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Social Capital in Power Networks: A Case Study of Affordable Housing Development in Winston-Salem, NC

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December 23, 2010

Abstract:

This research unifies studies on macro- and micro-level relationships regarding changes in city-level partnerships and changes in social capital, or ties between community members. Social capital, a concept popularized by Robert Putnam, is often studied apart from issues of power, but power is a crucial component in other constructions of the term (most notably, the work of Pierre Bourdieu). This study uses Putnam's conceptualization of social capital by using the survey instrument he commissioned, the Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS), to measure social capital across communities. However, this study embeds this data in a city's power relations, using interviews and document review to determine how relationships and partnerships changed among the city's powerful. Winston-Salem, NC provides an ideal case study due to its moderate-city size and local investments to grow social capital. The city is studied over two years, 2000 and 2006, for general changes in social capital, intra-sector changes, and diversity within the affordable housing industry. Ultimately, the research suggests that overall growth in social capital will produce more productive partnerships among the powerful, and that sectors governing the spaces with social capital growth will obtain more control and leverage in their partnerships. Weaknesses in social capital, which for Winston-Salem include measures of intolerance, can be noticed within cross-sector relationships as well. The research suggests that changes in social capital are manifested at the leadership level, however increasing social capital in Winston-Salem only strengthened the existing power hierarchies in place, and did little to increase community involvement in decision making.

Since the 1990s, social capital has exploded from a place of relative academic obscurity to a popular tool for explaining a range of national issues, including neighborhood crime rates, community health problems, and successful democracies. Throughout this time, academic understanding of social capital changed as well. In its current form, social capital describes the resources that result from personal relationships, but often forgets the power hierarchies that these relationships are situated within. This relationship between power and social capital (and whether or not it exists) must be understood before social capital can be an effective development tool.

Social capital, which describes micro-relationships within a city, might have an effect on civic capacity, or the macro-relationships between sectors. I am particularly interested in whether the changes in a city's social capital are apparent within its power structure, in terms of the overall productivity of partnerships, the strength of sectors within an industry, and the diversity of relationships. To test my theory, I will analyze leaders and organizations in affordable housing development in Winston-Salem for each of

two years (2000 and 2006) for partnerships and power shifts, and evaluate this alongside quantitative data of community social capital. In order to do this, I will draw on previous studies of both power and community development. I will begin with a discussion of power and stakeholder interests, which will lay the framework to introduce civic capacity and social capital and the intersections between the two theories.

Power Frameworks and Interest

Cities are complex systems, with power dispersed among disparate actors. At times, this power is can be difficult to identify. As Michel Foucault argued, "Power is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms." (Foucault, 1979, pg. 86). Although Foucault worked in another scientific discipline, the quote does suggest that power within the urban system should not be taken at face value, and can be shaped by both larger and local forces. The power studies of the early 20th century focused on formalized structures of power, arguing that knowledge without power could not command obedience and influence (Barnard, 1938). Contemporary theory expands upon this notion of power within formalized structures. To Anthony Giddens, power exists as a dualism—it is vested in institutionalized hierarchies, but also steered by the individuals' own quest for power from within the system (Zunino, 2006, pg. 1831). Hugh Marcel Zunino tested this proposition using Foucault's interpretation of power in Chile. He conducted interviews to determine the information available to various parties involved in Santiago's redevelopment, aligning his study with Weber's 1920 theory that administrators exercise legitimate power on the basis of knowledge (Weber, 1920). Zunino evaluated the interview responses to determine the officers who were actually able to perform a meaningful role in commissions and other institutional gatherings, ultimately realizing that local municipalities and people living near the project were controlled by central government and private developers (Zunino, 2006). Zunino's critical approach to true collaboration will form a key aspect of my own power analysis in Winston-Salem.

This analysis, however, is not complete. On another level, power in cities exists beyond individuals and structures. While these can monitor and check one another's power, the entire system is checked by larger economic and social forces, particularly in development. For example, the market creates the need for urban revitalization when

capital is unevenly dispersed across an area. Here, actors must function within a certain environment that could dictate appropriate risk for speculation, as well as amplify (or suppress) class resistance struggles (including "not in my backyard" as well as blight reduction demands) (Weber, 2002, 521). The belief that actors in positions of power are constrained or stimulated by their broader social environment as well forms the backbone of my hypothesis.

With these forces and rules in mind, then, it would not make sense to study power in a formalized structure. Instead, network theory best encapsulates the individual and his/her interactions within a system constrained by rules (Van Bortel, 2007, pg. 34). Of particular use in this study will be the framework of a governance network, in which there is high interdependence between organizations and the state, and where hierarchical commands are no longer effective (Mullins, 2007, pgs. 3-5). This best typifies the interdependency inherent in urban development, especially between nonprofit developers and government. While this framework was originally devised as an alternative form of governance to markets and hierarchies, in this study networks will be evaluated without ignoring hierarchies or market forces.

In urban development, the interests within these networks may not align. For example, though individuals might benefit from affordable and low-income housing development, they may face hostility from local jurisdictions that prefer higher tax-producing developments, as well as neighborhoods, which fear disruption of neighborhood "character" (Stone, 1986, pg. 277). Clarence Stone argues that the individuals are then left to turn to the devices of the private market.

