among many veterans.
>
> What I do want, though, are more Americans who answer President John F. Kennedy's call, "… ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country." He didn't say, "Ask what someone else can do for your country and then thank him profusely" (Forsling, 2014).

Mr. Forsling is expressing a sentiment familiar to many of us military members and veterans when we are seen in our uniforms or at a veterans event, and are thanked by members of the general public. We, for the most part, are quite uncomfortable with the profuse thanks offered, and often feel a little put out. At least for post 9/11 vets, we were told to go to war, while the rest of America was told to go shopping. Mr. Forsling is pointing out what has been shown in this chapter, that most veterans join the service primarily to serve our country. The way we would most like to see our service honored, is by seeing our fellow Americans serve our country in whatever way possible.

As we have seen so far, veterans join for service, are acculturated to understand, and live a service that has a tradition of subservience to civilian society, and that society in turn supports veterans throughout their post-active-service lives. This final section will analyze if this service orientation is displayed by veterans. The short answer, anecdotally and empirically is yes. Veterans do display greater levels of community service, indicative of the accumulation of social capital they have acquired throughout their military service.

A couple of anecdotes to illustrate this service commitment, one personal and domestically oriented, and one domestic and international. I was a member of the Town Council of Glastonbury, CT, a suburb of Hartford, CT in 2010. In 2006, the Glastonbury VFW home, that was on land owned by the Town of Glastonbury, caught fire and burned to the ground, along with hundreds of “Care” packages for the troops in Iraq (of whom I was one). In 2010, the Town Manager, Richard Johnson, was looking for something useful to do with the land, when he contacted the CT representative of Purple Heart Homes. This organization, founded by John Galinna and Dale Beatty, both former North Carolina National Guardsmen and wounded veterans from Iraq, was created to retrofit existing homes for disabled veterans. John and Dale, childhood friends, found that helping others can be an important part of healing the various wounds of war. This offer from Glastonbury was a new and bigger venture for them, as they had never built a whole house before. We had many Council meetings to get the legal issues resolved to build the home. Over the course of the coming year, the community of Glastonbury, hundreds of community members came together to raise money, donations, and ultimately to build an entire home for a severely wounded Marine under the guidance of Purple Heart Homes. John and Dale are just two examples of the many young veterans creating organizations to serve their community.

Another anecdotal example of service, this time both domestic and international, can be found in the example of Team Rubicon. Team Rubicon was founded on January 12, 2010 when the 7.0 magnitude earthquake hit Haiti. Two Marines, Jake Wood and William McNulty, along with two other veterans realized that they could help, and 72 h later, they were in Haiti helping to treat injured Haitians, rescuing and clearing debris and building an organization capable of providing relief. They found that they could go to and do things that other volunteer relief agencies weren’t able to do. They were used to the chaos and destruction of battle, and could survive in very austere environments. They also found that they knew how to organize for and complete missions. This initial foray into Haiti quickly grew as other veterans heard, through social media and press reports, about their success and mission. Today Team Rubicon is often on the front lines at natural disasters, utilizing a volunteer structure consisting of veterans available for service that exists in every state in the nation. Team Rubicon exemplifies the ability of veterans to form a team to solve a problem and then accomplish the mission. The socialization process of community identification, understanding of organizations, and lines of effort allows Team Rubicon to mobilize rapidly and effectively.

The mission of Team Rubicon is to “bridge the gap of providing disaster relief between the moment a disaster happens and the point at which conventional aid organizations respond. The “gap” is primarily time; the crucial window following a disaster when victims have traditionally been without outside aid. When the “Gap” closes—once conventional aid organizations arrive—Team Rubicon moves on” (Team Rubicon, n.d.). Team Rubicon has deployed on other international operations including Pakistan, Chile, Burma, Sudan, and Turkey. Domestically, Team Rubicon responded to the Midwest tornado outbreak, Branson, Missouri tornado, the Dallas area tornadoes, Hurricane Irene, Tropical Storm Debby, Hurricane Isaac, Hurricane Sandy, and the tornado destruction of Moore, Oklahoma.

The above are a few anecdotal examples of veterans in service. There is also strong empirical evidence that this process is actually occurring. In a 2008 paper entitled; “Soldiers to Citizens: The Link between Military Service and Volunteering”, Rebecca Nesbitt of the University of North Carolina—Charlotte, and David Reingold of Indiana University (Nesbitt & Reingold, 2011), found exactly that correlation. In their abstract they write “Military service can help to overcome barriers to volunteering by helping to socialize people with a norm of civic responsibility, by providing social resources and skills that compensate for the lack of personal resources, and by making people aware of opportunities to volunteer and ‘asking’ them to do so” (Nesbitt & Reingold, p. 2). They also find that military service is “positively related to volunteering among black and Hispanics. Married veterans and veterans over the age of 65 are more likely to volunteer than non-veterans.” (Nesbitt & Reingold, p. 2). They point out that the military offers the opportunity to “develop communication and organization skills…the ability to function successfully in a large bureaucracy…integrating into a common social experience…and to develop leadership skills” (Nesbitt &Reingold, p. 10).

Finally they point out that military service can be categorized as two distinct subcultures; the cold and the hot culture. Most of military service is characterized by the “cold” subculture, one in which the normal bureaucratic organization exists, there not being an active war or crisis. The “hot” culture is one that exists during the war or crisis. This subculture is “characterized more by flexibility and self-management” (Nesbitt & Reingold, p. 17). Soldiers who serve in combat have a more intense experience of the military and that experience can be expected to have a greater lasting impact on service members. The paper shows that veterans who served during war are more likely to volunteer than veterans who served in peacetime as shown in the aforementioned greater likelihood of veterans over 65 who volunteer. These are the men and women who fought in WW II in Korea and Vietnam. The two anecdotes that started this chapter illustrate that this pattern will likely continue in the veterans of the post 9/11 era.

Ways for Veterans to Build Social Capital

Veterans are acculturated in specific ways because of their service and experience. What follows at this point are some concrete practical suggestions for how military veterans can translate their experiences into social capital development through a variety of projects. Utilizing a portion each of the service creed’s, or motto as a guide, I can offer some suggestions.

“I will never leave an Airman behind” (“Airman’s Creed”; US Air Force, n.d.)

This is a bedrock tenet of the services. Social capital can be developed through veterans becoming involved in numerous projects to help those who have been wounded, injured, or otherwise having difficulties in the community. Veterans can start by contacting their State and Federal VA. Each of these organizations has robust volunteering possibilities. Here are four (among many) possibilities found in the federal VA system.

VA Homeless Veterans Program (http://www.va.gov/homeless/)

VA offers a wide array of special programs and initiatives specifically designed to help homeless veterans live as self-sufficiently and independently as possible. In fact, the VA is the only Federal agency that provides substantial hands-on assistance directly to homeless persons. Although limited to veterans and their dependents, VA's major homeless-specific programs constitute the largest integrated network of homeless treatment and assistance services in the country.

VA National Cemetery Administration (http://www.cem.va.gov/)

The National Cemetery Administration honors veterans with final resting places in national shrines and with lasting tributes that commemorate their service to our nation.

VA Volunteer Transportation Network (http://www.volunteer.va.gov/VolTransNetwork.asp)

VTN was established to provide needed transportation for veterans seeking services from a VA facility and/or authorized facility. VTN guidelines permit volunteer participation in providing transportation to veterans using a volunteer's privately owned conveyance or a government-owned vehicle, including donated vehicles, county vehicles, DAV Department (State) or Chapter (local) vehicles, public transportation, and contracted transportation.

VA Welcome Home Celebrations (http://www.volunteer.va.gov/Welcome_Home_Events.asp)

VA sponsors Welcome Home events around the country for returning military service members and their families. The events provide important information and guidance on accessing healthcare and other benefits through the Department of Veterans Affairs.

"I will always place the mission first." ("Soldier's Creed"; US Army, n.d.)

Veterans have a strong orientation to getting the mission done. Veterans can see a problem in their community that needs to be addressed and will accomplish it. A tremendous place for veterans to start that process is through The Mission

Continues website, (www.missioncontinues.org). This website has quite a few locations around the country for existing "Service Platoons." It also offers the capability for adding these platoons in any city that a veteran might wish. These Service Platoons perform numerous services such as: building a park in the Bronx, developing community gardens in Brooklyn, a reading partner project in Dallas, a military family tribute in St. Paul, a walk in their shoes for the homeless in North Carolina, food pantry support in Chicago, and site improvements at a senior center in Florida. The list of available projects on this one website is quite long.

"I shall endeavor to be a model citizen in the community in which I live." ("Coast Guard Creed"; US Coast Guard, n.d.)

Veterans can continue their efforts to be a model citizen by becoming a mentor to at-risk youth. Wes Moore did exactly that. In his 2010 N.Y. Times bestseller, *The Other Wes Moore*, describes how he became a Rhodes Scholar, a commissioned officer, and a successful businessman, yet another Wes Moore, from the same time and neighborhood is serving a life sentence for felony murder. Wes wanted to know why. He contacted the other Wes Moore and came to the conclusion that it was the choices and people in their lives that made all the difference. This inspired him to start a mentorship program for at-risk youth in Baltimore. On Wes's website (http://theotherwesmoore.com) he lists a number of partnership organizations that serves to connect veterans with this population. They are: Iraq Afghanistan Veterans of America (http://www.iava.org/), the Network for Teaching America (http://www.nfte.com/), and the 100 Black Men of America (http://www.100blackmen.org/).

"I am committed to excellence and fair treatment of all." ("Sailor's Creed"; US Department of the Navy, n.d.)

Veterans are attuned to fair treatment of all. It is but a short step to go from military to civilian, and many veterans may wish to pursue their sense of fair treatment in their civilian communities. The Civil Rights Project at UCLA lists 36 different national organizations that are dedicated to enhancing civil rights, the essence of fair treatment of all. These range from the AFL-CIO, to the National Civil League to the Urban League. The website that lists these organizations is: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/civil-rights-organizations.

"Gung Ho" ("US Marine Corps [Unofficial Motto]," n.d.)

The last category to be addressed is perhaps another way of developing social capital. It is a Marine Corp motto that means "working together" in Chinese. A great place to start for veterans who wish to get involved, and work together in their community is the Volunteering in an American website: http://www.volunteeringinamerica.gov/. This website provides a long list of volunteering opportunities across America that enable the veterans to focus on an area that is of concern to them.

If a veteran cannot find an organization to address a problem they are concerned with, they have the organizational skills and social values to develop their own solution. This solution may utilize many different definitions of community, but regardless of community, social capital will be developed, to the betterment of that community.

This chapter has been devoted to a discussion of veterans in relation to social capital. We have seen that the military selects individuals who have a propensity for service, further develops this propensity, are then thrust into an environment that expects service from its military, and then provides well for the veteran, who is then able to use the social capital that society has invested in him or her, and that they have acquired to put back into society as a whole. This re-investment of veteran social capital leads to a more functioning and stronger community and society.

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What Is Social Capital?

LaShaune Johnson

Introduction: What Brings Us Together?

Before we explore this concept of social capital, take a moment and think about the groups to which you and your family members belong. Perhaps, your sister is a Girl Scout. Maybe, on Sundays, you belt out hymns as a member of your church choir. Perhaps, you're quickly reading this chapter before you and your group of girlfriends head out for a weekly happy hour, where you exchange stories about mutual friends who aren't at this gathering, or about eligible guys who are there, across the room, and catch up on last week's serious conversation about some hiring leads for your younger brother. Or, because one mutual friend was in an auto accident, you talk about crises, and your feeling that if a crisis ever happened to you or your family, the brothers with whom you served in the military would have your "six," and look after those you love. Regardless of what form it takes, you probably belong to a formal or informal group on which you rely for various things in life. Whether your membership in these groups is accidental or intentional, there is research about how and why these groups form, and what benefits we might get from them. All of these important considerations will be discussed under the heading "social capital."

Throughout this book, you will see examples of how the concept of social capital has evolved, how is it being used in different settings, and how it might fit into your life. This chapter will give you the grounding in the basics of social capital, what it is, who first introduced it, and how it is categorized. As you read, you will find that social capital is an umbrella term for relationships and benefits you may have (or have sought), and often took for granted. Hopefully, understanding social capital and its origins will help you recognize its influence in your life.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_4

"Habits of the Heart": Alexis de Tocqueville

In many ways, this book about American-style connectedness is owed to a Frenchman from the 1800s. His name was Alexis de Tocqueville, and early in his work, *Democracy in America*, he marveled at the connections among American people. A number of theorists have discussed de Tocqueville's influence on contemporary ideas of social capital (Polson, Kim, Jang, Johnson, & Smith, 2013). As early as 1832, he made this observation:

> "In their political associations the Americans, of all conditions, minds, and ages, daily acquire a general taste for association and grow accustomed to the use of it. There they meet together in large numbers, they converse, they listen to one another, and they … are mutually stimulated to all sorts of undertakings. They afterwards transfer to civil life the notions they have thus acquired and make them subservient to a thousand purposes" (De Tocqueville 1832, Book 2, Ch. VII cited in Field, 2003, p. 30).

De Tocqueville later refers to the regular efforts of meeting together as "habits of the heart." As De Tocqueville and others recognized, these bonds or interpersonal connections, are not just about feeling good; they are part of a larger exchange system that allows individuals, groups, and communities to improve themselves, and to believe in and to participate fully in this system that could ultimately make the nation better as a whole. These habits of the heart, like your grandmother reminding you to share your candies with your siblings, would force Americans to look beyond themselves, look beyond self-preservation to the bigger picture.

Fukuyama describes the value that De Tocqueville saw in voluntary associations for democracy:

> "American society has always been characterized by a dense network of voluntary associations—private schools, hospitals, choral societies, literary clubs, Bible study groups, and private business organizations both large and small. Indeed, Alexis de Tocqueville saw this art of association as a key virtue of American democracy, one that served to moderate the political system's inherent tendency toward individualism by schooling people in social cooperation and public-spiritedness" (Fukuyuma, 1995, p. 91).

Social Capital: One of Many

How can interpersonal connections have an impact on so many different areas of life? And, why do we think it's important for healthy societies? These are critical questions for the Serve Here CT Project, and this chapter begins a discussion of them. In a nutshell, "capital" refers to different kinds of "currency," not just money currency, but also such things as skill, knowledge, reputation for being trustworthy, and the like—that help you get to the positions/things that you want in life.

A Vocabulary Lesson, and Some New Capital for You!

Before we begin to dig deeply into the idea of social capital, it is wise to step back and look at some terms that you will find throughout this book. As you read ahead, you will find that many different researchers have many different definitions of these terms (influenced by their academic field and topic area); use this very brief primer to get you started. While learning about social capital, one of the terms you will hear a great deal is *networks*. No, this is not ABC, NBC, and FOX, they are sets of interconnected people. These can be things like family, co-workers, fellow soldiers, parishioners, or Facebook friends. You spend time with these people; and you share interests and hobbies with them (although you may never fully share your cousin's obsession with the *Star Wars* movies). Another term you will see a great deal is (social/cultural) *norms*. This is just as it sounds—it's what is "normal," average, and usual for your community. It is what most people are doing. Time period, geographic location, social conditions (wars, Depression), social class, race, ethnicity, and religion may have an impact on norms. Norms can be formal—written as law, and norms can be implicit, for instance, seemingly without being told, you "just know" that it is "normal" to leave the house in the morning fully dressed. When norms are violated, there are *sanctions* often imposed. Think of these as punishments. They vary from the benign—your fellow passengers on your commute refusing to sit next to you because you forgot to wear pants—to the more severe, such as prison sentence for stealing a car. Like norms, sanctions are influenced by broader circumstances and may change over time. An example of a sanction that has changed over time and varies by national context might be capital punishment. See Amnesty International's (2015) statistics on death sentences and executions here: https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act50/0001/2015/en/.

As you broaden your understanding of social capital, it is worth understanding the many forms of capital that are mentioned in newspapers or books, as well as in the visual media. As stated above, capital is "currency." Capital is a resource that is going to help you get acquire the things that help you survive (like food); or will improve your life (the house you bought for your family, getting your college education, your 401k); or just make you happy (that song you downloaded and have played 50 times this week). While capital sometimes takes the form of that jingle in your pockets; as often, it's something that is invisible but has very real impacts on your life. *Economic capital* roughly translates to what's in your bank account, your stock portfolio, your home/car/other possessions. *Human capital* is a term from business that can be understood as the value placed on you and the skillset you bring to your current job. This means that, while being a janitor is arguably as hard (or harder) than being a CEO, the skills CEOs are assumed to have are given a higher "price tag" because they are seen as more important or valuable to the business (and, potentially took more specialized training to acquire). Someone who is seen to be higher on the human capital scale will likely have a higher salary. The specialized training this CEO has lead us to the next form of capital—*cultural capital*—these are the knowledge, skills, and education that you have. As with norms above, how these are viewed are influenced by broader societal forces. In a society where being formally educated is valued, being able to write your completed college degree on your job application may help you get a foot in the door where someone else could not. For instance, our CEO probably earned a college degree (or more) and was able to get a job, as she learned more work skills, and got raises, she probably bought some "power suits," and learned which forks to use at a fancy dinner party. And, those forks skills will come in handy for the final form of capital—*social capital*. If cultural capital is "what you know"; social capital is "who you know." The CEO, in addition to her degrees, may have something the janitor doesn't have—wide and well-connected social networks. While your funny cousin's Chewbacca impersonation may make him friends at a party, the CEO may have millionaires in her network who might be willing to invest in her newest business venture; or, she may have found out during a golf outing with colleagues about an up and coming stock. Through the support of her relationships with high-powered and well-placed people, the CEO is able to make her life better, and more able to reach her professional and personal goals.

The power of these various forms of social capital is seen with many of our modern Presidents. For example, while some of the early Presidents of the US did not attend college, a significant number of the most recent Presidents of the United States have attended Ivy League institutions for their undergraduate education (Desilver, 2014). These Ivy League colleges as well as major public universities appear to provide their graduates with the social and cultural capital that leads to significant economic success.

In the References section, there are several citations that offer definitions of social capital. A number of themes within those definitions overlap and are key to the Project—trust, reciprocity, collective action, and networking. When you are born, you are born into a number of communities, or social networks. You are brought to your networks for different reasons (you are born into a family, join a professional organization, join a volunteer group), but each of the members of the networks have shared values, and largely share an understanding of the norms and sanctions that govern interactions within that network; this allows you to develop *trust* with the others in the group. That trust grows stronger through another element of social capital—*reciprocity*—this is the "treat others as you want to be treated" rule. Social networks work best when we can trust that others are individually behavior according to the rules and are using those roles to govern their interactions with others. This also means accepting when members of the group punish you for violating a norm. Because members of a network have similar values, norms and goals, they often work towards common goals, goals that often increase the knowledge, resources, and prestige of the network—this is *collective action*, and it is a common term across most social capital definitions. Finally, a key term that is connected to social capital is *networking*. These are the moments when you connect with others inside and outside of your own networks, in an effort to learn new things, to meet new people, and perhaps to improve your personal/professional life.

There is a great deal of research about the history of social capital and several fields (sociology, economics, political science) have contributed to our increased understanding of the role of social capital in American society and other societies. While researchers mostly agree that it exists and it could confer benefits to those who participate, there is less agreement on what compels people—in societies as diverse as the human population—to participate in social capital networks. Boix and Posner (1998) present three possibilities (one new, two summarizing previous research), to hypothesize the origin of social capital;

> "The first, and most commonly cited, explanation for the origins of social capital points to experimental research that shows how **stable co-operation can emerge spontaneously among otherwise uncooperative actors when they value future pay-offs and expect to interact again and again an indefinite number of times** (Axelrod) …A second explanation builds on a distinction between collaborative interactions that take place in associations that produce public goods and collaborative interactions that take place in associations that produce private goods. In **associations that produce public goods, like parent–teacher associations and neighbourhood watch groups, individuals have strong incentives to free-ride and enjoy costlessly the benefits of better schools or safer streets that these organizations provide**… The ability of such enterprises to get off the ground will therefore **depend on pre-existing norms of reciprocity…**A third explanation emphasizes the ability of **a sufficiently powerful third-party enforcer to compel otherwise untrusting individuals through the threat of force or the creation of institutions to facilitate co-operation, to overcome collective action dilemmas that beset them**" (pp. 687–688, emphasis added).

In the first two definitions, the authors recognize foresight on the part of participants. They see the benefits (personal or otherwise) of these positive interactions both in the sense of receiving benefits as well as giving benefits to others. Social capital in some ways becomes an elaborate system of IOUs that we cash in various ways—for direct favors, or just a general feeling (e.g., that feeling of safety the neighborhood watch group provides). In their third definition, they suggest an outside force moving people to develop the behaviors we call social capital. Think back to your grandma seeing you share your candies; she was more likely to give you more later since you were "such a sweet girl" in sharing. Each of these ideas will play a part as we construct a common working definition of social capital for the Project.

Levels of Capital

As you read through the many definitions of capital, you will see that capital extends from the individual level to levels beyond ourselves. This is in keeping with the De Tocqueville tradition, in many ways, the quotes above highlighted his belief that the one-to-one interactions are connected to a broader American social ethos.

Halpern (and colleagues) defines these three layers of social capital as micro-, meso-, and macro-level that will be useful in our study of the term:

> "There are also three levels of analysis for social capital: micro, meso and macro (though many social capital scholars only recognize the meso-level as social capital). At the micro-level, social

capital consists of close ties to family and friends. Meso-level social capital refers to communities and associational organizations. Macro-level social capital consists of state and national-level connections such as common language and traffic customs" (as cited in Reeder, n.d.).

Sometimes the movement between the layers is less than fluid, but this lack of fluidity does not result in a collapse of the system. Halpern (2005) states that there is:

"some functional equivalence between the different levels" (p. 19) and declining social capital on one level can sometimes be compensated for increases on another level. For instance, if people in a society begin to have weaker ties to their family (declining micro-level social capital), this loss could be functionally offset by an increase in participation in community organizations (meso-level) or more fervent nationalism (macro-level)…" (Halpern, 2005).

In other words, while your dreams of "having it all" might include a family with which to share your wealth, you need not be successful on all levels to gain some advantage. Someone who is disconnected (by choice or by chance) from their micro-level social capital (their family), can still go on and have a full life. As adolescents or adults, they may go on to create a different kind of family for themselves—perhaps by joining a religious community, a political party, or the military.

Thinking further about the macro/meso/micro distinction, Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls (1997) have called this macro-level view of social capital **collective efficacy**.

Collective efficacy is differentiated from social capital this way: "At the neighborhood level, however, the willingness of local residents to intervene for the common good depends in large part on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors…In sum, it is the linkage if mutual trust and the willingness to intervene for the common good that defines the neighborhood context of collective efficacy" (p. 919).

Later chapters will discuss macro-level in more detail, such as Sampson's and Graif's (2009) discussion of collective efficacy and neighborhood social capital and Ferguson's idea of family and community capital (Ferguson, 2006), (see also McPherson et al., 2014).

Halpern (2005) sees social capital as being comprised of:

"Social networks and the norms and sanctions that govern their character. It is valued for its potential to facilitate individual and community action" (p. 4), and it is comprised of three fundamental pieces: "a *network*, a cluster of *norms, values and expectations* that are shared by group members; and *sanctions*—punishments and rewards—that can help to maintain the norms and networks" (p. 10).

Halpern's work sets the stage for this book and Project. In developing these ideas, we focus on the work of three major thinkers, James Coleman, Robert Putnam, and Pierre Bourdieu.

Fukuyuma (1995) sees **Coleman's** (1998) approach as one of trust and cooperation (reminiscent of De Tocqueville's ideas about "habits of the heart"): "what the sociologist James Coleman has labeled social capital—that is, the component of human capital that allows members of a given society to trust one another and cooperate in the formation of new groups and associations" (p. 90).

The Saguaro Seminar (2012) strongly focused on networks, and defines social capital this way:

> The central premise of social capital is that social networks have value. Social capital refers to the collective value of all "social networks" [who people know] and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other ["norms of reciprocity"].

Tzanakis' (2013) summary of Pierre Bourdieu's essential ideas is useful:

> "According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) social capital is defined as 'the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition'. Social capital for Bourdieu is related to the size of a network and the volume of past accumulated social capital commanded by the agent" (p. 3).

Bassett and Moore offer a simple distinction among these three major social capital theorists (Bassett & Moore, 2013) (emphasis added):

> "Bourdieu was interested in the distribution of social capital within society and explained that like economic or cultural capital, **social capital was unequally distributed among individuals and groups**. Coleman's approach to social capital was similar to Bourdieu's in that they both emphasized the importance of **examining social networks**. Rather than considering structural measures of social networks, as Bourdieu and Coleman suggested, Putnam focused on **rational factors** including norms of trust and reciprocity" (p. 686).

Bassett and Moore draw further distinctions by dividing the approaches to social capital into two schools: "networks" and "communitarian".

> "Communitarian approaches to social capital typically include **psychosocial or cognitive constructs** (e.g., perceptions of trust or cohesion) as well as indicators of community participation… In [Putnam's] definition, social capital encompasses five main principles: (1) 'community networks'; the number and density of voluntary, state, and personal networks, (2) 'civic engagement'; the amount of participation in civic networks, (3) 'local civic identity'; the degree to which there is a sense of belonging, solidarity, and equality between community members, (4) 'reciprocity and cooperation norms'; the degree to which there is a sense of obligation to help others, as well as feelings that others will reciprocate in the future, and 'community trust'; (5) the degree of trust held by individuals within the network" (pp. 686–687) (emphasis added).

Bassett and Moore go on to discuss networks:

> "A network approach, as represented by the work of Bourdieu, defines social capital as resources that are accessed within social networks for the benefit of individuals or groups. Network approaches to social capital measure directly how and to whom individuals are connected with their social structures by investigating the size, range, and diversity of individuals' social connections, and the resources potentially available within those networks" (p. 687).

In other words, someone taking a communitarian approach might not only take a count of how many groups you are a member of, but might also ask you about your feelings about the members, try to gauge or sense of how well you trust your neighbors. In a network approach, one might map out on a board, whom you know and where they are placed (Are all your friends lower level employees, or do you have CEOs in your networks?).

Related to these ideas about communitarianism, Uphoff, Pickett, Cabieses, Small, and Wright (2013) offer a distinction between structural and cognitive forms of social capital:

> "Cognitive social capital refers to the social cohesion keeping networks together, measured by subjective indicators such as trust, social support and neighbourhood satisfaction. Structural social capital refers to objectively measurable activities and resources such as participation in neighborhood activities, membership of a religious association or election turnout. It facilitates sharing of knowledge and collective action" (p. 2).

In their research about the role of social capital in health behaviors, Nieminen et al. (2013) have defined social capital this way:

> "Social capital characterizes the relations and interactions between individuals and groups. Social capital can be conceptualized and measured at the collective or individual level. Collective social capital is seen to arise in communities and neighbourhoods and is examined as a 'collective property'. At individual level, social capital is seen as a personal resource that emerges from social networks where individuals have better access to information, services and support" (p. 613).

The connection between health and social capital is being actively explored and often takes the aforementioned communitarian approach (see chapter by Chilenski & Summers in this book, in press). In their article, Nieminen et al. (2013) chose to measure the *existence* of social capital in three ways, these ways let you know if you have found that trusted group: "These dimensions were *social support* (the belief that emotional support and practical helped would be provided when needed), *social participation and networks* (social activities and meeting friends), and *trust and reciprocity* (trust in people, absence of mistrust, feelings of reciprocity, feeling safe in the neighborhood)" (p. 3).

Forms of Social Capital: Bridging, Bonding, and Linking

In addition to having layers upon which social capital can be placed, there are different kinds of social capital that are useful to know. The first two distinctions are **bridging and bonding.** As with the discussion of social capital itself, there are a few different views on how to understand the role of bridging and bonding capital. A few useful ones are highlighted here.

Szreter and Woolcock (2004) as cited in Kirkby-Geddes, King, and Bravington (2013) offer one explanation for the difference between the two.

> "<u>Bonding</u> social capital refers to trusting and cooperative relations between members of a network who see themselves as being similar in terms of their shared social identity. <u>Bridging</u> social capital, by contrast, comprises relations of respect and mutuality between people who know they are not alike in some socio-demographic (or social identity) sense (differing by age, ethnic group, for example)" (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, as cited in Kirkby-Geddes et al., 2013).

Polson et al. (2013) describe bridging versus bonding, with an eye towards community work (in the case of bridging):

> "Bonding social capital is comprised of the dense social networks that exist within relatively homogenous groups. The existence of this type of social capital contributes to a strong sense of group identity and social cohesion. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is comprised

of social ties connecting individuals across group boundaries. It is this form of social capital that is theorized to be particularly valuable to communities because it not only connects individuals but also leaders to work together for their community" (p. 761).

Weller (2009) offers an excellent explanation of the difference between bridging and bonding capital, using the difference between the approaches of Putnam and Woolcock (another prominent social capital theorist):

"Central to exploring the connections between social capital and identity rest questions about the nature and strength of ties. In recognizing different forms of social capital, (Putnam, 2000) adopts a two-fold typology comprising *bridging* and *bonding* elements, whereby the former refers to exclusive, inward-looking connections amongst homogenous groups, whilst the latter denotes outward-looking networks between different groups" (for other forms, see Woolcock, 2001, p. 874).

Remember at the beginning of the chapter, when I told you think about who had your "six" (aka, your back)? Those people are probably examples of bonding social capital. You have something in common with them, you feel free to be yourself around them, but they might help you become a better version of yourself within your own community. Bridging, on the other hand, is more like that old roommate's uncle who works at the bank and whom you didn't know until you were introduced. That introduction, which led to your internship created a bridge between your regular lifestyle and that to which you might aspire.

Onyx and Leonard's (2010) exposition of the difference takes it a step further and shines the light on poverty and social capital. Bonding networks help you make it through the day/life without too many surprises, with the possible result of not gaining much more capital than your friends and family. Bridging capital increases the possibility of career development, often spoken of as one generation's hope for the succeeding generations. They write:

"Bonding social capital appears to be characterized by dense, multifunctional ties and strong localized trust. It is consistent with (Coleman, 1998) research in which the effectiveness of community networks depended on close, intersecting, multifunctional ties. Bridging social capital appears to be characterized by weak ties as described by (Granovetter, 1986), as well as a thin, impersonal trust of strangers. (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) **argue that while localized, bonding social capital operates as an effective defense strategy against poverty, the necessary condition for real economic development entails a shift to other, looser networks. Thus, a shift from 'getting by' to 'getting ahead' entrails a shift from bonding to bridging networks**" (p. 382) (emphasis added).

One more important distinction about bridging social capital is made. That is the highlighting of **linking social capital**. This is, according to Chilenski, Ang, Greenberg, Feinberg, & Spoth (2013):

"Linking is a special type of bridging social capital that describes the connections and relationships between individuals or organizations that have different levels of authority or power (Kawachi, Kim, Coutts, & Subramanian, 2004; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Linking connections are vertical and can help individuals access resources (Dominguez, 2010).

Linking highlights power differences—the goal is to connect you with someone who has likely already achieved a level of success. This person might be older, and more experienced in your desired field.

Dark Side of Social Capital

Finally, we must address the darker side of social capital. Much of Bourdieu's interest in capital was focused on a differential distribution of it—along with other forms of capital—across groups. The critiques of social capital and difference came as early as the 1970s. This "dark side" of social capital was highlighted in the economist Loury's work in the 1970s. He believed that laws against employer biases, and the concomitant equal opportunity statutes, were not alone able to address and eliminate racial inequalities that were facing Black families. Two reasons stood, in Loury's belief, in the way of this, according to Portes (1998):

> "[F]irst, the inherited poverty of black parents, which would be transmitted to their children in the form of lower material resources and educational opportunities; second, the poorer connections of young black workers to the labor market and their lack of information about opportunities" (p. 4).

In other words, Loury worried that, in spite of laws addressing discrimination, Blacks (and other disadvantaged groups) might not even be in the running for new jobs. They grew up in poorer communities that would not be as likely to give them access to good schools and, without any participation in the groups for wealthier families, their parents might not have any way to "hook up" their kids with plum internships or other possibilities. They just don't have friends in "high places." Lareau's *Unequal Childhoods* (2011) also offers support to Loury's earlier arguments about families.

Some have critiqued Coleman's approach to social capital, and see his approach as blaming those without capital as being in part responsible for their lack of networks. For instance, Tlili and Obsiye (2014) offer a detailed critique of Coleman's oft-cited approach:

> "In Coleman's image, those people who do not have access to social capital *happen* to be living outside social capital-rich locations marked by 'social disorganization'. This causal primacy given to 'social disorganization' harks back to the US academic and policy discourses of the underclass and the culture of poverty…**Social capital essentially prescribes how social agents ought to conduct themselves; what choices they ought to make to avoid cycles of dysfunction and tap into functional networks and the rewards that come with them; and how and where to be functionally 'in'; and being 'in' here is to be understood in a moral as well as a territorial sense**" (p. 567) (emphasis added).

In other words, Tlili and Obsiye believe that Coleman's work might cause disadvantaged families to be unfairly judged: Have you ever seen a day time talk show where someone in the audience said to a teen mom: "If you *really cared* about your kids, you'd go to college and get a better job instead of being on welfare"? Not only is the mom being chastised for not growing up in a community where she is connected to people who have good jobs (and is therefore struggling to use her networks to find steady work), but she is being seen through a moral lens—she is a bad person because she cannot provide a "better" life for her kids. This is often connected to discussions about the (supposedly rejected) "culture of poverty" thesis (National Poverty Center, n.d.) For more on the culture of poverty see the National Poverty Center website: http://www.npc.umich.edu/publications/policy_briefs/brief21/.

John Field explains further (Field, 2003):

> "There are, moreover, at least two types of inequality involved in respect of social capital. First, it has been shown that the most affluent and well-educated are also generally those with the highest number of connections. Second, though, there are also qualitative differences in the nature of people's networks" (p. 82).

Field recognizes that those in the upper classes are probably afforded more networking opportunities (they may grow up in sports clubs, churches, after school clubs, summer camps, etc.), and that those opportunities produce "better" results. This is not to say that a rich person's friends are better than a poor person's friends; rather, the rich person may have a more well-placed group of friends who can offer more solid leads in career development.

As with all forms of capital, we can understand the dark side on a macro-, meso-, and micro-level. In Woolcock's (1998) work on social capital and economic development, he highlights the ways in which contemporary ideas about the positive economic effects of social capital are limited; his work is particularly useful for thinking about communities or nations that are disadvantaged:

> "I propose that a community's prospects for effecting sustainable, equitable, and participatory economic development are low where: (1) class, sex, and ethnic inequalities are widespread, increasing and legitimated; (2) poverty is endemic, unchecked by social safety nets, and difficult to escape through stable employment; (3) uniform laws are weak, unjust, flaunted, or indiscriminately enforced; (4) polities are not freely and fairly elected or voters have few serious electoral choices; (5) dominant and subordinate groups have little shared stake in common outcomes; (6) war, famine, rampant inflation, disease, or chronic underemployment undermine a basic sense of order and predictability; and (7) minorities are overtly or covertly discriminated against" (p. 182).

Woolcock's (1998) work helps to understand the struggles in many modern societies, where we see disadvantaged groups who may be less able to get ahead, in spite of their best individual efforts. It is often difficult for advantaged persons to recognize the social barriers that hamper even highly talented minority group members.

Our Common Working Definition of Social Capital

Authors of the several chapters of this book met in advance and agreed on common definitions of social capital that will be used by each of them, as a point of departure in their discussions. As with any working definition, ours is a definition in process; it is intended to aid our thinking about this protean topic and guide a field research project to test whether its implications can be empirically verified.

> *Social capital refers to the connections among individuals such that, over time, a social network is created in which people come to expect mutual support and trust. This leads to: a) potential increases in each individual's physical health and social-emotional well-being, as well as, b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society.*

Conclusion

Social capital is the "glue" that holds us together and that keeps us working together for the betterment of our communities, as well as for ourselves. We can work within our own groups (bonding), or work across groups (bridging). Sometimes, in pursuit of our goals, we have to reach outside of our comfort zone and ask for help from higher groups (linking), but we are inextricably linked in a circle of social capital, and have regular opportunities to give back to others as well as to be assisted by them. We can view this concept at the interpersonal level as well as the group and community level. We can observe social capital in operation, both through our own intentions (to network, to be trustworthy, etc.) and through impersonal social forces (group problem solving, collective efficacy, etc.). While there are critiques of this concept, it continues to have relevance in our communities even though we have to work toward resolving all of the inequalities mentioned above, and the chapters that follow explain further how it is understood in various arenas of social, political, and economic life.

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The Value of Social Capital: What Are Its Outcomes?

Sarah M. Chilenski and Nicole Summers

As described in other chapters, social capital can be seen as the "social fabric" of a community, which includes the qualities of the connections among individuals, between individuals and organizations, and among organizations, themselves. In other words, social capital generally described the structure of a community's "social organization" (Sampson & Graif, 2009). Social capital encompasses qualities such as social trust, cooperation, and action (Coleman, 1988; Petersen, 2002; Putnam, 1993). In this way, social capital can be a property of individuals and of groups or communities, and relates to a wide range of outcomes at both the individual- and community-level. In this chapter we examine the research evidence linking social capital to a variety of outcomes, determine the degree to which it may contribute to various outcomes, and review the degree to which research evidence is generalizable to different settings.

Is Social Capital a Cause?

The number of studies examining the positive effect of high levels of social capital on health, education, economic, or other outcomes is enormous (Egan, Tannahill, Petticrew, & Thomas, 2008; Nyqvist, Pape, Pellfolk, Forsman, & Wahlbeck, 2014). Social capital has been related to a host of positive outcomes. That said, much of this research has one critical weakness; they were conducted largely with **passive**

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*, Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_5

observational methods rather than with research designs that included a comparison or control group (Cook & Campbell, 1979). While much can be learned through passive observational studies, these **non-experimental designs** are not able to determine the degree to which high levels of social capital lead to, or cause, improvements in health, educational, economic or other outcomes (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Rothman, 1995). Passive observational methods and non-experimental designs record activity, development, and change on people, places, or things as they occur naturally in the world (Fig. 1).

Longitudinal research (i.e., research studies that collect information about people, places, or things at a minimum of two different occasions that are separated by weeks, months, or years) and complex statistical designs are helpful and advance our knowledge, but they too are insufficient in determining causality. Without manipulating social capital, it is impossible to know if social capital is an actual cause or just a correlate of positive outcomes. Thus, we need to undertake **intervention research studies** that attempt to change levels of social capital (Egan et al., 2008; Gilbert, Quinn, Goodman, Butler, & Wallace, 2013; Kawachi, 2006). For researchers this leads to several big questions. Can we change levels of social capital? Are there types of social capital that are more amenable to change than others? If, once things change, how lasting are these changes? Lastly, do levels of outcomes change once levels of social capital change? In these future studies, exposure to the intervention, levels of social capital and levels of outcomes can be measured. Putting these three sets of variables into a **mediation analysis** (i.e., a special analysis that is able to test whether the intervention caused changes in social capital, and then whether outcomes changed as a result of changes in social capital) will move closer to answering the question of whether social capital causes health, educational, economic, or other outcomes. With that information, we will be in a better position to address policy issues (Kawachi, 2006).

Still, the immense body of (largely) non-experimental research provides motivation and the rationale to support funding experimental research projects where social capital is a direct target of the intervention. Work in this area has begun in the United States with large trials such as Communities that Care (Brown, Hawkins,

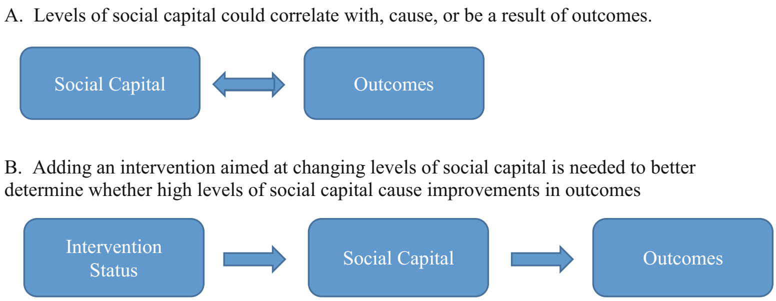

Fig. 1 The Process: Social capital to outcomes. (**a**) Levels of social capital could correlate with cause, or be a result of outcomes. (**b**) Adding an intervention aimed at changing levels of social capital is needed to better determine whether high levels of social capital cause improvements in outcomes. Created by author, S. Chilenski (2015)

Arthur, Briney, & Fagan, 2011; Hawkins et al., 2008) and PROSPER (Chilenski, Ang, Greenberg, Feinberg, & Spoth, 2014; Spoth, Greenberg, Bierman, & Redmond, 2004). Other studies are currently in progress (Farquhar, Michael, & Wiggins, 2005; Ferguson, 2012; Ichida et al., 2013; Middleton, Henderson, & Evans, 2014; Onyx & Leonard, 2010; Pronyk et al., 2008; Semenza & March, 2009). The Serve Here CT project is another effort in this vein. Interestingly, often levels of social capital are viewed as potential moderator, rather than a mediator, of interventions (Lee, 2014; Poulsen et al., 2014). In other words, social capital is theorized as a characteristic of a community or a person that changes how other intervention components work, rather than theorized as a key intervention component that will have a direct impact in creating outcomes. The evaluation results of the Serve Here CT **piloted intervention** (i.e., a small research study that can give us a preliminary sense of how the intervention works) with a **comparison group** (i.e., a set of individuals not participating in the intervention, but answering the same questions at the same occasions as Serve Here participants) will add to our knowledge in this area, where social capital is theorized as a primary intervention component that will directly affect outcomes. Further evaluation with a more rigorous **experimental design** (i.e., a way scientists can arrange an intervention study so that they can be confident that any observed changes can be attributed to the intervention they introduced, and not to chance alone) and larger sample will significantly add to our knowledge.