Stone's assessment on some levels runs contrary to what is often seen in many local governments today, whose specialized departments for the creation of affordable housing seem to indicate some assumption of responsibility for this service (for example, Winston-Salem's Department of Housing and Neighborhood Development). Still, even those claiming to act in the public interest will have interests of their own that they will bring to their partnerships and projects. States are admittedly tied to the private sector through the market, and often, "discursively constitute, code, and order the meaning of place through policies and practices that are often advantageous to capital" (Weber, 2002, pg. 521). In this way, state interests are shaped in part by the private sector. Even when the state

works outside of market interests to develop land for a predetermined public good rather than for capital, the public sector will structure grants and subsidies to encourage projects that encourage votes: those projects with a quick start and payoff, a direct economic job impact, a specific target area focus, and overwhelming local support will inevitably gain the support of elected politicians and efficiency-minded bureaucrats (Montgomery, 1979, pg. 49). The nonprofit developer, who may phrase his work in the public's interest rather than the interest of capital, will have his interests distorted by market constraints as well. Third-sector development prefers land acquired at little or no cost, maximum available tax credits, and the potential for rental subsidies (Bratt, 2009, pg. 46). For both the public and third sector, there is also the complicating issue of, "which public?" Each sector might be acting on a different interest existing within a community. Because the interests of each organization in my case study cannot be taken for granted, each interviewee will be asked to explicitly define their goals and priorities for their development projects.

While the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (2010) argued that affordable housing development is a proven economic stimulus to revive neighborhood spending power and increase surrounding property values, it will clearly not always align with the interest of stakeholders. Several interests, both aligned and competing, meet in urban neighborhoods and create a complex network of relationships. In situations with multiple actors and an unclear power hierarchy, Stone (1986) argues that power belongs to those who can understand compositional effects and leverage resources to guide a project in the preferred direction (pg. 379). Stone extends the idea of knowledge as power and adds the element of ability. Thus, my research will not posit use access to information as an indicator of power, but will instead evaluate what each actor was able to do with the knowledge he/she received.

Civic Capacity and Social Capital, Defined

The relationships between a community, the state, the private sector, and the nonprofit sector form the centerpiece of Clarence Stone's theory of civic capacity. Embedded in these relationships are issues of inclusion and exclusion of certain community interests. Within Stone's original definition, civic capacity stresses the ability of different sectors within cities to align their interests and act in tandem to effect change (Stone, 1986, 262). Susan Saegert's later definition of the concept emphasizes wide

participation from different areas of the community rather than community consensus (Saegert, 2006). This definition is somewhat divergent and may be reflecting new trends in community development, but the two share an emphasis on mobilization and action to constitute key facets of the term. In his theory, Stone concedes that some degree of consensus is necessary for action to occur, however he adds that this may be fleeting. In a case study of citywide action addressing Chicago's education system, he notes that civic capacity is not permanent and can regress, most likely due to the controversial nature of urban issues (2001).

This theory of strong citywide partnerships to produce change shares much with the popularized concept of social capital. Social capital is a controversial concept, to the point that Ben Fine (2010) complained it had been stretched to so many events, disciplines, and contexts that it has lost all useful meaning. Several theorists (including Glenn Loury and Robert Salisbury) have worked with this idea, but for this paper the work of Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu are most relevant.

Most Americans received their introduction to social capital through Robert Putnam's 2000 bestselling book, *Bowling Alone*, adopted by numerous social science articles since its publication. Putnam (2000) described social capital as a system of "norms and reciprocity" that exist within a social network (pg. 19). This system develops in two ways: bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital manifests itself through interpersonal interactions among similar people within a horizontal relationship, while bridging social capital is a vertically manifested relationship between people and authority. The key difference, to Putnam, is that bonding is exclusive ("bolstering our narrower selves") and bridging is inclusive ("generating broader identities") (pg. 22). Each of these relationships, when strong, are said to reduce transaction costs through increased trust and shared reciprocity, thus facilitating a system of understanding that contributes to a greater flow of information and quick action, one of the centerpieces of Stone's theory.

In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam uses collected data on membership in associations (with the bowling league as one example) to claim that America's "stock" of social capital is declining. Since then, this method of associational membership has become an accepted indicator in social capital studies. While there is some merit that in facilitating social interactions these organizations foster social capital, this trait is not a necessary condition

of associations. The method is problematic in that it takes into account only basic social interactions, rather than the substance of those interactions.

Though Putnam's definition of social capital is popular, it has also come under attack for its extreme similarity to social cohesion. Several social scientists look to Pierre Bourdieu's earlier writings for a more workable definition. Whereas Putnam believes social capital exists on the individual level, Bourdieu defines social capital as the aggregate of all the resources (that are not financial or stemming from qualification or skill) available to someone based on his or her position within a social network. While Putnam places emphasis on the positive benefits of the network itself, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is rooted in inequality. Instead of the network being a resource, it is a plot within a social space that indicates actual or potential powers and access to profits (Bourdieu, 1985, pgs. 196-198). To him, social interactions are defined power relations.

My research draws from both Putnam and Bourdieu's perspectives on social capital. The survey instrument used to measure social capital was designed by Putnam and thus reflects his interpretation of measurement based on an individual's perceptions and associational ties. By looking at this data within the lens of broader power relations, however, I analyze it as Bourdieu did. This ideally injects certain insights into the substance and value of the interactions that Putnam measures within his survey.

Social Capital Embedded in Power Relations

Social capital exists within the same set of forces as the rest of the urban system, and might even act as a force itself (so this research will test). Community development strategies often link communities to a separate power system—either directly via community organization approaches, or more indirectly by requiring the city's investment in revitalization. Arguably, community development approaches will involve aspects of both social capital and civic capacity. The shift in popular techniques from confrontational approaches to cooperation through community building involves and rejects some aspects of Stone's and Putnam's theories. The community building approach is rooted in the inclusion of community members. As James Hyman (2002) explains, community building shares much with the theory of social capital. He claims that a community will be better off when a broad set of stakeholders are included in the process; this, he argues, will lead to a more accurate understanding of problems (pg. 4). This theory argues that development

will stem from the same understanding that social capital fosters. However, though civic capacity operates with the same output in mind (to better cities), Stone argued that social capital operates at a micro scale that is unlike those relationships required for civic capacity. To him, this was still true when social capital networks were broad enough to transcend boundaries of race and class (Saegert, 2006). While civic capacity may work at a more macro scale, encompassing fully developed sectors with their own relational structures in place, community development efforts must connect to this level as well. James DeFillipis (2010) attacked community builders who assumed that the capacity to strengthen communities lay within the geographic boundaries of the community itself. He argued that communities themselves are the product of internal and external relationships, and any attempts to develop that disregard this will surely fail. Community-based projects, even so titled, are often themselves the best demonstration of these relationships. While they emphasize the participation of community members, this is often in partnership with resources provided by state-operated development agencies, private corporations, or major religious or educational institutions (Sirianni, 2001, pg. 79). These partnerships often produce mutually beneficial learning between community groups and established organizations, particularly in phases of conflict. The outcomes of these conflicts then fuel the understanding fostered through social capital. Community development theorists, studying development from the "bottom up," claim that this increased understanding is cumulative, or will build with each iteration (Hyman, 2001, pg. 8). This breaks from Stone's "top down" approach, in which he finds that at the city-level collaboration can often break down. This reveals a crucial difference in the development theories: community-builders rely on social capital to heighten understanding and collaboration, while civic capacity relies only on the brief alignment of self-interest to fuel collaboration. This study will examine whether heightened (or lessened) community social capital will have any effect on the alignment of these interests.

Some development theorists see the relationship between communities and those with formal authority or capital power as more antagonistic. Saegert (2006) explains that while community builders argue for bridging social capital to link communities to those in seats of power, community organizers argue to build bonding social capital within communities to challenge the power structures at the top. In reality, this dichotomy is less

clear. Community organizations may use either confrontational or relational tactics to relate communities to the formal power structure. In fact, community organizers are beginning to share much of the same approaches as community builders, including consensus organizing and asset-based community development. ACORN, the best known confrontational organization, shut down in the face of mounting attacks from the conservative right and little support from other community organizations (Stoecker, 2010). The field of community organizing itself is growing, including organizations like the IAF, which build networks from already-present voluntary organizations. Mark Warren's study of the IAF in Texas provides detailed insights into their strategies and tactics. While the book focused on education reform and the IAF's Alliance Schools initiative, it demonstrated the IAF's broad-based organizing approach, which is able to successfully mobilize diverse groups of people. In order to ensure this cooperation, the IAF avoids political affiliation, and will drop divisive issues if a consensus cannot be reached (pg. 32-34). It depends on dialogue and relationship building between its leaders, and emphasizes a commitment to the community rather than to particular issues, a strategy championed by Ernesto Cortes (pg. 51). The IAF's capacity-building approach is to depend on institutions that are already in place (in this case, churches and other faith-based organizations) to build coalitions across communities. In Fort Worth, for example, the IAF was invited by church leaders who were already working together (pg. 104). Rather than reorganizing society, the IAF makes use of the structures in place. Thus, the IAF serves as a classic example of community-building techniques, which aim to work within established structures rather than tearing them down. Michael Gecan's book *Going Public* (2002) details the work of the same organization, the IAF, except this time in New York arguing for affordable housing through the Nehemiah project. While Warren clearly positioned his relationship to the IAF as an academic, Gecan uses his role as a community organizer to directly inform the book. As a result, his descriptions may be less objective, but they offer insight into the strategies and thought processes of a lead organizer. He offers a detailed look at personal and professional relationships developed with New York City government officials (as well as the intersections between the two) and how these are used for power building. One of the IAF's key strategies is to avoid speaking with low-level staff and those without the power to produce results—the success of their actions hinge on identifying real power within

structures. These strategies will be investigated within Winston-Salem's branch of the IAF, CHANGE.

The dynamics at play in community development highlight the inequalities that originally create the need for development. Within this environment, social capital is often framed as a tool for development, and therefore a tool to lessen power differentials between actors. Trevor Hancock (2001) even explicitly links formal, strong social capital ties to equitable access to peace and safety, food, shelter, education, income, and employment. In practice, it was this mindset that fueled a push for the creation of mixed-income neighborhoods (Curley, 2010, pg. 79). The World Bank takes the benefits of social capital a step further, claiming that the development of social capital could be an end aim in and of itself. In 1995, it found that 60 percent of the world's wealth was held in human and social capital (researchers found it difficult to distinguish between the two). Sustainable development, it argued, focuses on the development of community capital, or the total of financial, natural, human and social capital.