Knowing what should be done to obtain causal information is different from being able to do it on the ground. The Serve Here CT Project may eventually be able to use a strong experimental design, but initially, we will proceed slowly with longitudinal or time series designs where each individual participant acts as his/her own control. The evaluation will include *before* measures of current status on relevant variables, such as participating in community affairs, voting, volunteering, and cooperating with others on joint projects. These will be followed *during* the study year with measures of these same variables, followed by a *post-study evaluation* to measure change. It may also be possible to evaluate some of these same measures on applicants to the project who were not selected by participating agencies as a comparison group.

How Generalizable Is Social Capital?

In addition to experimental design, the characteristics of the studied population affect how study findings **generalize** (i.e., apply) to other populations. The social structure and values of the geographic location studied also need to be considered. For example, 15 daily contacts for a person may seem like a large social network in independent societies such as the United States and Australia. However, 15 contacts may seem small in more interdependent societies such as Mexico and India where it is typical to engage with extended family members and many people other within the community on a daily basis (Putnam, 1993). In still other societies 15 daily contacts may be an enormous number. To illustrate, a daily diary study in Pakistan demonstrated that women were 15 times more likely not to leave their house on any given day compared to men in that country (Adeel, Yeh, & Zhang, 2014). Thus, their daily contact number was likely to be far fewer than 15.

An urban versus rural geography also affects how social capital can relate to outcomes. Some preliminary evidence suggests differences in how social capital relates to crime (Chilenski, Syvertson, & Greenberg 2015; Kaylen & Pridemore, 2013). These differences could be due to values, local culture, or simply a matter of resources. For instance, access to resources such as libraries with free computers and the Internet, cafes with WiFi, and parks may be more plentiful in urban areas. Residents in rural areas may not have the same access making it more difficult for residents to communicate, congregate, or get involved in their community (Kaylen & Pridemore, 2013). Further, residents in urban areas likely have access to more modes of public transportation than their rural counterparts (Johnson, 2006). Evidence suggests that access to transportation affects how social capital operates by bringing residents from all backgrounds to or from programs and services (Chilenski & Greenberg, 2009).

Finally, commonly identified social capital constructs might not be as vital in certain contexts because other forms of capital, social or otherwise, may compensate. For instance, according to Putnam, civic participation is a vital construct that positively relates to economic development (Putnam, 1993) and negatively relates to factors such as crime rates and drug abuse (Putnam, 1995). Yet, Switzerland has one of the lowest scores in civic participation, and it is rated the highest in jobs and life satisfaction, rated the second highest in income, and rated the third highest in health (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, n.d.). There must be other factors that support these positive outcomes, meaning social capital is not a necessary cause (Rothman, 1995).

What Outcomes Have Been Shown to Relate to Social Capital?

Social capital is associated with a variety of outcomes (see Table 1). Given the growth of social capital research in the past 15 years, this chapter largely focuses on research conducted after the 2004 review by Kawachi and colleagues (Kawachi, Kim, Coutts, & Subramanian, 2004). We review the evidence linking social capital to health and examine the connection between social capital to crime, delinquency, and substance use. Associations between social capital and socioeconomic status also are explored.

There are several pathways that potentially explain the links between social capital and various outcomes. For example, high levels of social capital may protect individuals from the negative effects of stress (Boyas, Wind, & Kang, 2012); it may facilitate action or involvement in a community or even an individual change effort (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988; Sampson, 2001); it may promote feelings of belonging, meaning, and significance; and high social capital may facilitate connections to helpful or even necessary resources and opportunities (House et al., 1988).

Table 1 Summary of all reviewed research

Author/year	Dataset source/country	Sample size and characteristics/ unit of analysis	Age category[a]	Study design	Outcome category	Results
Sampson and Groves (1989)	1982; 1984 British Crime Survey (England)	238–300 localities; 10,905–11,030 individuals	Emerging adults; Adults; Senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Local friendship networks, supervision of peer groups and organizational participation partially mediated the association between community structural characteristics, self-reported rates of violent crime, and property victimization
Furstenberg and Hughes (1995)	1967–1987 Baltimore, Maryland (US)	252 individuals	Adolescents; Emerging adults	Longitudinal; passive observational	Socioeconomic status	Social capital positively associated with education, occupational success, and economic status
Kawachi et al. (1997)	1986–1990 General Social Survey; 1990 US Census; 1990 Compressed Mortality Files (US)	39 states; 7654 individuals	Emerging adults; Adults; Senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Mortality	Income inequality was negatively associated with per capita group membership, positively correlated with lack of social trust. Low social trust and lower group membership were associated with higher adult and infant mortality
Kennedy et al. (1998)	1990 US Census; 1987–1991 Compressed Mortality Files; 1991–1994 FBI Uniform Crime Reports; 1986–1990 General Social Survey (US)	39–50 states	Emerging adults; Adults; Senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Violence and crime; mortality	Social capital (community trust & community engagement) predicted firearm violent crime (firearm homicide, firearm assault, firearm robbery)
Kawachi et al. (1999)	1998–1990 General Social Survey; 1990 US Census; 1987–1991 Compressed Mortality Files; 1991–1994 FBI Uniform Crime Reports; 1993–1996 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (US)	39 states; 7679 individuals	Emerging adults; Adults; Senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Violence and crime	Mistrust positively associated with crime rates (homicide, assault, robbery, & burglary)

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Author/year	Dataset source/country	Sample size and characteristics/ unit of analysis	Age category[a]	Study design	Outcome category	Results
Sampson et al. (1997)	1995 Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods; Local homicide counts (US)	343 neighborhoods; 8782 individuals	NA	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Collective efficacy negatively related to perceived neighborhood violence, self-reported victimization & homicide rates; at least partially mediated association between community structural characteristics and crime
Lowenkamp et al. (2003)	1994 British Crime Survey (England)	600 postal codes; 14,617 individuals	Not reported	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Replicate Sampson and Groves (1989) with a more recent sample.
Youngblade et al. (2006)	2002 Florida's Healthy Kids Program (US)	67 counties; 24,408 individuals	Children; adolescents; emerging adults	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Substance use; delinquency; physical health	Neighborhood resources negatively associated with risky behavior (gunshot wounds, pregnancy, alcohol or drug treatment, STIs); neighborhood resources positively associated with healthcare use
Chilenski and Greenberg (2009)	2000–2006 PROSPER (US)	2 states; 28 communities; 5261 adolescents; 226 community leaders; 231 youth activity experts; 92 agency directors; 33 middle school principals	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults	Longitudinal; passive observational	Substance use; delinquency	Collective efficacy negatively associated with rates of cigarette use, aggressive behavior; community resources negatively associated with rates of alcohol use, aggressive behavior
Nieminen et al. (2010)	2000–2001 Health Examination Survey (Finland)	8023 individuals	Adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive; observational	Self-rated health; well-being	Trust, reciprocity, social participation, and networks positively associated with self-rated health; trust positively associated with psychological well-being

Javdani and Allen (2011)	Year not reported Midwestern state (US)	21 Family Violence Coordinating Councils of judicial circuits; 654 individuals	Not reported	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Other outcomes (community change)	Better quality relationships and knowledge related to coalition involvement positively associated with changes in the policies/practices of an organization predicted achievement of long-term community change
Cramm, van Dijk, & Nieboer (2013)	2011 Rotterdam (Netherlands)	72 neighborhoods 945 individuals	Senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Well-being	Neighborhood social capital, neighborhood social cohesion, and trust/reciprocity positively associated with self-reported well-being
De Donder et al. (2012)	Year(s) not reported of Belgian Aging Study (Belgium)	85 municipalities; 24,962 individuals	Adults; senior Citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Neighborhood attachment, civic participation, social connectedness negatively associated with feeling unsafe in the neighborhood
Delany-Brumsey et al. (2014)	2000–2001 Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey; US Census; California Association of Realtors; InfoUSA (US)	65 neighborhoods 3085 households 1305 youth • 60th–89th percentile of poverty	Children; adolescents	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Mental health; delinquency	Neighborhood social capital protected against internalizing and externalizing behavior problems in adolescents when their mothers suffered from depression
Ferguson (2012)	2009 Social Enterprise Intervention (US)	28 individuals, homeless youth • 16 Intervention • 12 Comparison	Emerging adults	Longitudinal; quasi-experimental	Mental health	A social capital-based intervention improved life satisfaction-reduced depression for homeless youth; qualitative findings suggest additional improvements
Lee (2014)	1999–2002 National Survey of Parents and Youth (US)	90 geographic areas 8117 youths 5598 parents	Children; adolescents, emerging adults; adults	Longitudinal; quasi-experimental	Other outcomes (parent–child communication about drugs)	Community anti-drug campaign increased parent–child communication regarding drugs for those parents who had low levels of anti-drug social capital

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Author/year	Dataset source/country	Sample size and characteristics/ unit of analysis	Age category[a]	Study design	Outcome category	Results
Takagi et al. (2012)	2009 Arakawa Ward, Tokyo (Japan)	437 individuals	Emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Neighborhood reciprocity and supportive networks was negatively related to self-reported crime victimization; neighborhood network size was positively related to self-reported crime victimization
Vorhies et al. (2012)	2009 Thresholds Young Adult Program; Chicago, IL (US)	27 individuals • DSM-IV Axis 1 diagnosis • 60 % custody of the state 2 individuals • Treatment staff	Adolescents; emerging adults	Cross-sectional; passive observational; qualitative	Socioeconomic status	Social support at work positively associated with obtaining consistent employment; reciprocity seemed to positively associate with individual motivation to work; large network and family connections seemed to negatively associate with employment experience
Wray-Lake et al. (2012)	1976–2008 Monitoring the Future (US)	64,246 individuals nationally representative	Emerging adults	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Substance use	Social trust, religiosity, social responsibility were negatively associated with cigarette use, alcohol use, marijuana use, and illicit drug use
Aslund and Nilsson (2013)	2008 Survey of Adolescent Life in Vestmanland (Sweden)	7757 individuals	Adolescents; emerging adults	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Substance use	Neighborhood social capital and social trust were negatively associated with the use of alcohol, cigarettes, and illicit drugs

Brown et al. (2014)	2003 Communities that Care (US)	7 states; 24 communities; 4181 adolescents; 340 community leaders	Adolescents; adults	Longitudinal; quasi-experimental	Substance use; delinquency	Students from CTC communities had significantly less problem behaviors than the controls; higher community support for prevention predicted lower levels of problem behaviors; adoption of science-based decision-making process mediated association between intervention condition and outcomes; community norms associated with adolescent drug use
Chemaitelly et al. (2013)	2003 Urban Health Survey Beirut (Lebanon)	740 individuals	Adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Self-rated health	Community attachment, generalized trust, reciprocity was positively related to self-reported health; social support positively related to self-rated health for women
Christens et al. (2013)	Year not reported Midwestern city (US)	1322 individuals • Advocacy leaders	Emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Well-being	Sense of community, participation in organizations positively associated with being hopeful about change
Dale (2014)	2010–2012 (Canada)	12 individuals • Community leaders	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational; qualitative	Other outcomes (sustainable community development)	Social justice norms, social support, social connectedness, generalized trust, and community attachment seemed to positively associate with sustainable community development
Gilbert et al. (2013)	1980–2007 (International)	39 Articles	Not reported	Meta-analysis	Self-reported health; mortality	Individual or collective control; participation, trust, reciprocity, sense of community, social support, and social networks positively associated with self-reported health and negatively associated with mortality

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Author/year	Dataset source/country	Sample size and characteristics/ unit of analysis	Age category[a]	Study design	Outcome category	Results
Han et al. (2013)	2010–2011 Seoul (South Korea)	25 communities; 4584 individuals	Emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Well-being	Political participation, organizational participation, and trust positively associated with happiness
Houston and Todd (2013)	2001 US Congregational Life Survey (US)	1938 congregations; 176,901 individuals	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Other outcomes (social justice participation)	Social participation and norms promoting justice positively associated with volunteering
Ichida et al. (2013)	2006–2008 AGES project (Japan)	1589 individuals • 158 Intervention • 1391 Comparison	Senior citizens	Longitudinal; quasi-experimental	Self-rated health	Social participation in community centers positively related to self-rated health
Jung et al. (2013)	Knowledge Networks' Knowledge Panel; Nationally representative sample (US)	639 individuals • Have child less than 18 years old	Adults	Passive observational	Physical health	Neighborhood social capital positively related to H1N1 knowledge; high levels of H1N1 knowledge associated with vaccinating your child for H1N1 when neighborhood social capital was also high
Kaylen and Pridemore (2013)	1994 British Crime Survey (England)	318 post code sectors; 9087 individuals	Not reported	Correlational; passive observational	Violence and crime	Density of local friendship networks was positively associated with property and total crime in rural areas
Kunst et al. (2013)	1995–2000 Statistics Netherlands, CBS; Housing Demand Survey of 1998, WBO; tax registries; population registries (Netherlands)	3507 neighborhoods	Adults; senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Mortality	Neighborhood social capital negatively associated with neighborhood suicide rates; results stronger for men and unmarried

Lewis et al. (2013)	2006 Portraits of American Life Study (US)	2610 individuals	NA	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Other outcomes (civic engagement measures)	Religious attendance positively associated with volunteering, donating money, public meeting attendance, political activity participation, informal helping, informal giving, advice giving, number political activities; religious social networks positively associated with informal helping and giving advice
Muennig et al. (2013)	1988–2006 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey II; National Death Index (US)	33,994 individuals	Emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Mortality	Belonging to organizations or attending church more than 12 times a year negatively associated with mortality
Nieminen et al. (2013)	2000–2001 Health 2000 Survey (Finland)	8028 individuals	Adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Physical health; self-rated health; well-being	Social participation and networks positively associated with more sleep, healthy eating, non-smoking, less alcohol use feeling healthier physically & psychologically; trust and reciprocity positively associated with non-smoking, more sleep; social support positively associated with more sleep and healthy eating; social support and trust positively associated with self-rated health and well-being.
Roh and Lee (2013)	1992–2005 International Crime Victims Survey (International)	57 countries; 60,0008 individuals	Adolescents, emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Violence and crime	Generalized trust and positive social norms negatively associated with reporting being a victim of robbery
Williams (2013)	2006–2007 Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services Hospital Compare Data; Putnam's Comprehensive Social Capital Index; World Values Survey (US)	Multiple states	Not reported	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Other outcomes (hospital quality; hospital readmissions; medication adherence)	State-level trust and social participation associated positively with hospital quality, medication adherence; trust and social participation associated negatively with readmissions

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Table 1 (continued)

Author/year	Dataset source/country	Sample size and characteristics/ unit of analysis	Age category[a]	Study design	Outcome category	Results
Zhu and Thomas (2013)	1991–2009 CDC YRBSS, School Health Policies and Programs Study, State Legislative and Regulatory Action to Prevent Obesity and Improve Nutrition database; Survey of the American Consumer (US)	43 states; 26,000 individual	Adolescents; adults	Longitudinal; passive observational	Physical health	State-level participation in public activities, participation in community organizations, volunteerism, informal sociability, trust negatively associated with students using restrictive diets, exercising, fasting to control their weight, taking diet pills, laxatives, or vomiting to lose weight; school policy only impacted these behaviors for boys when levels of social capital were high
Chen and Yang (2014)	2008 Southeastern Household Health Survey (US)	9880 individuals	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Self-rated health	Perceived discrimination, low neighborhood social capital, generalized mistrust positively associated with poor self-rated health
Helliwell et al. (2014)	2002–2011 Current Population Survey; Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index; European Social Survey (International)	3 studies; 1st study: 1 country; 2nd study: 24 countries; 3rd study: 30 countries	Not reported	Longitudinal; passive observational	Well-being; happiness	Several indicators of social capital were used in these studies: generalized trust, trust in social institutions, and reciprocity; social participation such as voting and volunteering; and social support. Social capital positively associated with well-being and happiness. In the US, this effect was even stronger for those that became unemployed during the study period. Internationally, this effect was strongest for countries that were undergoing a political transition
Jones et al. (2014)	2008 Health and Well-being Study (Scotland)	8237 individuals	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Well-being	Trust and community attachment positively associated with well-being; effect was strongest for senior citizens

Nyqvist et al. (2014)	1982–2009 (International)	20 articles	Emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Longitudinal; meta-analysis	Mortality	Social participation, social networks, and trust negatively associated with all-cause mortality; social support did not
Poulsen et al. (2014)	(1999–2001) Danish Intervention Study on Preventive Home Visits (Denmark)	34 municipalities • 17 intervention • 17 control 4034 individuals	Senior citizens	Longitudinal; experimental	Mobility; physical health	Mobility and disability improved for senior citizens if their community received the intervention and their community had high levels of social cohesion and participation
Riumallo-Herr et al. (2014)	2009–2010 Chilean National Health Survey (Chile)	4956 individuals	Adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Self-rated health; mental health; physical health	Social support, generalized trust, neighborhood trust negatively associated with depression, positively associated with self-rated health; social support negatively associated with high blood pressure and diabetes
Rodríguez-Pose and von Berlepsch (2014)	2006–2008 European Social Survey (International)	23 countries; 48,583 individuals	Adolescents; emerging adults; adults; senior citizens	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Well-being	Trust, social participation, and norms positively associated with happiness
Sundquist et al. (2014)	2002–2010 Statistics Sweden; Swedish Population Registry; Immigration Registry; Cause of Death Register (Sweden)	1,517,336 individuals	Senior citizens	Longitudinal; passive observational	Mortality	Neighborhood voting rates negatively associated with total mortality rates and mortality rates due to coronary heart disease, psychiatric disorders, cancer, stroke, chronic lung infections, and diabetes
Chilenski, Syvertson, and Greenberg (2015)	2000–2006 PROSPER; Census and FBI Uniform Crime Reporting system (US)	2 states; 27 communities; 266 individuals	Emerging adults; adults	Cross-sectional; passive observational	Violence and crime	Collective efficacy and social trust did not associate with community crime rates

[a]Children: Under 12-years-old Adolescents: 12–17; Emerging adults: 18–29; Adults: 30–64; Senior Citizens: 65 or older

Source: Created by authors, S. Chilenski & N. Summers (2015)

Health

In a review of reviews, Egan et al. (2008) found consistent evidence that multiple forms of social capital related to a broad array of better health outcomes. There were few instances of negative relationships.

Self-rated health: Self-rated health is one of the most commonly examined outcomes within the social capital—health research. Evidence consistently shows that higher levels of social capital associate with better personal ratings of health. In a **meta-analysis** (i.e., a special type of research process that combines the results from multiple studies in order to make a broad summary statement about many research findings) of US and international research on self-rated health and mortality, Gilbert et al. (2013) reported that social capital indicators have a consistent strong positive relationship on both outcomes. Almost every indicator of social capital in their study significantly associated with better self-rated health with the behaviors of reciprocity and trust being the strongest. On average, this meta-analysis showed that the odds of having good health increased by almost 30 % with every one standard deviation increase in social capital. This is especially striking as different measures of reciprocity and trust were used in different studies.

One pre-post quasi-experimental study conducted in Japan aimed to increase social capital of the elderly as a way to improve their mobility and independence (Ichida et al., 2013). The authors hypothesized that creating community centers with relevant programming for their targeted population would increase senior citizens' social participation, which would then improve self-rated health. They found that senior citizens who participated in the community centers improved their self-rated health over time. Their analyses controlled for initial levels of health status. They also used a special analysis that showed distance to the community centers and participation in the centers did not relate to pre-test health ratings, but they both related to post-test levels of health, which increased confidence in the conclusion that social participation in the community centers caused improvements in self-rated health (Ichida et al., 2013).

Other longitudinal, non-experimental work in the Netherlands has shown that both individual-level and community-level indicators of social capital correlated with higher levels of self-rated health in people with chronic illness over time (Waverijn et al., 2014). The individual-level measure of social capital included individual-reported attachment to and social connectedness in their neighborhood. The community-level measure was an aggregate of five questions that assessed neighborhood connectedness answered by a representative neighborhood sample, rather than the individuals with chronic illness. Using an independent sample to create the community-level measure strengthened our confidence that an underlying construct of community social capital was assessed, though causality still cannot be determined. Another multi-country longitudinal study in Europe found that high levels of individual-level and community-level social capital related to ratings of better health, and that these associations seemed to be cyclical and reinforcing (Rocco, Fumagalli, & Suhrcke, 2014).

Non-experimental cross-sectional work has shown that higher levels of social capital, as measured by community and social participation and trust/reciprocity, correlated with better self-rated health in Finland, Lebanon, and the US (Chemaitelly et al., 2013; Kim, Subramanian, & Kawachi, 2006; Nieminen et al., 2010). This continued to be true after other important individual characteristics were considered. Alternatively, a third indicator of social capital, a measure of close relationships and close social support was not correlated with self-rated health after accounting for the same individual characteristics (Nieminen et al., 2010). This finding was replicated with men, but not women in another cross-sectional study of older adults and senior citizens in Lebanon (Chemaitelly et al., 2013). Follow-up analyses with these indicators demonstrated that the significant associations held even after accounting for specific health behaviors (Nieminen et al., 2013). Yet, other cross-sectional work drawn from a random stratified sample of 18–84-year-olds in Sweden had somewhat different results. Though trust and social connectedness initially correlated with self-rated health, close social support and pride were the only indicators of social capital that associated with self-rated health after considering a host of individual and neighborhood characteristics (Linden-Bostrom, Persson, & Eriksson, 2010). The importance of social support was replicated in a Chilean sample of adults (Riumallo-Herr, Kawachi, & Avendano, 2014). In a regional US study, the lack of social capital, as measured by perceived discrimination, low social capital in the neighborhood, and generalized mistrust, associated significantly to poor self-rated health (Chen & Yang, 2014).

With a few exceptions, the evidence reviewed here supports a positive association between social capital and self-rated health. The cited exceptions may be dependent on the specific context studied. Different measures of social capital may be more (or less) important for women or men, and in different countries. Consequently, future work needs to isolate and explain why certain measures of social capital relate to self-rated health and others do not. This theoretical work could lead to interventions that are more appropriate and effective in different settings.

Physical health: Many aspects of physical health have been investigated, ranging from vaccination to physical mobility of senior citizens to cardiovascular disease and even obesity. Given the range of outcomes studied, many of the findings have not been replicated, and non-experimental designs have been used most often. That said, cumulative evidence suggests that higher levels of social capital associate with better physical health.

For example, one cross-sectional study investigated the association of parental perceptions of neighborhood social capital on the likelihood that their children received the H1N1 vaccine. The authors reported that individual perceptions of neighborhood social capital related to increased information about H1N1, and that high levels of H1N1 knowledge and high levels of perceived neighborhood social capital correlated with parents being two times more likely to immunize your child from H1N1 (Jung, Lin, & Viswanath, 2013).

In another longitudinal experimental study social capital was increased through a multicomponent microfinance loan and HIV education program for women

(Pronyk, Harpham, et al., 2008). Women from randomly selected impoverished households were encouraged to create a business; each woman leading a business was put into a group with four other women business leaders. Each woman within the group of five guaranteed each other's loan repayment, and when all loans within a group were repaid, all women received additional credit. Several groups of women met every other week in a learning community to repay loans, discuss business practices, and participate in other group-based learning opportunities including topics such as cultural customs, relationships, communication, intimate partner violence, and HIV. The theory was that these group-based learning sessions would foster solidarity and collective action which then would be applied in community outreach efforts to youth and men during the next phase of the intervention to create an action plan that addressed a priority community issue. This intervention had a significant association with decreasing intimate partner violence in the communities of the intervention participants, but community rates of unprotected sex or the incidence of HIV did not decrease (Pronyk et al., 2006). Further, the intervention associated with multiple physical health-related behaviors for participants aged 14–35. Intervention participants communicated more about sex, and sexuality with household members was more likely to take advantage of voluntary HIV-related testing and counseling, and the participants were more likely to use a condom at last intercourse with a nonspousal partner compared to matched-control participants in control communities (Pronyk et al., 2008).

In a study that examined mobility of the elderly as their outcome, the authors found that levels of bonding social capital, as measured by aggregate individual reports of social cohesion and participation, moderated the effects of an educational intervention given to home-visitors in Denmark (Poulsen et al., 2014). Specifically, 80-year-olds in municipalities where home-visitors to senior citizens received an educational intervention aimed at improving their services reported significantly higher levels of mobility at the 3-year follow-up when their municipality also had high levels of bonding social capital.

A cross-sectional study examined how social capital as measured by social support, generalized trust, and trust in neighbors was correlated with diabetes and high blood pressure in adults over the age of 30 (Riumallo-Herr et al., 2014). They found that social support most consistently related to lower levels of high blood pressure and diabetes. A special analysis called instrumental variables further demonstrated that social capital might be a preventive agent of these health outcomes such that higher levels of social capital may prevent poor health outcomes. Another correlational study showed that high levels of social participation related to multiple indicators of healthy behavior in an adult Finnish population. Specifically, more sleep, daily intake of vegetables, more physical activity, less excessive drinking, and not smoking was correlated with higher levels of social participation (Nieminen et al., 2013).

A longitudinal study found that all five indicators of social participation and connectedness measured in their study correlated with the sum of four intermediate biomarker health outcomes: blood pressure, blood clotting, inflammation present in the body, and total cholesterol, such that higher levels of social participation and connectedness related to better biomarkers of health (Muennig, Cohen, Palmer, & Zhu, 2013).

Additional work has been done in the area of obesity. At least one study is trying to use a community collaborative approach which would build community social capital as a way to prevent obesity; no outcome results are available yet (Middleton et al., 2014). A multilevel cross-sectional study demonstrated that broad state-level social capital measure correlated with obesity-related behaviors, such that higher levels of state-level social capital related to fewer students using unhealthy weight control activities, specifically fewer students using restrictive diets, not exercising, or fasting to control their weight and fewer students taking diet pills, laxatives, or vomiting to lose weight. This effect was moderated by school policies for boys such that school policy only impacted these behaviors for boys when levels of social capital were high (Zhu & Thomas, 2013).

In summary, different aspects of physical health have been studied and relationships with social capital have been tested. This body of research generally supports that high levels of social capital relate to better health, but research results need to be replicated. Longitudinal designs are desired. In addition, interventions that aim to change levels of social capital as a way to improve health need to be conducted.

Mortality: Two meta-analyses were conducted of US and international research on mortality (Gilbert et al., 2013; Nyqvist et al., 2014). They reported that social capital indicators have a consistent strong positive relationship to mortality. The Gilbert et al. (2013) meta-analyses found that various measures of social capital were associated with increased odds of survival by 17 %. The other meta-analysis only reviewed longitudinal studies. It reported that larger social networks, participation, and trust associated with a longer life span, whereas social support did not (Nyqvist et al., 2014). Potentially, this finding suggests that there is an important qualitative (and empirical) distinction between general social support and other indicators of social capital. Perhaps social support is more of a self-centered indicator of social capital, whereas participation, networks, and trust are more other-centered indicators. This direction could likely have a different physiological impact on body.

A longitudinal study by Muennig and associates (Muennig et al., 2013) found that only two of five indicators of social participation measured in their study correlated with mortality rates: attending church and belonging to a club more than 12 times each year. Visiting friends or relatives, visiting with neighbors, and attending meetings more than 12 times each year did not. None of their social capital indicators studied predicted death due to cardiovascular-related causes.

A state-level cross-sectional study linked two measures of social capital, generalized trust and social participation, to overall mortality rates, mortality rates due to cancer, and mortality rates due to cardiovascular disease (Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997). Infant mortality rates were only related to generalized trust. Higher levels of social trust related to lower state-level mortality rates (Kawachi et al., 1997). Two measures of social capital were included in one five-year study in the Netherlands. Researchers reported that suicide mortality rates were significantly higher in neighborhoods with the lowest levels of a composite score of social capital in the neighborhood, but a neighborhood-level score of social participation did not relate to suicide mortality rates. These results were stronger for men and those that were unmarried, and remained important even after considering other individual characteristics (Kunst, van Hooijdonk, Droomers, & Mackenbach, 2013).

An 8-year longitudinal study in Sweden assessed linking social capital as neighborhood voting rates. It found that higher levels of social capital related to lower mortality rates in the elderly. Elderly that lived in neighborhoods that had low levels of social capital were 27 % more likely to die than those that lived in neighborhoods with high levels of social capital. The same association was found with other causes of death—coronary heart disease, psychiatric disorders, cancer, stroke, chronic lung infections, and diabetes (Sundquist et al., 2014).

In summary, the evidence suggests that higher levels of social capital is generally correlated with people living longer lives. That said, it remains unclear if social capital is a direct cause. The indicators of social capital that seem to be most consistently related to mortality rates are trust and social participation/networks. Although much of this research is longitudinal, none of it is experimental.

Mental health: Mental health-related outcomes have started to be investigated, with depression and anxiety the most commonly investigated mental health concerns. A cross-sectional study examined how social capital as measured by social support, generalized trust, and trust in neighbors associated with depression in adults over the age of 30 (Riumallo-Herr et al., 2014). The authors reported that all three social capital indicators are negatively correlated with depression, which suggests creating and testing an intervention to see if high levels of social capital prevent depression.

In another study a five-part composite neighborhood-level measure of social capital did not relate to depression and anxiety symptoms in youth ages 5–11. However, a hypothesized interaction was found for adolescents aged 12–17. Adolescents had much higher levels of symptoms of depression and anxiety when their mothers were depressed and when they lived in neighborhoods with low levels of social capital. These results offer the hypothesis that community social capital might protect adolescents when the female caregiver struggled with depression (Delany-Brumsey, Mays, & Cochran, 2014).

In a pilot study of a multicomponent intervention that aimed to improve the social capital of 16 homeless youth, their mental health, health-related behaviors, and employment, the evaluation showed marginally significant improvements in depression compared to a control group (Ferguson, 2012). Youth participated in small group vocational skill classes over a 4-month period and a 4 month seminar (4.5 h/week) led by MBA students to learn business skills and conduct a feasibility analysis and marketability of a business. Then, youth created a business to sell their products and connect with clients over a 12 month period. The last intervention components crossed all 20 months; youth met with a clinician for individualized social skills, mental health, and other support.

Finally, a four country analysis showed that levels of social capital significantly differed among countries. The authors reported that a composite score of trust, belonging and attachment related most strongly and consistently with levels of depression and anxiety after considering other individual and community characteristics.

Community-level aggregates of social capital measures did not consistently relate to levels of depression and anxiety (De Silva, Huttly, Harpham, & Kenward, 2007).

In summary, research evidence links individual social capital with lower levels of common mental health challenges. Specifically, higher levels of individual reports of trust, social participation, neighborhood social capital, and occasionally social support correlates with lower levels of anxiety and depression.

Subjective well-being: General well-being and happiness frequently are discussed within the social capital literature; most of the studies in this area are cross-sectional. For example in one study of general psychological well-being, the authors reported that social trust and social participation measured at an individual-level strongly associated with well-being. Interestingly, social support was not associated with well-being (Nieminen et al., 2010). These associations held even after accounting for different types of health behaviors such as smoking, drinking, and physical activity (Nieminen et al., 2013).

Another study in Glasgow, England had similar findings. A composite score of social capital at the individual-level associated with psychological well-being even after considering many individual characteristics and physical health problems. Higher levels of perceived social capital related to better psychological well-being. This effect was moderated by age. In other words, the protective effect of perceived social capital was strongest for individuals over age 65 (Jones, Heim, Hunter, & Ellaway, 2014). Similarly, the importance of social capital for individuals over the age of 70 was reported in a sample in the Netherlands (Cramm, van Dijk, & Nieboer, 2013).

Subjective well-being was measured with a happiness scale in two recent studies. The first reported that multiple indicators of social capital at the individual-level and an aggregate measure of trust at the community-level related to happiness in South Korea. Higher levels of social capital related to higher reports of an individual's happiness (Han, Kim, Lee, & Lee, 2013). The other study used multiple indicators to assess three main dimensions of social capital: trust, social participation, and norms in a five country study in Europe. They reported that all of the indicators of social capital associated with reports of happiness, though high levels of trust and social participation most consistently associated with high levels of happiness across Europe. They also found that associations between social capital and happiness were smaller in northern European countries (Rodríguez-Pose & von Berlepsch, 2014).

Lastly, one study that included a US component and an international component showed that resident subjective well-being and ratings of happiness were highly related to various indicators of social capital at the community- or national-level. Higher levels of social capital related to higher levels of well-being and happiness. In the US component, this effect was even stronger for those that became unemployed during the study period. In the international component of this study, this effect was strongest for countries that were undergoing a political transition. Several indicators of social capital were used in this study: generalized trust, trust in social institutions, and reciprocity; social participation such as voting and volunteering; and social support (Helliwell, Huang, & Wang, 2014).

In summary, the evidence shows consistent correlational connections between social capital and well-being. This evidence crosses national boundaries and age groups, though it also shows that social capital may be most important in supporting the well-being of the elderly. Trust, social participation, and social capital in the neighborhood seem to be the most important indicators of social capital when considering well-being.

Socioeconomic Status

A number of studies have examined how social capital relates to socioeconomic outcomes. Focus group results from one cross-sectional study with young people who had a diagnosed mental illness found that social support for working provided motivation to get and keep a job. In this study feelings of reciprocity increased the motivation for young people to work and keep a job (Vorhies, Davis, Frounfelker, & Kaiser, 2012). Young people who felt that they had to "give back" in some way or to contribute financially to pay someone back for prior emotional, logistical, or financial support were better able to maintain consistent employment.

Social participation was also important; researchers found that developing a social network at work and having a larger social network of family and friends related to consistent employment. Conversely, a smaller network was related to inconsistent employment (Vorhies et al., 2012).

In a longitudinal study multiple indicators of social capital were related to the socioeconomic status of low income adolescents 5 years later at age 20. Successfully graduating from high school, being enrolled in college, having a job, and achieving a stable economic status were the main socioeconomic indicators in the study. High levels of social support, positive norms, and social participation all related to better socioeconomic outcomes (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995). One other study showed that larger social networks were related to more job offers and possibly even job offers with initial higher wage offers (Montgomery, 1992).

Though the studies reviewed here are a small representation of current research, the evidence suggests that various indicators of social capital are positively associated with various indicators of socioeconomic status. Higher levels of social capital in the form of trust, social participation and networks, social support, and positive norms correlate with educational attainment, employment, wages and family income.

Adolescent Risky Behaviors and Crime

Whereas the links between social capital and health, and even socioeconomic status have been researched for some time, investigations of adolescent risky behaviors, crime, and social capital are more recent.

Violence and crime: Several types of outcomes have been investigated within the violence and crime category of outcomes. Included are individual-level outcomes such as participating in violence or criminal acts, being a victim of violence or crime, perceptions of safety, and rates of crime rates in different jurisdictions.

Social participation, as measured by the density of self-reported local friendship networks, only associated with rates of property crimes and not violent crimes at the community-level. Other measures of social participation (organizational participation) in the same study did not significantly relate to either outcome (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Interestingly, in a similar study involving a rural sample of communities' social participation was not associated with either property or violent crime (Kaylen & Pridemore, 2013).

A multi-year state-level study showed that generalized trust and social participation significantly was associated with state-violent firearm crime rates. In this study social participation was measured as per capital group membership. Higher levels of trust and social participation were related to lower levels of violent firearm crimes, even after considering poverty and income inequality (Kennedy, Kawachi, Prothrow-Stith, Lochner, & Gupta, 1998). Additional analyses extended these findings to include rates of homicide, assault, and robbery, but not property crimes (Kawachi, Kennedy, & Wilkinson, 1999).

How social capital relates to crime was tested in a 57 country study. The study included four waves of data that were distributed across 15 years and focused on two types of criminal behavior: robbery and burglary victimization. Robbery is typically considered a violent crime whereas burglary is considered a property crime. In multilevel models the researchers reported that country-levels of generalized trust and positive social norms related to a decreased chance that individuals in that country reported being a victim of robbery but not burglary (Roh & Lee, 2013).

A longitudinal and experimental study that increased social capital through a microfinance loan and HIV education program for women (Pronyk, Harpham, et al., 2008) had a significant effect on decreasing intimate partner violence for the intervention participants (Kim et al., 2007) and in the communities of the intervention participants (Pronyk et al., 2006).

One longitudinal study showed that higher levels of social support for the mother related to her child avoiding criminal activity by age 20 (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995). Social participation as measured by the density of local friendship networks and individual participation in organizations had a negative correlation with being a victim of crime in two nationally representative British samples. These results remained important even after accounting for resident feelings of safety in their neighborhoods, which would logically inhibit involvement in the neighborhood due to becoming a victim of crime (Sampson & Groves, 1989). These results were replicated in another future sample of the British survey 10 years later (Lowenkamp, Cullen, & Pratt, 2003).

A similar study was conducted in Japan. Yet, in Japan it was found that community-level measures of social capital had more important relationships with personal victimization than an individual's own reports of social capital. Social capital was measured by generalized trust, reciprocity, and social participation. This study used a special analysis that considered an individual's proximity to their neighbors (who were also study participants) when investigating the role of social capital on victimization. This analysis increased the confidence that social capital was a property of the community rather than solely the individual in preventing crime in Japan (Takagi, Ikeda, & Kawachi, 2012).

Another cross-sectional study showed the importance of collective efficacy in preventing crime. Collective efficacy is theorized as a "task-specific" dimension of social capital (Sampson, 2001). Collective efficacy is an expectation of collective action for community residents to enforce and work toward shared ideals and goals. This study showed that higher community-levels of collective efficacy correlated with lower individual perceptions of neighborhood violence and a 30 % lower chance that an individual would report that he or she or a member of their family had been a victim of violence since they lived in the neighborhood. Higher levels of collective efficacy were associated with lower homicide rates, even after considering homicide rates of a few years earlier (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).

Finally, a cross-sectional study of senior Belgium citizens found that a few different measures of social capital related to feelings of safety. More specifically, higher levels of neighborhood connectedness and social participation related to higher levels of safe feelings in their neighborhoods (De Donder, De Witte, Buffel, Dury, & Verté, 2012). The link between social capital, as measured by collective efficacy, and perceived safety was also found in a sample of rural US communities. This study found that perceived safety may be an important link between social capital and crime rates in rural areas. Collective efficacy did not have a direct association with crime rates (Chilenski, Syvertson, & Greenberg, 2015).

In summary, correlational evidence suggests that high levels of social capital relate to fewer criminal acts, higher perceived safety, and lower crime rates. Generalized trust, social participation, and collective efficacy seem to be the most relevant for this outcome. However, there are some differences. Violent crimes seem to be more strongly associated with indicators of social capital. This is not true for property crimes. Social capital also seems to work differently in rural, as opposed to urban or suburban communities. Longitudinal studies increase confidence in these findings. But we await research that can provide causal information.

Delinquency: The link between social capital and delinquency has been tested in a number of studies. In one study adolescents ages 12–17 had much higher levels of externalizing behavior challenges when their mothers' were depressed and when they lived in neighborhoods with low levels of social capital (Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014). Another study examined healthcare insurance data of adolescents in Florida. The authors reported that higher levels of community social capital significantly related to lower levels of risky behavior. Community social capital was measured as the presence of schools, churches, educational completion, and the presence of two parent families. Risky behavior was measured with diagnostic codes that described intentional and non-intentional injuries from behaviors such as substance use, sex, eating disorders, etc. The distinction of community social capital from all measured outcomes was a strength of the study. The authors also controlled for important individual characteristics and prior risky behavior in their non-experimental design (Youngblade, Curry, Novak, Vogel, & Shenkman, 2006).

One study of rural US communities found that the relationship between collective efficacy and community rates of adolescent aggressive behavior were in the expected direction (higher levels of collective efficacy, lower community rates of aggressive behavior) but not significant. Also, collective efficacy did not significantly relate to community rates of adolescent property destruction (Chilenski & Greenberg, 2009). One earlier study of 80 neighborhoods in Chicago found that neighborhoods had lower levels of delinquency when more adults in a neighborhood reported that they would try to stop the delinquency they observed (Sampson, 1997).

In summary, the research examining how social capital relates to adolescent delinquency is fairly consistent. It shows that neighborhood or community-levels of social capital is correlated with reduced adolescent delinquency. A strength of this work was that frequently different data sources were used to create the independent and dependent variables. In addition, true community-level measures of social capital were created, rather than limiting analyses to individual perceptions of neighborhood conditions or self-reported beliefs.

Substance use: A few key studies highlight the research that has been conducted on social capital and substance use. One of the first studies in this area examined collective efficacy with rates of adolescent alcohol use and cigarette use in a sample of rural US communities. Researchers found that higher levels of collective efficacy related to lower levels of cigarette use, but not alcohol use (Chilenski & Greenberg, 2009). One cross-sectional study of all 7th, 9th, and 12th grade adolescents from Sweden examined adolescent-reported social capital related to alcohol use, cigarette use, and illicit drug use. They found that adolescents were 60 % more likely to use alcohol, three times more likely to smoke at least one cigarette daily, and twice as likely to report having used illicit drugs at least once when they had lower levels of self-reported neighborhood social capital and generalized trust. Neighborhood-level aggregates did not account for drug use after considering individual-level reports (Aslund & Nilsson, 2013).

Another study examined these issues in a nationally representative sample of US high school seniors. They found that higher levels of social trust reported by adolescents related to lower levels of drug use. These results remained even after considering other individual characteristics, their religiosity, and reports of social responsibility. On the other hand, levels of social responsibility did not relate to substance use. These findings were consistent across 33 years of data and across several different drugs (Wray-Lake et al., 2012).

An experimental study of the Communities That Care prevention system sheds additional insight on this topic (Hawkins et al., 2008). Communities That Care uses a community collaborative prevention team approach to reduce adolescent substance use and other problem behaviors in communities. An evaluation of this system has shown improvements in a community's social capital (Brown et al., 2011; Brown, Hawkins, Arthur, Briney, & Abbott, 2007) and significant improvements in adolescent substance use, and other problem behaviors (Hawkins et al., 2011). The longitudinal study then tested if improvements in outcomes were related to improvements in social capital caused by Communities That Care. The results showed that the social capital measure of adopting a science-based decision-making process lowered levels of problem behaviors in adolescents, compared to comparison communities. They also reported the community beliefs about adolescent alcohol and drug use related to community rates of drug use. Specifically, the more comfortable community residents were with adolescent drug use (as perceived by community leaders), the more likely adolescents in that community were to use drugs. Community norms regarding adolescent drug use were not changed by the Communities That Care system (Brown et al., 2014). In other words, a community-level randomized experimental design that instituted a community collaborative approach to prevention increased indicators of social capital, of which one in turn led to lower levels of adolescent problem behaviors.

Lastly, one study isolated smoking and drinking behaviors in adults. This study found that higher levels of social participation and trust related to non-smoking behaviors, and only higher levels of social participation related to non-excessive drinking behaviors of adults (Nieminen et al., 2013).

In summary, research investigating the link between social capital and adolescent substance use seems more plentiful than research that investigates the link of social capital with adult substance use. Across the reviewed studies, various measures of social capital (collective efficacy, trust, the presence of positive institutions and role models) related to lower levels of substance use.

Other Outcomes

Though health, behavior, and socioeconomic status-related outcomes are priority research topics when thinking about social capital, social science researchers have begun to expand that list of outcomes. One study examining healthcare insurance data in Florida found higher levels of community social capital significantly related to less healthcare use and lower healthcare expenditures by adolescents. They also accounted for important individual characteristics and prior risky behavior (Youngblade et al., 2006).

Using a qualitative approach, one researcher interviewed a diverse group of 12 individuals to explore why some communities are more resilient than others in an economic recession. These individuals were formal or informal leaders within their communities. They ranged in age from 14 to 70, and varied in gender and education completion. They also represented different community sectors. Many social capital-related themes emerged as important factors that helped communities build sustainable development. The social capital-related themes that emerged included:

strong social justice norms, strong social support, connections with individuals at different levels of power and influence, high levels of social participation, an expectation that change can happen, and trust in and commitment to their community. Hence, many social capital-related factors seem important to promote sustainable community development (Dale, 2014).

Another study interviewed community advocacy leaders. This study found that advocacy leaders differed in their levels of self-reported social capital. Leaders that were more hopeful about change had higher levels of social capital, as measured by their levels of social support (Christens, Collura, & Tahir, 2013).

In a study with individuals involved in US religious congregations, the authors reported that higher levels of both individual and congregation levels of social participation consistently related to volunteering. Congregation norms promoting justice were also important, but not as consistent in predicting volunteerism (Houston & Todd, 2013). The link between congregation social participation and many types of helping outcomes, including volunteering and donating money have been reported (Lewis, MacGregor, & Putnam, 2013).

Another researcher was interested in understanding how social capital related to parent–child communication about drugs. This study found that more parent social participation in anti-drug activities significantly related to more communication regarding drugs with their child. This effect, was also moderated by exposure to an anti-drug media campaign. Exposure to the anti-drug media campaign increased parent–child communication about drugs for those that had low lower levels of anti-drug social capital at the pre-test. Community-levels of social capital did not have an impact after accounting for all other individual and parent effects. In this way, a media campaign may protect youth whose parents have low levels of anti-drug social capital (Lee, 2014).

One cross-sectional study investigated how a combined measure of trust and social participation at the state-level related to a number of healthcare system outcomes. The authors found that state-level social capital had a strong positive relationship with an index of hospital quality, a strong negative relationship with readmissions, and a strong positive association to medication adherence. The different data sources and combined state-level measure of social capital was a strength of the study (Williams, 2013). Social capital created in a collaborative community setting predicted an important proximal outcome of their efforts, perceived institutionalized change of policies, practices and procedures in how community organizations deal with intimate partner violence. This proximal change then related to a more distal community change, the perception that the collaboration has led to better safety for victims of intimate partner violence, more consequences for the abuser, and more public education around the issue of intimate partner violence (Javdani & Allen, 2011).

In summary, the connections between social capital and healthcare system outcomes, social justice behaviors, sustainable economic community development, and policy changes have been explored in a small group of studies. Initial evidence was supportive that social capital positively related to these outcomes.

Summary

An Optimistic Outlook

This chapter reviewed research that examined associations between various indicators of social capital with a host of outcomes. Health, crime, delinquency, substance use, and socioeconomic indicators were the primary outcomes reviewed. A few other outcomes were briefly mentioned, such as hospital admissions, volunteering, and community development. Multiple domains of health were explored, from self-rated health, to aspects of physical health (blood pressure, vaccination), to mental health and general well-being, to mortality and suicide rates. Intimate partner violence, homicide events, and general crime rates were the focus of the section on crime. Delinquency included law-breaking behaviors that were committed by adolescents. Substance use outcomes included a range of legal and illegal substances for adolescents and adults. Socioeconomic indicators included income, education, and employment.

Overall, there seems to be a slight tendency that measures of reciprocity and social participation more consistently associate with positive outcomes compared to measures of social support. This suggests that the more active measures of social capital and deeper connections of trust may be most important for positive outcomes, compared to general measures of how emotionally supported a person feels in their daily lives. However, there were a number of studies that demonstrated the importance of social support, above other measures of social capital. Table 1 briefly summarizes all of the reviewed outcome studies.

A Cautionary Note

The literature investigating social capitals associations is immense, but there is one critical weakness. Few experimental studies that manipulate social capital have been conducted. This research is beginning to be conducted, but it is in its infancy. There are strong results out of the Communities That Care trial (Brown et al., 2007), the PROSPER research trial (Chilenski et al., 2014), and a multicomponent intervention with women in South Africa (Pronyk, Harpham, et al., 2008). All three studies used cluster randomized trials and attempted to manipulate levels of social capital found in communities. All three studies found significant improvements in different indicators of social capital relevant to their interventions. However, just one study that we know of has linked improvements in social capital to improvements in community outcomes using a mediation analysis (Brown et al., 2014). Each of these highlighted studies, and the pilot intervention for homeless youth (Ferguson, 2012) all have one thing in common: they all include some sort of collective or collaborative learning and change-integrating component where a small group of individuals come together to learn and apply their new knowledge and skills in some way to try to improve something about their community or an organization.

Research using an instrumental variables approach is quite strong (Ichida et al., 2013; Riumallo-Herr et al., 2014). Yet, more longitudinal intervention research with an experimental design needs to be conducted: Strong theory to connect intervention components to social capital, and changes in social capital to improvements in outcomes is needed. On the other hand, given the mixture of results that demonstrate the importance of reciprocity, participation, and support, as well as bonding, bridging, and linking forms of social capital on a wide array of outcomes, it might be best to start with a multicomponent intervention that works to improve multiple indicators of social capital. Given prior research, a universal multicomponent intervention that includes a group learning and change effort is most likely to be effective and to affect a wide array of outcomes. In this case, however, as with other universal intervention studies, it will be difficult to predict when significant improvements in targeted outcomes occur (Greenberg, 2015), making longitudinal research a necessity.

Null Findings

Though it seems that social capital, on the surface, could be a solution to all social ills, it likely is not. A fair amount of research has found no direct positive association between various indicators of social capital and outcomes. For instance, individual trust and social connectedness did not associate with self-rated health in one study (Linden-Bostrom et al., 2010), close relationships and close social support was not associated with self-rated health in another study (Nieminen et al., 2010). There seem to be some differences between women and men (Chemaitelly et al., 2013; Kunst et al., 2013). Another study found effects of only two out of five variables, but there are concerns with this study's measures: a dosage of one interaction each month may not be strong enough to contribute to outcomes (Muennig et al., 2013).

There may also be some differences across age groups and other personal characteristics that need to be considered (Delany-Brumsey et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2014), and differences depending on the type of outcome (Chilenski & Greenberg, 2009). Effects of individual-level reported social capital seem more consistent than neighborhood-level measures (De Silva et al., 2007; Kunst et al., 2013), but there are important methodological issues that severely limit the ability to generalize that an individual's social capital is more important than the social capital contained within an individual's neighborhood context, such as statistical power due to smaller neighborhood/community sample size and shared measurement and reporter variance.

Lastly, there is a small line of research that has replicated null findings. Elements of social capital do not seem to have a protective effect against crime in rural communities (Chilenski et al., 2015; Kaylen & Pridemore, 2013). These results, and at least one other multi-country study (Rodríguez-Pose & von Berlepsch, 2014) suggest that there may be important characteristics about place, whether it be culture or geography or social services or something else that affects the importance of social capital on outcomes.

Implications for Serve Here

The reviewed research suggests that the Serve Here program may in fact be effective at improving levels of self-reported social capital, and as a result, the outcomes of participants and eventually the outcomes of the communities involved in the program, will be improved. The Serve Here program includes a group-based learning opportunity where participants work together to plan and then implement a change effort for an organization in need as a key component. It is likely that feelings of trust and reciprocity will improve in Serve Here participants and even in the targeted organizations. The mental health and general well-being of participants might improve, alcohol and cigarette use might decrease, and consequently other indicators of physical health could improve. Participants in Serve Here will also likely become more financially independent and hold more steady employment, given evidence that suggested that individuals who felt they had to “give back” to someone or some organization that supported them in the past (i.e., reciprocity) had more stable employment. Employment outcomes may also be more positive if the Serve Here program helps participants develop close relationships and a support system within the workplace. Participating in Serve Here may also help individuals build a larger social network, which may be supportive of future employment and higher economic outcomes. In summary, the range of possible positive outcomes for participants, organizations, and communities involved in the Serve Here program is quite striking. The pilot intervention and pilot evaluation will only give us a very small indication of what may be possible. Longitudinal research and an eventual experimental design is needed.

Conclusion

There is evidence that relates different indicators of social capital to a host of health, socioeconomic, behavioral, and even many other outcomes. Though some differences exist in which indicators of social capital are more important in different contexts, taken together, social capital may be a fundamental cause of the health and social conditions of society. However, there is one major weakness in this body of research: almost all of the research has used cross-sectional designs. Longitudinal analyses with new sophisticated statistical models such as an instrumental variables approach are steps in the right direction, but experimental research is needed. Can levels of social capital be changed through an intervention? Then, do outcomes change as a function of the change in social capital? This research is needed.

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The Economics of Social Capital: Considering the Fiscal Value of Social Networks

Max Crowley and Lawrie C. Green

A growing body of literature is recognizing the fundamental role that social capital plays within the economy—both as a facilitator of productive environments and as key route to development of *human* and *intellectual capital* (Akçomak & ter Weel, 2012; Coleman, 1988; Lesser, 2000). Researchers continue to document the role connections among individuals can play in supporting economic productivity or placing a tremendous burden on the social safety net (Currie, 2006; McNeal, 1999; Osgood et al., 2013). This chapter considers the growing efforts to understand not only the relationship between social capital and economic outcomes, but the economic value of cultivating meaningful connections between individuals within families, schools, and communities (Belfield, Nores, Barnett, & Scheweinhart, 2006; Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Hummel-Rossi & Ashdown, 2002; Kuklinski, Briney, Hawkins, & Catalano, 2012). Broadly, this chapter is organized around a review of what is currently known regarding the economics of social capital. In particular, it focuses on the potential economic and fiscal benefits of social capital as opposed to simply the consideration of social capital within economic theory or econometric analysis. It explores Social capital's relationship with education, labor, health, and criminal outcomes. Further, it identifies promising areas for future research. Finally, this chapter also considers the potential benefits of the SERVE HERE CT implementation.

The history of social capital research has generally included considerations of the individual benefits of obtaining social capital—often in a transactional context—where investments are made in relationships to obtain social capital, which in turn increases access to resources, power, and opportunity (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 2000). More recent efforts have focused on the value of social capital to groups of

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_6

individuals—where families, communities, and societies with greater social capital are more healthy and successful as measured by a variety of metrics (e.g., Putnam, 2001; Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2004). I begin by considering the economic benefits to the individual and then consider what is known in the context of groups more broadly.

The fundamental mechanisms through which social capital cultivates human and *intellectual capital* are key to understanding the economic impact of social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Coleman, 1988). Human capital is generally considered to be the acquired knowledge, skills, and capabilities that enable a person to act (Coleman, 1988, 2000). Intellectual capital is the knowledge and knowing capability of a social group (Nahapiet & Ghosal, 1998). Social capital plays a key role in how and to what degree these forms of capital develop and the economic impact of social capital is largely measured through these mediational processes (Akçomak & ter Weel, 2012; Kawachi, Kennedy, & Glass, 1999; Lesser, 2000). Further, the social networks within which people live are recognized have an impact on our behavior and physical health in numerous ways (Finkelstein, Fiebelkorn, & Wang, 2003; Fowler & Christakis, 2008). This includes fundamental activities like eating, exercise, substance use, deviant behavior, and educational attainment (Buonanno, Montolio, & Vanin, 2009; Coleman, 1988; Rosenquist, Fowler, & Christakis, 2011). In the next three sections, the relationship between social capital and (1) educational attainment and labor market outcomes, (2) health and (3) crime are discussed.

Social Capital, Education, and Labor Market Outcomes

Research on the relationship between social and *human capital* has led to a substantial body of work considering how social capital influences educational outcomes (Dika & Singh, 2002). James Coleman's, 1988 paper on *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital* remains one of the best known. Despite substantive and methodological critique of the work, it serves a useful point to begin considering efforts to understand the relationship between social and *human capital* as well as social capital's ultimate impact on the economy (Coleman, 1988). Within the paper, Coleman presents an analysis of how low social capital is related to high school dropout. Coleman identified a 9 % difference in the dropout rates between students with low and high social capital. While these findings were largely correlational in nature they primed the field to think deeper about the role of social capital in human capital development—particularly in formal educational contexts. In the US, a high school dropout earns on average $260,000 less across their lifetime compared to a student that graduates (Levin, Belfield, Muennig, & Rouse, 2006; Levin & McEwan, 2000; Rouse, Bellfield, & Levin, 2007). This translates into $1.8 billion each year in lower tax revenue from all US dropouts (Cairns, Cairns, & Neckerman, 1989; Catterall, 1987).

More recent work has also found lower social capital to be significantly related to lower levels of educational attainment. One study found that social capital within both families and communities were linked to test scores in math and reading, grades as well as high school dropout (Israel, Beaulieu, & Hartless, 2009). Family social capital indicators were more highly related to educational success then community social capital. In particular, the structure of the community was a key moderator for the relationship between family social capital and education outcomes. Further, students can accumulate not only human, but also social capital within the educational context. Using data from the *National Educational Longitudinal Study*, Croninger and Lee found that teachers cultivated their students' social capital and that this capital was related to a lower likelihood of dropout (Croninger & Lee, 2001).

There is also meaningful evidence that population-level indicators of social capital are related to educational and labor market success of groups (e.g., *intellectual capital*). In particular, Knack and Keefer (1997) found aggregated measures of trust and civic norms for a sample of 29 market economies demonstrated a significant relationship between school enrolment, investment rates, income dispersion, and per capita growth in income (Knack & Keefer, 1997). In particular, a 10 % rise in trust was correlated with a four-fifths percentage point increase in per capita growth. A 4 % increase in civic engagement was related to more than 1 % point increase in GDP growth for the country. In their 1999 study, Narayan and Pritchett examined the relationship between social capital in Tanzania and household income (Narayan & Pritchett, 1999). They found that one standard deviation increase in a village's social capital was related to an increase in estimated household income by 20–30 %. A 1998 study by Temple and Johnson found that social capability—in the context of ethnic diversity, social mobility, and social network density—in a multi-country analysis could explain significant variation in economic development (Temple & Johnson, 1998).

Evidence of Causal Impact: The preceding discussion considered largely correlational findings leveraging observational data. One approach to better understanding the causal mechanism social capital can play in improving educational attainment is considering interventions that seek to build social capital. One example is the Experience Corps® program (Fried et al., 2004). This multigenerational intervention brings school-aged children and retired adults together to boost social capital by leveraging the experience of adults. Specifically, by harnessing the human and social capital of older adults the program seeks to enhance the capital of youth. In a randomized trial of 1194 children, intervention participants had significantly higher scores on standardized reading tests, and an over 40 % reduction in office referrals for disciplinary problems (Rebok et al., 2004). Further, older adults who worked with youth in the programs had significantly increased physical activity, numbers of people they could turn to for help, and cognitive activity 8 months after program implementation compared to the control group (Fried et al., 2004). A cost-effectiveness analysis of Experience Corps® found the program cost about $49,000 to save a year of life (adjusting for quality-of-life and assuming improvements in reading led to increased graduation; Frick et al., 2004).

Social Capital and Health

Increasingly, social capital is being considered in the context of health behaviors that are known to have substantial economic costs to public and private payors (Kawachi et al., 1999; Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997; Laverack, 2001). The role of trust, social support, and social participation has long been known as important predictors of health (Cattell, 2001; Morrow, 1999; Szreter, 2004). Increasingly rigorous efforts are quantifying the relationship between social capital and various health behaviors (Harpham, 2002; Hawe & Shiell, 2000; Lomas, 1998).

An analysis of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's *Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System's* data found that low social trust, reciprocity, and membership were each significantly related to poor health (Kawachi et al., 1999). More recent findings, using data from the Health 2000 survey of over 8000 adults in Finland, modeled the relationship between key elements of social capital to an array of health behaviors (Nieminen et al., 2013). Moderate and high social participation and trust were significantly related to lower rates of smoking and drinking as well as increased physical activity, vegetable consumption, and sleep. High levels of social support were also related to these health behaviors, but at a much lower rate. In contrast, an individual's perception of trust and reciprocity had the strongest relationship with all health behaviors—in some cases with nearly twice the strength of the relationship with social support. In this study, someone with high social trust was two times more likely to be a nonsmoker than someone with low trust. Estimates of the cost of smoking in Finland estimate that a Finnish smoker costs the country about €70,000 when considering impacts on healthcare, pension and tax revenue (Tiihonen, Ronkainen, Kangasharju, & Kauhanen, 2012). From this perspective, the greater likelihood of individuals with low social trust to smoke translates into substantial public costs.

A particularly valuable study that has shed much light on how the structure of social networks influence health has come from the Framingham Heart Study. This study followed a densely interconnected social network of over 12,000 people from 1971 to 2003 (Benjamin, 1994). Analyses of these data have highlighted not only the role of an individual's perceived social capital, but how their orientation within the larger social web influences their individual behavior as well as the collective health of a population (Christakis & Fowler, 2007). One finding from this study discovered how a person's chances of becoming obese increased by 57 % if he or she had a friend who became obese. In particular, the link between network orientation and health was not a factor of geography, but instead a product of social relationships. Obesity is estimated to cost North America over $300 billion a year in additional healthcare and lost productivity costs (Finkelstein et al., 2003). The idea that such health behaviors and subsequent health costs may be greatly influenced by those around us continues to motivate interventions that take social context into account.

Another study using data from Framingham found a link between depression and social relationships within a network. In particular, one study found that being the friend, of a friend, of a friend with depression (3° of separation) increased the likelihood that person would become depressed (Rosenquist et al., 2011). The total economic burden of depression in the US has continued to grow and is currently estimated to be above $210 billion annually (Greenberg, Fournier, Sisitsky, Pike, & Kessler, 2015). This translates into over $14,000 a year per individual with depression. In contrast, clusters of "happy" individuals are also visible within social networks and that being friends with "happy" individuals can increase the likelihood of being "happy" oneself. An individual who became happy during the study was likely to increase the probability that a connected person became happy by 25 % (Fowler & Christakis, 2008). Further, the position within a network is predictive of an individual's influence. Specifically, an individual who is central to the network (a proxy for high social capital) is more likely to influence the mood of the network then an individual who is more peripheral to the network. Such work highlights not only the role that social networks can play in supporting healthy behaviors, but also facilitating negative health behaviors.

Evidence of Causal Impact: To understand the causal impact on health, researchers can consider interventions that aim to build key elements of social capital. Social capital intervention strategies appear particularly successful in efforts to prevent sexually transmitted infections. Meta-analytic work found that social capital interventions, which seek to empower sex workers, resulted in participants being 3.27 times more likely to use condoms with clients and 0.68 times less likely to contract HIV (Research to Prevention, 2013). The average annual lifetime costs of treating HIV domestically are currently estimates at over $370,000 (Schackman et al., 2006).

The randomized trial of the IMAGE (Intervention with Micro Finance for Aids and Gender Equality) project for women sought to build social capital by expanding their social networks and building community trust. Within the trial, the IMAGE project was found to reduce intimate partner violence by 55 %. Across the world, intimate partner violence is recognized to carry a very high human and economic cost. In the US, intimate partner violence is estimated to cost society almost $8.3 billion a year (Max, Rice, Finkelstein, Bardwell, & Leadbetter, 2004).

Social Capital and Crime

The relationship between social capital and criminal behavior has long been considered important (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Buonanno et al., 2009; Coleman, 2000; Kennedy, Kawachi, Prothrow-Stith, Lochner, & Gupta, 1998; Lederman, Loayza, & Menendez, 2002; Portes, 2000). In particular, how civic norms and individual resources interact to prevent or promote rule-governed actions is a consideration of law enforcement, judicial systems, and detention centers around the world.

Studies of the relationship between a population's social capital and crime have illuminated the importance between norms, participation, and trust in safe environments. Using data from the *US General Social Survey*, found that lack of social trust was significantly related to firearm homicide ($r = 0.83$) and group membership was negatively related to firearm homicide ($r=0.49$; Kennedy et al., 1998). A 2011 study of 99 geographic units in the US considered the relationship between social capital and violence (Rosenfeld, Baumer, & Messner, 2001). Also using data from the *General Social Survey*, assessments of trust, fairness, and helpfulness for each geographic area were used to develop an aggregated score of social capital. These data were then linked with homicide rates for each area. The researchers found that a one-standard deviation increase in social capital for a population was related to a 54 % decrease in homicide rates for that area. The public cost of homicide is often highly debated, but many estimates fall between $12 and $17 million per homicide committed (Cohen, 2005; DeLisi et al., 2010; McCollister, French, & Fang, 2010). In an international study of 24 nations using the World Values Survey (WVS), an 1 % increase in the number of individuals who believe most people can be trusted is associated with a 1.21 % decline in the national homicide rate (Lederman et al., 2002).

The relationship between social capital and violent crime has been extended to other types of crime. One study conducted an analysis of key indicators of social capital in 103 Italian provinces in relation to crime statistics. They found a one-standard deviation increase in blood donation (as a measure of altruistic social participation) was related to a significant decrease of theft by 13 % and robbery by 15 % (Buonanno et al., 2009).

Evidence of Causal Impact: Moving towards causal estimates of the relationship between social capital and crime, an instrumental variable analysis assessed indicators of social capital and crime rates in a survey of 142 municipalities of more than 30,000 inhabitants in the Netherlands (Akçomak & ter Weel, 2012). Population heterogeneity in the past was used as an instrument for current social capital. Specifically, this study found that population diversity in the past is likely to impact current social capital, but is unlikely to influence current crime. This analysis revealed that a one-standard deviation increase in social capital would reduce total crime rates (violent and nonviolent) by about 2 % points on average. Thus, researchers witnessed a still significant, but smaller relationship between social capital and crime when applying more rigorous analytic tools.

The Costs of Building Social Capital

When considering the economics of social capital, the resources needed to achieve changes in capital development should be considered. Specifically, what does it cost to increase social trust or participation? What resources must be deployed under what circumstance to reduce social isolation? These dynamics can be understood by considering the costs of existing efforts to build social capital. There are two general categories of interventions for building social capital. Bottom-up interventions include the everyday activities that individuals can engage in collectively to build social capital. Top-down interventions involve coordinated programs and curricula aimed at improving social capital within a group.

Robert Putnam and Lewis Feldstein discuss many of these bottom-up activities that an individual can engage in to cultivate social capital. They have identified over 140 different activities which they endorse in their work *Better Together* (Putnam et al., 2004). An analysis of the resource needs of these activities can begin to elucidate the costs of building social capital. Generally, these costs are primarily the time it takes an individual to complete the activity. Broadly, most activities can be completed in under an hour. A smaller proportion would require an ongoing (weekly or monthly) investment that requires multiple hours of time. A few are activities that encourage the absence of behavior (e.g., gossiping) or changing the way one thinks about an issue. These activities are difficult to quantify in terms of time costs. Relatively few activities also have a monetary component. Specifically, only a few would require the individual to spend some other resource in addition to time. Barring these examples (e.g., start a community garden), such costs are unlikely to exceed $100. While the cost of completing any individual activity is small, the larger cost driver is the importance of engaging in not only one activity and not only one time. In this context, individuals can consider the cost of a community engaging in these daily activities as a way of building capital.

Assuming an average US county population of 100,550 individuals and assuming 10 % of the county engaged in an average of two activities per week, the cost to the community in terms of time would be a little over 4000 h a week collectively. Over the course of a year, that would be about 2 million hours dedicated to increasing local social capital. There are different ways to estimate the value of those hours. One approach would value this time based on the value to the labor market. The US median hourly wage across occupations is currently $17.09. Valuing the communities time at this rate, a community effort to build social capital would cost over $35 million for the year or $1700 a person. Of course, the majority of this time would occur outside a person's normal employment during what is considered to be "leisure time." The value of that leisure time is not fixed and is known to vary across cultures and individuals. Assuming, that leisure time is worth less to people then the time they give up for employment, the cost of the overall effort can be lowered. This imprecise exercise is not meant to highlight the expense of building social capital, but instead the importance of making sure that members of a community know its importance. Few individuals are going to be willing to freely give up $1700 of their time to build something they do not value. More specifically, if they do not see building social capital as connected to valuable outcomes—improved education, lower crime, and better health, they are unlikely to participate. Such efforts to change beliefs and value around social capital's importance can increase individual's willingness-to-pay to obtain social capital. This can make such time costs seem reasonable.

Another approach to understanding the cost of influencing social capital can be seen through research studying interventions capable of changing social networks. For instance, in an effort to understand the capacity to transform these networks to prevent substance abuse, the National Institutes of Health has funded a decade-long multisite randomized-controlled trial of universal substance abuse prevention programs delivered in rural communities known as PROSPER. Over 100,000 youth have received these programs with community implementers maintaining the highest levels of fidelity (Spoth, Guyll, Redmond, Greenberg, & Feinberg, 2011). These programs aim to reshape the social norms within adolescent social networks in order to protect youth from network influences that promote substance abuse. Specifically, these programs are known to successfully transform what behavior youth within the network view as acceptable for themselves and their peers (i.e., increasing a belief substance use is unacceptable; Spoth et al., 2013). On average, each network included between 52 and 78 youth. Each of the youth received the school program at an average cost of $12 a student ($9–27). On average, 17.5 % of the families within the network also participated in a family-based program at a cost of between $278 and $348 a family (Crowley, Jones, Greenberg, Feinberg, & Spoth, 2012). Thus, it costs between $2998 and $6856 to deliver the prevention effort to each social network. Based on previously reported estimates, these prevention efforts were able to achieve a 1 SD reduction in a network's substance abuse influence for between $1009 and $2308 (Osgood et al., 2013).

The evaluation of network changes within the PROSPER trial highlights potential mechanisms through which network transformation may occur. In particular, two processes are likely responsible for the reductions in the networks' antisocial influence compared to the control group's networks. One possibility is that members of the network engaged in substance abuse are being shifted away from the center of the network (i.e., becoming less popular). The other is that the most popular (central) network members are receiving the greatest benefit. The former cultivates a more prosocial network by removing the influence of substance using youth, while the latter develops a larger pool of prosocial youth at the center of the network who are more likely to be befriended by others (i.e., have greater influence). These processes and the resources required to change social networks necessitate economic evaluations to be overlaid onto network analyses of intervention trials. With careful study, social scientists may learn how to effectively and efficiently transform networks to broadly improve the health and welfare of society.

Evaluating the Economic Impact of Improving Social Capital: Research Priorities

Current understanding of the economic impact of social capital is largely inadequate to inform current policy and practice. While the important role social capital plays in developing human and intellectual capital is clear, causal models of social capital's role are relatively gross and lack the specificity needed for strategic investment. In this context, there are a number of key research priorities that would benefit current understanding of the economic value of social capital. These include: (1) efforts to link changes in social capital to economic outcomes, (2) increased efforts to test social capital interventions within experimental designs, and (3) increased attention to the cost of building social capital.

Improving Causal Estimates of Social Capital's Impact

Review of the social capital literature highlights that our understanding around the economics of social capital still is largely based on observation studies (Coleman, 2000; Nieminen et al., 2013). Such studies are particularly useful for highlighting the relationship between social capital and a variety of important domains (Hawe & Shiell, 2000). Limited experimental work has successfully demonstrated the impact of social capital, much less estimated to economic value (Buonanno et al., 2009; Research to Prevention, 2013). Future research should consider increasing the use of experimental methods to evaluate the impact of interventions to build social capital. This includes the use of randomized control trials as well as instrumental analyses that support drawing causal inferences. This is particularly important, because while observational analyses highlight the strong relationship between education, health, and crime, existing experimental research indicates significant yet smaller impact. This may be due to a variety of factors (e.g., low intervention potency, poor implementation quality, or issue in measurement).

Beyond what methods to use, a particularly important goal for increasing our understanding of social capital's impact is to consider impact of groups with social capital as opposed to individuals (e.g., Nieminen et al., 2013). Specifically, randomization within evaluation trials should occur at the group level as opposed to the individual level. Arguably, the value of social capital is to improve the outcomes of populations as opposed to simply providing an individual's access to resources that only benefit themselves (Cattell, 2001). As a variety of decision makers increasingly focus on issues of equity and population health, social capital interventions hold great promise for broad impact (Kawachi et al., 1997). In this context, the unit of analysis is more appropriately the group—both for intervention process and impact analyses.

Further, network analyses of peer and family groups can be valuable for understanding how a community's social structure may influence the development of social capital (Fowler & Christakis, 2008; Valente, Chou, & Pentz, 2007). The above example of the PROSPER program considers one example of how intervention can change networks, which in turn can change the influence of the social structure (Osgood et al., 2013). Further analyses of how changes in social networks influence education, health and crime are needed.

Understanding the Cost of Build Social Capital

While some work has considered program cost-effectiveness of interventions that include social capital development, few analyses of the cost of building social capital actually exist (Frick et al., 2004; Kuklinski et al., 2012). To successfully install large-scale social capital interventions within current policy and practice will first require being able to describe the resource needs to build social capital (Crowley et al., 2012). Understanding such costs will then allow decision makers to effectively plan for and allocate resources a new social capital initiative (Table 1).

Table 1 Activities to Build Social Capital (Subset of activities adapted from Putnam et al., 2004)

Social capital activity*	Low-cost estimate	High-cost estimate
Organize a social gathering to welcome a new neighbor	$13	$17
Register to vote and vote	$4	$17
Donate blood (with a friend!)	$4	$17
Start a community garden	$34	$51
Mentor someone of a different ethnic or religious group	$4	$17
Surprise a new neighbor by making a favorite dinner	$4	$17
Tape record your parents' earliest recollections	$34	$51
Give your park a weatherproof chess/checkers board	$4	$17
Form a local outdoor activity group	$4	$17
Participate in political campaigns	$17	$34
Attend a local budget committee meeting	$4	$17
Form a computer group for local senior citizens	$17	$34
Help coach Little League or other youth sports	$4	$17
Help run the snack bar at the Little League field	$4	$17
Form a tool lending library with neighbors	$17	$34
Start a lunch gathering or a discussion group with coworkers	$17	$34
Offer to rake a neighbor's yard or shovel his/her walk	$34	$103
Start or join a carpool	$9	$17
Plan a "Walking Tour" of a local historic area	$17	$34
Eat breakfast at a local gathering spot on Saturdays and mingle	$17	$34
Have family dinners and read to your children	$9	$34
Stop and make sure the person on the side of the highway is OK	$17	$103
Host a block party or a holiday open house	$34	$205
Start a fix-it group: friends willing to help each other clean, paint	$17	$34
Offer to serve on a town committee	$34	$205
Join the volunteer fire department	$103	$239
Go to church…or temple…or walk outside with your children	$4	$17
If you grow tomatoes, plant extra for a lonely elder neighbor	$9	$34
Ask a single diner to share your table for lunch	$9	$17
Stand at a major intersection holding a sign for your favorite	$17	$34
Persuade a local restaurant to have a designated "meet people"	$4	$17

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Social capital activity*	Low-cost estimate	High-cost estimate
Host a potluck supper before your Town Meeting	$4	$17
Take dance lessons with a friend	$34	$91
Say “thanks” to public servants—police, firefighters, town clerk…	$4	$9
Fight to keep essential local services in the downtown area	$91	$17
Join a nonprofit board of directors	$34	$103
Gather a group to clean up a local park or cemetery	$34	$137
When somebody says “government stinks,” Suggest they get involved	$0	$0

*Created by authors, M. Crowley & L. Green (2015)

Such analyses will require qualitative and quantitative cost analyses that first better operationalize discrete activities known to build social capital (Harpham, 2002). Then the resources needed to engage in each activity should be quantified. Next, the market price for each resource (labor, space, supplies) needs to be estimated (Levin & Belfield, 2013). The product of the quantity of resources by the resource-specific price can then be used to arrive at the total cost (Crowley et al., 2012). Importantly, not only should the resources needed to directly support an intervention activity be valued, but resources needed to support programming infrastructure must also be considered. For instance, the above effort that seeks to engage 10 % of the community in activities suggested by Putnam and Feldstein would likely need coordination and management—not to mention education and recruitment (Putnam et al., 2004). These costs should be included in the total estimate in order to understand the full cost of an effort. By knowing such costs, decision makers can weigh different intervention strategies against each other. Such “cost minimization analyses” can be particularly useful for choosing between two interventions that both increase social capital. The intervention with lower cost that has the *same incremental impact* would be a more efficient use of resources. Such decision analysis can support effective use of public resources and allow for a greater impact. There are a variety of guides and tools available to help facilitate cost analysis of programs and policies (e.g., Crowley et al., 2012; Levin & Belfield, 2013).

Valuing Social Capital

Once the impact and cost of social capital interventions are better understood, evaluators should prioritize efforts to value the impacts of social capital in fiscal or monetary terms (Crowley, Hill, Kuklinski, & Jones, 2013). This includes linking impacts on individual or population metrics to monetizable outcomes (Karoly, 2008). In education, this may be special education utilization, school dropout or matriculation of higher education (Levin & McEwan, 2000). For the labor market, this may be employment, earnings, and tax burden (Allgood & Snow, 1998). For health outcomes, this may include healthcare utilization, public insurance reimbursement, or quality-adjusted life years (Drummond, 2005). For crime, this may be arrest, court costs, utilization of diversion programs, and sentencing to detention centers (Cohen & Piquero, 2008).

These outcomes may be measured directly from individuals or from administrative records (Crowley et al., 2013). Advances in short-cycle-randomized control trials have demonstrated the opportunity to randomize communities and assess impact without the need for direct measurement of individuals using existing administrative data systems (Baron & Haskins, 2011). Such efforts generally require partnership with government agencies to access and analyze data. This approach can reduce the costs of evaluation and accelerate economic evaluations of social capital programs.

Case Study: Serve Here CT

Serve Here CT is deploying a new initiative to help Connecticut's youth successfully transition into the workforce, remain in the state and become leaders in their communities. Serve Here combines science-based approaches from workforce development, behavioral economics, and social finance to achieve these goals. This includes (1) building Connecticut's workforce, (2) helping leaders emerge, as well as (3) providing innovative approaches to local economic development.

Building Connecticut's Workforce

Serve Here will employ an apprenticeship-based workforce development strategy to improve youth success. Over the last two decades, apprenticeship models have undergone substantial study and represent one of the most cost-effective workforce development approaches available.

A study of 11 types workforce development programs administered in Washington state highlight opportunities to increase employment and earnings as well as reduce utilization of public programs (e.g., Medicaid, TANF, Food Stamps). These programs included Workforce Investment Act (WIA) Title I-B Adult programs, WIA Title I-B Dislocated Worker programs, Community and Technical College Job Preparatory Training, Community and Technical College Worker Retraining, Private Career Schools, and Apprenticeships, Community and Technical College Adult Basic Skills Education, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation programs, Department of Services for the Blind programs, WIA Title I-B Youth programs as well as Secondary Career and Technical Education. In the short-term, nine of the program models found positive impacts on employment. Longer-term follow-up found ten program models had positive impacts on employment. Some of these models were able to realize a public return-on-investment of $4.90 for every dollar spent (Hollenbeck & Huang, 2006; US Census Bureau, 2008).

Helping Leaders Emerge

At over $1 Trillion, US student debt has more than tripled since 2003. Researchers have found that education debt reduces household spending (Hiltonsmith, 2014). Specifically, a $53,000 education debt leads to a wealth loss of over $200,000. Further, those with student debt experience delays home- and auto-purchase and leads to decreased entrepreneurship (Ambrose, Cordell, & Shuwei, 2004; Brown & Caldwell, 2013; Donghoon, 2013). Potentially more troubling is that studies have found that every additional $10,000 in student debt decreases a person's likelihood of taking a public-interest job by over a quarter (nonprofit, public service; Minicoszzi, 2005; Monks, 2014; Rothstein & Rouse, 2007). Further, those with high debt are more likely to seek out higher initial wages instead of opportunities for job growth when selecting jobs out of college. Serve Here aims to reduce the student loan debt of participants who complete the program by $10,000. Further, Serve Here will provide high-quality training to build participants' capacity to take leadership roles within their employer organizations and the community.

Innovative Approaches to Economic Development

Key to Connecticut's success is the availability of jobs for those entering the workforce. Serve Here will employ a $10,000 incentive per participant to facilitate employer job creation. These positions must be a permanent part of the employers' organization adding jobs to the labor market. This amount is comparable to other economic development approaches and mirrors successful financing strategies to maximize potential return to the state (Monks, 2014).