The reality of developing any type of capital without the expense of another undermines what DeFilippis claims to be a key component of the production of capital: that it is, "inherently about power" (DeFlilippis, 2001, pg. 783). Putnam's definition of social capital focused on stocks of capital rooted in communities rather than individuals, thereby at least equalizing the strength of social capital among a group. However, if social capital is an economic concept, this may not be a fair point. Like economic capital, social capital produces externalities from each transaction, though some would argue that social capital is an externality itself, originating from other transactions, which happen to produce trust (Collier, 2002, pg. 20).   In practice, social capital is the crucial element to help communities overcome the free rider problem and provide necessary services at a shared cost (pg. 23). However, this sort of coordinated action often requires collective decision, which Collier believes cannot occur without an accepted hierarchy or club rather than a one way social interaction, even in the presence of high social capital (pg. 29). Thus, at the community-level power is still dispersed between individuals, structures, and external forces, and "stocks" of social capital will be varied within. As explained by DeFillipis, social capital as an economic term presumes the ability of certain people to realize it at the expense of others, framing social capital as a game existing in the space

between win-win and zero sum (DeFlippis, 2001, pg. 789). With this perspective, social capital may actually perpetuate inequality rather than neutralize it. Framing social capital as an economic concept, does, however, relate social capital to inherent power relations, and suggest they might be capable of growing or shrinking power at the individual level. This research will address whether or not this is true at the institutional level.

Developing a Methodology

The ambiguity inherent in both social capital (my independent variable) and power relations (my dependent variable) makes precise measurements of the two difficult. A variety of researchers have worked within the developing theory to construct experiments that offer a concrete reading of the two terms. Each methodology is linked to a specific interpretation of either social capital or power. For the purposes of this research, I will build upon conclusions and borrow elements from a series of other projects.

In an experiment linking displaced social capital through urban development projects to neighborhood health outcomes, Marisela Gomez (2005) used a multifaceted approach to measure social capital.   Using newspaper accounts, focus groups, surveys, and informal interviews, she used qualitative data to typify the relational experiences of certain residents. However, several of the questions asked of residents interpreted social capital as community perception of control (pg. 92). While this does link social capital to power in a real way, it seems to ignore the relationships that form the cornerstone of what social capital is. Because the definition of social capital is at this point so loose, I am wary that qualitative constructs can at times evade critical aspects of the concept.

Quantitative methods that use survey and statistical analysis to measure social capital can be equally problematic. In a study that distinguished between formal and informal bonding on the individual level, survey questions used trust indicators to measure informal bonding social capital, and membership in associations to measure formal bonding social capital. The validity of the informal measurement is questionable, as trust could be considered an input of social capital rather than a measurable output. Measuring formal social capital through membership in associations is lifted from Putnam's studies and will again be borrowed for this study. Though membership does not guarantee the relationships that constitute social capital, for studies with a large sample size it is the best available indicator.

This research will situate changing community capital at the citywide level, which, considering DeFlippis' earlier critique of Putnam, may be unfair. Several studies exist which aim to determine the link between social capital and space. S. V. Subramanian (2003) led a pilot project aimed to determine whether studies of social capital should be linked to individuals or specific areas. He sampled several Chicago residents to detect patterns of distrust, and analyzed these at the individual and neighborhood level. He found significant between-neighborhood variation, but posited that socioeconomic and demographic composition among individuals might explain this. Yet, in a study of nonprofit strength within certain counties, Gregory Saxton (2005) found that it is the general level of social capital in a county, rather than just the presence of populations that are prone to higher levels of social capital to begin with that leads to significantly higher levels of nonprofit vitality. Saxton's conclusion seems to suggest that at a broader level of analysis, levels of social capital can constitute an "environment" for organizations. Because it is these organizations that will be the subject of study for citywide power dynamics, I can conclude that community-wide stock of social capital is a legitimate sample for measurement.

As already mentioned, power at the city level will be understood within the existence of networks. These same networks, at individual levels, have been used in some studies to constitute social capital. However, as Alan Middleton (2005) claims, "The existence of networks cannot be treated as social capital in and of itself." (pg. 1715). Similarly, using interviews that investigated job search strategies, Fenne Pinkster (2007) found that strong localized networks within a concentrated urban neighborhood are not necessarily indicators of cohesion at the neighborhood level. Thus, these networks will not be used as measures of cohesion (or similar to Putnam's social capital), but merely as pathways for interaction among organizations and the individuals within them.

Positioning power relations within a network introduces certain elements of game theory, including actions governed by established norms and the threat of shirking, collective sanctions, and monitoring mechanisms (Simon, 2008, pg. 5). To determine power held, all interviewees were asked what they expected of partners and how they enforced those expectations. For this study, networks were established using the snowball technique, asking organizations to identify other organizations they worked with on a

project, then approaching those for interviews. This technique is borrowed from a study of nonprofit organizations, however, that simply focused on the organizations as whole units, while I paid closer attention to the individuals within the organizations (Simon, 2008, pg. 10). Other economic studies find ways to analyze an individual's interactions within a coalition, separating the individual from the coalition interests based on a model of yes/no games to measure influence (Grabish, 2010).   Within my own power analysis, cooperation and competition will occur within an organization as well as between organizations.

Analyzing power within a network is a developing field, particularly in the context of affordable housing. Thus, most studies, like mine, will be case studies, seeking to develop hypotheses rather than test them (Mullins, 2007, pg. 8-9). In a study of urban renewal in The Hague, researchers focused on steering instruments within a network. Data came from 25 interviews of officials and stakeholders at various key points in the network, which the researchers used to identify capacity for project contributions, as well as interests and motivations. However, though the researchers were aiming to determine the success of the network in development, their purposeful sampling only asked key stakeholders about their satisfaction. In doing this, they limited their data solely to those holding power. By not working backwards from the housing projects that were successful, and rather focusing on a city in which I can contact the full range of established organizations, I will focus on organizations that were both included and excluded in the network for my power analyses.

The research will draw from these past studies and consider the affordable housing development of a moderate-sized city, as this will allow an analysis of a full network of individuals and organizations.

The Sample

This research will be situated in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, a city of 185,776 in 2000 according the US Census Bureau. The city was once a major industrial hub of the southeast, home to RJ Reynolds Tobacco, Hanes Knitting Company, and Wachovia Bank. In the 1980s, the companies lost their prominence in the city due to a series of mergers and acquisitions, and today employment is largely concentrated in healthcare and education; Wake Forest University Baptist Medical Center serves as the city's largest employer (Visit Winston-Salem). Though these industries introduce a number of high paying jobs, only 30

percent of residents possess a bachelor's degree or more, and most of the city remains unqualified for these positions. Thus, income is low compared to the rest of the state, with over one-third of households earning less than $25,000 each year, and over sixty percent earning less than $50,000. Race is a visible issue in Winston-Salem—the city has never elected a black mayor, despite a racial composition of 51 percent white, 34 percent African American, and 7 percent Hispanic in 2000. While councilmen reflect both the diversity of the city and the segregation between wards, the school board is 78 percent white (Policymap, City of Winston-Salem). The city earned national attention in 2004 when DNA evidence revealed the wrongful conviction of Darryl Hunt for murder charges and the probable racist lean of the jury. See Appendix A for a map of the spatial segregation of Winston-Salem, which shows the majority of African American households concentrated in the east city. Segregation and racism is an issue in neighborhoods, the workplace and courts.

Religion also has a strong presence in Forsyth County, with more than two-thirds of the Census respondents identifying as either mainline or evangelical Protestant. Faith-based institutions play a role in the city's development, which I will discuss later.

To measure civic capacity, I will focus on the partnerships involved in affordable housing development. While much of Clarence Stone's work focused on education, affordable housing development also requires collaboration from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, and is an outcome of community decision-making. Because a forum for civic capacity also requires an established community need, the map in Appendix B shows that over 25 percent of people living in east Winston-Salem bear the burden of high cost mortgage loans. In Winston-Salem, the affordable housing industry is an appropriate focus for civic capacity.

Methodology

The city of Winston-Salem was studied over six years (2000 and 2006) both for social capital and civic capacity. The Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS) provided data for social capital, an instrument designed at Harvard by the Saguaro Seminar and Robert Putnam. Thus, the measurements use Putnam's construct of social capital to frame the 66 questions, which asked respondents who they trusted and how they engaged in the community. Most questions were lifted from previous surveys and had been tested

beforehand. The survey was issued first in 2000 to 30,000 people across 40 communities and one national sample, intended to measure differences in social capital across place rather than time (as was the case in *Bowling Alone*). It was thus constructed around the assumption that communities possess levels of social connectedness and can be said to have more or less social capital relative to one another. For the survey funders, primarily community-based foundations, there was an assumption that investment can change social capital. Only seven community foundations found value in participating both times, in 2000 and 2006, and Winston-Salem was one. The Winston-Salem Foundation[1] sponsored the survey, which was administered to a pool of 750 in each year, with a statistical efficiency of 0.778 (Saguro Seminar, 2000). Survey responses were analyzed as a whole, but certain questions were isolated as well for the purpose of this study. Instead of comparing social capital across place as the study originally intended, I compared the social capital of Winston-Salem relative to itself between 2000 and 2006 by looking at the percent change of total respondents. The survey administered in 2006 was a shorter version of the 2000 survey, so only comparable questions that were relevant to the topic were analyzed. As some questions were only posed to a random sample of respondents, looking at changes as percent change of total standardized for different samples across questions. A summary of the questions I used follows:

Social Trust:
- Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
- How much do you trust people in your neighborhood/people you work with/people at your church/people who work in the stores where you shop/the police in your hometown

Giving and Volunteering:
- How many times in the past 12 months have you volunteered?
- In the past 12 months, have you worked on a community project?
- Are you a member of a charity or social welfare organization that provides services

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[1] The Winston-Salem Foundation aims to invest in Winston-Salem to make the benefits of philanthropy available to all. It is a collection of funds donated from private individuals and organizations, with assets totaling $224 million (The Winston-Salem Foundation).

in such areas in such fields as health or service to the poor?

- In the past 12 months, how much have you given to all non-religious charities, organizations, or causes?
- In the past two years, have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?
- **Faith-based:**
    o Are you a member of a local church, synagogue, or other religious or spiritual community?
    o How often do you attend religious services?
    o In the past 12 months, have you taken part in any sort of activity with people at your church or place of worship, other than attending services?
    o How much in the past year have you donated to religious causes, including your local religious institution?