Projected Benefit to Connecticut

Serve Here draws on existing best practices for investing in young adults to promote productive, engaged members of society. Based on existing evaluations of the above strategies, projections of the potential benefits of Serve Here can be made. In the figure below, I consider only the additional tax revenue that a program like Serve Here could bring to Connecticut from increased job creation and employment. Within less than 4 years, the revenue from increased income, property, sales, and excise taxes will offset the State's investment. This is achieved not only by increasing participant income, but also by keeping participants in the state through the

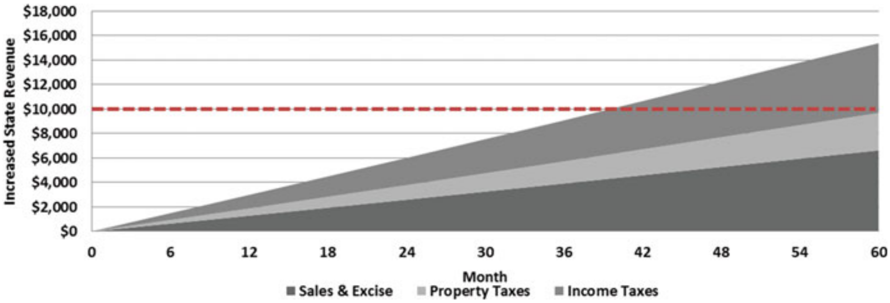

Fig. 1 Projected benefit to Connecticut from Serve Here. Created by author, M. Crowley (2015)

incentives and training described above. Importantly, this does not include additional savings that could occur from reduced use of government services and does not include benefits to the Federal government (only Connecticut; Fig. 1).

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Compassionate Capitalism, the Workplace, and Social Capital

Sharon Hunt and James Mattson

Introduction

While compassionate capitalism may seem like a contradictory statement, examples of this practice suggest the power of this model. In this chapter, we review key components of capitalism and compassion. We explore governmental intervention through the Great Depression, the New Deal programs initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Milton S. Hershey's groundbreaking business philosophy that was beneficial to the company and to his employees. We then look at the present-day examples of business models that do not sacrifice the community and environment for profit, provide examples of companies that are implementing these models, discuss the business case for doing this, discuss new regulatory support for the concept of compassionate capitalism, and explore how companies are rated by their employees and the community on their "giving back" practices.

Exploring Compassion and Capitalism

It would seem the term "compassionate capitalism" is oxymoronic; the two words are mutually exclusive and do not complement each other. American corporate capitalism (ACC) is characterized by self-interest, competition, market exchange, consumerism, and the use of profits and losses to guide decision-making. Under the

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_7

ACC model, corporations seek to minimize costs and maximize profits, which may result in lower wages or a reduced workforce; employees strive to maximize wages; and consumers wish to obtain goods and services at the lowest cost. ACC survives because of the support from the legal system, government, stock markets, media, trade organizations, and advertising (George, 2014). This economic value system is the belief that individuals get ahead through their own hard work and that there isn't much room for compassion.

In a New York Times article published in 1970, the economist Milton Friedman wrote the only "social responsibility of business" was to "increase its profits." He states (Friedman, 1962, p. 135): "The corporation is an instrument of the stockholders who own it. If the corporation makes a contribution, it prevents the individual stockholder from himself deciding how he should dispose of his funds." Corporate philanthropy declined 50 % in the 15 years prior to 2002. Instead of outright giving, corporations shifted to "strategic philanthropy" where cause-related advertising dons the cloak of charity. One example from 1999 finds that Philip Morris gave $75 million to charity, but spent $100 million on an advertising campaign to publicize those contributions, causing general cynicism about the company's motivations (Porter & Kramer, 2002).

Is the stark self-interest proposed by Friedman truly the best philosophy for a corporation to practice? Perhaps not, most humans feel and exercise compassion towards others even if businesses they presently create do not. That said, some of these same business individuals are attempting to change the face of business—sometimes in small but meaningful ways as when a personnel policy change enables a co-worker to gift sick leave to a fellow worker whose time is exhausted. In other instances the sole purpose of the corporation (generating capital for its owners) is challenged with missions that recognize that humans do not live by bread alone (Think $$$). There is a growing consensus that altruism and a concern for the collective welfare offers a more successful strategy for success than purely selfish behavior (Stewart & Plotkin, 2013).

Compassionate Capitalism in the Public Sector

Historically, the US Gross National Product grew from $74 billion to over $104 billion from 1900 to 1929. For the first time, more Americans lived in cities than on farms. Although the 1920s began in an economic recession, the US total wealth more than doubled between 1920 and 1929. The "Roaring 20s" were characterized by low taxes (the highest income tax rate in the US went from 73 to 24 %), little regulation of the free market economy, and few unions to protect the workers. Workers' wages were higher and credit was readily available, which allowed individuals to spend their money on automobiles, home appliances, radios, phonographs, and entertainment. They also invested in the stock market many for the first time as stock prices rose in the bull market of 1928–1929. Although this was an era of great prosperity for many, there were individuals who suffered. After World War I (July 1914–November 1918), farm commodity prices fell, and by 1925, there was a serious slump in the building industry and Southern black sharecroppers lived in poverty (earning an average wage of about $350 a year) (Annenberg Learner, 2014; 1920-30.com, n.d.).

On October 29, 1929, the stock market crashed and thousands of Americans lost their life savings. At first, the government did not step in to help solve the problem. President Hoover did not believe in offering relief; he felt that the private charitable sector should assist the distressed. Also, there was a national belief that success was earned and failure deserved. As a result, the US entered the "Great Depression," a period marked by 25 % unemployment (50 % for blacks), food lines, bank failures, foreclosures, and bankruptcies (Public Broadcasting System, 2014a).

The government eventually intervened after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) in 1933 and the passage of his New Deal programs. The government took responsibility in caring for the needy without discrimination (although this practice continued in the South). Public Broadcasting System, 2014b). Paleologos (2013) writes, "To save capitalism from itself, FDR introduced what turned out to be the crucial missing ingredient: compassion." He notes that Roosevelt understood that compassion did not grow out of an unregulated free market and he knew that fairness was not a part of pure capitalism. He writes, "FDR gave us a new, improved version. Call it compassionate capitalism."

In his first 100 days of office, with the help of his advisors and the support of Congress, Roosevelt was able to get bills approved that would address poverty, reduce unemployment, and improve the economy. Here are some of those New Deal programs:

- Civil Conservation Corps—sent three million single men from age 17 to 23 to the nations' forests to work. The men, who were volunteers and lived in the forest, dug ditches, built reservoirs, and planted trees. They were paid $30 a month, with two-thirds being sent home.
- The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the National Recovery Administration (NRA)—addressed unemployment by regulating the number of hours worked per week and banning child labor.
- The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)—gave $3 billion to states for work relief programs.
- The Agricultural Adjustment Act—subsidized loans for farmers facing bankruptcy.
- The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)—helped people save their homes from foreclosure.

These programs did not end the Great Depression, but they helped to take care of the basic needs of Americans and protected them in the workplace (Public Broadcasting System, 2014b).

Roosevelt took additional legislative action in 1935 because the first set of New Deal programs did not fully address all economic issues including severe unemployment. He introduced the following programs to address the issues:

- Works Progress Administration (WPA)—provided jobs for 8.5 million unemployed individuals. WPA projects included building post offices, bridges, schools, highways, airports, and parks. The WPA also employed individuals involved with the arts.
- National Labor Relations Act, also known as the Wagner Act—created the National Labor Relations Board to supervise union elections and prevent unfair labor practices.
- Social Security Act of 1935—guaranteed retirement to workers, created systems for unemployment insurance and care for dependent children and the disabled.
- The GI Bill—any person serving their country is entitled to a college education (History.com, n.d.).

Roosevelt's programs were successful in chipping away at the deficit, but World War-II temporarily depleted the gains. His policies eventually helped to balance the budget; in 1947, the federal government had a budget surplus. The programs he sponsored enhanced private sector growth, and the wealth that it created was more evenly distributed, with the largest portion going to a growing middle class. Roosevelt helped create a social safety net, and compassionate capitalism has prevailed to the present day (Paleologos, 2013). Paleologos (2013) observes: "The so-called controversy over raising taxes vs. cutting entitlements exists only in Washington. For the rest of America, this issue was settled in 1932 and then again in 2012. History has repeatedly demonstrated that compassionate capitalism leads to balanced budgets, a robust economy, and a piece of the opportunity pie for every citizen seated at America's table. If we take the compassion out of capitalism, what's left? 1929" (Paleologos, 2013, para 12).

In the 1960s, government leaders introduced several programs that showed compassion including service to others; President Kennedy's Peace Corps; President Johnson's War on Poverty and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965, which created Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), included: Medicare and Medicaid, the first direct federal aid to school districts and funding for bilingual education, Head Start, Food Stamps, Job Corps, urban renewal programs, and civil rights legislation (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.).

In 1989, President George H. W. Bush tried to jumpstart the spirit of service in his inaugural address, "We can find meaning and reward by serving some higher purpose than ourselves, a shining purpose, and the illumination of a thousand points of light." In 1990, he established the Daily Point of Light Award for individuals making a difference and recognized more than 1000 volunteers as "points of light" during his administration. This award is now administered by the Points of Light, a nonprofit, independent, nonpartisan organization established in 1990, which works with 70,000 companies and nonprofits and 250 affiliates worldwide to engage individuals in volunteer service (Points of Light, 2015).

In 1993, President Bill Clinton signed the National and Community Service Trust Act, which created AmeriCorps, a national service program to address the country's most critical issues. This was followed by the creation of the Corporation for National and Community Service, a federal agency that engages millions of individuals in service through Senior Corps, AmeriCorps, and Learn and Serve America (Points of Light, 2015).

In 2005, 29 corporate leaders of Fortune 500 companies established the HandsOn Network Corporate Service Council; this now has 60 companies. In 2007, Points of Light Foundation and HandsOn Network merged to become Points of Light; this created the largest volunteer management and civic engagement organization in the nation. In 2009, President Barack Obama signed the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act and announces United We Serve campaign to involve more Americans in service (Points of Light, 2015).

One Early Example of a Corporation Showing Compassionate Capitalism

Compassionate capitalism is certainly not a new phenomenon, Milton Hershey built his chocolate empire all the while caring and nurturing those at risk of exploitative and substandard conditions within the community. He started his business in the early 1900s when there was little protection for workers. Individuals from rural areas came to the cities for manufacturing jobs that required long hours and heavy labor with little hope of getting ahead. Hershey treated his employees well and provided them with opportunities to prosper. In turn, they were loyal and helped him build a successful empire (Entrepreneur, 2008).

The utopian "city of the future" created for the Columbian Exposition inspired Hershey to build a town near his chocolate factory where his employees could live, play, work, and thrive. In 1903, he began building in Dairy Church, Pennsylvania, his birthplace, where there was a large supply of clean water, dairy farms, and room for expansion. Hershey built a facility that could mass produce high-quality milk chocolate at affordable prices. The city was re-named Hershey, Pennsylvania, in 1905 and offered affordable housing with modern amenities, paved streets, schools, department stores, a trolley system, churches, a library, a hospital, and entertainment facilities. The community and the company both flourished; the business grew from $600,000 in 1901 to $20 million by 1921 (Entrepreneur, 2008).

Hershey continued to forge on, even during the Great Depression. Instead of laying off workers and slowing operations, he conceived a plan to keep his workers employed. He put them to work constructing buildings in the community including a high school, a sports arena, a community building, and a hotel. Hershey considered the livelihoods of laborers and was a proponent of more jobs and less technology if technology meant reducing the number of workers. For example, it is said that 1 day he was watching the building of the hotel when a foreman bragged that the steam shovel could do the job of 40 workers. Hershey told the foreman to get rid of the machine and hire 40 workers (Entrepreneur, 2008).

Milton Hershey felt he had a moral responsibility to share his wealth with others. As a result, he and his wife established the Hershey Industrial School in 1909 (at that time it served orphaned boys to train them in useful trades and occupations). The boarding school is now called the Milton Hershey School, and it offers free education to over 2000 children whose families have social and/or financial difficulties (Milton Hershey School, 2014; The Hershey Company, 2014a, 2014b).

Nomenclature to Describe Doing Good

Following Hershey's example, there are companies attempting to "do good" in their communities. Different terms/models have been used to describe their strategies: corporate social responsibility, the triple-bottom-line, conscious capitalism, and strategic philanthropy.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is the catchall phrase to describe a company's good deeds. It focuses on the importance for companies to reach beyond the simple goal of maximizing profits, and to take responsibility for employee welfare, community awareness, and environmental impacts of the business activity. There is no legal obligation attached to CSR; companies can adopt it or not. Yet, evidence shows that some corporations are investing time and money pursuing compassionate objectives that benefit their employees, the communities where they operate, and the environment. These businesses make corporate social responsibility a core of their operations (e.g., Ben and Jerry's has developed a dairy farm sustainability program; Starbucks sources sustainably grown and processed coffee by evaluating local environmental, social and economic impacts; Tom's Shoes gives away one pair of shoes for every pair they sell) (Espenson, 2014; Fallon, 2014).

Triple-Bottom-Line

In 1994, John Elkington coined the phrase "triple-bottom-line," (TBL). He suggested that successful companies should embrace not one but three separate bottom-lines. The first was monetary profit and loss. The second was called the "people account." It was the company's measure of social responsibility derived from its operations and the third was dubbed the "planet account," or the level of the company's environmental responsibility. The TBL is known also as the three Ps: profit, people, and planet, with the goal of quantifying a company's business success, social responsibility, and environmental impact (The Economist, 2009).

Strategic Philanthropy/Corporate Philanthropy/Corporate Strategic Philanthropy

In Porter & Kramer's, 2002 article for the *Harvard Business Review*, they distinguish between "strategic philanthropy" and unfocused giving common among-corporations. Strategic philanthropy involves context-focused philanthropy designed to provide a mutually beneficial social value, with or without actual advertising. They cite as an example–the Cisco Network Academy—a school to train potential employees in network administration. Although Cisco Systems received much goodwill from the philanthropic community for their effort, they also established a knowledgeable employee source to improve productivity, making advertising this program unnecessary. The authors state: "The acid test of good corporate philanthropy is whether the desired social change is so beneficial to the company that the organization would pursue the change even if no one ever knew about it" (Porter & Kramer, 2002, p. 67).

In 1999, Paul Newman (Newman's Own) and other business leaders launched the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy (CECP) and called upon other companies to address the needs in their communities. When CECP was first established, its main focus was corporate philanthropy, but it now focuses on strategies connected to core business competencies with emphasis on CEO engagement and impact. CECP presently includes more than 150 CEOs and chairpersons of major companies, which represent approximately $14 billion of annual corporate giving (Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy, 2015).

Interestingly, a panel presentation, "Beyond Checkbook Philanthropy," at the 2013 Independent Sector Conference examined corporate philanthropy and compared it with a newer approach called "shared value initiatives" where corporations partner with other organizations to reach an end result that is beneficial to all (Think the Cisco Network Academy). The presenters concluded that these initiatives are an important part of the overall corporate responsibility, but corporate giving is also necessary because not all problems have market solutions. It was noted that corporate giving accounts for only 6 % of the total giving in 2012, which means it hasn't grown over the last 20 years despite the fact that it is a line item in every major corporation's budget (Ataselim-Yilmaz, 2014).

Conscious Capitalism

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Progressive Movement promoted many ideas, one being that factories could be built in farming communities to provide jobs without harming the environment (e.g., clean air and water). For example, Henry Ford took his automotive company to Dearborn, Michigan. These initiatives could be considered "conscious capitalism;" as they provided diversity and sustainability without negatively affecting the "first bottom-line" (Hanlon, 2012). Regrettably, the needed oversight to insure that environmental harm would not occur was never exercised and in most instances environmental harm happened. Thus, even good intentions can have disastrous consequences.

The Conscious Capitalism Institute defines conscious capitalism as having: (1) a greater purpose other than making money; (2) aligning all the stakeholders around that sense of greater purpose and recognizing their interconnected interests so there should be no taking advantage of one for the benefit of another; (3) conscious leadership that is motivated by purpose and service (not by control or personal agendas); (4) a conscious culture which embraces trust, caring, compassion, and authenticity (Whitford, 2011).

The present day proponents of conscious capitalism believe that a business needs to focus on the whole to be sustainable, thrive, and be resilient. Hanlon (2012, para. 7) quotes Jeff Klein, a trustee in Conscious Capitalism, Inc., "Conscious capitalism is an idea, an orientation, and an approach to business, and it's an organization." Conscious Capitalism, Inc. focuses mainly on innovation and the recognition that every business has a purpose beyond the firm. Patagonia, The Container Store, and REI are examples of conscious capitalism because their leadership practices the model, and it is embedded in their corporate culture. For example, during the economic downturn in 2008, the CEOs of the Container Store and REI decided that they were not going to lay off workers, cut pay rates, benefit deductions or working hours, for their most vulnerable employees (the part-time employees). Instead, salaried employees would take a pay freeze or a reduction in pay. Interestingly, these companies' profits were down much less than others. Raj Sisodia, notes, "Because conscious companies operate in a system of loyalty, trust, and caring, they tend to rally around each other when times are tough. They have a greater sense of oneness with their suppliers, with their employees, with their customers" (cited in Whitford, 2011, para. 5). This raises the question: Is it possible to judge how conscious a company is?

Evaluating Companies on Their Compassion

Firms of Endearment

In their book, Firms of Endearment: How World-Class Companies Profit from Passion and Purpose, Sisodia, Wolfe, and Sheth (2007) challenged companies to reorganize and become vehicles of service to every stakeholder group. They showed that companies that incorporated a stakeholder relationship management business model had an advantage over the traditional shareholder perspective; they believed that endearing companies tended to be enduring companies. The authors noted that their book was not about CSR but enlightened business management. They described a company in which its stakeholders developed an emotional connection with it

Table 1 Five major stakeholders of modern corporations

Stakeholder	Definition
Society	Local and broader communities as well as governmental and societal institutions, especially nongovernmental organizations
Partners	Suppliers, horizontal partners, and retailers
Investors	Individual and institutional shareholders, lenders
Customers	Individual and organizational customers; current, future, and past customers
Employees	Current, future, and past employees and their families

Note. Reprinted from "Firms of endearment: How world-class companies profit from passion and purpose (1st ed.)," by R. Sisodia, D. B. Wolfe, and J. N. Sheth, 2007, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publication, p. 12. Copyright 2007 by Rajendra S. Sisodia, David B. Wolfe, Jagdish N. Sheth. Reprinted [or adapted] with permission

(i.e., firms of endearment [FoEs]). "They were the ultimate value creators: They created emotional value, experiential value, social value, and financial value. People who interacted with such companies felt safe, secure, and pleased in their dealings. They enjoyed working for the company, buying from it, investing in it, and having it as a neighbor." Table 1 shows what the authors consider to be the five major stakeholders of modern corporations (their SPICE model).

Sisodia et al. (2007) discuss how each stakeholder maintains its own importance, yet is linked to the other groups. A FoE aligns the interests of all stakeholder groups and does not exchange the interests of one group for another. Their business models allow the objectives of each stakeholder to be met and strengthened by other stakeholders. The expectations in the marketplace are changing: individuals want more than just the goods and services they are buying, many are looking for higher meaning in their lives. The authors note that this phenomenon is "changing the very soul of capitalism" (p. 3). They also note that investors are looking for companies in which they invest to account for their CSR.

The first FoE research was conducted in the mid-2000s over a 2-year period. Through exploratory research, they picked the most promising 60 companies loved by the general public. They asked questions like: "Would most people say that the world is a better place because this company exists? Do communities welcome them or oppose them when they try to enter or expand?" Teams of MBA students interviewed all major stakeholder groups including: executives, employees, customers, and analysts. A peer team reviewed the results and determined if a company qualified as a FoE (Sisodia, Wolfe, & Sheth, 2007). For a list of FoEs in the first study, go to: http://ptgmedia.pearsoncmg.com/images/9780133382594/samplepages/0133382591.pdf (Sisodia, Wolfe, & Sheth, 2007, p. 19).

Below in Table 2 are some examples of the characteristics of an FoE and a company that exhibits those characteristics (Sisodia, Sheth & Wolfe, 2014).

Sisodia, Wolfe, & Sheth (2007, p. 63) writes "these companies have figured out that not only can you have your cake and eat it too; you can also give some to your friends, donate some to a soup kitchen, and help support the local cooking school." FoEs possess a "humanistic soul." Their leaders encourage employees to serve their communities and the world at large because it is the right thing to do. "In FoEs, it is

Table 2 Characteristics of an FoE and company examples

Characteristic	Company example
Executive salaries are fairly modest	Costco's CEO's salary was $350,000 with a bonus of $200,000 in an average year compared to $14.2 million, the 2012 average compensation of a CEO of an S&P 500 company
Executives have an open-door policy	Harley-Davidson employees have access to management all the time
Salary and benefits for employees are significantly greater than the industry average	In the first year, the pay and benefits for full-time employees at Trader Joe's are twice the US average for retail employees
There is an investment in employee training	In their first year, employees at The Container Store receive an average of 263 h of training versus the average industry of 8 h
There is far less employee turnover than the industry average	Southwest's turnover is half that of the other major airlines. They did not have layoffs after 9/11, like other airlines, and they continue to make a profit each year. They have a "Culture Committee" charged with nurturing the company's unique culture. Because of its culture, staff members seem to like their jobs
They project a sincere passion for customers, and have an emotional connection with customers	JetBlue's slogan is "We Like You, Too." Its CEO flies the airline at least weekly, talking to customers and discussing the JetBlue experience
They empower employees to ensure that customers are fully satisfied	A Wegmans customer botched Thanksgiving dinner so the company sent a chef to rescue the meal
They hire people who are passionate about the company and its products	Patagonia tries to hire people with a passion for mountain climbing and Whole Foods tries to attract "foodies" as employees
They humanize the company experience for customers and employees, as well as the working environment	Google provides free gourmet meals 24/7 for all employees, resulting in higher employee retention rates, which improve customer satisfaction

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common to see executives, managers, and frontline workers working shoulder-to-shoulder, forging unshakeable bonds through shared service to others in all stakeholder groups. This fosters a sense of cooperation and support within the company. It gets employees to help each other rather than view each other as rivals for advancement."

To add more rigor to the evaluation, the second FoE study used a data-driven process to select a greater variety of companies. This resulted in a list of 64 publically traded companies that had consistently scored well with all stakeholders in the past 5 years (2008–2012). Companies that did not have an expressed higher purpose, and did not manifest one, were not included. Higher scores were received for companies that had a CEO that was purpose-driven, service-minded, and was reasonably paid and for companies that had a trusting, caring, and authentic culture. They relied on

Table 3 Financial performance of FOEs

Cumulative performance	15 years (%)	10 years (%)	5 years (%)	3 years (%)
US FoEs	1681.11	409.66	151.34	83.37
International FoEs	1180.17	512.04	153.83	47.00
Good-to-Great Companies	262.91	175.80	158.45	221.81
S&P 500	117.64	107.03	60.87	57.00

Note. Reprinted from "Firms of endearment: How world-class companies profit from passion and purpose (2nd ed.)," by R. Sisodia, J. N. Sheth, and D. B. Wolfe 2014, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, p. 20. Copyright 2014 by Rajendra S. Sisodia, Jagdish N. Sheth, and the Estate of David B. Wolfe. Reprinted [or adapted] with permission

the case study approach to identify the 29 private and 15 non-US FoEs in the study. The final list can be found here: http://www.firmsofendearment.com/.

The FOEs were not driven by the bottom-line, yet had strong financial performances. Table 3 shows that FOEs had an increase in profits and, in many instances, outperformed the companies cited in Good-to-Great over the last 10 and 15 years (Sisodia, Sheth, & Wolfe, 2014). These results strongly suggest that there are economic benefits for doing good.

How Reputation Plays into Compassionate Capitalism

Reputation Institute, a private global consulting firm, conducts an annual survey called Global RepTrak® Pulse (touted as the world's largest reputation study), which ranks the world's 100 most reputable companies. Reputation Institute analyzes the seven dimensions of corporate reputation: financial performance, leadership, products and services, innovation, ***workplace***, ***governance***, and ***citizenship*** (the latter three are a part of CSR), to understand what drives perceptions and how it influences buying behavior. It believes that success depends on support from stakeholders, that support depends on trust, and trust is at the "heart" of a strong reputation. The RepTrak® Pulse measures the degree of admiration, trust, good feeling, and overall esteem that stakeholders hold about organizations. The analysis provides a normative base for companies to benchmark against across stakeholders. The RepTrak® System looks at these individual dimensions to pull out which has the highest impact on support and recommendation, and which improves the emotional relationship between a particular company and a stakeholder group. It found that 60 % of a consumer's inclination to purchase, recommend, invest in, and work for a company results from its reputation, with only 40 % driven by one's understanding of the company's products or services (Reputation Institute, 2015).

Being a good corporate citizen is an element of CSR. A company is a good corporate citizen if it supports good causes, protects the environment, has responsible management, behaves ethically, is open and transparent about business, and treats its employees well. The survey conducted between January and February 2013, included

55,000 consumers across 40 countries reviewing 2000 companies from 25 industries. Four corporations tied for the best reputation. About 50 % of those surveyed thought The Walt Disney Company was the best in the "citizenship" category, believing Disney supports good causes and is environmentally responsible. Google won the "workplace" category with 51 % of consumers thinking it is a rewarding employer. BMW tops the "governance" dimension because consumers believe it is transparent, ethical, and managed responsibly. Microsoft was the fourth company; through its Youthspark initiative, new entrepreneurial and employment opportunities have been created for more than 103 million youth worldwide. In addition, for more than 30 years, their Employee Giving Campaign resulted in more than 300 annual activities to benefit nonprofit organizations and causes (Reputation Institute, 2015).

The Reputation Institute findings suggest a strong relationship between a company's good reputation and ample funding of CSR programs, yet many other companies also spend a lot on CSR and struggle to get their message out. This is good evidence that such companies need to use these studies to help measure and influence stakeholder behavior (Dill, 2014a).

The Edelman's Goodpurpose Study (2012), which annually looks at 8000 adult consumer attitudes in 16 countries, found in 2008 that 86 % of respondents thought companies should place equal emphasis on social interests and business dealings. In 2012, 76 % of respondents believe it's acceptable to make money and support good causes simultaneously, an increase from 2008 of 33 %. Their results show that when the quality and price of products is equal, "social purpose" becomes the most influential characteristic determining spending choice. Since 2008, the importance of social purpose has risen 26 % for triggering purchases.

Along with the increase of social purpose importance, purchase frequency has also increased. Almost half of the consumers surveyed buy brands associated with good causes at least monthly, a 47 % increase from 2010. The 2012 study also shows a 39 % increase of consumers who recommend brands tied to good causes, a 34 % increase of consumers who would help promote products or services associated with good causes, and a 9 % increase of consumers who would switch to brands supporting a good cause if all else were equal (Cone, 2012; Edelman, 2012).

More on the Business Case for Social Responsibility

Thorpe (2013) spoke with 59 corporate executives of both large and small companies to gain an understanding of the benefits of CSR to the corporation. The corporations tended to look at the impact on the community more than on the company; therefore the impact was not readily clear due to the varied responses received. Out of 59 CEOs, 51 believe their employees were happier and 45 believed CSR improved the employee value to the company, either by attracting better talent or that the CSR programs helped develop better employees. Table 4 provides examples of what some companies do around CSR and the perceived benefits.

Table 4 Examples of CSR and the perceived benefits

Company	Their projects	Perceived benefits to company
DLA Piper—One of the World's Largest Law Firms.	Employees are encouraged to participate in "Signature Projects" that commit significant resources to tackling problems in education, juvenile justice, hunger relief, domestic violence, veteran issues, etc., in addition to providing pro bono law services	Improvements in client relationships, employee morale, and ties to local communities
		Provides young attorneys with community service opportunities
West Monroe Partners—Consulting Firm	They donate 1 % of time, 1 % of treasure, and 1 % of talent back to organizations in their communities	Employees are able to give back to the communities in a way that complements their personal and professional lives
entreQuest—Consulting Firm	The eQ team conducts "Give Back Days" where the employees serve meals at a local soup kitchen, work with Habitat for Humanity to provide local housing, mentor children through b4Students and Big Brothers Big Sisters and more	Lifts morale and builds competence among the team, allowing them to make better decisions
		Won Baltimore's Best Places To Work award and CEO was honored as one of Maryland's Most Admired CEOs by The Daily Record
Soapbox Soaps	Every bottle of liquid hand soap buys 1 month of clean water to a child in need through RainCatcher	Empowers customers to change the world through everyday purchases
Bullhorn—Software Company Serving Recruiters	Provides one volunteer day per quarter to each employee to combat class poverty through Career Collaborative and Youth Villages programs	Changes employment relationship to accomplish something and express shared values
Orange County *SEO* [*Search Engine Optimization*], California-internet marketing	Offers charities free search engine optimization and online marketing	Employees gain a sense of pride and accomplishment and sales have increased because consumers wanted to use the same company who had produced such positive gains for charities
Arise Virtual Solutions—Network of 25,000 home-based customer service professionals	Participates in Habitat For Humanity projects throughout the United States several times a year	Fosters new relationships within the company, and team-building exercises carry over from the home site to the office

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Table 5 Five elements of best CSR programs and company example

Element	Company
Business-based social purpose—illuminate the connection between business purpose and desirable social goals	Staffers at Campbell's Canada developed "Nourish," a nutritious food provided only to food banks to alleviate hunger, showcasing their compassionate spirit and creative expertise
Clear theory of change—find a unique method to implement CSR customized for targeted social gains	The "Healthy Communities" program, by 3M Canada, was specifically designed to influence government while engaging youth partnerships with leading not-for-profits
Quality and depth of information—utilize a variety of media to educate stakeholders, customers, and employees	IBM has a public affairs manager who focuses on corporate affairs and citizenship
Concentrated effort—it's better to focus on one goal and achieve success, then target numerous projects and improve nothing	Since 2007, Proctor and Gamble has been dedicated to improving the lives of more than 210 million children worldwide
Partnering with experts—establish credibility and improve success through meaningful, broad-reaching relationships	Starbucks convened a "Cup Summit" at MIT to focus all pertinent expertise on improving varied aspects of the common drinking cup (including how to make it environmentally friendly)

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Implementing Doing Good

As noted above, CSR is becoming an important characteristic of the corporate business model. More corporations are strategically employing CSR to achieve mutually beneficial objectives while elevating social value. Impakt Corporation found that leaders of these corporations appear to gravitate toward a common formula for success. It found five key ingredients for maximizing investments: business-based social purpose, clear theory of change, quality and depth of information, concentrated effort, and partnering with experts (Klein, 2011). Table 5 provides examples of each of the key elements and a company example.

Regulatory Support for the Concept of Compassionate Capitalism

In 2006, B-Lab, a nonprofit organization whose goal is to use business to solve social and environmental problems, was established. In 2008, B-Lab began certifying businesses as B-Corps. It uses the B-Impact Assessment, a tool to measure a business's social and environmental impact and provides a benchmark to similar businesses.

The assessment also provides tools to help businesses improve their impact over time. There are over 1000 B-Corps to date. To be certified, a B-Corp must achieve a minimum score on the B-Impact Assessment and change its guiding documents to allow directors to take into consideration other stakeholders besides shareholders when making decisions on behalf of the company (Woulfe, 2014). A list of B-Corps can be found at: https://www.bcorporation.net/community/find-a-b-corp.

In 2010, the first benefit corporation act was passed in Maryland. This act created a new legal entity for social enterprises and allowed businesses to incorporate as a benefit corporation (different from a B-Corp). A benefit corporation requires the corporation's directors to consider positive social or environmental impact when making company decisions and every stakeholder gets a vote not just the stockholders. This status reduces startup costs by giving attorneys a standardized means for structuring a social enterprise. The standardization of a benefit corporation allows consumers to understand what they are investing in, which may give them a marketing advantage over other businesses. Benefit corporations are required to file annual reports describing their positive impact on the community, environment, or what they are doing to give back, which allows companies to be transparent. These corporations are recognized as legal business entities in 26 states and DC (Hanlon, 2012; Woulfe, 2014). A list of benefit corporations can be found at: http://benefitcorp.net/find-a-benefit-corp.

Social Capital in Organizations/Workplaces

As discussed, social capital connects individuals in an organization and is characterized by high levels of trust, healthy personal networks, shared understandings, and a feeling of equitable participation working toward the same goals. This produces a collaborative, committed group of employees with coherent organizational behavior. Americans spend a good part of their lives at work and may meet their closest friends, life partners, and other outside networks, which makes it a great place to develop social capital (Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement in America, 2000). Specifically, it can generate social capital by: (1) building trusting relationships based on mutual support; (2) provides a pool of individuals and community organizations that are building social capital outside the organization; (3) employer's pro bono and philanthropic endeavors for the community (sponsoring volunteer teams, monetary donations, instituting "work-life" programs, giving individuals days off to volunteer, etc.) (Cohen & Prusak, 2001).

Cohen and Prusak (2001) describe the benefits of social capital:

- *Better knowledge sharing, due to established trust relationships, common frames of reference, and shared goals.*
- *Lower transaction costs, due to a high level of trust and a cooperative spirit (both within the organization and between the organization and its customers and partners).*

- *Low turnover rates, reducing severance costs and hiring and training expenses, avoiding discontinuities associated with frequent personnel changes, and maintaining valuable organizational knowledge.*
- *Greater coherence of action due to organizational stability and shared understanding.* (p. 10)

The Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement in America (2000) reviewed a number of studies that concluded the following: workplace social capital, more than monetary compensation and benefits, determined satisfaction, loyalty, productivity, and commitment; and when an organization was supportive of family and community obligations (e.g., allowing flex time and telecommuting), there was a reduction in absenteeism, discipline problems, and stress. The conclusion is a workplace with high social capital can improve employees' lives, which in turn improves the employer's bottom-line. They noted that assisting staff members to cultivate outside community networks can be beneficial by providing new customers and markets, and building social capital internally helps to enhance workers' skills and knowledge (human capital).

Cohen and Prusak (2001) share the story about the online Eureka system used by Xerox copier repair technicians to exchange tips on dealing with difficult problems to show how social capital can work. They explain that these experts refused to take monetary payment for contributing tips because the "intrinsic reward" of reputation and appreciation among colleagues was more rewarding. They note that social capital is not the sole factor of a companies' success—some do well even with low social capital and others with high social capital may not do well (e.g., everyone starts thinking alike and won't challenge each other even if something isn't good; creativity can be lost). They note:

> *Judgment, persuasiveness, shared decisions, the pooling of knowledge, and the creative sparks people strike off one another all depend on engagement with the work and with one another, on the commitment that makes one genuinely a member of an organization rather than simply an "employee" (that is, someone used by the organization).* (p.17)

Downsizing can damage networks, communities, and individuals, leading people to doubt a company's motivation, causing trust issues, even for those left employed. An economic downturn, change in management, or other factors can threaten social capital, but if it is high, it may help get through the rough times (Cohen & Prusak, 2001). We saw through examples that companies that did not lay off employees following 9/11 were successful.

Employees' Determination of Great Places/Best Places to Work

There are many different surveys that are administered to employees to determine the best/great/top places to work. They are often completed in local jurisdictions and include many of the same elements: good benefits, stimulating work, flexible schedules, opportunities for growth, and respect for their staff. One of the more well-known surveys is the Fortune 100 Best Companies to Work For, which looks at larger national/global companies. Great Place to Work, which does the study, has analyzed companies' practices for the past 25 years. It notes, "It isn't what the companies are doing, it is how their leaders are doing it. And one cannot predict that organizations with the most creative practices, the best bottom-line, the least stressful jobs or the most generous compensation packages are the ones that employees will most appreciate" ("What is a Great Place"). The Fortune rating is based on feedback from employees at 5500 companies and these companies must go through an application process (so there is some bias because not all companies put in an application which means they would not be rated). The Trust Index© employee survey accounts for 2/3 of the score and the rest of the score comes from the Culture Audit© that is completed by management and evaluated by an independent Great-Place-to-Work team. The employee survey is modelled on the five dimensions that define a great workplace and they do a Culture Audit©, organized by the nine practice areas in the management definition of a great workplace. Trust, viewed as the essential principle, "is created through management's credibility, the respect with which employees feel they are treated, and the extent to which employees expect to be treated fairly. The degree of pride and levels of authentic connection and camaraderie employees feel one with are additional essential components" (Great Place to Work, 2015a).

There are three essential elements from a leaders/manager's perspective that define a great workplace: achieving organizational goals/objectives, employees giving their personal best, and working together as a team/family in an environment of trust. They define this further with the following nine practice areas where leaders/managers create an environment of trust: achieving organizational goals/objectives by inspiring, speaking, and listening; employees giving their personal best by thanking, developing, and caring; and working together as a team/family by hiring, celebrating, and sharing.

The elements that are looked at from both the employee and manager's perspective are the same elements that could lead to having high social capital in a workplace. It was noted that the benefits of having trust and engagement in the workplace is that employees perform 20 % better, are 87 % less likely to leave the company, and the financial performance of publicly traded companies on the list consistently outperform major stock indices by 300 % (Great Place to Work, 2015a). "Great workplaces are built through the day-to-day relationships that employees experience—not a checklist of programs and benefits" (Great Place to Work, 2015a, para. 3). Below is a sampling of some of the companies that made the 2015 list:

- #1, Google—recently enhanced its parental leave benefits. New parents can get up to 12 weeks of fully paid leave and they get $500 of "Baby Bonding Bucks." In addition, individuals take pride in Google Maps and Android because they are changing the world and they feel they have caring colleagues.
- #7, Wegmans Food Markets—individuals report that they work with welcoming, supportive colleagues who make them feel at home. Wegmans offers exercise programs, regular charitable projects, tuition reimbursement for individuals

working part-time, and covers 85–100 % of employees' and their dependents' healthcare premiums.
- #8, Salesforce—they doubled their workforce, 58 % which was from employee referrals. All employees get 6 paid days off per year to volunteer, which has resulted in more than 800,000 h in volunteer time given back to the community (Great Place to Work, 2015b).

Another way to rate organizations (you don't need a nomination application) is through the Glassdoor website. Every year, Glassdoor reviews feedback from employees about their companies (those with 1000 plus employees) and makes a determination about the Best Places to Work for the coming year. Employees are asked to rate their overall satisfaction, CEO leadership, career opportunities, compensation, and work-life balance. They are also asked if they would recommend their place of employment to a friend and to comment on their employer's business outlook for the next 6 months. The companies that rank the highest are the ones that actively communicate their mission and values to employees and potential employees. Google had the highest ranking this year and it has been on the list for 7 years. As noted above, it increased maternity and paternity leave and re-designed on-site daycare; they helped to make family a priority (Dill, 2014b).

Tying It All Together

Gross (n.d.) explored the connection between CSR and employee engagement by reviewing results from a number of surveys and the academic literature. (He noted that we should be careful about survey results because surveys/questionnaires are better at measuring attitudes and intentions versus behavior, therefore, it is difficult to know if one is capturing engagement or the drivers of engagement. In this case, the academic literature supported the survey results.) He found that there was a business case for organizations to implement CSR: It is the third most important driver of employee engagement, and the organization's CSR reputation is an important driver for both engagement and retention. When employees view their organization's commitment to CSR favorably, they tend to be positive in other areas that correlate with better performance (e.g., customer service and management leadership); employees who view their companies' CSR favorably also report a positive rating in organizational pride and satisfaction, and report their willingness to recommend it as a place to work and stay as well as increasing organizational citizenship; 7 out of 10 employees who view their company positively around CSR, rated senior management as having high integrity compared with 1 in 5 employees who saw their company failing around CSR.

Maak (2007) suggests that responsible leadership contributes to building social capital and leads to both being able to sustain a business and doing well for all stakeholders. (The Firms of Endearment study showed that this is true.) He notes, that many corporations are using the "triple-bottom-line" approach and their values are reflecting social and environmental concerns, however, few have not taken on humanitarian challenges (e.g., poverty, hunger, disease, etc.), which in turn prevents a good segment of the world population from participating in the global economy or benefiting from it. He suggests that there needs to be a new approach that includes the voices, interests, or concerns of those who haven't been involved because this "ultimately comes down to the sustainability of the business system" (Maak, 2007, p. 331). He notes that it doesn't matter what you call it (e.g., compassionate capitalism) (Benioff & Southwick, 2004), rather, leaders need to "make sure that their organizations adopt a truly inclusive and ethically sound way of creating value for all legitimate stakeholders, including previously excluded ones and future generations" (Maak, 2007, p. 331).