Politics:

- How interested are you in politics and national affairs?
- How much of the time can you trust local government to do what is right?
- In the past 12 months, have you signed a petition? Attended a political meeting or rally? Participated in any demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or marches?
- Are you a member of a neighborhood association, like a block association, a homeowner or tenant association, or a crime watch group? Other public interest groups political action groups, political clubs, or party committees?
- How much do you agree with the following statement: The people running my community don't really care much what happens to me.
- How many times in the past 12 months have you attended any pubic meeting in which there was a discussion of town or school affairs?

Diversity:

- Favor/Oppose marrying an Asian person/an African American person/a White person/ a Latino or Hispanic person.
- Do you have a personal friend with different religious orientation/who is white/who is Latino or Hispanic/who is Asian/who is African American/gay or lesbian?

- How many times in the past twelve months have you been in the home of a friend of a different race or had them in your home?

Data for civic capacity, my dependent variable, was collected largely from qualitative sources. I began my study by contacting a member of the communications team for the Winston-Salem Foundation, who put me in touch with the city's "social capital academic," Dr. Doug Easterling, who analyzed the survey. After interviewing Dr. Easterling on October 7th, 2010, I began contacting local leaders working in affordable housing development and social capital initiatives using chain sampling. In total, I interviewed ten leaders over six weeks, and the majority of interviews were conducted over the phone. Interviews were generally 60 minutes in length, using standard open-ended interview questions specific to each interviewee, written on the basis of a preliminary overview of their work in Winston-Salem. In addition, I visited Winston-Salem in October to collect information from the city government and visit the organizations I was unable to reach by email. I performed a document review of available nonprofit annual reports, newspaper stories from the Winston-Salem Journal archives, and a number of publicly released documents from developers and funders. Next, I reviewed nonprofit form 990s (using the National Center for Charitable Statistic's database), as well as minutes of City Council and Housing and Neighborhood Development Committee meetings in 2000 and 2006. The Consolidated Action Performance Report of the Winston-Salem Housing Consortium for FY01 and FY07 (beginning in July of the previous year) also provided relevant information.

Data

Social Capital Changes

On the whole, Winston-Salem demonstrates an upward trend in social capital across all of the SCBS-established dimensions, with the exception of diversity of friendships (the national sample reflects this slight relative change as well)[2]. Generally, there seems to be a larger overall movement in trust by workplace (mostly due to newfound trust in the police force, which had been reputably bad); this movement was less noticeable in a breakdown of trust by race, though this was largely caused by a negative change in trust in white

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[2] See Appendix C for a graph complied by Doug Easterling of general local and national social capital trend.

people rather than minority groups. In terms of how people are relating to each other, there was a significant trend in the moderation of financial contentment (this was not reflected in actual changes of income levels recorded by the census), which could suggest an increase in the perception of equality. There is also a somewhat telling trend of leadership growth and positive changes in trust originating from weak ties (people who work in the stores where you shop, the local police).

A comparison of nonprofit and political opportunities to build social capital shows that there was greater growth in people working on a community project than signing a petition or attending a political meeting. There was a notable shift in both the number of times respondents recalled volunteering over the past 12 months, and in the size of donations given to charities. While the survey shows increased giving in every category from the $500 range upward, the most noticeable change between the two surveys in this category is in donors giving over $5,000--a figure completely unfeasible for some households. Thus, while it is likely that community members are giving more, sampling differences between 2000 and 2006 might explain some of this change. Numbers that remained high in both surveys include taking part in non-faith-based activities through the church and giving to religious institutions. Echoing the trend in non-religious institutions, giving to religious institutions increased by 4.91 percent in the over $5000 range. In general, participation in faith-based institutions increased as 3.71 percent more of respondents reported attending religious services once per week or more, the most involved of the survey's possible responses for that specific question. Politically, people's trust in local government rose generally, but trust in that same government's responsiveness declined. There seemed to be a general decrease in empowerment across the board, based on this and responses to the question, "Overall, how much impact do you think people like you can have in making your community a better place to live?" While there was a relatively large positive change in people responding that their organizations were taking action for political causes, in general I can conclude that social capital was not growing to the same extent in government spaces than in the voluntary sector, as this upward shift reflects more about organizations than the strength of relationships. Across the Saguaro Seminar's original dimensions, this is not so, as activist politics are separated with conventional politics. By the questions that I analyzed separately, however, the

greatest positive changes were in volunteering and community spaces rather than government spaces.

The survey's questions on diversity yielded somewhat mixed results. In general, friendships with other races, religious people, and especially gay or lesbian people increased in quantity from 2000, while class-cutting relationships declined. While these increased interactions should theoretically foster more tolerance for people of different races or sexual orientations than the respondent, this was not demonstrated elsewhere in the survey. In a question that asked the respondent if they would favor or oppose a close family member marrying someone of a different race, respondents were more likely to "somewhat oppose" or "somewhat favor" than in 2000. Because less people "very much favored" these unions, this question shows a trend of moderation. While this is not the same as a negative change, I hesitate to claim that tolerance increased in the city. The two questions show that despite a growth in the interactions among diverse groups, these personal relationships may not have yet had an influence on intolerance directed at generalized groups.

Behind the Survey

The Winston-Salem Foundation's decision to fund the SCBS in 2000 was closely tied to their earlier decision to invest in social capital. The CEO, Scott Wierman, and the current board chairman were first introduced to the idea in 1998, at a conference of community foundations in Arizona. Earlier, Putnam and Louis Feldman decided that community foundations were their entry into a community—thus, the survey was framed to give foundations a unique sense of where their communities stood across a variety of dimensions, for the purposes of grantmaking. In Winston-Salem, the staff began brainstorming a set of initiatives after members of the board flew to Harvard for a private meeting with Putnam, but before the survey results were released. The foundation had recently implemented a program called Neighbors for Better Neighborhoods, and was able to understand locally that some neighborhoods could organize successfully, and others could not. For this reason, Ms. Donna Rader, the Winston-Salem Foundation's Vice President of Grants and Initiatives at the time, said that in initial brainstorming sessions, "We were thinking about social capital and community economic development and we had actually pictured a dual initiative. Then we decided that rather than split our focus, if we could focus on social capital it could sort of lift all boats." (Nov. 5th, 2010). From the

beginning, Winston-Salem saw social capital as a means to community development. With this in mind, along with an end goal demanded by the board that, "social capital would be considered at every decision-making table in Winston-Salem," staff began designing Request for Proposals for 2M in grantmaking money committed to social capital over two years. Without survey data, Mr. Wierman described their approach as, "jumping into the pool before the lifeguard showed up" (Oct. 15th, 2010).

After the survey results were released, staff at the foundation determined that grantmaking would not encourage the degree of change they were seeking, and they considered more innovative approaches. Staff eventually designed the ECHO ("Everyone Can Help Out") Council, which would involve community members and leaders in regular discussions to build social capital and implement social capital-related programs. Staff at the foundation consistently described the council as very diverse, but the extent to which this is true is debatable. This was certainly the intention: Mr. Wierman and Dr. Easterling described sitting in a board member's room together for a day, working with a matrix to ensure the correct mix of gender, race, and income levels. Another qualification, however, was that members should have power of influence in the community. In this way, the foundation might have skewed their understanding of social capital from Putnam's thought to Bourdieu's, and misdirected their efforts to build social capital among the powerful rather than the powerless. The council did begin a number of initiatives that worked with a broader spectrum of community members. These include conversation groups, which paired council members with community members for informal conversation, and Storyline, which recorded audio of community members' stories for broadcast on local radio.

Whatever the initial diversity on the council then, Executive Director Natasha Gore and both Dr. Easterling and Mr. Wierman will admit that today there is a noticeable lack of representation from the business sector now. All three use the same explanation: that some people are "doers" (the business community), and others are more "process-oriented" (all others, by elimination). Ms. Gore mentioned that the flat, discussion-heavy model for relationships in the ECHO Council was uncomfortable for business leaders, and roughly one year in, business leader attrition began (Nov. 22nd, 2010). After this happened, Ms. Gore said her organization shifted from a macrotype of organization to a microtype,

which focused on building one-to-one relationships instead of targeting larger numbers of people. Limited in capacity to expand on this framework by a lack of a 501(c)3, this is the microtype ECHO Council that typifies the study years.

City Environment

In 2000, Winston-Salem's affordable housing sector was incredibly young. In 1999, LISC, a national intermediary that works locally to connect funders to community development work, opened an office in the city. Years before, LISC approached the Winston-Salem Foundation about Winston-Salem being its first North Carolina site, and the foundation began conducting a series of community meetings and raised $1M locally. Before LISC arrived, East Winston CDC was the only CDC in the city. There is no evidence of its tax forms in the NCCS database, but there are a number of journal articles and a publicly released audit from the Department of Health and Human Services claiming financial mismanagement and misappropriation of grant funds. No evidence of the CDC exists past 2004, though even before then the CDC's primary project seems to be the installation of a minority-owned cafeteria-style restaurant serving Winston-Salem. According to Paula McCoy, the City did complete some affordable housing projects in the name of the CDC, but the CDC itself had limited involvement, and thus will not be considered in the city's network.

The publicity and capital-raising necessary to open an office of LISC catalyzed the birth of several other CDCs that were more active in housing development. In 1998, Winston-Salem State University established the Simon Green Atkins CDC (S. G. Atkins) to work in communities surrounding the University, in southeast Winston-Salem. The same year, community members established the Southside CDC in Winston-Salem's east ward. A year later, Goler A.M.E. Zion church founded the Goler CDC to revitalize the once-prominent black district near the center of the city, surrounding the church. Another CDC, Liberty, was formed by the city to work with the revitalization of businesses in the downtown.

Habitat for Humanity is a well-established nonprofit developer in the city, active since 1985. Habitat leads a faith-based "housing ministry," which uses volunteer labor and sweat equity to construct affordable homes (Habitat for Humanity of Forsyth County).   In 1997, Partners for Homeownership (also the Housing Partnership) began working in Winston-Salem, aiming to build or rehabilitate homes for households with annual incomes

between $25,000 to $48,000 (slightly higher than Habitat's target population), working in conjunction with the city and other local and state agencies. Partners for Homeownership focuses on citywide redevelopment, while Habitat for Humanity works throughout Forsyth County; crucially, they are less geographically restricted in their work than CDCs.