Summary

Does compassionate capitalism make sense? Throughout history, a trend toward a business philosophy that is beneficial to all stakeholders, including the company's bottom-line, an employee's welfare, and the community where it operates has been increasing. In the early 1900s, Milton Hershey was a pioneer behind this thinking as he built the Hershey chocolate empire. These thoughts have evolved through time and have become a standard for many forward-thinking CEOs, and the basis for progressive governmental policy. Whether it is the business attitude, corporate monetary contributions, pro bono services, employees lending themselves to the community through volunteer opportunities or building their company around a mission, these elements of corporate social responsibility are usually the framework of the most successful companies. In addition to establishing a framework in this manner, employee satisfaction and corporate reputation are other key factors of success.

Employees are satisfied in the workplace generally if there is responsible management, ample career opportunities, reasonable compensation, a work-life balance and trust. Trust; obtained through management credibility, stakeholders working towards the same goal, and the appreciation and fair treatment of employees, is the most crucial of these elements. A feeling of trust contributes to a high level of satisfaction. This trust between management and their employees, the relationships formed in and out of the workplace, as well as the philanthropic endeavors in the community create social capital. The more investment a company places in social capital, the greater the reward. If employees are satisfied, companies experience lower turnover rates, a favorable financial performance, and more efficient practices.

The way employees interact outside the workplace, through their outside relationships and personal acts can influence a consumer's perception of a company. Reputation is one of the most influential characteristics in a consumer's purchase decision, if all other factors (price and quality) are equal. If a company's management appears to be ethical, transparent, and thoughtful toward the environment and its' employees, chances are great that the company will have a good reputation.

Corporate social responsibility, employee satisfaction, and corporate reputation are individual factors of compassionate capitalism. Surveys and research have determined that these factors are often linked and lend themselves to each other. They are all individual elements of success, but when all these components work together, we see the greatest benefits for all the stakeholders.

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Strategies for Building Social Capital

James R. Cook

Social capital has been shown to be a multifaceted concept (Johnson, 2016), that has great potential for benefiting both individuals and communities (Chilenski & Summers, 2016, in this volume). The concept has evolved and developed over the past 25 years (Hunt & Mattson, 2016, in this volume) and provides a framework for understanding business models that contribute to corporate profits while also providing substantial benefits for people and communities (Hunt & Mattson, 2016, in this volume). But how do we develop social capital? What are the mechanisms that can lead to the creation of social capital? In short, if we want to create social capital, how do we do it? This chapter outlines a set of strategies that can help in the development of social capital.

Social capital involves changes in and potential benefits for both individuals and communities. As such, the development or creation of social capital requires that we attend to both individual and community-level factors. Individual behavior and change always occur within the social context of the community, and that social context can have a major bearing on how individuals grow, develop, and prosper. Similarly, individuals do not just passively respond to their environments, but shape them in many ways that can benefit themselves and their broader communities. Hence, before we talk about ways to create social capital, it is critical to think about communities and how individuals connect with others in their communities, and are shaped by, and in turn, have an impact on their communities.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_8

What Do We Mean by a Community?

The concept of community can evoke many different thoughts. When people talk about their community, they may tie that idea to the local area where they live, meaning their city, county, or neighborhood. When people talk about their community, they may also mean a group of people with whom they share something in common, regardless of where they might be. Examples of this meaning of community include such terms as the "black community," or the "Jewish community," or a "learning community" of people who have a specific interest in learning about something and/or who wish to learn from one another.

The notion of community also evokes a number of other ideas that relate to people's feelings and behaviors. An important idea is the notion of a "sense of community." Seymour Sarason (1974) developed some of the early ideas around the sense of community, which means the perceptions and feelings people have about their community and the behaviors they exhibit as a member of their community. In particular, Sarason and others (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Perkins & Long, 2002) have identified a number of key components of a sense of community, that contribute to people feeling safe and secure and a part of a larger something. A sense of community is characterized by the following dimension, which we'll elaborate on in greater detail:

- Membership—a sense of belonging and identification
- Influence—people can make a difference with one another
- Integration—sharing of values and resources to satisfy one another's needs
- Shared emotional connection—positive feelings about the place and other people in that location

Sarason and others suggest that the sense of community is an essential aspect of living in society, and the absence of a sense of community leads to a sense of aloneness and social disorder that negatively affects communities and the people within them. Let's talk about each of the dimensions of a sense of community and how and why they are important.

Membership

The idea of membership in a community refers to the degree to which you feel you belong there and that the community is yours. This implies that you have some sense of safety and security there and being there or returning there "feels like home." If you have a sense of membership in your community, you are likely to invest your time and energy into making it better or keeping it safe and secure and healthy. Contributors to a sense of membership (and ways of identifying that people in a community have a sense of membership) are such things as rallying around the efforts of a sports team and wearing logos that represent being a part of a larger community concern or interest. This can be the case for anything from a professional baseball team to a high school football team—people are identifying that they have something in common with others. This notion of a sense of membership and belonging is then heightened when teams are playing (think of how communities pull together when their team is in the Superbowl), but this also becomes more apparent when communities are faced with a crisis, as when a tornado or hurricane strikes a community. People pull together because they relate to the community and its members, and identify with the struggles of its members. People work together and help each other as a way of investing in their community.

Influence

People who have a strong sense of community recognize that they have the ability to influence others and that they have a responsibility to recognize and respect the wishes of others. There is the recognition of mutual influence and interdependence, in that other people's actions can make their lives better or worse, and that there is the shared responsibility to be a positive influence on one another. This means that if your dogs are barking late at night, that is likely to adversely affect the sleep of your neighbor, and that you have a responsibility to try to keep them quiet. Similarly, there is the expectation that, if you ask your neighbor to keep his dogs contained, that the neighbor will make a serious effort to do so. In short, we can affect what is going on in our community, and we respect others' wishes as well. Contrast this with a situation in which you feel like you have no influence, nobody pays any attention to your wishes, and you don't care what anyone else thinks or desires. That situation would not be evidence of a sense of community.

Integration

When people are integrated into a community, they share values with one another, and are likely to share resources with one another to help satisfy each others' needs. It's not surprising that people who have similar interests and values tend to live and work with one another. Shared values make it easier to get along with one another, and living or working in a setting where you see yourself as having little or nothing in common with others around you can be a very isolating, lonely, and unpleasant experience. Signs of a community with good integration include the tendency for others to take care of one other through watching their homes, gathering their newspaper and mail, and feeding their pets when they are way, and loaning tools or providing a cup of sugar when needed. Integration into a community requires that you have sufficiently interacted with and come to know fellow members well enough to see that you have shared values.

Shared Emotional Connection

The existence of a shared emotional connection means that you have positive feelings about the others around you and the community as a whole, and that you care about the others in the community. When neighbors experience a break-in or a fire, clear expressions of concern are evident; similarly, when a baby is born, there is the shared sense of joy that connects the community members with one another. This means that the community members go beyond helping out, but also *feel* a connection. Not only will members help one another out because they know it is the right thing to do, or because of social pressure, or because they know they may need help in the future, but because they care about and want to help others in their community.

These aspects of a sense of community are certainly interrelated. If you feel a sense of belonging, you are also more likely to respect others' opinions and needs, help out others, and develop positive feelings about the community and its members. In addition, Sarason points out that having this sense of community is beneficial to the members by helping them feel less isolated and more connected to others. There is considerable comfort in knowing that you are part of a larger group who looks out for one another. Sarason believes that this sense of community is so important that any effort to change the community should be evaluated in terms of whether it adds to or detracts from a sense of community.

This has a number of implications for any effort to effect change. If we think about something as simple as placing some playground equipment in a park, we can imagine different ways of doing so. One way would be to get the city to contract with a company to install a set of playground equipment. That would be quick and simple, and professionals would be enlisted to do the work. However, the playground may not be what the community wants, the community would not necessarily have any say in what it is or where it is to be placed, and the equipment would be "owned" by the city, and not the neighborhood. It could be placed where parents cannot adequately see their children playing, leading to their reluctance to allow their children to use the equipment and the park. Adults or youth who do spend time near that equipment may be inclined to not take care of it well, litter the area, and/or deface the equipment.

On the other hand, you might imagine a situation in which community members worked with the city to design the section of the park and determine what type of equipment would be desirable; they worked to obtain funding for the equipment; they were involved in the placement and erection of the equipment and the landscaping for it; and they were hired or enlisted by the city to help maintain the park. Through these efforts, the process of improving the park would pull people together in a way that they had a greater sense of membership (ownership of the neighborhood and the park), influence (effecting change in their community), integration (helping one another), and emotional connection (through the shared sense of accomplishment). In this way, the community would be more likely to "own" the park and the equipment; people in the neighborhood would be more likely to protect it from vandalism, and refrain from littering, and they would be more likely to use "their" park. In turn, the greater use of the park would lead to a potential greater sense of community because neighbors would be more likely to interact with and get to know one another. Creating processes to build community can snowball on one another to continue to build community even after the deliberate efforts are complete.

Various types of community organizations can serve as "mediating structures" that facilitate the development of a sense of community. These include community organizations (e.g., churches, clubs, neighborhood organizations) or associations (e.g., groups that gather to play trivia, knit together, drink wine, enjoy outdoor activities). At the same time, a greater sense of community increases the likelihood that different opportunities for people to interact and effect change in their community are likely to occur because people are connected to one another in ways that are likely to lead to these opportunities. Creating these "structures" can help build community for the benefit of all the members. Even if you are not a part of any of the community-building efforts, everyone benefits from being part of a community where people look out for one another and feel a connection with the community and its members.

Throughout this chapter, we'll continue to emphasize the importance of building community (by this we mean building a strong sense of community) because it is essential to the development of social capital. Creating opportunities for people to connect with one another and build a sense of community, and then linking individuals to that community is how we create the type of social capital that allows individuals to thrive and communities to grow even stronger.

Social Support and Social Networks

Our working definition of social capital refers to the creation of social networks. Social networks are core building blocks of communities and the development of social capital. Social networks refer to groups of people who are connected in some way. Social networks are important because they enable people to have access to others who can provide different forms of support. This support can be viewed as the "capital" in social capital—the advantage that is obtained when individuals make connections with people who have the ability to provide needed support.

Although social networks are essential for gaining social support, they are not sufficient. Characteristics of the social network determine the amount and type of assistance available. For example, larger networks are not necessarily more helpful. More important are networks that can provide the right type of support that matches the individuals' needs.

Types of Social Support

Social support has been defined many different ways; however, it is often grouped into three different types or categories: emotional, informational, and instrumental support. Emotional support refers to empathy, comfort, caring, and encouragement.

Informational support is the exchange of advice, guidance and other ideas, and the provision of feedback. Lastly, instrumental support refers to the exchange of tangible goods, funds, or services. The matching of support with need is critical. For example, if someone doesn't need or want information, then providing information or advice is not particularly helpful, and in fact may be aversive or annoying to the person who actually needs and wants emotional support.

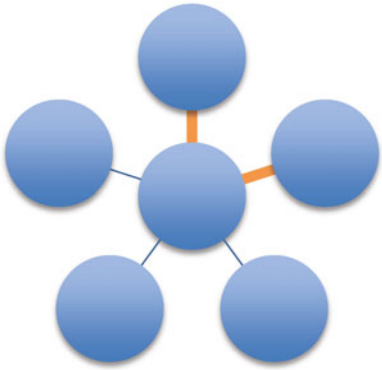
Sometimes, people talk about social *support* networks, but it's useful to make a distinction between social networks, defined as people and the connections or links among them, and social support, which is the benefit that *may result* from having a social network. While support, by definition, is a "good," your network may not necessarily be a good thing for you. Certainly we all know people in our networks whom we try to avoid because they are not supportive. For example, a bully may be part of your social network, but not one that provides you with support. Thus, it is important to identify the characteristics of social networks that can be most beneficial in providing support.

Characteristics of Networks

Social networks are often characterized graphically as a set of circles (representing a group of people) connected by lines, which represent the links among those individuals. You are "linked" to someone when you interact with them, are familiar with them, and/or feel close to them. The number of the people in the group, and the nature of the links are the bases for describing a network. If you think about the number of people to whom you are linked, you might think about whether there are many or only a few who are close to you, or who support you in some way. Size, defined as the number of people in a network, is one simple way to conceptualize a network. While it might seem that larger networks are better, the nature of the links is also very important. Researchers studying social networks have identified a number of different characteristics of networks, and these characteristics have implications for how they can be of use when people desire to build social capital.

Strength of Links

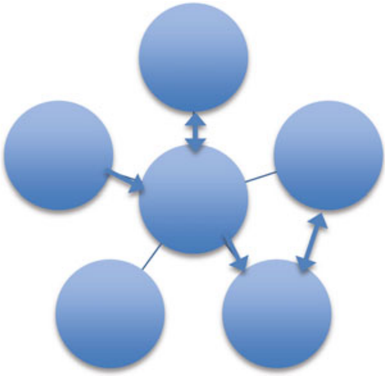
One aspect of the links between people in a network is the strength of the connections. Strength can be viewed in different ways, but is most commonly conceived of as the strength of the emotional bond. You would likely have a much stronger link or connection with a close family member or friend compared to your links with the cashier at your local grocery store; links with more distant friends and family members might be intermediate in strength. A stronger connection implies that you can rely on that person more, and it is important for most people to have at least a few strong connections. Stronger links also tend to be more durable and lasting. However, it's not critical to have a large number of strong links—in fact, it may be impossible to have a large number of really strong connections, except in the case of a large and close family, who may maintain strong connections even with little contact or interaction on an ongoing basis. For example, you may have a brother you rarely see because he lives on the other side of the country, but you may also know you could count on him to help you in any way if you were in trouble and needed help. It's important to have at least a small number of strong ties, and a potentially larger number of weak ties. The diagram below shows a network with two strong and three weak ties.



Direction of Links

The directionality of the links can also be important. Connections can be unidirectional, meaning that one person is the provider of support, and the other is the receiver. This is typically the case when characterizing young children with their parents, but tends to become bidirectional, meaning that both receive and provide support, as the child becomes an adult. Among friends, colleagues, and adult family members, the links tend to be bidirectional, reflecting the mutuality found in these types of relationships. These types of relationships also tend to be more likely to sustain themselves because all parties have opportunities to give and receive support.

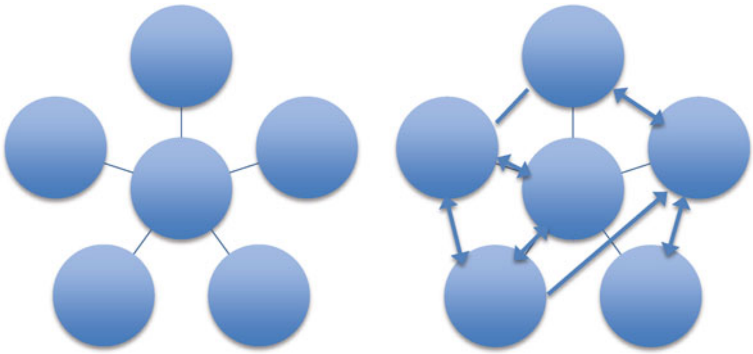
Unidirectional links are also commonly found among professional service providers and those people receiving some type of social services from them. For example, it has been found that people with serious mental illnesses tend to have networks dominated by unidirectional links, in which mental health professionals and others provide them support, with no expectation that the person with the mental illness will provide support for the professional. Certainly, professionals may have particular skills and/or knowledge that can be helpful for those with special needs, but their support is, by nature, temporary and limited. On the other hand, informal networks comprise people in your ongoing life, such as friends and family, who voluntarily put forth efforts to provide support to you, tend to be bidirectional and more likely to persist over time. When people give support to others, they enhance their sense of self and develop stronger relationships. Building and maintaining bidirectional links is important for long-standing and beneficial relationships. The figure below shows a small network that has a number of weak links, plus both unidirectional and bidirectional stronger links.



Density of Network

Networks can also be characterized by their density, which refers to the degree to which the members of a person's network are connected to one another. Dense networks, which are more common among families or people in small communities, have higher levels of "interconnectedness." Density has been found to have implications for how these networks function and how they can be of help to individuals. Dense networks (sometimes also called *bonding networks*) tend to have stronger links, and can provide high levels of support to individuals. For example, when someone is sick, or there is a death in the family and there is a high need for support, dense networks function well because the members are likely to share information and coordinate support in a way that can be most helpful. As a simple example, if there is a death in the family, the connected members of the network will make sure that meals provided to the family vary, and are distributed over time, so that the family is not overwhelmed with multiple contributions of chicken salad on one evening. At the same time, there are circumstances where a dense network is not helpful. For example, you might be trying to quit smoking, and you have a close network of friends, all of whom smoke. Such a dense network may support maintaining your current situation when that is not your intent or desire.

"Low density" networks, sometimes called "bridging" networks, are more likely to comprise weaker links. These networks with weak links are also likely to be more diverse than dense networks, and because of this, they are particularly helpful when people are interested in assuming new roles, such as finding a new job, or going back to school. For example, older women returning to college to obtain a degree may benefit from weaker, more diverse, low density networks of people who see them as college students or professionals, supporting their new roles. Higher density networks may reinforce their prior roles as mothers and housewives, making it more difficult for them to assume the new role of student. The figure below shows low- and high-density networks.



Low Density High Density

Although there are many other ways that networks can be characterized, the primary point to remember is that different types of networks serve different purposes. Consequently, it is important to consider and assess and build your network based on what you want it to accomplish. If you hope to find a job, a social network consisting primarily of friends your age and who have similar backgrounds and interests may not be much help. While there may be comfort in having a dense network of family members that care for you, creating more diverse and weaker and bidirectional networks can help create more options for you and can be more satisfying. Note that it is possible to have multiple networks—small, dense, strong ones that provide some forms of support; larger, less dense, and weaker networks that can help you link with others and expand your opportunities.

How Do We Build and Strengthen Social Networks?

Creating the right types of social networks can help individuals build the types of social capital that can meet their individual needs. Through these connections with others, they can gain access to supports (emotional, information, tangible). Through the development and strengthening of social networks, we also build a stronger sense of community, which serves to help build even stronger connections and provide the ongoing supports to sustain individuals' ability to succeed in their communities. A number of different types of strategies have been developed to strengthen social networks.

Create New Networks

One mechanism for enhancing peoples' social networks is to create new networks of people who have some similarities of age and/or interests. Groups form around a range of interests, including cycling, beer, knitting, food, chess, hiking, wine, and fitness, and can find one another via the Internet (e.g., Meetups). There are other groups that form to provide mutual support, including groups affiliated with such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous. These groups clearly are designed as supportive groups, with people coming together to share their dependence on substances and their desire to become less dependent, and to support one another in efforts to become less dependent. When creating new networks, it is good to remember that even with some common interests, the network is likely to be rather diverse, since cyclists or knitters or members of any other group are likely to vary on other characteristics. This diversity can be helpful when you need bridging social capital.

Join Existing Networks

Becoming part of existing organizations, clubs, or associations is another way to increase individuals' social networks. Many different clubs, organizations, and associations exist for a wide variety of purposes. Regardless of the purpose, becoming a member or participant in them can serve to expand individuals' social networks and increase their social capital. Most groups have mechanisms to help orient or welcome new people into the group. These are important means of introducing new members to the individuals in the group, and helping the new members become aware of the social norms that are part of the group and facilitate the utilization of social capital inherent in the group.

Enhance Existing Networks

Existing networks may vary in the quality of relationships and support provided by individuals within it. Enhancing the degree to which individuals within a network connect with one another and provide support to one another is a way to strengthen the network and to increase social capital. Sometimes, this involves assisting a key individual within the network to become more responsive to the needs of other network members. For example, the leader of a group might be coached to become more inclusive in his/her approach to different types of individuals. Because the network already exists, this can be a way to build upon the existing, possibly enduring relationships, to strengthen them and improve the benefits to all members.

There are other ways to make existing groups more useful as networks. You cannot count on networks simply forming organically. Some circumstances are more likely to lead to quality social networks than others, and it helps to intentionally create the conditions that are more likely to lead to network formation. Sometimes, groups of people get together for a specific purpose but with no particular intention or structure that fosters the development of a social network. For example, a group of people may attend a class, the ostensible purpose being to gain some new knowledge or to build a skill. While these people may be in the same place at the same time for many hours, there may be minimal opportunity for them to interact with and get to know one another, if the focus is solely on the "lesson" or the task, without any expectation that people work together or have any contact with one another. However, if people are together in the same place (or even in a virtual space), there are opportunities to connect them to one another. This can be through such simple means as starting "late," with time for interactions built into the schedule, or creating time for introductions or sharing experiences during the time together. Encouraging people to share information about themselves, and scheduling break times in ways that maximize interactions, with food or drink tables, places for people to informally interact, and/or suggestions that participants talk to one another (perhaps suggest a topic that they will then be expected to share with the broader group) are all means of enhancing network formation. Trainings or classes can involve group work, "homework" assignments that require participants to contact one another or work together outside of class, all of which encourage the development of social networks. Even the arrangement of the room (e.g., round tables, students facing one another) can increase the likelihood of social interactions and social network formation.

Build Individual Capacity to Connect

Clearly, having good social skills is important for building connections with others. People who have good interpersonal skills are more likely to have the ability to connect effectively with others, and other people are more likely to choose to interact with those who have good interpersonal skills. This means that helping improve interpersonal skills can be an important strategy for increasing social capital, by making it more possible to develop useful social networks. This can be done through a variety of means, including training, coaching, practicing, and receiving ongoing feedback regarding interpersonal interactions. Not only are social skills important, but also good social perception, such that it is possible to read the social cues of others and recognize the feelings and intentions of others.

In addition to the social skills that can facilitate developing a social network, the inclination or proclivity to connect with others is another potentially important factor. People who are shy, uncomfortable with people, or who don't recognize the utility and importance of connecting with others may not take the time to make connections, particularly when they require some extra effort, or take time that would be otherwise spent in what is, for them, a more pleasant activity. Getting to a class or meeting early may be seen as unnecessary, a waste of time, and an impediment to receiving an additional 15 min of sleep. It may be easier to assume that spending time with new people, where the potential benefit is unclear, is less valuable than spending time with old friends. But don't forget the importance of "loose ties" in such tasks as obtaining employment. Using close friends or family to help encourage and support the development of new connections can enhance the bridging capital that is often needed to stretch beyond current roles.

An even greater barrier to the development of social capital, though, is the belief held by many that they don't need other people and that they can or should be successful by themselves, without help, without others. These beliefs stem from the common notion of individualism, that people should pull themselves up from their own bootstraps, and be "self-made." Some people actually believe that they are "self-made" and have not relied on or benefited from their relationships with others. This myth can interfere with people working to build social capital, which then reduces their ability to be successful. Recognizing the importance of connecting with people, creating and utilizing social capital, and building a strong sense of community is a critical step in becoming successful in life.

How to Maximize the Social Capital in Social Networks

While social networks are essential for the development of social capital, to maximize social capital the relationships within the network must also involve the exchange of resources. It is through this exchange that the "capital" in social capital exists. Through exchanges two key things happen. First, the exchange implies that there is trust. If I receive and use information you provide me, I have to trust that you are both knowledgeable and honest in your providing me the information. If you don't know what you are talking about, or you lie to me, then the trust cannot develop. In addition, the resources exchanged are the "capital" in social capital. They not only are a benefit of social capital for the recipient, but they enhance the social capital inherent in the relationship through the building of additional trust that leads to greater social bonds, trust, and capital. Furthermore, the "capital" in social capital helps the individual be productive, to achieve goals, and make a difference.

The key, then, to maximizing the social capital in social networks is to create exchanges. This can mean many different things, such as sharing information, personal experiences or food, doing a favor for others, borrowing tools, trusting one another with personal information, celebrating together, or playing together. One important way of creating exchanges is through joint problem solving and working together for a common goal. Through that process, individuals share their values (what is important), their skills (how to accomplish the goal), their knowledge, their time, and their connections to others, and thereby build relationships and trust, which create more social capital.

Moving from Networks to Community

Thus far we've talked about the importance of community, and how the development of a sense of community is important both for the individual members within a community and the community as a whole. We then discussed how social networks can be helpful for bonding with and bridging across different groups. Networks are then the essential building blocks for growing a strong sense of community and social capital. But the networks alone are not sufficient because trusting relationships must develop that can evolve from and lead to exchanges among members of the network. These exchanges then help create the bonds among members of a community that lead to a growing sense of community and the type of social capital which allows individuals to thrive and communities to grow even stronger. There are several general approaches to using networks to grow community. Let's review a few of them.

Asset-Based Community Development

One conceptual framework and set of strategies for building social capital in communities is called Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD), based on the work of McKnight and Kretzmann (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1990). ABCD focuses on the linking of the exchanges of assets among individuals to the broader community. Central to this is the identification of community strengths and assets that are often overlooked, but which can create opportunities for communities to grow and prosper. Many communities and individuals, particularly those that are poor and marginalized, are viewed as sets of problems needing to be fixed. By viewing them as problems, we ignore their strengths. The ABCD approach urges us to recognize that every individual and every community has assets or "gifts," that can be tapped to create opportunities for development. For example, each individual has skills and talents that can be shared (exchanged) with others for the betterment of all. Similarly, networks of people in voluntary associations also have assets that are the result of their collective knowledge and collective action. The network that forms through these voluntary associations is then a mechanism for developing mutual trust and exchanging resources. These resources can include tangible assets such as property, money, and tools, as well as less tangible but even more important ones such as skills, attention, time, knowledge, and relationships. The connections among people, that provide the opportunities for exchanges, are some of the most important assets, but ones that are often overlooked.

ABCD requires the identification of assets and the sharing of these assets. An important element in this is the "connector," a person who takes the time to get to know the people involved and can link individuals to groups of people who share interests or concerns with them. In connecting marginalized individuals, it is better to link them with groups rather than with individuals because the marginalized person then becomes a member of the group. This relationship then is multidirectional, exchanging resources, and is not viewed as one in which the individual is seen in the role of a client or other dependent person. A key part of this is helping the individual who may come to define himself or herself as a set of problems as having strengths, assets, or gifts to share with others.

Political Participation

Individuals can also connect with others and build social capital through participation in political campaign efforts. This can include working for a political party, supporting a specific candidate, or working to support a referendum or other cause. A benefit of political participation is that it can involve people working together, addressing issues of potential importance to them. This implies that there are political candidates, issues, or causes that you feel passionate about. These are then networks that have broader connections, potentially, across cities or larger areas, and provide opportunities to advance issues of importance to you.

Volunteer Service

Many opportunities exist for volunteering with nonprofit organizations, schools, local government programs, or other groups. Through such volunteer efforts, particularly ones in which there are people working together to address a need, there is the clear potential for developing social capital. Not only does a network form, but there is also the common interest and exchange of resources.

Community Organizing

Community organizing refers to a group of people working together to address some issue that the group has in common. Through collective action, the group gains power and gets things done. But Kahn (1970, 1982, 2010) also says that community organizing is a way for people to learn about themselves and gain skills. Through working together with other people, they have to recognize the common interests they have with others, overcome suspicion of others, and develop strategies for solving the problem and resolving the issue. Because community issues cannot be solved by individuals, people realize that they have to work together, cooperate with one another, rely on one another to take action. People often organize because they are mad, but it takes more than this. They have to develop a belief that they can accomplish something and overcome the fear of failure or retribution.

To organize successfully, first there must be a clear issue. Issues are not merely problems, but problems with perceivable solutions, that people feel strongly about. Good issues:

- Are winnable
- Build the organization, involving many people
- Unite people
- Affect many people
- Involve people solving the problems with their skills
- Are strongly felt
- Are simple, easily understood, and explained

To have a clear issue, it is helpful to bring people together to define the issue in a way that makes sense to them. If they own the issue, they are more likely to act on it. Often you have to convince people that the issue is winnable. Past failures must be overcome, and you have to be clear about how the situation is different now that would potentially result in a "win." You often need to think of what levels of success are reasonable, and determine what steps need to be taken to achieve the success you desire. When planning for change, it is useful to think about what have been described as "small wins" (Weick, 1984) Small wins are:

- "concrete, complete, implemented outcomes of moderate importance…controllable opportunities that produce visible results"; or
- "change in a relatively unimportant variable or a relatively unimportant change in an important variable."

Focusing on small wins keeps us from becoming overwhelmed with the challenges of large-scale change that can seem impossible to accomplish. Furthermore, large-scale changes are difficult for people to adjust to—and to plan for. The larger the change, the scarier and more stressful it is, even when the change promises to be good. Also, the issue needs to be "winnable," so keeping it simple can help people see it as achievable. Furthermore, it is often found that making small changes can set in motion forces that lead to other small wins that can build on one another.

Then, you need to plan how you wish to bring about change. Make it clear where you are and where you wish to go. Strategy is the overall plan, whereas tactics are the immediate mechanisms for getting there. There are many different resources for community organizing (e.g., Kahn, 2010), so we won't get into detail about strategies and tactics that can be used. However, it is important to recognize that community organizing contains almost all the elements we have discussed as important for the development of social capital. In particular, in community organizing, you connect with and create or build upon a network of people who have similar concerns or issues to confront. You come together to determine what the consensus is regarding the issue. You exchange resources as you develop the issue and strategies for dealing with it, and you certainly exchange resources as you implement the strategies. By bringing people together to address an issue that they see as important, you build community, as people see the common interest, the potential for influencing one another, and have a strong sense of belonging and ownership for addressing the issue in their community. Thus, in multiple ways, community organizing can result in individual- and community-level social capital.

Summary and Conclusions

Any efforts to build social capital and reap its benefits must recognize the importance of the community context in which these efforts occur. The presence of a strong sense of community indicates that social capital is likely to also be present for the members of that community. Furthermore, the presence of a sense of community facilitates the development of social capital for individuals or groups within that community. Yet, individuals' involvement in social networks that have a high level of trust and that readily exchange resources, important elements of social capital, is certainly not assured without taking steps to make it happen. Not only must the individual connect to the network, but the network needs to be created in such a way that it maximizes its receptivity to members who want to be engaged. Furthermore, the presence of "connectors" who can bring the individual and the broader network together can increase the likelihood that engagement takes place, particularly for those individuals who are marginalized and less likely to "fit in" on their own.

Because different characteristics of networks may meet different types of needs for individuals, it is important to assess the individual needs and then select or create networks that have the requisite characteristics. Different network characteristics were described to help identify the types of networks that any given individual or group might need. Thus when connecting individuals to networks, the attention should be paid to the "fit" between the individual and the network. Similarly, if new networks are created, or existing ones are strengthened, attention should be paid to whether the characteristics of the network can be created or enhanced to meet the needs of the individuals. In addition, the personal characteristics of the individual, including social skills, inclination to affiliate, and recognition of the potential benefits of connecting with others, can be shaped to maximize the ability to use networks for their best advantage.

The degree to which the network is able to foster the sharing of resources and to work toward common goals is also important when building social capital. Not only does working together create many opportunities for building trust and exchanging resources, it also serves to build community, which then builds the broader infrastructure in which supportive social networks can then be built. Thus, the creation of social capital not only provides benefits for the individuals and communities, but also serves to create the conditions for social capital to grow even more.

Key Points to Remember

The Importance of Community

The concept of community can include:

- The local area where people live
- A group of people who share something in common
- A "sense of community," the perceptions and feelings people have and the behaviors they exhibit as a member of their community

A sense of community includes:

- Membership—a sense of belonging and identification
- Influence—people can make a difference with one another
- Integration—sharing of values and resources to satisfy one another's needs
- Shared emotional connection—positive feelings about the place and other people in that location

The sense of community is an essential aspect of living in society, and building and maintaining a sense of community is critical in any change effort.

Social Support and Social Networks

Social networks are groups of people who are connected in some way that enable access to others who can provide support. This support is the "capital" in social capital—the advantage obtained from connections with people who provide needed support.

Social Support

Social support is often grouped into three different categories:

- Emotional—empathy, comfort, caring, and encouragement
- Informational—advice, guidance and other ideas, and the provision of feedback, and
- Instrumental—tangible goods, funds, or services.

It's important to match the support provided with the support needed.

Social Networks

Social networks are the people you are "linked" to because you interact with them, are familiar with them, and/or feel close to them. Networks vary in many ways, including:

- Size, the number of people in a network;
- The strength of the links;
- The direction of the links, unidirectional or reciprocal; and
- Density, the interconnectedness of the network;

Different types of networks serve different purposes, so we need to build each person's networks based on what we want them to accomplish. It can be helpful to have multiple networks, including small, dense, strong ones that provide some forms of support, and larger, less dense, and weaker networks that can help you link with others and expand your opportunities.

Building and Strengthening Social Networks

Creating the right types of social networks can help individuals build the types of social capital that can meet their individual needs. To strengthen social networks, you can:

- Create New Networks—form a new group of people who have some similarities of age and/or interests, using the Internet (e.g., Meetups) or connecting with such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous.
- Join Existing Networks—such as clubs or associations that can expand social networks and increase social capital.
- Enhance Existing Networks—through increasing the degree to which individuals within a network connect with one another and provide support to one another.

Building Individual Capacity to Connect

Good social skills are important for building connections with others. Improving interpersonal skills can help increase social capital. Overcoming shyness, and taking the time to informally interact with others can help build the "loose ties" that aid in such tasks as obtaining employment.

Maximizing the Social Capital in Social Networks

To maximize social capital, there needs to be an exchange of resources among members of a social network. This builds trust and provides access to resources you may not have. Building social capital helps the individual be productive, achieve goals, and make a difference.

Networks as Community Building Blocks

Networks are essential building blocks for growing a strong sense of community and social capital. This can be accomplished through the use of such strategies as:

- Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD)—which focuses on identifying community strengths and assets and building upon them, and linking individuals with groups who share their interests or concerns.
- Political Participation—working together to address issues in common with others.
- Volunteering—working together with others to address a need, building networks around common interests.
- Community Organizing—people working together to enhance their collective power through addressing an issue that they share, focusing on "small wins."

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Building Social Capital from the Inside Out: Leveraging Intrapower (Personal Capital)

Norris M. Haynes

This chapter at first glance might appear to be an unlikely chapter to be included in a volume that focuses on social capital.[1] However, given the working definition of social capital that is used to frame this volume the linkage between a focus on the individual's intrapersonal skill sets and the individual's ability to build social relationships and networks becomes more readily evident. Social and emotional development and learning are key constructs in predictive models of life success including in positive educational, health, economic and social outcomes (Brackett, 2010; Elias, 2003; Elias et al., 1997, p. 2; Ross, Powell, & Elias, 2002).

In this chapter I argue that an individual's capacity to establish and build social capital stems in large measure from one's capacity to develop and nurture what I call Intrapower or personal capital in the form of four significant personal, social, and emotional skill factors: *c*ontrol, *a*wareness, *r*esolve, and *e*mpathy (care). Strong personal-social development provides a firm foundation for successful engagement with the individual's environment and equips the individual with intra and interpersonal skill sets needed to effectively and successfully address challenges to succeed in life (Durlak, Domitrovich, Weissberg, & Gullotta, 2015). Some research studies suggest that one's "emotional quotient" (EQ) can be equal to or a better indicator of life success than IQ (Ross, Powell, Elias 2002). Social and emotional learning (SEL) may be viewed as the activation of EQ in measurable and teachable skill sets that "enable the successful management of life tasks such as learning, forming relation-

[1] Our working definition: "Social capital refers to the connections among individuals such that a social network is created where norms of reciprocity and trust are established over time, leading to: (a) Potential increases in each individual's physical health and social-emotional being, as well as, (b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society" (Bloom, Gullotta, & Greenberg, in press).

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_9

ships, solving everyday problems, and adapting to the complex demands of growth and development" (Elias et al., 1997, p. 2; Hoffman, 2009; Payton et al. (2008).

SEL grew out of the groundbreaking work by Goleman (1995, 2008, 2010) on emotional intelligence or EQ. Goleman raised two basic questions about two important factors that contributed to success in school and in life. He asked: "What can we change that will make our children fare better in life? And "What factors are at play, for example when people of high IQ flounder and those of modest IQ do surprisingly well?" He went on to assert:

> I would argue that the difference quite often lies in the abilities called here emotional intelligence which include self-control, zeal, and persistence and the ability to motivate oneself. And these skills, as we shall see can be taught to children giving them a better chance to use whatever potential the genetic lottery may have given them (Goleman, 1995, p. xii).

Elias, Arnold, and Hussey (2003) noted:

> If IQ represents the intellectual raw material of student success, EQ is the set of social-emotional skills that enables intellect to turn into action and accomplishment. Without EQ, IQ consists more of potential than actuality. It is confined more to performance on certain kinds of tests than to expression in the many tests of everyday life in school, at home, at the workplace, in the community. (p. 4)

The Collaborative for Academic Social and Emotional Learning has documented the multifaceted academic and social benefits of teaching EQ skills to students, benefits that accrue beyond the school age to young adulthood and beyond, including leadership, productive and healthy adult relationships and general life satisfaction (The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), 2003; Zins, Weissberg, Wang, & Walberg, 2004).

I am often reminded of Dr. James Comer's[2] assertion, during personal conversations, that there are many academically smart individuals with high IQs who have low EQs and make poor choices. These choices result in disappointment in life because they those individuals fail to realize their full potential. High EQ, or Intrapower, builds successful social networks and maximize one's "physical health, social-emotional being, civic engagement, employment opportunities and contribution to a healthier and more effectively functioning society".

Intrapower CARE Framework

Advocates of Social and Emotional Learning advance the five core SEL competencies: *self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making* as essential to success in school and in life: These five core SEL competencies and the research that supports their significance serve as the basis for the four Intrapower CARE framework and factors: control, awareness, resilience, and empathy represented in Fig. 1.

[2] noted child psychiatrist, developer and director of the School Development Program and Associate Dean at the Yale Medical School

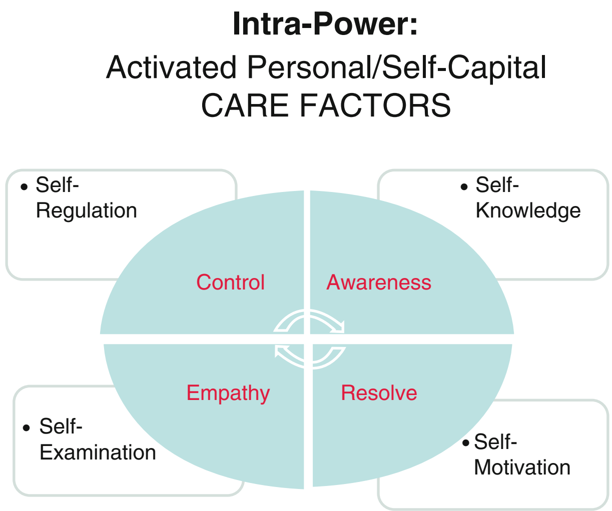

Fig. 1 Intrapower CARE factors. Created by author, N. Haynes (2003)

Control (Self- Management)

Control refers to the individual's ability to monitor and regulate his or her feelings and behavior. Someone who practices effective self-management is able to monitor and regulate his or her emotions and impulses and demonstrate self-regulatory behaviors. These self-regulatory practices are important to building social capital. They include but are not limited to: good anger management, effective time-management skills, the ability to establish short- and longer-term goals, delay gratification and show the self-control and self-discipline needed to succeed in building relationships, establishing social networks, and participating productively in community activities.

Awareness (Self-Awareness)

Awareness of one's feelings, needs, desires and motivations is important for continuing personal and social growth. Aristotle noted that, "knowing oneself is the beginning of all wisdom" Self-knowledge is an essential starting point for effective engagement with the world… An individual who is more aware of his or her needs, strengths and weaknesses, is an individual who is strongly positioned to maximize strengths and to seek and to get the help needed to remediate weaknesses. Thus this individual is more likely to succeed in interactions with others and in engaging with social capital building tasks than if he/she did not embrace and practice self-awareness.

Resolve (Relationship Skills & Responsible Decision-making)

In this framework, resolve is deemed to include relationship skills and responsible decision-making. Relationship skills involve the ability to interact effectively and establish healthy reciprocal relationships with others. Building relationship skills among individuals as early in their development as possible, helps them learn how to cooperate with others in performing learning tasks, how to negotiate for their own wants and needs, and how to collaborate in solving problems since many problems require more than one person to solve. As individuals develop friendships in mutual problem solving tasks, they are at the same time developing viable social networks that may be employed in dealing with other tasks. Individuals learn how to develop friendships and avoid negative feelings of being socially isolated which can impact appreciation for and the development of social networks. Relationship skills are critical to gaining acceptance, influencing and leading others and building the kinds of networks that can be very useful in life. Individuals who are able to work cooperatively with others, and who respect, are respected by and are able to learn from others are better positioned to succeed than individuals who do not practice effective relationship skills.

Responsible Decision-Making:

Responsible decision making. Involves individuals making thoughtful, constructive, and healthy decisions based on careful consideration and analysis of information. When individuals make responsible decisions about relationships, managing their time well, accepting responsibility and completing tasks and on time and doing what it takes to succeed, they are more likely to experience success in building social capital than if they do not.

Empathy (Social Awareness)

Empathy refers to awareness of and sensitivity to one's social environment and knowledge of how to recognize and respond appropriately to the feelings and behaviors of others. It is the ability to see and appreciate another person's perspective and to accept that another way of perceiving a situation that is different from one's own perspective is possible. The implications of empathy for building social capital are very important. Empathy is an important aspect of establishing, nurturing and expanding social networks. It refers to one's ability to see and appreciate another person's perspective. Empathy allows an individual to accept that other individuals may view and respond to similar situations differently based on their personal experiences and circumstances. Therefore demonstrating empathy towards others is critical to building social capital. Individuals who are aware of how their behaviors affect others, and who are able to regulate and modify their interactions with others based on how others respond, are more likely to succeed in making connections with others that serve their mutual interests, than those individuals who are not skilled in being empathic and do not practice empathy.

Intrapower represents the personal potential to be an effective, productive, socially competent, and, potentially, a successful person and contributing citizen in the community. Intrapower can be characterized in the four care factors to be discussed in greater detail below. It is seen as activated personal/self-capital in the form of the four CARE factors. It represents the capacity to be an effective, productive, socially competent, and successful person within a supportive or at least benign environment. Through the exercise of intrapower, with social supports, individuals become leaders, agents of change, and are able to effectively build social capital. Compared to others individuals who demonstrate high levels of intrapower may be better able to accomplish the following social capital building tasks:

- Manipulate and shape the environment to their benefit
- Adapt quickly to new situations
- Tolerate frustration and anxiety
- Ask for help when needed
- Make sense of stressful and traumatic events confronting them by putting them in perspective
- Attribute live events and outcomes to more internal and external controllable attributions such as effort and relationships rather than to internal and external uncontrollable attributions such as ability or luck.

Intrapower may help the individual accomplish the above list of social-capital building tasks by helping the individual to develop and nurture required positive and helpful attitudes, increase self-confidence, deepen self-control, enhance feelings of self-efficacy and acquire effective social skills.

Promoting Intrapower Toward Building Social Capital

There are at least two important factors that promote intrapower toward the building of social capital. These are (1) targeted interventions that are deliberate, carefully designed, intentional and that have clear and measurable goals and expected outcomes. (2) Contextual climate in which the targeted interventions are implemented that provide the social and emotional supports needed for the individual to feel empowered and self-efficacious.

Targeted Interventions

It is important to note that the building of social capital through self-empowerment can be facilitated and learned, by carefully designed and planned interventions, just as in the teaching of SEL competencies (Payton et al., 2000; Tanyu, 2007; Taylor & Dymnicki, 2007; Haynes, Ben-Avie, & Ensign, 2003; Zins, Weissberg, Wang, & Walberg, (2004). These interventions should address:

- The quality of social and developmental experiences that the individual has across the lifespan.
- Interactions that individuals have with significant others in their lives including mentors
- Individuals' feelings about their abilities to deal with life's challenges and the ability to control life events.
- Issues of self-esteem and self-efficacy.
- Carefully constructed experiences that lead to the development and acquisition of social interactive competencies that build social capital

Contextual Climate Factors

In addition to the planned and directed interventions discussed above, there are contextual climate factors that strengthen an individual's internal capacity to build social capital from the inside out. Programs and individuals seeking to enhance an individual's capacities to build social capital might consider creating or identifying contextual situations that provide:

- Nurturing and supportive family
- Secure attachment and bonding
- Models of behavior that encourage constructive coping with problems
- Trusting and dependable relationships with significant others
- Organized tasks and responsibilities
- Clear expectations for engagement and behaviors
- Stable emotional relationships with significant others
- Clearly articulated norms and standards for socially acceptable behavior
- Helpful and consistent intergenerational connections
- Competent role models
- External support systems including mentoring, apprenticeship and employment programs

Supportive contexts that lead to high levels of intrapower must provide three key elements: *a*cceptance of the individual, *b*elief in the individual's capacity, willingness and readiness to grow, and must *c*hallenge the individual to move to higher

Table 1 Key ABC elements of intrapower supportive contexts

	Acceptance	Belief	Challenge
I.	Respectful	Supportive	Informative
II.	Sensitive	Encouraging	Motivating
III.	Caring	Acknowledging	Inspiring
IV.	Responsive	Reinforcing	Demanding

Created by author, N. Haynes (2003)

levels of personal-social growth. I call these three elements the ABC of intrapower development. These elements support the expression of the intrapower CARE factors by: (1) promoting socially competent actions (2) developing the individual's capabilities and (3) creating opportunities to build social capital. The three key elements are described in the following paragraphs and further elaborated in table 1.

Acceptance:

- Respect all individuals regardless of race, ethnicity, social class, gender, national origin, disability, or any other attribute that may identify them as being different or unique.
- Recognize and respond sensitively to the multiple perspectives, intelligences, learning styles, and personalities that individuals bring to a task or conversation.

Belief:

- Recognize that each individual has the potential to succeed
- Support and encourage all individuals to achieve
- Acknowledge their achievements
- Reinforce their accomplishments to build self-esteem and self-confidence

Challenge:

- Capitalize on the individual's potential by maintaining high standards of performance
- Engage the individual in creative, thoughtful, higher order thinking and executive brain function activities
- Stimulate the individual to be the very best he/she can be.

When the ABC elements exist, individuals are better able to demonstrate intrapower in the form of the CARE factors of control, awareness, resolve and empathy, and to activate and leverage their own personal or self-capital by behaving in socially competent ways that help to build social capital. This is represented in Fig. 2.

Figure 2 is intended to demonstrate that the dynamics of personal strengths, which when put into operation ultimately connects with the dynamics of social situations. Personal capital, facilitated by social acceptance, belief and challenge is expressed through socially competent actions and leads to the developing of social capital. The process is a recursive dynamic process in which the development of social capital, strengthens and expands personal capital directly and through socially competent actions being socially acknowledged and rewarded.

Assessing Intrapower

Intrapower as defined and described in this chapter can be assessed and steps can be taken to enhance it. I have designed a self-assessment tool to assist individuals in assessing their intrapower CARE factors. The instrument is called the intrapower

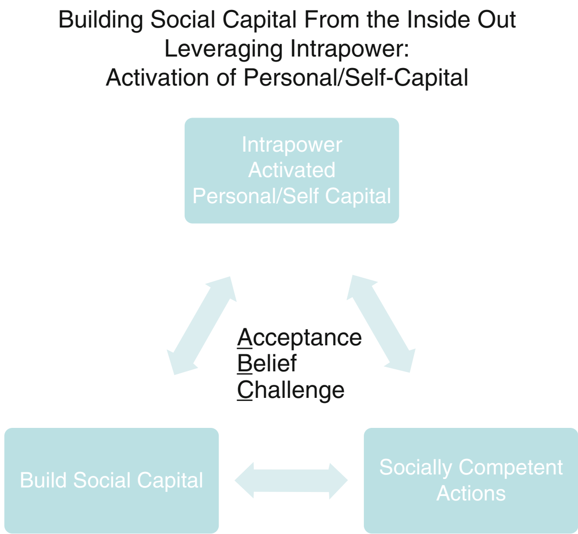

Fig. 2 Influence of intrapower care factors on the building of social capital. Created by author, N. Haynes (2003)

assessment scale (IPAS). The scoring produces an individual's average score profile on a four-point scale and an individual's percentage (not percentile) score for each of the four intrapower CARE factors and for the total Intrapower scale. The individual can in turn take steps to enhance those factors that perhaps are strong but not strong enough and to strengthen those factors that are weak. Following are the Intrapower CARE factors and the items on the IPAS that assess them.

Control

Persistence

- *I keep at a task until the task is done.*

  Perseverance

- *I face challenges and persevere until I succeed at what I do.*

  Resilience

- *I bounce back from disappointments and learn from my mistakes.*

  Focus

- *I am able to concentrate and focus clearly on my personal development goals.*

  Organization

- *I organize my thoughts and my approach in ways that allow be to be successful at what I do.*

Optimism

- *I am optimistic and hopeful about my future.*

Awareness

Self-Perception

- *I am aware of my thoughts, emotions and actions in response to events, as well as in response to other people's words or actions.*

Self-motivation

- *I have an internal need and desire to grow and improve myself and I take the necessary steps to succeed despite setbacks or difficult circumstances.*

Self-monitoring

- *I can tell when my thoughts, emotions and actions need to be changed.*

Self-development

- *I am able to control and modify my thoughts, emotions, and actions to become a better person.*

Self-Acceptance

- *I like who I am as a person and*
- *I like the way I look.*

Self-appraisal

- *I can tell when I am achieving or not achieving my goals.*

Self-fulfillment

- At *this point in my life, I am pleased, fulfilled, and contented with the way my life is going.*

Resolve

Self-efficacy

- *I feel that I am able to influence and shape events in my life.*

Self-determination

- *I set goals for myself and act to achieve those goals.*

Self-confidence

- *I feel confident in my ability to achieve my goals.*

  Self-esteem

- *I feel positive about the person that I am.*

  Self-responsibility

- *I accept responsibility for my thoughts and actions.*

  Self-empowerment

- *I feel that I have achieved most, if not all, that I have wanted to achieve, at this stage in my life.*

Empathy

Kindness

- *I share with others even when doing so may mean that I have to make a sacrifice.*

  Thoughtfulness

- *When I act, I think of how my actions may affect others.*

  Compassion

- *In my interactions with others, I try to see a situation from another person's perspective.*

  Helpfulness

- *When the situation requires it, I extend a helping hand to others, even if Ii requires an extra effort on my part.*

  Forgiveness

- *I am able and willing to forgive people who may have offended or wronged me in any way.*

  Fairness

- *I usually treat others the way I would like to be treated.*

Case Example: Jason

Jason Bernard is a 25 year old college graduate. He comes from a middle income family. He is the fourth child in a family of five children. By all accounts, Jason has always excelled academically often being referred to as the "brains" in the family.

His four brothers who themselves all have done and continue to do very well academically, usually concede, when asked, that Jason is by far the smartest and brightest among them. In fact, he scored over 1500 out of 1600, with a slightly higher score in math over verbal, on the SATs prior to the change in the SAT. He was accepted by every college to which he applied including the IVY League schools that he turned down to remain close to home and attend the state university college just a few miles away from home. His decision was not academically driven because he qualified for substantial need-based financial aid at the Ivy League schools and qualified for merit scholarships from the schools that offered them. His decision to remain at home and commute to the State school caused some alarm among many of his classmates and teachers as well as raised some questions among his parents and siblings, but they accepted his decision and of course had no choice.

Since graduating from college 4 years ago with a major in chemistry, Jason has worked as a lab technician at his alma mater part-time and is taking online courses toward a doctorate in philosophy. He has few friends, one whom he has known since grade school and three others that he knew in high school. He did not establish other strong friendships during college and consider his college classmates to be acquaintances and none of them true friends or colleagues. He feels that the students he met at college are immature for their age, unable to think well and generally unsophisticated in their approach to life. He tends to be somewhat irascible, at times losing his temper at the slightest irritation and railing against what he perceives to be incompetence among some of the lab assistants at the work place.

Although he has dated girls off and on, it is last year that he met a young woman, Laura, whom he asserts “has a brilliant mind”. Laura, an attorney and more outgoing, confident and gregarious person has suggested to Jason that they join a social networking group to broaden their friendship and social networks. Due to Jason’s resistance, Laura gently suggested to Jason that he might consider psychological testing to determine whether he suffers from anxiety or has a social phobia. Jason surprisingly agreed and psychological testing revealed no personality disorder, anxiety disorder or phobias. In fact the psychologist determined that Laura’s concern regarding Jason’s social ineptitude stems more from low self-confidence, lack of self-acceptance and lack of social skills.

The psychologist recommended that Jason complete the IPAS and based on his profile he would recommend interventions to address Jason’s social and emotional issues, with Laura playing a key role in helping to shape social contexts that would support an increase in Jason’s social competence. Presented in Fig. 3 and in Fig. 4 are Jason’s individual summary profiles based on his self-assessment on the IPAS.

The profile shows that the Jason has scored relatively low on each of the Intrapower CARE factors. In examining Jason’s comparative intrapower strengths, he is strongest in awareness and weakest in control. This represents someone who is comparatively aware, though not sufficiently so, of his shortcomings but is unable to do much about them due particularly to low control and resolve. He needs to address personal- social issues and learn social competence skills.

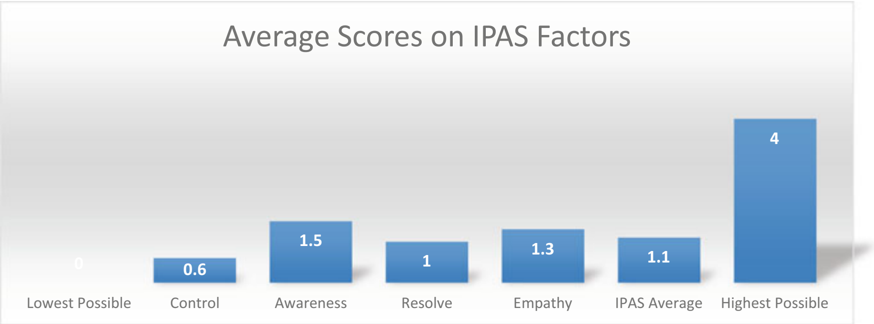

Fig. 3 Jason's profile average IPAS scores. Created by author, N. Haynes (2015)

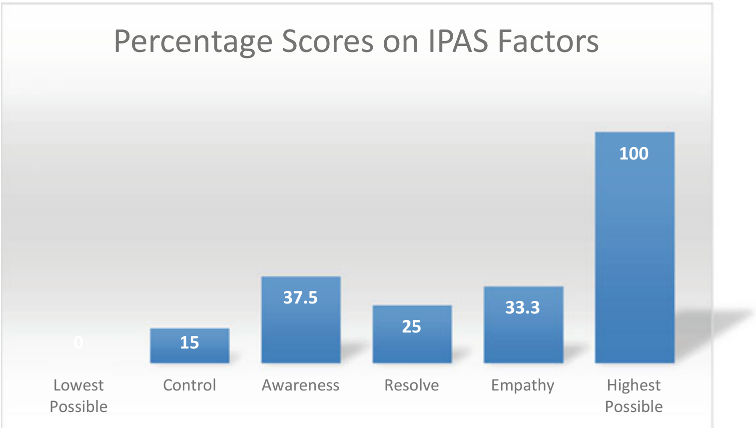

Fig. 4 Jason's profile percentage IPAS scores. Created by author, N. Haynes (2015)

After several weeks of intervention and much cajoling, Jason has agreed to go along with Laura's suggestion that they expand their friendship and social networks. They plan to attend a young people's professional friendship group next week. They also plan to volunteer at a local soup kitchen starting next month.

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Teaching the Social Entrepreneurs of Tomorrow

Erick Gordon

> Entrepreneurs embody the promise of America: the idea that if you have a good idea and are willing to work hard and see it through, you can succeed in this country. And in fulfilling this promise, entrepreneurs also play a critical role in expanding our economy and creating jobs (President Barack Obama, January 31, 2011).

What is an Entrepreneur?

The meaning of the word entrepreneur has shifted dramatically over the last decade. What once connoted a greedy capitalist on the prowl for opportunities for quick wealth has come to suggest the qualities of a person with initiative, willing to take educated risks, and one who views change as potential for growth and opportunity.

Not Just Business-Based

While it is true that entrepreneurs are most commonly associated with the founding of business ventures, the more accurate meaning of entrepreneur is a person that that takes the initiative to organize and manage *any* enterprise, not simply business ventures. When we think of famous entrepreneurs many will first turn to Henry Ford or Steve Jobs, but a college student that rallies for and manages additional recycling efforts on campus because she had identified a need for these efforts based on an assessment of waste is just as much an entrepreneur as these celebrated examples.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*, Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_10

At its core, an entrepreneur as we currently understand and use the term, is a person who possesses the skills of innovation and innovative thinking, assuming risks and taking action to create.

Entrepreneurship on the Rise

Entrepreneurship seems to be in vogue, especially with those associated with the millennial generation. Media's attention to under-30-year-old startup business success stories, like *Etsy's* Rob Kalin and *FourSquare's* Dennis Crowley have given entrepreneurs a kind of celebrity status. In an opinion piece in the *New York Times*, William Deresiewicz suggests, "Our culture hero is not the artist or reformer, not the saint or scientist, but the entrepreneur. (Think of Steve Jobs, our new deity.) Autonomy, adventure, imagination: entrepreneurship comprehends all this and more for us. The characteristic art form of our age may be the business plan" (Deresiewicz, 2011). With the weak labor market and college graduates struggling to find work, the entrepreneurial route becomes ever more alluring, and as many would argue, necessary.

Millennial Motivations

A well-documented impulse amongst the so-called "millennial generation" is the desire to contribute to work with social impact (Strauss & Howe, 1992). In *Generations: The History of America's Future,* the authors frame this demographic cohort as following Generation X and being born roughly between 1982 and 2004. Tony Wagner, author of *Creating Innovators*, describes them as, "Highly conscious of and concerned about a wide range of social problems," as well as longing to "put their mark on the world" (Wagner, 2012, p. 18). Wagner also suggests that employers who fail to provide a sense of purpose greater than profit margins often find themselves with young employees who fail to fulfill their potential contributions to the organization. A senior executive interviewed by Wagner put it this way: "They want to know what they are contributing—what is the larger significance of their work. And if you can't give them a satisfactory answer, they're gone" (p. 21). In the words of millennial-entrepreneur, Nico Luchsinger, Co-founder of the Sandbox Network, "It's not about climbing the ladder, or bonuses at the end of the year. It's about building things that have the potential to change the world" (Hylerstedt, 2012). In short, it seems many Millennials long to make a difference in the world.

As with any broad-based demographic, assertions are at best generalizations with pockets of insight. These descriptions are rife with contradictions. In addition to a desire to do good in the world, Millennials are also depicted as the lazy, media-consuming zombies of the 'net generation' (Tapscott, 2009) and disparaged by popular aphorisms like this one: "generation Y am I here and why isn't someone praising me?" Which is to say that amongst them there is a demographic of upper middle class white kids raised in an ethos of inordinate parental praise and hyper-involvement; where every child gets a trophy for showing up (Zaslow, 2007). Many of these so-called Millennials are described as at once aspirational, while otherwise lacking the overt characteristics of what might be thought of as a strong work ethic. Put succinctly, "…this group demands more out of the workplace because we've trained them to demand more out of everything. We've told them that everyone's a winner, and we've awarded them points for effort…So people of this generation probably won't be happy at any job until they find a way to have personal, meaningful impact. And that impact is largely about social consciousness" (Kolko, p. 22).

Tony Wagner describes Millennials more optimistically as "the innovation generation" and suggests that they are not unmotivated, "they are differently motivated" (Wagner, 2012). In the industrialized world, this coming-of-age generation fails to be motivated by extrinsic factors like the threat of survival or by the social norms and authority figures that influenced young people in previous generations to go to school, get a job, and conform to expectations (Wagner, 2012). Instead, they are described as a generation propelled by their interests, passions, and desires. Much has been written about Google's strategy to turn its employees' personal interests and self-directed learning into Google's next innovative product. Employees are encouraged to devote 20 % of their work hours to side projects, and their physical sites are equipped with game rooms, gourmet dining, and Razor scooters to grease the creative wheels (Levy, 2011). Many of Google's tactics have become the standard for the tech industry and are rapidly being adopted by other creative industries as well.

Social Entrepreneurship: An Emerging Model

Like an entrepreneur, a *social entrepreneur* identifies a problem and takes the initiative to build solutions to address unmet needs. The difference, though, is the type of problem. A social entrepreneur works in the context of humanitarian problems. Rather than efforts directed toward something like better vacuuming (and quick economic profits), what drives the *social entrepreneur* is helping people and creating *social capital,* the non-economic wealth within a community (Kolko, 2012).

Learning Through *Doing*

Learning *how* to learn has never been more crucial. America's one hundred year old public education system, developed to prepare adults for a factory system, no longer meets the complex needs of the twenty-first century (Friedman, p. 20, 2005). Jobs that used to be the mainstay of the middle and working class are being automated and offshored to cheap labor markets. America, historically a leader in the area of innovation, now struggles tenuously: “A recent report by the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation concluded that ‘The United States has made the least progress of the 40 nations/regions [studied] in improvement in international competitiveness and innovation capacity over the last decade’” (quoted in Wagner, 2012, p. 4). As the inventor, entrepreneur, and founder of *FIRST* student robotics competitions Dean Kamen said, “The real value is now in the creation of ideas that are scalable, that don’t consume resources, that aren’t a zero-sum game” (quoted in Wagner, 2012, p. 6). Students need to be equipped differently if they’re going to adapt to the rapid pace of change and be the kind of innovative problem-solvers the world’s leading economists, scholars, and policy makers warn are vital to our survival as a people and a planet (p. 9).

By and large education institutions seem slow to respond, and perhaps ill-equipped to lead a generation of digital natives with their twentieth century-skilled staff. Rows of desks still line classrooms where students face the teacher as information passes from master to pupil and pupil to master. Outdated or broken computers are the norm in so many schools (ironically many of these same schools strictly ban the use of cell phones—the connected computer that large numbers of students already possess). And while post-secondary institutions may fare better in terms of digital literacy, the transmission model that Philosopher John Dewey (2016) criticized a century ago continues to prevail. “The value of explicit information is rapidly dropping to zero. Today the real added value…is in the doing…” (Sengeh quoted in Wagner, 2012, p. 156).

Anthropologist Mary Catherine Bateson, (1995) writing about the nature of learning and its frequent disconnection to schooling, agrees that in our rapidly changing world, we need a new kind of vision of what is important to teach. She says:

> Today there is a wealth of new thinking about schooling, yet it is fashionable in America to say that schools are failing and there is a groundswell of anger again educators of all kinds. This is not in the main because they are not doing their job—it is because we have no adequate understanding of what that job is in the kind of society we are becoming. We think the issue is the transmission of specifics, the meeting of specified goals, but these are illusory and children are wise enough to know it. (p. 211).

Bateson (1995) suggests that it is folly to try and revise the educational system unless we revise our notions of ourselves as learning beings, whose journey begins at birth and ends at death. Only then, she suggests, will “teachers model learning rather than authority”: The avalanche of changes taking place around the world, the changes we should be facing at home, all come as reminders that of all the skills learned in school the most important is the skill to learn over a lifetime those things that no one, including the teachers, yet understands (p. 212).

Learning Through *Doing:* Historical View

John Dewey asserted that past experiences influence and interact with current experiences to shape learning (2016). During the first half of the twentieth century he argued against a model of schooling in America characterized by the transmission of knowledge from teacher to student. He believed that children's own instincts, activities, and interests led them to inquire and that hands-on exploration should be the basis of learning, the teacher's role being that of the guide. He believed it to be the responsibility of the educator to understand the dynamic of the past-present-future interactions in order to construct and facilitate educational experiences. Education, he said, "is not preparation for life but is life itself" (Dewey, 1897). Rooted in Dewey's philosophy, project based learning (PBL) approaches attempt to consider the culture, context, social nature of learning: collaborative, hands-on learning experiences where the student is placed at the center of inquiry.

Design Meets Learning

Models of 'doing' in institutional education contexts may still be exceptions rather than the rule, but numerous institutions like *Olin, d.school, MIT Media Lab,* and *High Tech High* are engaging students in project based learning with an increased emphasis on using product and service design strategies to solve problems sustainably. A similar synergy between project work and entrepreneurship is reflected in a post by Duke University professor Cathy Davidson which posits a vision for a liberal arts education she calls *SUCCESS*: *Start-Up Core Curriculum for Entrepreneurship, Service, and Society*. "The first year would center on a thematic cluster of problem-based courses. A second-year in another country consisting of entrepreneurial, service-oriented, practical work application of a new liberal arts core" (Davidson, 2012). Tony Wagner quotes Rick Miller, the President of Olin College of Engineering in Massachusetts, as describing three different stages in the evolution of learning: "The first is the memorization-based, multiple choice approach, which is still widely prevalent; then there's project-based learning where the problem is already determined; finally, there's design-based learning where you have to define the problem" (Wagner, p. 158).

There is a growing demand for programs that prepare students with the knowledge, skills, and habits of mind that—while widely agreed upon—are grossly underrepresented in traditional secondary and postsecondary curricula and assessment (Wagner, 2012). Entrepreneurship training within the context of project work presents an opportunity for a number of organizations working across several sectors—often outside of traditional institutions—to answer that demand. And in a departure from typical educational 'solutions', a number of innovators have turned to the field of design to address this challenge.

Designing for *Behavior*

For most people the word design is associated with the whims of fashion, the evolving shape of a toothbrush, or a line of contemporary furniture. Infinitely broader, though, every man-made object in our environment in fact has been designed, and often it only comes into focus when the design fails in some way—aesthetically or functionally. Beyond objects, the services we engage with daily—from navigating the grocery store to public transportation systems—are also products of design minds. And when you consider how these objects and experiences accumulate in the course of a lifetime, you see the subtle force of design to shape culture (Kolko, 2012). Design is more than just the objects that surround us, "the designer is shaping culture, changing behavior, and advancing [a] set of values and priorities. The designer shapes trends and movements and paradigms in the slow, pervasive way that culture ebbs and flows" (Kolko, 2012, p. 18).

In the last five years there has been an explosion of media attention paid to the intersection of design, business, and innovation. Led by CEO Steve Jobs, Apple products have amassed a cult-like following and profoundly influenced a consumer bias toward the elegant and intuitive (Isaacson, 2011), and as a corollary, placed a premium on the role of the designer. So hotly demanded, there are examples of entire design firms being acquired by companies in an effort to maintain a competitive edge (Miller, 2012). In a popular post by the writer and blogger Bruce Nussbaum, entitled "Designers Are the New Drivers of American Entrepreneurialism" he writes, "This growing desire among designers to bring their user focus, strategic vision, iterative methodologies, and propositional thinking to the still-geeky, tech/engineering-centric world of startups promises to be transformative and explosive" (2011). The design field has grown increasingly specialized to meet the emerging needs of businesses and now encompasses a wide array of domains: from industrial, product, communication and experience design to the increasingly techno-centric fields of graphic, game, user experience, and interaction design.

It was the design firm *IDEO* that advanced a "human-centered" approach that's led to design's growing visibility in the mainstream (Kelley & Littman, 2002). Ranked in the top 25 most innovative companies by *BusinessWeek*, *IDEO* became one of the most influential design firms in the world when it successfully codified the human-centered design processes in a way that linked it to companies' ability to innovate (Koppel & Smith, 1999). The term can be traced to Scandinavian design traditions developed in the 1970s known both as user-centered design (UCD), or human-centered design (HCD), though Peter Rowe (1987) was one of the earliest writers to use the term in the literature (Cross, 2011). The approach shifts the focus from product design to "designing behavior and personality into products" (Kelley & Littman, 2002). An epistemological shift, this approach brings the wants and needs of the end user to the foreground throughout the design process. It relies on ethnographic research methods emphasizing listening, observing, and empathizing with the user (Kelley & Littman, 2002).

IDEO's CEO Tim Brown explains that industrial design emerged through mediating the space between people and technology, asking questions of how an object might become more useful and user-friendly. The human-centered approach asks, *what do people need*? (Brown, 2010). Companies who are just making "more beautiful things," he suggests, are missing the greater opportunity and potential of design to create new products that, "balance the needs of individuals and of society as a whole; new ideas that tackle the global challenges of health, poverty, and education;

new strategies that result in differences that matter and a sense of purpose that engages everyone affected by them" (Brown, 2010, p. 3).

It was Brown's book *Change By Design* (2010) that popularized the term "design thinking," extracting the principles of human centered design and making transparent the tools, skills, and habits of mind design teams employ. Design, he writes, "is now too important to be left to designers" (p. 37). Design thinking is a way for the layperson to utilize a design methodology to problem-solve: "…an approach to innovation that is powerful, effective, and broadly accessible, that can be integrated into all aspects of business and society, and that individuals and teams can use to generate breakthrough ideas that are implemented and that therefore have an impact" (Brown, 2010, p. 3). What Brown does not do is apply the concept of "design thinking" deeply to the world of classroom education. While potentially inherent in his reference to "society," just how might examinations of design thinking implementation encourage a more dialogic relationship between education and the world of business in an increasingly global, technological, and entrepreneurial learning environment? The irony of this lack of direct collaboration between the design thinking approach and school communities is that while we are moving toward a more rigid assessment-as-achievement culture in schools, globalization and the reconceptualization of how learning and innovation starts in business requires a more flexible, collaborative, strategic, and multi-tasked approach for learning and teaching. Suarez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard (2004) make the point that "…the lives and experiences of youth growing up today will be linked to economic realities, social processes, technological and media innovations, and cultural flows that traverse national boundaries with every greater momentum…" which will demand that youth "develop new skills that are far ahead of what most educational systems can now deliver (Suarez-Orozco, p. xxi). The need for a very different preparation and education in schools has become the focus of many educators and business leaders recommendations for education. However, any sustained or scaled attempts to do so have fallen short of the demand.

Making the end user central to the design process doesn't mean simply designing products driven by surveys and consumer focus groups. Henry Ford is often quoted as having said, "If I'd asked my customers what they wanted, they'd have said 'a faster horse.'" Human-centered design requires "helping people to articulate latent needs they may not even know they have" (Brown, 2010, p. 41). Which is why elements of ethnographic research, not market research, are the hallmark of design thinking: observing, interviewing, listening (to what's said and not said), empathizing, and gathering clues about unmet needs. "The mission of design thinking is to translate observations into insights and insights into products and services that will improve lives" (Brown, 2010, p. 49).

Stages of Innovation

Design thinking processes entail an iterative approach to problem solving, typically articulated in three basic phases. The *inspiration* phase involves gathering data from every available source and then analyzing and synthesizing it in search of patterns and gleaning insights from them. The *ideation* phase is characterized by divergent thinking. It can be messy and chaotic as insights are translated into ideas, but ultimately refined and developed into a concrete plan of action in the *implementation* phase (Brown, 2010, p. 64). Ultimately, it's a set of recursive processes as testing and evaluating prototypes sends the designer back out for more data, and new insights impel another iteration of the product design (Brown, 2010, p. 68). While the language put to this process may differ across organizations, a basic outline generally includes: defining a problem, researching, ideating, prototyping, choosing, implementing, and learning (Cross, 2011). Another version comes from *Prototype Design Camp*: define the problem; research the problem's context and previous efforts; ideate, brainstorm without disregarding ideas; rapidly prototype concepts and models; choose a particular solution to develop; implement the solution and; test and learn by getting user feedback and collecting data (Long, 2010). Importantly, though, design thinking seems to be more than simply a set of procedures to be implemented. It's real potential comes when it becomes a habit of mind cultivated through the continual engagement in these processes.

Thinking Like Designers

The term "design thinking" has come to be used broadly across diverse sectors, and as a result come under assault by some designers who claim its mass adoption has oversimplified and overgeneralized processes that are, in actuality, various and multiple (Raford, 2010). But the criticism has not deterred a growing interest from the education community, driven by The *Hasso Plattner Institute of Design* at Stanford in Palo Alto, California. Known as the *d.school*, the institute was started in 2004 by David Kelley, founder of *IDEO*, to offer design classes to university students across the disciplines. Kelley's goal was not to institute another degree program, but rather to attract and convene interdisciplinary teams of students to contribute their expertise to solving some of the world's most challenging problems (Wagner, 2012, p.185).

"At the d.school we learn by doing. We don't just ask our students to solve a problem, we ask them to define what the problem is. Students start in the field, where they develop empathy for the people they design for, uncovering real human needs they want to address. Then they iterate to develop an unexpected range of possible solutions, and create rough prototypes to take back out into the field and test with real people. Our bias is toward action, followed by reflection on personal discoveries about process. Experience is measured by iteration: students run through as many cycles as they possibly can on any project. Each cycle brings stronger insights and unexpected solutions" (d.school, 2012).

In 2006, *d.school* launched the *k12 Laboratory* with the mission of bringing design thinking to elementary, middle, and secondary schools: "Engaging students in design thinking means helping them to be aware of situations around them, to see that have a role in creating them, and to decide to take action towards a more desirable future" (d.school, 2012). The lab provides professional development workshops and offers freely available tools, tips, curricula, and research online (d.school, 2012). These examples begin to give a framework about how design thinking in an educational setting might be implemented and what the benefits of these experiences might be.

Creative Confidence

David Kelley, founder of *IDEO* and the d.school at Stanford, has dedicated the latter part of his career to "helping humanity reclaim its creative confidence." He says:

Most people are born creative. As children, we revel in imaginary play, ask outlandish questions, draw blobs and call them dinosaurs. But over time, because of socialization and formal education, a lot of us start to stifle those impulses. We learn to be warier of judgment, more cautious, more analytical. The world seems to divide into "creatives" and "noncreatives," and too many people consciously or unconsciously resign themselves to the latter category. And yet we know that creativity is essential to success in any discipline or industry (Kelley & Kelley, 2012, p. 52).

Over the last decade, Kelley has propagated a design thinking methodology that is less about *teaching* creativity, than it is an effort to help people, "rediscover their creative confidence—the natural ability to come up with new ideas and the courage to try them out" (Kelley & Kelley, 2012, p. 52).

Lean Startup

The rise of designers in the corporate hierarchy has profoundly influenced ways of running a business (Nussbaum, 2009). But it is just one of many factors transforming the private sector in the 21st century (Christensen, Horn, & Johnson, 2009). Businesses in the digital age can set up shop almost overnight. Digital products require no storefront, no shelf space, and as few as one or two employees—often a programmer and a mind for business development. With little need for upfront capital, small business experiments have proliferated in recent years, with life cycles as short as one year or less. It would not be an unusual scenario to have two college roommates dream up a computer or smartphone application, go on a weekend-long coding binge, put up a test site to gauge interest, and based on responses, continue development or decide to kill the project and move on to the next. In May 2011, shortly after *Facebook's* API (application programming interface) opened up to developers, a class at Stanford was tasked with devising *Facebook* apps as their final projects. So successful was the experiment that students went from completing course requirements to incorporating businesses in a matter of weeks. Student Joachim DeLombaert's team's app "netted $3000 a day and morphed into a company that later sold for a six-figure sum" (Helft, 2011). This process of releasing a 'quick and dirty' 'minimum viable product' to the public to react to, respond to, and ultimately improve upon via built-in feedback mechanisms has become the standard method for startup entrepreneurs. 'Lean startup' practices, as they're known, have turned, "the long trek from idea to product to company…into a sprint" (Helft, 2011).

Eric Ries's, 2011 book, *The Lean Startup: How's Today's Entrepreneurs Use Continuous Innovation to Create Radically Successful Businesses* is often called the manual for the twenty-first century entrepreneur. "The lean startup approach fosters companies that are both more capital efficient and that leverage human creativity more effectively" (Ries, 2011, p.10). The concept is to resist refining an idea to perfection, rather to develop the product's 'key value proposition' and release it early and often, hence *IDEO's* popular slogan: *Fail early, fail often, fail better*. Ries urges entrepreneurs to dismiss what focus groups say, and watch instead what customers *do* so as to stay adaptive to their needs—whether or not the consumer themselves recognize them as such. The focus is on 'shipping': getting the product in the hands of users and learning how to improve it from its early adopters. Implicit in this methodology is the idea of 'failing forward', that is, developing a tolerance for failed expectations, misconceptions, and product shortcoming in an effort to arrive at better solutions; every failure is a learning opportunity. "Never forget that learning is the true measure of progress for a startup. The aim of any startup should be first and foremost to use scientific experimentation to discover how to build a sustainable business" (Ries, 2011, p. 35). 'Build, measure, learn' seems to be the mantra of the lean startup company.

Industry leaders have learned that small newcomers with these decidedly different practices can be extremely disruptive in ways that are impossible to predict. Less than a decade ago, people went to *IDEO* stores to rent movies; when *Netflix* introduced DVD mailings and later streaming, it nearly put *Blockbuster* out of business. In 2008 *RIM's* Blackberry mobile devices cornered the smartphone market. But *RIM's* subsequent incremental innovations failed to compete with Apple's radical innovation: the integration of touch screen technology into mobile phones. And now, a mere four years later, *RIM* struggles to survive (Shaughnessy, 2012). Big businesses are responding to these cautionary tales by developing more internal experiments—what some have termed 'intrapreneurship' (Armano, 2012)—by adopting an 'emergent strategy': "an evolving portfolio of strategic experiments [which] gives the management team more choices, which means better odds that some of the choices will be right" (Gray, 2012). The most effective examples of emergence at work can be found at Google or Amazon where "Nobody is directing people where to go and what to do. Nobody is allocating resources from the top. People and resources self-organize based on horizontal, peer-to-peer activity" (Gray, 2012). Innovation is the operative word as companies compete to survive, and innovation relies on agility, adaptability, and bias toward experimentation.

Design-led Social Entrepreneurship

An emerging trend in education can be witnessed in organizations that bring project-based learning together with design thinking, while upholding the values of social enterprise. Social enterprise is characterized by a business's sustainability as measured by a "triple bottom line": the impact on people, planet, and profits (Hindle, 2009). One program leading the way in this new mashup methodology is *Breaker*. Breaker utilizes design-led social entrepreneurship to prepare young people as innovators.

There are three recursive phases of the *Breaker* challenge process. The first phase includes learning about the design thinking approach to problem solving. The team is introduced to a design thinking methodology, which includes fieldwork, elements of ethnographic research and practicing empathetic listening to the needs of would-be users. The team reconvenes with the amassed data to begin a process of sharing and searching for themes and patterns. They then refine the challenge that was initially posed, looking to narrow its scope. Next they begin a divergent thinking phase: brainstorming and "ideating" to come up with ideas that might solve the problem. The processes over the following weeks include researching, developing, and eliminating ideas, until the Breakers begin prototyping and testing. Once prototyping begins, the team breaks into subgroups, each building out their products as robustly as possible with available time and resources. The last phase of the project is dedicated to testing the product, getting user feedback, tweaking and continually refining it so that come final pitch night, they have viable products to present to an audience of potential collaborators, funders, and other interested parties.

Each *Breaker* project begins with a point of inspiration: a challenge posed by what Breaker refers to as "project visionaries." Visionaries are leaders in the challenge area, practitioners with eminence in the field of study. For example, the challenge of the first project, "The Future of the Book," was led by digital reading innovators Tom Uglow of Google, and Charlie Melcher of *Melcher Media*. One Breaker challenge explored Urban Agriculture. In this project, sustainability expert Majora Carter and Danielle Gould, Founder of *Food and Tech Connect* acted as project visionaries to support the students to examine opportunities in the area of urban agriculture.

In a group reflection after the project's launch, one of the participants shared: "The challenge-based nature of *Breaker* projects made it feel like an adventure. You're out in the world, every week a new location, working to solve the problem, invigorated by all the people you meet, and by the opportunity to do something tangible."

Looking Forward

Programs like Breaker force us to ask how we might reimagine new learning contexts that prepare students to solve problems, many of which are still unknown. Yet American schools continue to grow a culture where information is equated with knowledge, and rote memorization and recall are at the core of our common assessments. The disconnection between what we profess to value and what we e*valu*ate in schools only increases, suggesting a strong need for new educational models that teach students to be problem solvers. Design thinking and other innovative approaches to problem solving are one possible approach to preparing the social entrepreneurs of tomorrow.

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Case Studies of Social Capital at Work

Janet F. Gillespie and Lauren M. Mutignani

Introduction

The construct of "social capital," defined earlier in this volume, can be summarized as the notion that social connections to others hold value for people's lives, value which translates into increased productivity for both individuals and groups, that enriches people's well-being and sense of purpose and meaning in life, and which helps build communities (Putnam, 2000). Social capital also implies the formation of social, interpersonal networks which are guided by a norm of reciprocity and giving to others. These social networks promote physical and psychological health for individuals (e.g., through gainful employment and a sense of belonging), and promote community development through civic engagement (Johnson, 2016 in this volume). Durlak and Gillespie (2003) additionally cited Loury's (1987) related definition of social capital as resources and/or abilities which emerge from social organization and interpersonal interaction. Thus, social capital is related to individual, societal, or governmental actions/policies which promote human interaction, as well as purposeful activities which contribute to one's community and the "greater good." The goal of the current chapter is to describe four occurrences in twentieth-century history as "case studies" of ways in which social capital was increased in the United States. Each of these examples has had the effect of building and sustaining social capital and thus improving the quality of life for Americans. Moreover, each example helps to illuminate the theme of a "social capital tradition" in the history of the United States.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_11

Social Capital as a National Tradition

George Washington (1732–1799) is quoted as having said "Let your heart feel for the affliction and distresses of everyone" (Notable Quotes, n.d.). While it seems to these authors that the main sentiment expressed in this quotation is one of empathy, it is also possible that a better injunction to become active in one's community and to strive to "give back" could not be found. Moreover, community engagement initiatives are a longstanding part of United States history. Putnam's masterful 2000 work (*Bowling Alone*) noted the American tradition of social capital, and also detailed changes in Americans' rates of engagement in community activities across recent generations. He noted a decline, since the mid-1960s, in rates of membership in community organizations and volunteerism, team- and league-based recreational activities, and civic engagement generally, positing that this change was generationally linked, related to US economic changes (e.g., the need for two-income versus one-income families), and also the existence of television as competition for Americans' leisure time. Putnam also noted an irony in this change, as 1960s leaders had expected a surge in participation and joining of all types of community activities with the population increase from the "Baby Boom" cohort of youth. Furthermore, not too long ago, social capital was optimistically linked to proposed community improvements, such as the dream of revitalization of impoverished neighborhoods that became a central goal of the presidential campaign of Robert F. Kennedy (Clarke, 2008). Finally, social capital is good for national and personal health. Putnam (2000) cited evidence that communities with high social capital show less crime, and have residents who are more physically fit and who trust each other more. In sum, social capital is an intrinsic part of healthy communities and an American tradition, and it can become so again.

Bass (2013) reviewed government-sanctioned, non-military service programs (e.g., the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC] and Volunteers in Service to America [VISTA]), which she termed "domestic national service." She named a major goal and benefit of these programs as being the enhancement of participants' notions of what it means to be a citizen. Thus, a primary and very positive effect of civilian service programs is promoting and advancing citizenship. Bass further specified that the concept of "citizenship" could refer to a legal status (constitutional citizenship), a sense of patriotism, a call to public work and community-building, or a motivation to help fellow citizens in need. All of these notions of citizenship fit a social capital model of service. The definitions exemplify social interconnectedness, the exchange of mutually beneficial goods and actions, and personal commitment to a civic cause. Additionally, the framework provided by Coles' 1993 book, *The Call of Service*, is useful as it gives numerous examples of other-directed service to one's community, categorizing these examples into seven basic types: (1) "social and political struggle," (2) "community service," (3) "personal gestures and encounters," (4) "charity," (5) "religiously sanctioned action," (6) "government-sanctioned action," and (7) "service to country." We present below four examples of "government-sanctioned action" which have promoted social capital through community service and/or service to the country. Each of these programs ultimately bettered millions of lives, imbued a sense of purpose and civic responsibility, and strengthened belief in government as a force for good (Bass, 2013; Humes, 2006). Taken together, these twentieth-century national service programs shaped and benefitted individuals' lives as well as improving our nation.

The Works Progress Administration

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was created during the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Taylor, 2009). Roosevelt, first elected in 1932, was the driving force behind a series of economic stimulus programs (from his campaign promise of a "New Deal" and collectively coordinated by a "National Recovery Administration [NRA]") which were intended to counter the financial devastation of the Great Depression. The national economic downturn of the Depression, which began with the plummeting of Wall Street stock values in the 1929 episode known as the stock market "Crash," permanently changed the financial landscape of the United States (Shlaes, 2007). These events decimated the financial capital and business capability of banks and corporations, led to a record high 25 % unemployment rate in the United States, and destroyed the livelihoods of millions. A majority of American families saw a precipitous downturn in their financial state, through loss of savings when banks "failed" (closed), through inability to find jobs or being terminated from jobs when businesses shut their doors, or from the lack of financial plans to guard their savings or investments. Fifteen million US citizens were unemployed when Roosevelt took office in early 1933 (Shlaes, 2007).

The new president immediately took action in promoting his New Deal stimulus programs, which were designed to "jump-start" the national economy. Accordingly, WPA legislation brought about specific changes. First, WPA's existence allowed new jobs to be created. One example is through recruitment of workers for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which employed civilians (young men, and also some older World War I veterans) to build new recreational facilities nationwide (e.g., in the National Park System), overhaul infrastructure in existing parks and recreational facilities, and provide job skills to the unemployed or underemployed. Secondly, similar subsidized programs led to the National Youth Administration (NYA) as well as large-scale demonstration projects such as construction of the Hoover Dam (Shlaes, 2007). The WPA also generated programs to support US agriculture, and create new forms of energy utilization through the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

While the legacy created by the WPA is not without its drawbacks, the momentum of this movement to stimulate a Depression-era economy also is said by many to have stimulated a national recovery of a "can-do" attitude and ethic, albeit one connected in time to the onset of World War II. Putnam (2000) noted that the mindset of civic engagement and collectivism shown by many Americans up to the 1970s is likely closely related to that cohort of citizens whose sacrifice and interdependence was essential in order to pursue victory in WW II.

WPA programs directly affected millions of Americans who went on to become exemplars of community service. Just one example is the "CCC Alumni," i.e., former Civilian Conservation Corps workers, who utilized the practical skills gained in this first job to develop technical, military, or business careers. Bass (2013) cited a figure of three million participants in the CCC in its 9-year existence. Barry (1999) noted that participants' CCC involvement included lasting improvements in literacy. CCC's *Camp Life Reader and Workbook* included vocabulary words, grammar, and writing exercises.

Table 1 outlines possible "social capital contributions" and matches characteristics of WPA programs with these outcomes. Examples are the promotion of citizens' engagement in one's community via volunteer service activities, promotion of understanding and acceptance of those different from oneself, improvement of individuals' educational opportunity and upward mobility, encouraging social connectedness via social cohesion, and others. The social capital impact of WPA programs is summarized in this table.

Table 1 Social capital contributions of four key twentieth-century social capital initiatives

Government-Sanctioned Action Can	WPA	G.I. Bill	Head Start	VISTA
For individuals:				
Promote reciprocity and other-directedness	*		*	*
Foster acceptance of diversity	*	*	*	*
Increase social connectedness	*	*	*	*
Improve physical health	*		*	
Enhance sense of well-being	*		*	
Increase commitment to civic causes and the "greater good"	*	*		*
Raise consciousness of social inequality and promote social justice		*	*	*
For families:				
Improve literacy	*	*	*	*
Allow upward mobility	*	*	*	*
Provide youth with extracurricular/volunteer activities	*	*	*	*
Provide job skills and employment opportunity	*	*		*
Foster improved family relationships			*	*
Increase educational opportunity and attainment	*	*	*	*
For Communities:				
Stimulate participation in government (public meeting attendance, voting, volunteerism) & community engagement	*	*	*	*
Promote and increase community involvement	*	*	*	*
Promote persons' identity as citizens	*	*	*	*
Increase goods and resources available to all	*	*	*	*

Created by authors, J. Gillespie & L. Mutignani, (2015). Sources for table components adapted from Bass (2013), Humes, (2006), Mettler (2005), U.S. National Conference on Citizenship (2012).

The GI Bill of Rights

The G.I. Bill of Rights (or, simply, the "GI Bill"), formally known as the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, was a legislative effort intended to provide educational opportunity to returning World War II veterans. Its effects ultimately became far-reaching, however, to the extent that Mettler (2005) noted that the GI Bill is often pointed to as "one of the most significant social policies ever enacted in the United States" (p. 345). Mettler (2005) detailed the act's original intent as being a vehicle for economic assistance to veterans of WW II, in part due to national sentiment that veterans of World War I had not received their due in terms of benefits and assistance. The GI Bill's main provisions were to provide affordable housing and tuition-free college educations to returning veterans, and it was predicted (Humes, 2006) that enrollees would number in the hundreds of thousands. Instead, a total of eight million US veterans eventually utilized their GI Bill opportunities, which built a new socioeconomic level, uplifted individuals' daily existence, and transformed communities.

The GI Bill, as enacted, was really a program representing a compromise of sorts. President Roosevelt's initial vision for the country at the time of his election included sweeping changes in access to housing, education, employment, retirement benefits, and healthcare, and his plan might have completely "reinvented" the nation after the war (Humes, 2006). In contrast, American Legion lobbyists advocated for specific and modest legislation to help veterans, to return their level of opportunity to one commensurate with conditions before the war. It has been noted that neither goal was attained as envisioned, but that instead, the GI Bill led to massive changes that far exceeded expectations: "a nation of renters [to] a nation of homeowners. …college would be transformed from an elite bastion to a middle-class entitlement." (Humes, 2006, p. 10). Humes continues: "Educations would be made possible for fourteen future Nobel Prize winners, three Supreme Court Justices … a dozen senators." Humes gives figures indicating that the GI Bill funded educations of tens of thousands of American scientists, lawyers, and physicians, and hundreds of thousands of engineers and teachers.

Humes' account of the GI Bill vividly portrays the life of Allan Howerton, of Rahway, New Jersey, as a GI Bill "success story". Howerton was raised by aunts in Kentucky after his mother died when he was nine years old and his father relocated to find work. Upon graduating high school in 1941, he worked at a White Castle hamburger restaurant for a weekly salary of less than twenty dollars. Following Pearl Harbor, Howerton was drafted, but was offered by Army recruiters the opportunity to enroll in a special officer training college education program which would grant him exemption from combat. Allan's plans for noncombatant service as an officer vanished when recruitment needs necessitated his deployment overseas, and he landed at Omaha Beach in Normandy within a month of D-Day. He went on to see action in some of the bloodiest battles in Europe. After being discharged from the infantry in 1945, Allan enrolled at the University of Denver and obtained his bachelor's degree. He went on to a successful career in the US Office of Personnel

Management, working at various posts in Washington, D.C. This, he felt, was truly a miracle for the descendant of itinerant farmers who had sharecropped. Table 1 gives social capital outcomes of the GI Bill.

Head Start

Head Start is a federally funded national preschool program, begun as one part of the "War on Poverty" programs initiated by the presidential administration of Lyndon Johnson. Zigler and Muenchow (1992, p. 244, as cited by Levine & Perkins, 1997) stated that Head Start has been called "the nation's most successful educational and social experiment." Thus, Head Start was intended to affect not only the academic environment of children in need of preschool education, but to also make an impact on communities. It is an integrative program, often cited as a model of "best practice" among programs addressing multiple needs for healthy childhoods and society (Dryfoos, 1994).

Head Start was created as a provision of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act known as Title II, the component of the Act which was intended to address education. Title II legislation mandated the creation of "special programs for the poor located outside the usual framework of public education" (White, 1970, p. 164). Head Start accepted its first pupils in summer pilot programs in 1965. This bold move, as an example of a national "compensatory" preschool program, stemmed from several sources. First, inequities in educational opportunity in the United States had been well-documented, with research indicating that the children of families living in lower socioeconomic levels are often less well-prepared for school (Moritsugu, Vera, Wong, & Duffy, 2014). Head Start's intended mission was to correct this, and its key goals, summarized by Levine and Perkins (1997), were to: (1) improve both the mental and physical health of its pupils, (2) promote children's social and emotional learning, (3) increase feelings of dignity and self-worth, (4) allow a raising of educational expectations for children and the fostering of a positive educational experience, and (5) improve children's "capacity to relate positively to family members and others…developing a responsible attitude toward society" (p. 288). Head Start quickly became a nationwide "early intervention program" delivering "enrichment education" to three through 5-year-olds (Moritsugu et al., 2014).

Head Start programs, still very much in existence today, continue to accept children of any racial or ethnic background, and eligibility is determined by family income (Zigler & Styfco, 1993). Head Start Centers provide child care, a preschool education, nutritional programs, parent counseling and literacy activities, and promote the furthering of individual educational goals not only for the children enrolled but also their parents. In sum, Head Start is a program with holistic and far-reaching effects, at the educational, socioemotional, and societal levels; it continues to hold significant potential to impact levels of social capital. In fact, in this regard, Head Start has been at the forefront of promoting citizen engagement in communities through its vigorous encouragement of volunteer involvement and parent participation in the program. Head Start parent volunteers have the opportunity to further their personal employment prospects by virtue of having been involved in Head Start; the program subscribes to a “volunteer career ladder” philosophy from which many parents, particularly mothers, have benefitted. Moreover, Head Start leaders have, from its inception, welcomed university–community partnerships; academic faculty (particularly in psychology and education) have utilized this opportunity to build internship, field placement, and “high-impact” educational opportunities for their undergraduate and graduate students (Primavera & Cook, 1997).

Primavera (2000) offers evidence of the impact of Head Start on a parent whose involvement in a “family literacy program” allowed her to become an active participant in her young child’s educational experience. The parent recalled, “Even though I did not receive my high school diploma I feel very good about myself. I see that I am helping my children. When I read the books they think I am so smart and so funny. When I read, it encourages them to be like Mommy, ‘a reader.’ They are proud of me and that makes me proud too.” (p. 94).

Head Start has played a part in the preschool experience of millions of pupils who have grown up to give back in service to their country. Attorney Angel Taveras was a Head Start pupil who grew up to attend Harvard University, Georgetown University Law School, and be elected as the Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, serving from 2011 to 2015 (Greenberg Traurig, 1992). The far-ranging social capital outcomes of Head Start are listed in Table 1.

Volunteers in Service to America

Volunteers in Service to America (AmeriCorps☆Vista, 2015) was also begun in 1965, thus, this program marks its 50th anniversary, as does Head Start, in 2015. VISTA (now VISTA/AmeriCorps) was created as a “stateside” version of President Kennedy’s overseas volunteer service organization, the Peace Corps. VISTA, another one of the Johnson Administration’s “War on Poverty” programs, had as its goal to eliminate poverty in America. VISTA’s first workers were assigned to migrant labor camps in California, urban locations in the Northeast such as Hartford, Connecticut, and Appalachian mountain communities in eastern Kentucky. VISTA’s branches or options for service include volunteering in disaster relief, educational needs (including collaboration with Head Start), service to military families and veterans, assisting in environmental and health initiatives, and community and neighborhood development. VISTA is now a part of the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS), and works in partnership with other governmental agencies to offer community-service-based job opportunities to Americans.

Americans who joined VISTA look back on their service years with the organization as memorable and formative. Rep. Gwendolynne Moore served as a Volunteer for three years from 1981 to 1984 and found herself tasked with working with a neighborhood association to create a credit union for residents of impoverished Milwaukee neighborhoods. She went on to election to the House of Representatives in 2004. The first African-American woman elected to Congress from the state of Wisconsin, she serves on the House Budget Committee and the House Committee on Financial Services (U.S. House of Representatives, 2015). Table 1 gives social capital outcomes of VISTA and AmeriCorps.

Conclusions

This chapter has articulated the value added to society by occurrences, movements, and legislation which build social capital, given several prototypic examples of social capital-building in American history, and provided case studies of individuals' lives. Social capital's "value added" impact to society remains strong and enduring, and possibilities for the future include the cleaning up of our environment, the revitalization of schools, the mentoring of youth, and making the health of the current generation of school children a national priority. In Table 2, we present examples of Americans whose lives were changed by their involvement in the government-sanctioned programs described in this chapter. Table 3 gives examples of more recent, similar programs, which hold social capital potential for the future.

The VISTA website, highlighting President Barack Obama's Call to Service, gave the following summation, which we feel is a perfect conclusion to this chapter:

> The challenges our nation faces cannot be solved by edicts or quick fixes from Washington alone. We can rebuild our schools but we need people to be mentors and tutors in those schools. We can modernize our health care system but we need volunteers in our hospitals and communities to help care for the sick and help people lead healthier lives. We can invest in clean energy, but we need people to use energy-efficient products in their homes and train for the green jobs of the future (AmeriCorps☆Vista, 2015).

Table 2 Notable alumni of twentieth-century social capital-enhancing programs

Program	Person	Contribution
Works Progress Administration (Civilian Conservation Corps)	Archie Moore	Undefeated Light Heavyweight World Boxing Champion
GI Bill	Clint Eastwood	Actor and Academy Award-winning film director
	Robert Dole	WW II Veteran; Awarded Presidential Medal of Freedom; US Senator (R-KS)
	George McGovern	WW II Veteran; Awarded Distinguished Flying Cross; US Senator (D-SD)
	Arthur Penn	Film and Television Director/Producer
Head Start	Angel Taveras	Former Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island (D-RI)
Volunteers in Service to America	Gwendolynne Moore	US Congressperson, House of Representatives (D-WI)

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Table 3 Social capital contributions of twenty-first-century US organizations

Program and website	Founder(s)	Mission
Harlem Children's Zone (2014) http://hcz.org/about-us/	Geoffrey Canada (1990)	Broad goal of the program is to increase positive outcomes for impoverished children including high school graduation and college acceptance. The program's features focus on education, family, & community influence, and health
State "Promise Zones" (2015) https://www.hudexchange.info/programs/promise-zones/	Barack Obama (2013)	Includes federal partnership with community leaders in order to facilitate positive community outcomes such as job creation, economy and education improvement, and crime reduction
Habitat for Humanity (2015) http://www.habitat.org/how/christian.aspx	Millard & Linda Fuller (1976)	Works to eliminate homelessness and substandard living conditions through home construction
Compeer (2015) http://compeerrochester.org/the-compeer-story/	Bernice Skirboll (1977)	Works to eliminate the stigma of mental illness via fostering friendships between mental health population and larger community
America Reads (2014) https://americareads.as.ucsb.edu/about-us/	Bill Clinton (1996)	Targets improvement of math and literacy skills in school age children through tutoring
MoveOn.org (2015) http://front.moveon.org/about/#.VYSZyflVikp	Joan Blades & Wes Boyd (1998)	Works to involve Americans in politics and policy change with a focus on democratic progressive change campaigns

Created by authors, J. Gillespie & L. Mutignani, (2015).

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Social Capital: Models and Efforts to Build and Restore among Marginalized Individuals and Communities

Bronwyn A. Hunter

Social capital is an interdisciplinary and international concept that is focused on the importance of social networks and relationships on positive health and well-being for individuals, communities, and society. In general, social capital models suggest that social networks and relationships are resources that may benefit individuals and/or communities. For example, individuals may rely on friends and family members to obtain gainful employment. Similarly, labor unions may have social capital through political affiliations, which benefit union members. Social capital has often been discussed as a benefit to either the individual or group/community (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Portes, 2000; Putnam, 1995). More recently, models have examined how social capital interacts across individuals and communities to benefit both individuals and group/community members (Payne, Moore, Griffis, & Autry, 2011; Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002; Woolcock, 1998).

The development of social capital is often credited to the disciplines of economics and sociology, however; it is now widely used. For example, social capital models are frequently applied to educational (i.e., Goddard, 2003), criminology and criminal justice (i.e., Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001; Wolff & Draine, 2004), organizational (Payne et al., 2011), and public health (i.e. Folland, 2007; Nieminen et al., 2010) outcomes. Over the years, several theorists have proposed models of social capital, with the most commonly discussed by Pierre Bourdieu (1985, 1986), James Coleman (1988), and Robert Putnam (1995, 2000). Additional social capital models have focused on the importance of social networks for improving health and well-being (Lin, 1999) as well as on specific components of social capital (Woolcock, 1998) across individuals and systems (Perkins et al., 2002). Despite the abundance of literature on social capital models, less has been

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_12

written about how individuals and communities can build social capital where there is little social capital, or how individuals and communities can restore social capital when networks and relationships have been strained (Fukuyama, 2001; Wacquant, 1998). Thus, it is important to consider ways in which individuals, groups, and communities can build and restore social capital, especially among marginalized individuals and communities with limited resources.

This chapter reviews the political and social influences on the development of social capital, major social capital models, and recent modifications to and extensions of social capital models. We end with a discussion of efforts to build and/or restore social capital that are discussed with a focus on marginalized groups (i.e., former substance misusers and formerly incarcerated individuals).

Social Capital Definition

In this chapter, social capital is defined as, "the connections among individuals such that, over time, a social network is created in which people come to expect mutual support and trust. This leads to: (a) potential increases in each individual's physical health and social–emotional well-being, as well as (b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society." This definition implies that individuals gain benefits through their social relationships, and, these individual benefits translate to broader individual, community, and social well-being.

Types of Capital

Although this chapter is focused on social capital, it is important to acknowledge that theorists have identified several types of capital. Capital is discussed as a tangible asset, something that is material: a product (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, economic capital can be measured by the amount of money in one's bank account and other indicators of wealth, such as having expensive cars, owning a home, and other material items that reflect one's financial status in society (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 2000). Cultural, or human, capital reflects qualities of a person, such as ones' education level, intelligence, or cognitive abilities, which are intrinsic and carry cultural value (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Cultural values can be specific to one's culture or universal across cultures. Physical capital refers to the tangible goods and materials that are used for economic gain (Coleman, 1988), and can range from a hammer that is used to work on a construction site to the airplane hangar that garages airplanes that are not in flight. Social capital differs from other types of capital because it is not tangible, that is, it exists in the relationships within and between individuals, groups, communities, and society (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988).

Models of Social Capital

Scholars (Portes, 2000; Woolcock, 1998) have traced the history of social capital to nineteenth century sociology. Several sociologists have been credited with describing characteristics of social capital, including Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim (Portes, 2000); David Hume, Edmond Burke, and Adam Smith (Woolcock, 1998) as well as de Toqueville (Putnam, 2000). However, these theorists did not explicitly provide detailed descriptions of social capital. Thus, the following section highlights the three most frequently discussed social capital models as conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam.

Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu (1985, 1986) was a French sociologist who is often credited with the first formal description of social capital. Bourdieu (1985, 1986) described "capital," as work, or labor, that builds, or is gained, over time. Thus, capital produces profits, and these profits allow for increased opportunities to obtain power in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu carefully distinguished among social capital, or the resources that are linked to social networks, economic capital, or financial resources, and cultural capital, or assets that reside in individuals and/or families (i.e., level of education, intelligence). Bourdieu's theory (1985, 1986) is distinct because he believed that the types of capital were strongly related to each other and were inherently tied to one's power in a given society. Thus, he emphasized that an individual's social stature, or location in a given society, is constructed by society and depends on social relationships (Bourdieu, 1985). That is, one's social status is grounded in social networks and resources that are accessible and available. Because capital is equivalent to resources, it reflects a social class structure in which individuals who have few resources have little capital, thus, capital is unequally distributed in the society (Bourdieu, 1986; DeFilippis, 2001; Fukuyama, 2001).

According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital has two main components: group memberships/social networks and sociability. In this context, social groups and networks refer to informal relationships, such as neighbors, co-workers, and family members, as well as formal organizations, including labor unions, parent–teacher associations, and religious institutions. Bourdieu (1986) highlights the benefits that individuals gain when they participate in social groups and develop these networks. For example, frequently participating in family gatherings may strengthen relations between family members, thus, family members may be a resource for providing emotional support as well as help with childcare or obtaining employment. Similarly, joining a labor union could provide comradery among union members, as well as increased job security and other employment benefits.

Importantly, for an individual to have social capital, he or she must have access to relationships with other people who have access to social and tangible resources. That is, other people's resources allow for an individual to have access to those resources and may also allow individuals to access the resources of their network members. The size of one's social network is key to having social capital, the larger the network, the greater the potential for access to more resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Think about the social networks that you belong to. Do your social networks and group memberships have resources? How many individuals are in your social networks? Can you reach out to your network members for assistance with housing, employment, childcare, or other resources? Bourdieu (1986) believed that our social networks have the potential to increase our ability to move up in society—that is, social networks are resources that can help us advance our own interests in a beneficial and profitable manner.

Even when individuals have large social networks and belong to many tight-knit groups, social capital will not be a resource if one does not know how to access and use his/her network's capital. Bourdieu's (1986) second component of social capital is *sociability*, which is the amount and quality of social resources that are provided by one's social networks. In many ways, sociability depends on the amount of people, or size, in one's social network (Bourdieu, 1986). However, sociability increases the complexity of social capital because it suggests that individuals must nurture and maintain social relationships for those relationships to have value. Sociability requires effort, but effort that results in a benefit in the form of access to and the use of others' resources or social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 2000).

Bourdieu (1986) firmly believed that the sole benefit of social capital was that it helps an individual accumulate economic capital. That is, social networks that have access to resources and in which an individual nurtures relations over time should result in greater material benefits. Through this capital, individuals have access to economic resources and can also increase their cultural capital by being in contact with individuals and groups that have high knowledge of and access to social, economic, and cultural resources. It is clear that Bourdieu believed that one must make substantial economic and cultural efforts to acquire social capital (Portes, 2000). For example, a new employee in an organization may make concerted efforts to go out to lunch with his or her supervisors, which will build social capital, and may benefit the new employee when a job promotion is available. In addition, individuals must know how their social networks operate and how to access the capital in their networks to benefit from their network's capital. Accruing economic capital becomes challenging for individuals who have small networks with few resources, because there will be few resources available through social relationships (Bourdieu, 1986; DeFilippis, 2001). In contrast, individuals who have social networks with many resources will have more access to social capital and resources. Finally, Bourdieu (1986) viewed social capital as a benefit to an individual, and not as a benefit to communities or society.

James Coleman

James Coleman (1988) was an American sociologist whose goal was to combine both sociological and economic schools of thought to construct his view of social capital. Coleman (1988) believed that social capital helped to enable action among individuals who have social group and social network relationships. As such, social capital is productive, as it allows individuals to have access to opportunities and achieve goals that may otherwise not be possible (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 2000).

Coleman (1988) posited that social capital could be found in the relationships between individuals and their social networks, however; he notes that social capital may differ across cultures and settings. Coleman's (1988) theory is unique because it views social capital is a collective resource that is tied to the social network, that is, the group or community reap the benefits from social capital. Thus, social capital is difficult to visualize because it exists within and across relationships, and these relationships allow for positive and productive activity.

Coleman (1988) emphasized several important components of social capital, including *reciprocity*, *information channels*, and *norms and sanctions*. *Reciprocity* is the ability to have mutually beneficial relationships with others, which depend on trust in the social environment and obligations to others in a relationship in a given situation (Coleman, 1988). Along these lines, individuals who have high social stature with high obligations to other individuals and/or groups have more social capital, which allows them to hold others responsible and for others to hold them responsible for obligations/credits. In other words, there is an expectation that at some time in the future, good deeds will be repaid (Newton, 1997). *Information channels* are the routes from which information can be obtained from social networks (Coleman, 1988). Relationships only provide social capital when the information that exists in the relationship leads to some type of action. Thus, these relationships are valuable because they provide information that lead to tangible benefits. Finally, *norms and sanctions* are the social norms that can facilitate or restrain action. These three components are critical aspects of social capital that have the potential to lead to productive action (Coleman, 1988; Edwards & Foley, 1998).

According to Coleman (1988), social capital is influenced by the closure of social networks. Closure transpires when groups or organizations have specific requirements, which may be based on religion, ethnicity, type of employment, or school, among others, such that new members are not easily admitted to the group or network. Closure provides a set of rules that monitor and guide behavior and is critical for establishing group norms and trust (Coleman, 1988). Closure also creates trust in a social structure because it allows norms to be reinforced, and emphasizes how group members maintain their reputations to fulfill social obligations (Coleman, 1988). Thus, closure occurs when there are strong ties between several people that guarantee that norms will be observed and respected. These norms allow for transactions without legal contracts (Portes, 2000).

Coleman (1988) articulates that merchant communities, specifically the diamond market in New York City (NYC), exemplify social capital. The NYC diamond market is a group of ethnically and family close-knit merchants who sell diamonds. This community is ethnically Jewish, and members tend to live in the same neighborhoods and attend the same synagogues. Because this is a closed community, there are strong ties that allow for diamonds to be traded and other transactions to be made without insurance or legal contracts. This network depends on reciprocity, because group members mutually trade and sell diamonds. In addition, because this is a closed group, the norms and obligations insist that stealing would result in great loss to the individual, as well as consequences for the family and larger community.

Coleman (1988) argues that social capital can be critical for creating human capital. In contrast to Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) suggests that human capital may be low, but social capital can be high- that is, the different forms of capital do not coexist, rather; they dynamically influence each other (Portes, 2000). For example, the saying, “It takes a village to raise a child,” suggests that when parents do not have the human capital to benefit a child, other community members may have social capital, which may increase the child’s chances for success. Coleman (1988) believed that social capital was tied to social group membership as a collective resource. That is, when individuals leave a social group, or move to another location, for example, both the individual and the group loses the social capital that had been afforded by group membership (Coleman, 1988; Edwards & Foley, 1998). Thus, social capital is a collective resource that mainly benefits the group and depends on context.

Robert Putnam

Robert Putnam’s (1995, 2000) seminal work, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, expanded the concept of social capital by including social networks, social trust, as well as moral obligations or social norms. As indicated in the title, Putnam (1995, 2000) was concerned that American society was moving away from memberships in voluntary associations, which are groups that provide benefits and construct social norms. Putnam (1995, 2000) believed that lower rates of membership in voluntary associations resulted in a decline in civil society. In this context, civil society is defined as engaging in organizations/associations, such as leagues, clubs, labor unions, and parent–teacher associations, and establishing social connections that result in increased participation in democracy, or politics and government (Putnam, 2000). Putnam (1995) conducted a study in Italy in which he found that strong social ties were related to better government and increased well-being among community members. When he returned to the United States, he noted that there was a decline in civic engagement, and that people were less engaged in politics and government. Thus, rather than joining organized leagues, more individuals were “bowling alone.” Putnam’s (1995, 2000) concern about the decline in memberships received substantial media attention, and his theory of social capital is the most recognized and well-known.

Putnam (1995) focused on the relationship between democracy-or having equal say—in mutually beneficial relationships—and civil society. In this sense, civic engagement through participation in voluntary associations increases the quality of public life and the performance of social institutions, such as government (Putnam, 1995). The overarching premise is that social capital benefits the common good of society through membership in voluntary associations, which includes serving as officers or committee members in formal organizations that are work, church or community-based or informal networks, such as friends and family. Organizations and associations include, but are not limited to, club and church attendance, union memberships, exercise/health club membership, or leagues. Social capital is obtained through memberships in these voluntary associations, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It is important to note that there are many types of voluntary associations, which may differentially influence the accessibility and availability of social capital (Newton, 1997). These connections improve the quality of life by allowing groups to collectively address social problems and facilitating coordination and cooperation for individual and community benefit.

Putnam's model (1995, 2000) has a strong emphasis on trust and is a collective model, where there is a benefit to the greater common good of society. As such, negative outcomes are rarely addressed (Edwards & Foley, 1998). Thus, participation in civic life and memberships in associations strengthens democracy, improves quality of life and the function of social institutions (Edwards & Foley, 1998). In addition to emphasizing the value of voluntary associations for creating social capital, Putnam (2000) also introduces bridging and bonding capital. Bridging refers to weak relationship ties among individuals who are different in some way, while bonding refers to strengthening ties among members who are similar to each other within a group (Putnam, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Bridging capital suggests that weak ties are important for gaining new information and opportunities (Macinko & Starfield, 2001). Indeed, bridging and bonding social capital appear to be important, as they have been found to lower the odds that individuals will report poor health (Kim, Subramanian, & Kawachi, 2006). Additionally, collective bonding social capital has been found to contribute to health more so than individual social networks and relationships (Poortinga, 2006).

Summary

In sum, Bourdieu (1986) believed that the two main components of social capital are social networks and the sociability of those networks as they are nurtured and maintained over time. He believed that social capital mainly benefits individuals who invest in growing and maintaining their social networks, while emphasizing that social status will influence the amount and availability of social capital. Importantly, Bourdieu (1986) sees positive and negative aspects of social capital, as he acknowledges that individuals who do not have high social status will have less access to capital and those in powerful positions in society will have more access to capital. Individuals who have a higher social status and more social capital will also have more access to economic and social capital. Thus, social capital can be a valuable resource that is found in relationships with other people that can lead to increased material and non-material resources.

The main goal of Coleman's (1988) social capital theory was to bridge economic and sociological schools of thought. He believed that social capital consisted of reciprocity, information channels, and norms or sanctions. Further, Coleman (1988) acknowledged that social capital was a resource that depended on the culture and context of the individual and group. In this sense, social capital is viewed as a collective resource that benefits the groups to which individuals belong, and leads to some type of action.

Finally, Putnam (1995, 2000) believed that social capital is essential to civic engagement and strengthening democracy. Putnam (1995, 2000) discusses declining participation in voluntary associations, which limit political and democratic participation. A central component of Putnam's (1995) model is social trust, which can help to facilitate involvement in democracy. Overall, networks, norms, and social trust can lead to collective action and benefit communities and larger society.

Criticisms of Social Capital Models

The three social capital perspectives discussed above have been criticized for several reasons. First, each theory defines social capital in a different way and emphasizes various components (i.e., Portes, 2000; Tzanakis, 2013). Thus, there is little agreement on which definition best reflects social capital. Second, theorists often neglect to discuss the downsides of social capital, as it is possible that social capital can be used for purposes that do not benefit society (Browning, 2009; Macinko & Starfield, 2001; Wacquant, 1998). For example, gangs have social capital in that they have strong ties and relations to each other, which gives them power in a given community. However, the social capital that is available through gang membership does not work toward the greater good of society, in fact, it is often related to poor outcomes in impoverished communities. Along these lines, social capital, or social ties, in communities with few resources, may result in negative effects from social capital, as the available social ties may actually contribute to neighborhood disorganization and disorder (Browning, 2009). Additional criticisms focus on differences between social capital models. Putnam (2000) has been criticized for separating the discussion of social capital and economic capital and for neglecting to discuss the context of social capital (Edwards & Foley, 1998; Macinko & Starfield, 2001). Additionally, scholars have noted that participation and group membership may not be enough for social capital (Macinko & Starfield, 2001). Theorists also disagree on who benefits from social capital—the individual or the collective group. Along these lines, not all individuals and groups will benefit from social capital, which may be related to disadvantaged social positions (Lin, 2000). Thus, this unequal distribution produces differential access to social capital for individuals and groups (Lin, 2000). Although these, and other, disagreements exist, there is evidence that social capital can influence communities and individuals in a variety of ways. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of each social capital model.

Recent Theoretical Contributions to Social Capital Theory

Several recent theorists have contributed to conceptualizations of social capital to expand upon previous models and provide conceptual clarity. For example, Lin (1999) focuses on the quality and quantity of social networks as critical components of social capital models. Woolcock (1998) outlined several forms of social capital across multiple levels to address the problem associated with who benefits from social capital. In addition, linking capital was developed to compliment bridging and bonding capital, in which there are trusting relations in social networks across groups and communities who have power and authority (Woolcock, 1998; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). This framework bridges gaps and addresses some of the criticisms of earlier theorists.

Community psychology, which is a field that views the individual as nested within systems that may include family, school, work, and neighborhood, and focuses on the prevention and intervention to alleviate social problems, provides a unique perspective on social capital. This is because community psychology focuses not solely on the individual or community, but on the interaction between and among systems with particular attention to context (i.e., Levine, Perkins, & Levine, 1997). Perkins and colleagues (2002) propose a multi-systemic view of social capital, in which social capital is a quality of groups, networks, communities, and societies that provide cognitive and behavioral benefits through formal and informal relationships (Perkins et al., 2002). In this context, social capital is a dynamic quality that may have benefits across individuals, communities, and social systems. The goal is that individuals and groups can be empowered by social capital but that overemphasis on bonding within groups and organizations can lead to alienating outsiders (Perkins et al., 2002).

Efforts to Build and Restore Social Capital

Despite major efforts to refine social capital models, little attention has been given to efforts to build and restore social capital. Building and restoring social capital is critical when individuals have exhausted their social resources, or when individuals and/or communities do not have social capital resources available (Wacquant, 1998). This section discusses two overlapping, marginalized populations, in which it may be necessary to build and/or restore social capital.

Substance Misuse

In the United States, an estimated 21.6 million individuals aged 12 or older meet the criteria for an active substance use disorder (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2013). These individuals often face many consequences related to substance use, including strained relationships with family, friends, and community networks. As such, social support and social networks have been implicated in starting and continuing to use substances (i.e., Wills & Vaughan, 1989) as well as initiating treatment, abstinence, and long-term recovery (i.e., Beattie & Longabaugh, 1999). Research has identified several factors that contribute to starting and continuing to misuse substances, which can include low levels of social support and social networks that are comprised of other substance misusers. For example, it is well-documented that adolescents who associate with substance users are more likely to start using substances (i.e., Wills & Vaughan, 1989). Similarly, individuals who perceive that they have little support from positive family members and friends often continue substance misuse despite negative consequences (i.e., Beattie & Longabaugh, 1999). Research has also shown that communities with few resources have higher rates of substance misuse (i.e., Schroeder et al., 2001). Thus, social resources may be critical to preventing, intervening, and treating substance use disorders.

During periods of substance misuse, individuals often strain relationships with their family, friends, and communities. These strained relationships limit the availability of and access to positive social supports and networks that may be central to abstinence and recovery (i.e., Beattie & Longabaugh, 1999; Kelly, Stout, Magill, & Tonigan, 2011). In this context, substance abuse recovery is defined as the absence of substance use (i.e., abstinence) in tandem with healthy lifestyle changes and civic engagement (Betty Ford Institute Consensus Panel, 2007). Importantly, recovery is conceptualized as a process that seeks to improve one's overall quality of life (Best & Laudet, 2010).

Social Capital

When individuals initiate abstinence and recovery, they often make efforts to rebuild or restore their social networks and relationships. It is well-known that substance misuse cuts across individuals and communities of all genders, races, and economic backgrounds. However; individual and community experiences, including the available personal and social resources, often differ (Yates, 2013; White & Kurtz, 2005). Additionally, individuals who experience substance use-related consequences may take one of several paths to recovery, as many individuals will not participate in treatment, while some do (White & Kurtz, 2005). In response to the wide variations in pathways to abstinence and recovery, scholars have conceptualized *Recovery Capital*, which is an overarching term that is used to describe the individual, social, and community resources that are needed to initiate and sustain recovery (Best & Laudet, 2010; Granfield & Cloud, 2001; Cloud & Granfield, 2008). Although this chapter focuses on social capital, *Recovery Capital* includes four types of capital: social, physical, human, and cultural—that interact to promote overall health and well-being (Best & Laudet, 2010; Granfield & Cloud, 2001).

Social capital provides a framework to understand how social networks and resources may help prevent substance use and increase the likelihood for treatment and recovery. Social capital refers to the relationships within and across individuals and groups that are available to the individual, which provide the personal and social resources that are necessary to overcome substance misuse by initiating abstinence, preventing relapse, sustaining recovery, and encouraging others (Yates, 2013). Personal resources include relations with family members and friends, co-workers and partners/significant others (Best & Laudet, 2010; Cloud & Granfield, 2008). Support groups, such as AA or NA, religious groups, such as churches, and social activity groups, such as book clubs or fitness groups, may also provide positive social supports and resources that may help improve one's quality of life (Best & Laudet, 2010). These relational resources provide individuals with positive social supports, reciprocal obligations, and benefits, which may include expectations and/or observations from others, emotional support, and access to opportunities (Cloud & Granfield, 2008). For example, an individual who has high-recovery social capital may be able to rely on their family and friends for housing and financial support or obtain employment through a member of their support group while they rebuild their lives. Indeed, among individuals who naturally recovered from substance misuse (recovery without treatment), maintaining intimate relations with other people was a central motivation for abstinence (Granfield & Cloud, 2001).

Because substance misuse often results in strained relationships with positive support networks, including significant others, family members, and friends, it is important to consider how social capital can be rebuilt and/or restored. In this context, rebuilding social capital provides individuals with access to resources that support abstinence and recovery (Best & Laudet, 2010; Granfield & Cloud, 2001; Cloud & Granfield, 2008; Yates, 2013). Social networks may be informal, such as support from non-substance using family members and friends, or formal, which includes relationships with self-help group members and religious organizations, among others. In sum, rebuilding social capital among former substance misusers allows for access to personal and social resources that promote abstinence and improve overall health and well-being.

Incarceration and Prisoner Reentry

In a given year, it is estimated that more than 6.8 million people are incarcerated in state and federal prisons and county jails (Glaze & Kaeble, 2014). A direct consequence of mass incarceration is that more than 700,000 individuals return from incarceration to the community each year (Carson & Golinelli, 2013), with few individual, social, and community resources available to ease their transition. Consequently, research has demonstrated that many offenders reentering society face multiple barriers to successful reentry, including a lack of social support, employment, education, housing, and financial resources, as well as untreated substance use and mental health disorders (i.e., Petersilia, 2003; Travis, 2005). Simultaneously, many individuals who return from prison to the community reside in neighborhoods and communities where there are few resources available to promote successful community reintegration (Clear et al., 2001).

Because individuals affected by the criminal justice system often do not have access to individual or community resources, it is critical to understand how building social capital could support positive outcomes. Indeed, scholars have suggested that if prisoners can build and invest in social relationships while in prison, this social capital could promote positive outcomes upon release to the community (Wolff & Draine, 2004). Social capital refers to individual- and community-relational resources, including social networks and relationships, which promote health and well-being while decreasing the likelihood for recidivism. These relational resources must be built, invested in, and maintained to support community reentry and reintegration. Importantly, when individuals return to impoverished communities with few supports and resources, it may be challenging to build and gain access to social capital. Additionally, individuals and communities who access relational resources as they return from prison to the community must establish trust where mistrust is often the dominant social value. Thus, one way to build social capital may include developing strong relations within communities with invested members, including religious institutions and community-based organizations. Additionally, these communities should attempt to bridge relationships with other communities where more resources are available.

It is important to note that social capital alone may not be sufficient to alleviate the challenges associated with prisoner reentry. Thus, social capital is but one form of Reentry Capital, which includes seven types of capital: social, economic, civil, human, community, cultural, and health. Overall, Reentry Capital provides a framework for understanding the individual, community, and social resources that are necessary to improve outcomes for former prisoners, their families, and their communities. Importantly, building social capital and reentry capital introduces a structural level into the distribution of capital, because there are laws and policies in place that may prohibit certain types of civic engagement, including voting, certain types of jobs, and even memberships in some professional organizations. Thus, thinking about social capital in terms of individuals exiting criminal justice systems calls for an understanding of how structural issues impact civic engagement, and identifies a need to develop creative ways to build social capital through relationships, trust, and reciprocity that may lead to increased involvement in community life.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the types of capital, the development of social capital, major social capital models, recent modifications to and extensions of social capital models, and efforts to build and/or restore social capital among marginalized populations. Social capital models, specifically Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1995) elucidated major components of social capital, which frequently include social networks, maintaining those networks, reciprocity, social norms and sanctions, the information provided by social networks, as well as social trust, and bridging and bonding capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995; Portes, 2000). Major criticisms of social capital were highlighted and included the lack of attention to the unequal distribution of resources (Lin, 2000) and the potential for negative social capital (Wacquant, 1998).

Importantly, this chapter focused on efforts to build and/or restore social capital among marginalized populations, with a specific focus on individuals who misuse substances and individuals exiting correctional systems. In this context, social resources may not be accessible or available to support positive substance use and community reentry outcomes. It is important to acknowledge that little attention has been given to how to build or restore social capital among marginalized populations. This is partially due to the unequal distribution of resources in a given society (Lin, 1999, 2000) as well as to the fact that when social capital resides within groups, group members may not want to share their capital (DeFilippis, 2001). Thus, future research, community, and policy development should focus on the necessary requisites to build social capital among marginalized individuals and communities.

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Evaluation: Concepts, Plans, and Progress

Michael Fendrich and Martin Bloom

Introduction

The chapter has two objectives: First, to describe a logic model or template for evaluating a community demonstration project, and second, to sketch one application of this logic model to a pilot project aimed at increasing civic and economic engagement in a sample of 18–29-year-olds through social networking and problem solving in an educational environment.

Community demonstration projects are accompanied by a host of methodological complexities. These include: selecting a sample, which may or may not have a comparison group; introducing an intervention to facilitate the development of participants potentially coming from vastly different social backgrounds and histories; taking measurements during the time period of the project in an attempt to tap into significant dimensions related to the project's goals; or interpreting results in order to correct features for the present or future projects. Yet community demonstration projects are, perhaps, the richest source of information on facilitating positive change in segments in society, particularly in communities where significant social problems exist. As such, it is worth the risk and the challenge to try to understand important events and changes in those events, while they are happening in real-time.

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_13

The Template for Constructing and Evaluating a Social Demonstration Project

There are many types of logic models, as a brief exploration of Google entries for "Logic Models" will attest. What we offer here is a template that intentionally focuses on five basic features so as to be applicable to many situations for which community demonstration projects are being designed. Figure 1 presents an overview of these five features, and the text below explains the terms and interrelationships among them.

Let's consider each of these interrelated steps. We began, first, with the *identification* of some *social problem or capability* that provides the *goal(s)* of the project, and raise questions about related issues (such as the value context in which the

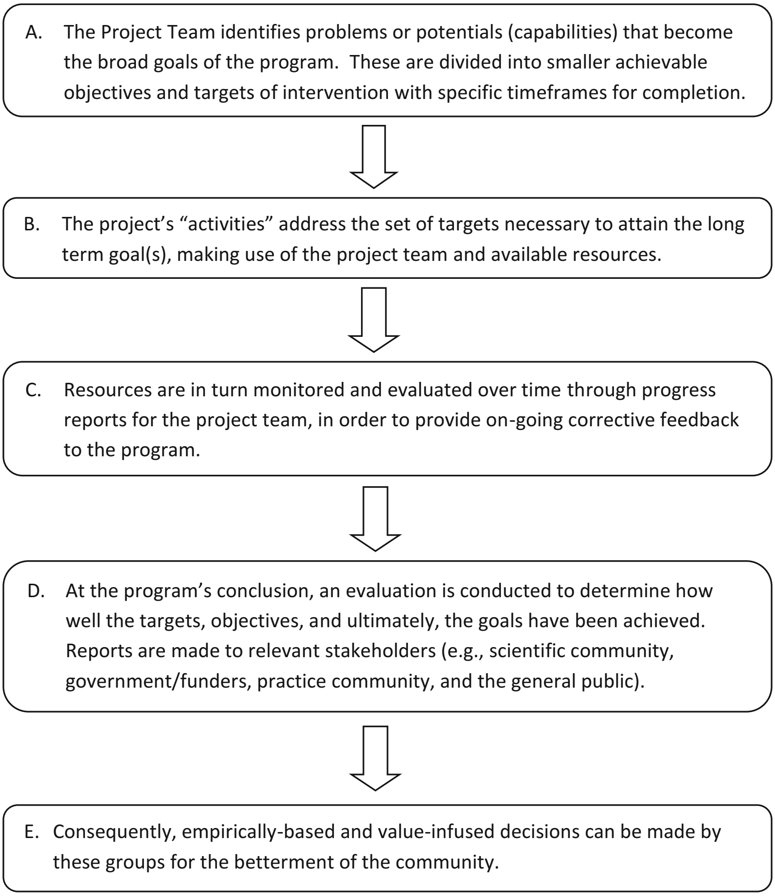

Fig. 1 A Logic Model: Five Steps in the Evaluation of Community Demonstration Projects

project operates, ethical constraints, assumptions that structure actions for a given cultural and physical environment, etc.). Objectives are operationally defined components of goals, and are then subdivided as necessary to specify the particular targets of the intervention. Evaluation determines the baseline nature of these targets.

Second, there is a series of *activities* that begins the actual demonstration project. These include determining what the project will do with its available resources (staff, client strengths and limitations, and the activities composing the intervention, other contextual matters that may facilitate or interfere with the progress of the project) with regard to the identified targets. These activities—also referred to as inputs—are measured in a standardized way, in order to characterize the specific details of the intervention for others.

Third, these activities are *monitored over time,* for corrective feedback, as needed. Evaluation also uses standardized tools and methods of analysis of the data, as far as possible, to provide the research community with clear communications among qualified users.

Fourth, *outcomes* of the intervention are assessed, and factored back into the objectives and goals of the project, to judge the nature of the changes in participants. Outcomes may be short term and pertinent to the specific participants, or long term and pertinent to the organizations and community in which the intervention took place. Short term outcomes may be used rapidly to provide information about participant actions, and aid in staying on track toward the project's objectives. Long-term outcomes may be used with careful consideration to modify the future projects from this pilot study, and to provide feedback to cooperating organizations, and the public at large.

Fifth*, evaluation continues throughout the life of the project* to provide information to decision makers. For ongoing practice, this feedback offers whatever corrective in services are needed. For longer term project outcomes, the formal feedback (reports to funders, papers for fellow scientists, and other kinds of presentations to potential users of this information in new settings, etc.) provide the basic information of science on which our common knowledge base continues to grow.

Given the nature of many community demonstration projects, it is difficult to obtain a large population of participants in a classical experimental design, randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. Consequently, it is often the case that some form of time series analysis is performed to describe changes in the participants. While this leads to suggestive correlations and rich case descriptions, without randomization, it is difficult to make causal statements.

Next, we will present some further discussion of these five elements, which we hope will alert potential users to some issues and problems, as well as positive highlights of community demonstration projects.

A. Problems/Potentials leading to Goals, Objectives, and Targets

Goals are defined by the project initiators—ideally, involving as many interested and relevant stakeholders as possible—community agency staff, researchers, practitioners, and members of the public who may be affected by the project. Project goals will center on initiators' observations of problems in need of correction, or potentials in need of fulfillment. Both avenues are important as there should be equal concern in developing and promoting strengths as well as resolving or diminishing deficits. From among the project initiators, a smaller group of interested and available parties—hereafter referred to as the Project Team—emerges. Outside specialists may be employed in a consultant capacity when specific skills are needed. Using problems as an extended example, the project team recognizes that addressing problems usually involves large-scale goals—for example "reducing poverty among citizens of x community." Such a goal must be parsed into measurable statements of the *objectives* of what this project seeks to accomplish—for example, "to provide 100 new jobs requiring advanced skills and providing adequate compensation." The particular *targets* involved in achieving a given objective such as this, may include such defined actions as: specific training for needed advanced skills; identifying firms or non-profit agencies that will offer a training program; securing adequate compensation that may be provided in stages as the employee gains sufficient skills for the job; and counseling and progress monitoring for project participants as a means of providing support for them as newcomers in this new employment setting. It is toward these targets that *specific project interventions* are directed. For example, a training program is constructed by project staff in conjunction with community resources, in which needed skills are taught. The participating firms or nonprofit agencies may help construct the curricula for particular needed skills, ensuring a close fit between needs and training experiences.

The Project Team *explores assumptions* about the context of project goals. For example, persons living in poverty may be stereotyped as being unassertive on their own behalf. Such negative value judgments may make it difficult to see a project participant's strengths that are present among limitations that are often a result of systemic inequality and thus beyond his or her individual control. Participants may have self-defeating self-concepts derived from dominant society's stereotypical assumptions and long experiences with prejudice and discrimination. Staff of the project should be aware of the cultural mores and how these hamper progress toward program goals, and actively incorporate methods to counteract problematic stereotypes.

Other broad cultural assumptions may benefit the goals of the project, such as belief in the American Dream—where hard work results in rewards enabling a reasonably good life—so that offering some path toward that American Dream belief may motivate potential participants to explore the project as something that could benefit them. Wherever possible, we strive to work with positives and participant strengths to achieve goals and objectives, rather than trying to address participant limitations as such.

B. Project activities constitute the intervention

In a classical research model, after the experimental and control groups are chosen at random from a larger population and thus assumed to be equivalent on relevant dimensions, the experimental intervention is given only to the former, and denied to the latter. Both groups are then periodically observed to measure differences logically caused by the intervention, since both groups were "equivalent" to begin with. It is difficult to obtain such conditions in community demonstration research, and project teams often fall back on more qualitative or approximate methods.

One such approximate method involves a *time series design* in which participants are used as their own controls, by being measured before the intervention begins, and then again at several intervals during the intervention to observe relevant changes. This continues until some end point when the participant has reached a desired and stable condition or until the project is completed or terminated. This approach is also referred to as *single-system design* because we can evaluate a single individual's or a single group's progress over time. In the former case, for example, we can monitor and evaluate an individual's changes in attitude toward the community as a long-term location for employment and raising a family. In the latter case, we can observe changes in the dynamics of a group as it goes through a collective problem solving experience, such as average level of cooperation, or developmental progress such as group members' perceptions of other participants' leadership skills, etc.

The intervention for each research/evaluation model may involve the same kinds of activities, but will differ by size depending on the number of participants who are involved. Regardless of the nature of the intervention, it should be carefully defined to allow for replication in other projects, as needed. A guiding activity formula necessary for all research/evaluation can be stated as "Who does what to whom under what conditions and to what degree." In this formulation, the basic characteristics of the "who" must be determined in terms of the educational credentials and level of specific training required of project implementation staff to deliver the project's unique interventions. Also to be determined is the degree of oversight and support assigned to these staff members, etc.

The "what" is more complex. It refers to the entire set of activities that constitutes an intervention regarding a specific target. It may be useful to distinguish the *structural* or environmental aspect of the intervention from its *content* aspect, which refers to both the nature and extent of the subject matter upon which the intervention focuses. *Structurally*, the intervention has to take place in some physical space—although electronic interventions are becoming more common and information may be delivered in a private location in a public setting or in a classroom setting. Describing these details is important if another researcher wants to replicate this project in any meaningful way.

The *content* of the intervention is often considered the most important component, as it should be when the nature of that content is specified as well. This includes the type and extent of information the participant was given, the materials or resources supplied, and the other supports offered to facilitate the participant using the intervention in his or her own life situation. Outlining specific program components potentially allows for the approximate replication of what occurred in the delivery of the project's intervention. Approximation is highlighted here as it is more likely in the social sciences than in the physical or medical sciences that exact conditions may not be entirely replicable.

The "to whom" is another necessary aspect of intervention and evaluation. Minimally, this includes the target population's age, gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and other relevant psychosocial factors that might possibly influence the outcome. There is no hard and fast science of selecting these characteristics, and as such, it allows for some creativity in scale construction.

Monitoring over time

Repeated monitoring over the life of a project is usually more characteristic of time series designs than in classical research because the Project Team wants real time feedback so as to make corrective actions as needed. For monitoring to occur, it has to fit comfortably within the context of the whole project, rather than being a burdensome task imposed on participants on a repeated basis. For example, non-reactive measures—such as counts of attendance at classes, observations of verbal contributions in group setting, etc.,—can be made. On announced occasions, more reactive measures can also be taken—for example: participants' votes on "most useful project suggestion;" or "members who seem highly trustworthy in the group." Standard scale measures can also be implemented such as "program satisfaction" or "group morale."

Measurement tools for monitoring need to be as carefully constructed as the tools used to measure the presenting problem or challenge, and the specific interventions taken in their regard. Some tools are objective in nature: counts of how many behaviors of a certain type are observed in the participant within a specified timeframe; measures of the size or content of the forces and structures operating for or against achieving program goals; etc. Other measures are subjective, as no one but the participant can describe internal thoughts, feelings, and psychological states. How descriptors of these subjective factors are obtained, however, represents the art of the evaluator. Asking a question with particular words, tone, or non-verbal cues may influence how the question is answered. Wherever possible, the evaluator seeks to use non-reactive measures, but we rarely know how a given wording will affect a given client. Social science at its best is a fragile art form.

Outcome evaluation and Reports

Upon completion of every project, it is necessary to produce a final evaluation of the outcomes. *Scientific ethics* requires fair impartial reporting of the facts—whether they support the effectiveness of the intervention or not – and reasonable interpretations of them, so as to build an empirical basis for further study and improvement toward the long-term goal. Failure, that is, reporting no change in the baseline condition or even deterioration from that baseline, is as important as reporting success. Both provide guidance for future project teams to determine what they might use in their own new studies. However, in the real world of promotion in academic environments where published papers are required, scientific ethics faces serious challenges since there is often only a bias towards publication of positive results. Let the reader beware.

There are several elements of conducting a demonstration project and reporting on its results that need amplifying. First, researchers recognize that whenever an intervention is introduced, it may require a *training period* for participants to become accustomed to the new elements in their everyday world. During the training period, there may not be immediate change, and the intervention may actually introduce barriers in habitual behavior that lead to decreased functioning for participants. As such, it may be necessary in a given project to recognize this training period during which the intervention becomes routinized in the participant's life, and its full effects may be measured with this consideration in mind.

Second, client involvement in the whole range of program details is becoming more common. In one instance, after there appears to be positive change in the practitioner-dominated intervention, it may be useful to have a *maintenance phase* in which the machinery of intervention is placed in the hands of the participant—to the extent possible—so that he or she is temporarily responsible for sustaining the intervention in his or her life—as he or she would do at the end of the project. In the maintenance phase, however, data are collected as before, and the effect of having the client run the entire program for him or herself is still monitored. Should the results continue to be positive during this phase, they provide a second indicator of a potentially successful intervention, in as realistic a setting as possible. If the participant acknowledges this second stage of success, then the practitioner might have a stronger faith that the client is really able to live his or her life under his or her own steam.

A third element in research/evaluation is the *follow-up*, a post-intervention reconnection with the participant, using some abbreviated forms of the prior measurements, to determine the intervention's sustainability in the client's life. In time series studies, which often take place within a narrower time frame than classical research and in a more local setting, evaluators may reconnect with participants more often and demonstrate the viability of the client-controlled intervention, now a stable part of his or her normal life. Moreover, there is always the possibility to invite the participant who is not doing well back to receive further help, whereas research subjects usually receive no direct help from their participation in large-scale studies.

The final element, *report writing* consists of various kinds of reports, which are extremely vital in a number of ways. First, reports are written in language suitable for the diverse range of audiences, and serve to inform funders that their confidence in the research was well-founded. Second, scientists and practitioners recognize the need to build a collective scientific basis for basic understanding and for taking similar actions in related areas. Documentation for these efforts is made in reports, from standardized formulas to persuasive case studies. Third, but not least, these kinds of documents may filter down to the general public through various media sources, informing public opinion and dismantling harmful stereotypes in order to facilitate advocacy and action, while supporting decision makers in making strides to building a more constructive democracy.

E. Decision making based on reasonable research and evaluation

Decisions are made, based on a wide variety of factors, from the purely political, through the cultural ("what will the affected population accept by way of a new intervention?"), and the personal ("how do I interpret the data, regardless of what the experts say?"). All of these biases (and others) may be positive in the sense of a larger picture of leadership in a complex society where pushes and pulls come from many directions, but they may also be starkly negative (where the individual decision maker is profited, while the larger society is not).

It is possible to predict some of the potential effects of a large-scale decision on the many stakeholders. On the other hand, there are sometimes unexpected consequences. We speculate that the larger the project, the greater the likelihood of such unexpected and potentially unwelcomed consequences. Otherwise respected politicians may frustrate their own supporters whose view focuses on the limited issue, rather than weighing that decision against other competing ones. On the other hand, grass roots supporters may be closer to the realities of a decision than their leaders, which simply verify how complicated modern society is. Decisions are likely to be based on what we know, what we think we know, and how we weigh these elements against what we do not know. However, in a working democracy, we elect leaders, or people emerge as self-selected leaders to make decisions based on some sense of shared values, and we hope for the best, but prepare for the next election just in case, "Stay calm and carry on."

The complexity of life in modern society can benefit from the inclusion of objective, empirically-based information by decision makers as part of the myriad factors that shape large-scale decisions in government and the for-profit and non-profit sectors, and constitutes democracy in action. Not to be excluded from this discussion is the project's impact on the participants, whose lives are the focus directly affected by the project team's efforts. By directly asking participants about their perspectives on the project's implementation, confidence in the efficacy of an intervention can be informed and strengthened by the actual lived experience of those to whom it is targeted (Bloom & Britner, 2012). Client-centered evaluation may thus be an important corrective element and supportive measure for ethics in the social sciences, since participants are not only the people most affected by the given project, but are highly likely to be similar to those who may be provided the intervention in the future. There are few scientific terms to reflect this kind of information and the decisions made, in part, on them. What participants experience—positively or negatively—during an intervention is vital to any meaningful replication of the project, along with the formal report of "scientific" results.

Serve Here Connecticut Project (SHCT): Practical Evaluation Strategies

This section of the chapter focuses on a discussion of program impact of the first year of the Serve Here CT Project, and a presentation of a preliminary, unpiloted research tool that was developed by the program's evaluation subcommittee. Social capital was the driving concept, since its development involved many people who had to be able to "live" with the definition in doing their own specific chapters. This process of reiteration was directed by LaShaune Johnson, and will not be repeated here. The working definition listed below, informed the development of a questionnaire that might facilitate an assessment of program impact (2015–2016).

Social capital refers to the connections among individuals such that, over

> time, a social network is created in which people come to expect mutual support and trust. This leads to (a) potential increases in each individual's physical and social-emotional well-being, as well as, (b) potential increases in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part, both contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society
>
> (Johnson, 2016, in this volume).

How would a team of evaluators approach this definition as their guidelines for constructing a questionnaire to measure the impact of an intervention attainment of social capital in this project?

The term "social capital" is an abstract theoretical term, which may be operationalized as (1) the connections among individuals, such that (2) over time, (3) a social network is created. The form of

1. *Connection* among individuals is not specified but it is assumed that the connections will emerge during the course of the project. As defined by the project staff, this means participation in 30 *formal classroom meetings* in the project year, which will be devoted to a common learning experience, as defined in part by the several chapters of this book, as well as some *small group experiential learning projects*—located in one or several of the participating non-profit organizations—that will emerge from participant interactions among themselves and the sponsoring organizations. We expect some ordinary group dynamics to occur, bringing the participants closer together in social and recreational ways. Participants' classroom experiences will not be as passive students, but as members of an active learning community in which contributions from each participant will become part of the curriculum as well. The small group projects will emerge as participants individually develop possible projects and the group reaches a consensus as to which are most feasible at this time. If several projects are mutually selected, then participants will volunteer to be members of one such group and continue to develop the idea in small group meetings.
2. The phrase, "over time," recognizes the likelihood that connections require interactions among participants, especially on shared ventures, such as the classroom learning and small group projects. This timing element is built into the project in several ways. First, the questionnaire given at the beginning of the project will be repeated over the year's time. Annual follow-ups will be provided for each of the subsequent 4 years. This will require, secondly, the construction of questions that are sensitive to potential changes in respondents over time. Third, the form of analysis will follow the time series design for individual change. Measurement will focus on a number of questions and scales and the analysis will be at the individual participant level. This design uses each individual as his or her own control person, and compares changes in responses to similar questions over time.

3. The term "social network" is an important concept in the social capital literature. It has an honorable lineage, dating from Emile Durkheim and Georg Simmel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, through Peter Blau's social exchange theory and Theodore Newcomb's balance theory at mid-century, and it has continued to generate new perspectives into the twenty-first century. Definitions range from the technical—as in graph theory and social network analysis, stemming from Jacob Moreno's early sociometric analyses of social groupings—to the more accessible sociological theories. It will be expedient to use one of the latter sociological perspectives in defining this term for the Serve Here CT Project:

A *social network* is one kind of social structure comprised of the interactions between and among actors, and which has the possibility of encouraging mutually beneficial outcomes for its members by means of the connections each has both within and outside the group. Over time, these interactions provide the basis of mutual trust and cooperation toward social and/or economic goals. Networks can vary as to the strength of ties among members. Social networks are also described as complex, emergent units, with few necessary structures common to all other networks, so that patterns used to describe them are relatively fluid.

Once a social network is formed—or is in the process of being formed—the process of interactions and positive reinforcements for such actions leads to the social structure itself. It should be noted that there is no final state of formation for this relatively loose kind of group. This social structure, or actualized social network, stems from the mutual benefit and trust that comes with the fulfillment of early stages of beneficial and trustworthy actions, and grows stronger with subsequent fulfillment of such actions.

The working definition of social capital then suggests that this social network will lead to two potential outcomes: First, an increase of participants' physical and social-emotional well-being, and second, an increase in civic engagement and employment in the community of which they are a part. The potential increases in well-being, civic engagement and employment are seen as contributing to a healthier and more effectively functioning society. This statement provides some evaluation guidelines that we outline below:

Measures of participants' physical and social-emotional well-being are not well developed in the scientific literature. We interpret these issues to be addressed with both familiar measures of physical health and some questions about how this state of physical health is related to the content and activities of the Project. In terms of social-emotional well-being, we interpret this issue to be a subjective assessment by participants on their life satisfaction in general, and some specific questions of possible changes in well-being related to their participation in the project with other young adults.

We note that there are positive and negative versions of each of these two outcomes, which offer another way to measure their development. In addition to the positive version of well-being, there are risk factors that stand to interfere with it, such as drug use, being involved in automobile accidents, depression, among others. We will illustrate these general and specific questions below.

Connected to these physical and social-emotional well-being items is another set of concerns that are potentially measureable, namely, how this social network contributes to a healthier and more effectively functioning society. It is not likely that such a small sample working for so short a period of time would have an appreciable effect on the health of society, but there may be a number of ways in which participants, individually and collectively, might help to make their communities function more effectively for fellow citizens. Each of the following examples of ways in which participants might function in their community may be measured over time: volunteering in tutoring children, assisting the disabled, helping the elderly in a variety of ways; serving in an array of community organizations on behalf of people, the environment, animals; being involved in advocacy for those less able to deal with local government and other organizations; voting and paying taxes, as compared to these activities before participation in the Project; making plans for advanced education (and/or reducing existing college debt), etc.

Next, we present our joint application form-and-evaluation form, termed A/E 2015–2016, which all applicants receive as the first step in the process of joining the Project. People completing the application questions will describe themselves and their relevant experiences in work or volunteer capacities. Based on these answers, cooperating non-profit organizations will invite selected persons to come in for interviews as they would ordinarily conduct them, and make their final determination of which applicants are most suitable for their available positions. Upon their selection, these persons (now employees) will be termed Project "participants," and will be one study group in the Project.

Persons not accepted by the non-profits will be a second study group, termed "applicants." They may reapply in another Project year. Applicants will serve as a control group for the participants enrolled in the first year of the project.

The second part of the application form contains the evaluation items, which are integrated into the application form, and which will be repeatedly administered at various times over the course of the 1 year of the Project. These items were drawn from various research studies, and will be described below. Other items and scales may be used in future Project years.

The general hypothesis for this study is that participants in the 30-week classroom learning experience, and the small group project at a participating organization, along with individual work experiences at these organizations, will build stronger "social capital," both for their own benefit and for the benefit of the organization at which they work, as well as for the Project group of participants and the larger community. "Stronger social capital" will be operationalized by measuring the degree of social networking over time. In particular, we will consider (1) whether and how participants become helpful to each other over time in occupational career paths; (2) whether participants become effective workers in their organizations; (3) whether participants signal their intentions to obtain advanced education and/or reduce their existing college debt; (4) and whether participants signal that they intend to stay in the community (and state) as their long-term residence.

Given the nature of the small participant group and the manner of their selection, we will devote major attention to individual patterns of change over time. If any general patterns emerge, these will be reported in the form of hypotheses for future study in the later stages of this project. We will also present detailed case studies of participants that will describe different paths to the project, the experience of participating in the project, and project consequences

Overview of Application/Evaluation A/E 2015–2016 Questions

What follows is a brief overview of the questions that we plan to use in the quantitative evaluation that was discussed in the previous section. The actual questionnaire is appended to the end of this chapter. Many of the questions in the survey, especially those related to community satisfaction/belongingness and participation and were adapted from the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey conducted by the Saguaro Seminar of Harvard University; this survey involved a national sample of 3,000 respondents and representative samples in 40 communities nationwide across 29 states (Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, 2000). Psychosocial questions were adapted from specific scales as noted below.

Community Satisfaction/Belongingness: There is a group of 10 community questions (questions 4–13) that explore to what extent the participant's community (self-defined) meets his/her needs, whether the participant feels like a member of that community, and whether people in that community can be trusted and are fair, etc. We hypothesize that over time, people in the Serve Here CT Project will gain more favorable attitudes towards their community.

Community Activity Participation: There is another group of 15 questions (questions 14–28) that asks participants about a variety of activities they might have been involved in, over the past 12 months. These include whether participants worked or volunteered in a community project; donated blood; voted; attended public meeting; attended cultural groups, support groups, or religious services; attended school or college, etc. All of these items show some kind of connection with the community, and presumably can change toward becoming more socially involved. We hypothesize that over time, people in the Serve Here CT project will spend more time on community activities listed in this section.

Another cluster of 6 questions (questions 29–34) refers to public affairs. These include items on voting, trusting the national or local governments, and what political label they would use to describe themselves. We will observe any changes in responses to these questions during the year of participation in the Project. Whatever the participant's political leaning, we hypothesize that there will be greater interest in public affairs after involvement in the project.

Another cluster of 9 questions (questions 35–43)) asks about the challenges participants have faced in the last few years. These include questions on debt, college or otherwise; involvement in an auto accident; breakup of a close relationship; feeling depressed on the way life is going; experienced the death of a friend or family member; having health issues; or being a caregiver for others. Participants are asked about the specific challenge and whether the challenge is "still limiting." We will be looking for whether these challenges have or have not been resolved. We hypothesize that participants will endorse fewer problems as "still limiting" after involvement in the project.

A group of 9 questions (questions 44–52) deal with participants' feelings about their ability to accomplish things, to adjust in the face of challenge, and feelings of overall optimism. These include items like "I can solve difficult problems if I try hard enough," "I can do about anything if I set my mind to it," and "I have great faith in the future." Some of these questions (items 44-47) were taken from the General Perceived Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995); several items (items 48-50) were taken from the Pearlin Mastery Scale (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Item 51 was taken from the Positivity Scale and item 52 was adapted from the same measure (Capara et al., 2012). We hypothesize that levels of agreement with these questions will increase as a result of participation in the program.

The measure ends with two questions about overall happiness as well as general health (questions 53 and 54). Again, we hypothesize that overall levels of happiness and health will improve as a result of participation in the program.

Our overall plan is to administer this questionnaire at admission to the program (or upon application) and then at 6 months, and finally, after completion of the first project year. Those who applied but were not eligible but not admitted (due to space limitations or other reasons), will be requested to provide two follow-up interviews during the same period. Analyses will be conducted using two group, repeated measures ANOVA to look at changes on individual questions well as on possible subscales that might be constructed from groups of questions. Group by time interactions (with a greater rate of improvement observed in the intervention group) will be examined. More sophisticated mixed model regression procedures will be employed in order to statistically control for possible differences between participants (e.g., gender) that might account for the variance in the changes as well as for the a possible number of follow-up interviews across cohorts. When analyses are concluded, individual case studies will then be drafted. In addition during the first year of the project, we will conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants and project stakeholders, including project staff, employers and policymakers in the State of Connecticut. We will also compile data on key benchmarks: educational attainment, employment status, and residential location (whether or not the participant remained in Connecticut)) within 1 year after the program completion.

Within 2 years after the beginning of the project (a year after the completion of the first cohort) a report will be generated and a summary of the results of the analyses as well as the key informant interviews will be presented to youth participants, policy makers, employer participants and other key change agents in the State of Connecticut. As experiences with the Project and its evaluation accumulate, the Project staff will be considering ways to improve the delivery of services and its measurement in the next stages of its incarnation. Therefore, this chapter is offered as a progress report as we begin the actual project.

Acknowledgements We wish to acknowledge substantive input by the Serve Here CT team, especially Sharon Hunt and James Cook as well as the editorial assistance provided by Janelle Bryan.

Appendix

Application/Evaluation Form (October, 2015)
College Student Social Capital Survey
Please print your name:

Part 1. Please tell us about yourself to help the potential employer to get to know you and see why you would be a good employee. What are some of the most important things about you that you want to share? Your answer should be a very short essay (about 1–2 pages) that describes: (a) your major strengths as a person; and (b) what you want to do in life (big purpose ideas, hopes, aspirations) Please attach typed essay.

Part 2: This application is to help potential employers see if there is a good fit between you and their needs as an organization. If they decide there is a good fit, they will call you and set up an appointment to talk with you. We also need this information to help us keep track of what types of people have applied to this Project, and how well the Project helps participants move forward in their career. We thank you in advance for your time.

Q1. Please print your name again on this page:

What do you prefer to be called?
Where do you live? Home address:
City or Town:
Zip code:
Phone Number where a potential employer can reach you:
Your email address:
Please give us the phone number of someone who will know how to reach you.
Name of this person:
His/Her phone number:

Q2. How many total years have you lived in Connecticut?

Q3. How likely is it that you will continue to live in Connecticut, after you finish your schooling/ job training?

- Very Likely (1)
- Somewhat Likely (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Somewhat Unlikely (4)
- Very Unlikely (5)

How well do each of the following statements represent how you feel about this (your) community?

Q4. I can get what I need in this community

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)

- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q5. This community helps me fulfill my needs.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q6. I feel like a member of this community.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q7. I belong in this community.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q8. I have a say about what goes on in my community.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q9. People in this community are good at influencing each another.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q10. I feel connected to this community.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q11. I have a good bond with others in this community.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q12. In this community, most people can be trusted.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q13. In this community, most people are fair.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly Disagree (5)

Q14. How do you spend your leisure time? Rank order the most common 3 ways: 1=my most common leisure activity, 2=second most common, 3=third most common

- ______ Being alone and relaxing (playing video games or surfing internet, reading a good book
- or watching TV/movies) (1)
- ______ Being with friends and relaxing (talking or watching TV/movie) (2)
- ______ Being alone but active (cleaning or repairing things; going outside for biking, etc.) (3)
- ______ Being with friends and active (engaging in sports; going on outings, etc.) (4)
- ______ Being active, helping people in some way (helping at a food bank, etc.) (5)

Q15. Are you reading a book at this time?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Are you reading a book at this time? Yes Is Selected

Q15a. If so, give name and a short description:

The next questions are about how many times you've done certain things in the past 12 months, if at all. For all of these, please just give your best guess, and don't worry that you might be off a little.

Q16. About how many times in the past 12 months have you worked on a community project?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q17. How many times in the past 12 months have you donated blood?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5 or more times (4)

Q18. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended any public meeting in which there was discussion of town or school affairs?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q19. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended a political meeting or rally?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q20. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended any club or organizational meeting (not including meetings for work)?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)

- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Answer If How many times in the past 12 months have you attended any club or organizational meeting (not including meetings for work)? Never did this Is Not Selected

Q20a. Please list the type of club(s):

Q21. How many times in the past 12 months have you volunteered?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Answer If How many times in the past 12 months have you volunteered? Never did this Is Not Selected

Q21a. Please briefly describe the volunteer experience you had:

Q22. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended a cultural group (e.g., arts and ethnic, Hispanic club)?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q23. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended a support group (e.g., NA/AA, bereavement)?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q24. How many times in the past 12 months have you attended regular large family gatherings and celebrations?

- Never did this (1)
- Once (2)
- 2–4 times (3)
- 5–9 times (4)
- About once a month on average (5)
- Twice a month (6)
- About once a week on average (7)
- More than once a week (8)

Q25. In the past 12 months, have you served as an officer or served on a committee of any local club or organization?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q26. Not including weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

- Every week (or more often) (1)
- Almost every week (2)
- Once or twice a month (3)
- A few times per year (4)
- Once or twice per year (5)
- Never (6)

Q27. In the past 12 months, how often do you attend school/college (as a student)?

- Never (1)
- Part-time (2)
- Full-time (3)

Q28. Are there any activities that you participated in that are not listed above that you would like to tell us about?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Are the any activities that you participated in not that are not listed above that you would like to tell us about? Yes Is Selected

Q28a. Please list them below, along with the frequency of your participation.

The next questions are about public affairs.

Q29. How interested are you in politics and national affairs?

- Very interested (1)
- Somewhat interested (2)

- Only slightly interested (3)
- Not at all interested (4)

Q30. Are you currently registered to vote?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q31. Did you vote in the last election?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- No, was too young (3)

Q32. How much of the time do you think you can trust the NATIONAL government to do what is right -just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly ever?

- Just about always (1)
- Most of the time (2)
- Only some of the time (3)
- Hardly ever (4)

Q33. How much of the time do you think you can trust the LOCAL government to do what is right? (Would you say just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly ever?)

- Just about always (1)
- Most of the time (2)
- Only some of the time (3)
- Hardly ever (4)

Q34. Thinking POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY, how would you describe your own general outlook—as being very conservative, moderately conservative, middle-of-the-road, moderately liberal or very liberal?

- Very conservative (1)
- Conservative (2)
- Moderate (3)
- Liberal (4)
- Very Liberal (5)

Young adults in our society often run into challenges/obstacles in getting ahead. Which of these have you encountered in the last few years and are they still limiting your ability to get ahead? Please circle yes or no. If yes, respond if still limiting or not limiting.

Q35. Running up a financial debt when going to college (or any advanced education after high school).

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Running up a financial debt when going to college (or any advanced education after high school). Yes Is Selected

Q35a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q36. Running up a debt for every day expenses.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Running up a debt for every day expenses. Yes Is Selected

Q36a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q37. Having (or being in) an auto accident.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Having (or being in) an auto accident. Yes Is Selected

Q37a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q38. Break up from a close relationship.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Break up from a close relationship. Yes Is Selected

Q38a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q39. Being depressed on the way life is going.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Being depressed on the way life is going. Yes Is Selected

Q39a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q40. Death of friend/family member.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Death of friend/family member. Yes Is Selected

Q40a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q41. Being a caregiver for others.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Being a caregiver for others. Yes Is Selected

Q41a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q42. Having health issues.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Answer If Having health issues. Yes Is Selected

Q42a. Still Limiting?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q43. Are there other things that are getting in the way of getting ahead? Please describe.

Please read each statement and answer according to your experience. Please select the number that best represents your level of agreement from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree with each statement posed.

	Strongly Agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly Disagree 5
Q44 I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q45 It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q46 I am confident that I can deal efficiently with unexpected events. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q47 I can usually handle whatever comes my way. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

	Strongly Agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly Disagree 5
Q48 What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q49 I can do just about anything I really set my mind to do. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q50 My future is what I make of it. (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q51 I have great faith in the future. (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Q52 I feel confident about my future. (9)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q53. All things considered, how happy are you these days?

- Very happy (1)
- Happy (2)
- Neither Happy nor Unhappy (3)
- Unhappy (4)
- Very Unhappy (5)

Q54. How would you describe your overall state of health these days?

- Excellent (1)
- Very Good (2)
- Good (3)
- Fair (4)
- Poor (5)

Q55. What is the highest grade of school or year of college either of your parents have completed?

- Less than high school (Grade 11 or less) (1)
- High school diploma (including GED) (2)
- Some college (3)
- Assoc. degree (2 year) or specialized technical training (4)
- Bachelor's degree (5)
- Some graduate training (6)
- Graduate or professional degree (7)

Q56. What is your racial background? Please select all that apply.

- ______ American Indian or Alaska native
- ______ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- ______ Asian
- ______ Black or African American
- ______ White

Q57. Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Created by authors M. Fendrich, J. Cook, & S. Hunt, (2015)

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Epilogue

Alva G. Greenberg, Thomas P. Gullotta, and Martin Bloom

Across the chapters of this volume, the reader has gained a greater understanding of social capital, compassionate capitalism, the millennial generation, and the challenges that face this country in the coming years. We have offered one social policy initiative to begin the process of addressing these challenges. We know that Serve Here is not "THE" solution. It is "A" partial solution. A fact in itself that should shake policy makers out of a one-size-fits all mentality into a very different mindset of seeking and testing small solutions tailored to the different needs of groups of young people and states.

The word "states" may take some readers aback. It is the first time it has been used in this book. This volume clearly and repeatedly has made the argument for the need to jumpstart a population cohort stuck in neutral. But what do we mean by states? Simply this. Over the next decade twenty-two states will see a decline in their workforce. Put another way, educated young people—the backbone of any states' economy—are migrating away from some states to others. The biggest losers in this demographic reality are the Midwest and New England. If these states hope to maintain or in several instances regain their economies, they must not lose their most precious resource—a well-educated working-age population. For these states educating its young residents only to lose them to Texas, Oregon, Colorado, and

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A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*,
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2_14

Utah is short sightedness beyond imagination. For them, it is not enough to enter into a bidding war to attract or retain industry. It is vitally necessary to retain those bright well-educated young people graduating from their state's high schools, colleges, and universities. Without these young people—your state has no future. Serve Here is one step towards giving your state a tomorrow (Table 1).

Table 1 Projected workforce distribution 2015–2030

States Expected to Lose 5 % or More of its Working-Age Population
Maine
Vermont
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
Pennsylvania
West Virginia
Ohio
Michigan
States Expected to Lose from 0 to 5 % of its Working-Age Population
Connecticut
Massachusetts
New York
Kentucky
Mississippi
Wisconsin
Illinois
Iowa
Missouri
Kansas
Montana
Wyoming
New Mexico
Alaska
States Expected to Gain from 0 to 5 % in its Working-Age Population
New Jersey
Maryland
Indiana
Alabama
Arkansas
Louisiana
Minnesota
South Dakota

Table 1 (continued)

Nebraska
Hawaii
States Expected to Gain 5 %, 10 %, or More in its Working-Age Population
North Carolina
Georgia
Florida
Texas
Virginia
Tennessee
South Carolina
Oklahoma
North Dakota
Colorado
Idaho
Utah
Arizona
Nevada
Washington
Oregon
California

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Index

A.G. Greenberg et al. (eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being*
Issues in Children's and Families' Lives, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-33264-2

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