Changes in Trust

As these organizations worked to establish relationships with one another throughout the study years, I believe that, as overall social capital increased, the civic capacity (judged by the overall strength of partnerships) increased as well. Indeed, while the output goals for the Winston-Salem Housing Consortium 2004-2008 5-year plan were 40 percent less from the previous five years, this was due to a $2M annual reduction in the city's dedicated resources to the project. While the goals themselves are a greater reflection of market realities than the strength of partnerships, the degree to which the consortium reached their goals is telling. Improvement is not immediately obvious when comparing completed repair and construction projects to total goals (see Appendix D). In the 2007 fiscal year, new construction owner completions stood at 304 percent of the yearly goal, compared to 55 percent in 2001. Conversely, rental repair completions were zero percent, compared to 73 percent in 2001. As other changes were negligible, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these numbers. However, when factoring in projects in progress by weighting each by 0.5, the partnerships in 2007 are greater than those in 2001 across every category. Likewise, in terms of direct assistance for new projects, loan money leveraged twice as much private investment in 2007. More to the point, the FY2007 CAPER states the crucial fact that, "houses were built by a broader range of builders" (Department of Housing/Neighborhood Development).

Tracing the money available to the partnership as a whole also provides insight in the collaboration necessary for these houses to be constructed. As noted before, public money was significantly reduced in the study years, so private money became increasingly valuable. According to Mr. Juan Austin, current Director of Community Affairs at what was the Wachovia Foundation, "Our priorities haven't changed since I've been in this world or before then" (Oct. 22nd, 2010). The foundation aims to provide financial and human capital to encourage investment in the communities where its banks are rooted. Part of Wachovia's requirements for funding a project, however, is that it must have 20 percent of

the project funds already in place. Because of this, Wachovia took an active role in raising the money necessary to bring LISC to the city. According to Mr. Wierman, the bank "immediately jumped in." The process of establishing LISC involved a huge amount of collaboration of pooled funds, generally from large donors. Mr. Abdul Rasheed, founder of the North Carolina Community Development Initiative, described the process of working with the region's donors as "a cultivation" (Oct. 19, 2010). He added, "You have to build a relationship and cultivate a relationship with potential to have an impact." Social capital is a familiar concept in fundraising, thus money raised is in some ways a reflection of social capital. In Mr. Rasheed's organization, which works directly with developers rather than go through an intermediary like LISC, 2006 marked the largest funding of the Housing Trust Fund in its history.   Clearly, at the state level, these one-to-one relationships strengthened. On the local level, the difficulties of maintaining these relationships were apparent. Ms. Paula McCoy, a program officer at LISC beginning in 2000 and program director beginning in 2004, described the frustrations at forming good relationships with both the CDCs and the funding parties (Oct. 14, 2010). As she explained it, as the intermediary LISC was able to promise the funders accountability, without making them into "the bad guys." In describing the CDC's resistance to the funders' requests, she said it was like "raising a teenager who's rebellious." On the other hand, after visiting the local office in Richmond, LISC decided to form a Funder's Collaborative that would organize diverse funders and ensure a targeted investment approach. This built social capital among the funders and enabled private and public money to work better in tandem. This concentration of money allowed projects to be driven to completion, and for CDCs to get crucial operating support in addition to project money. Eventually, the Funder's Collaborative would outlive LISC, after LISC closed its doors in 2007 due to a lack of funding, which will be discussed later in the paper. While the Funder's Collaborative increased the overall effectiveness of the industry and its overall social capital, I am concerned that by concentrating social capital among the funders, the other actors in the system were stripped of their power.

Sector changes

Because the format of the SCBS borrowed from Putnam's indicators of associational involvement, it is possible to look at the survey to see where exactly social capital was changing in the city. Theoretically, changes across the giving and volunteering dimension

of social capital would show that people were congregating in spaces governed by the nonprofit sector to increase their understanding and strengthen social capital. An upward trend in the number of times volunteered per year (particularly a notable negative eight percent change in people who never volunteer) and amount donated show that people were increasing their ties to this sector, and perhaps engaging with a broader pool of people in these activities. To make a comparison against the political sphere, the survey featured more explicit questions about trust in local government. Twenty-one percent more of the sample said that they trust local government to do what is right "most of the time" in the 2006 survey than in 2000. Similarly, while slight, there was a change toward disagreement to the statement "People running my community don't care what happens to me." Therefore, there are visible indicators of increased trust towards both nonprofit and public institutions. Relative to one another, questions about the types of organizations residents joined serve as a clear comparison. In forums for action, including signing petitions, and participation in a rally or boycott, all three of these grew in involvement from 2000, but not as much as participation in community projects. Similarly, becoming a member of a charity organization increased at a faster rate than neighborhood associations or other public interest groups. For the purposes of this research, I would expect evidence of growing partnerships in both the nonprofit and public sector, but perhaps to a slightly greater degree in the nonprofit sector.

Because the nonprofit sector was so new, with the introduction of Southside, SG Atkins, and Goler within only a few years, in 2000 relationships between them were generally nonexistent. When Ms. McCoy described LISCs initial move into the city, she stated, "Our biggest hurdle was developing trusting relationships." In LISC's model, reaching a certain level of output required constant monitoring of a CDC's successes and problems. Addressing problems while they were still budding demanded that the CDC volunteer information to LISC, which was apparently rare from Ms. McCoy's perspective. Below, she describes one sour relationship in particular:

> *It was always if we said A, they were going to do B. They were the CDC and they were going to control the project....Southside would have been a case to learn from. All because we started off wrong. We had to learn alot in terms of how to get them to trust us.*

Ironically, however, Southside CDC was a participant in one of the housing consortium's major collaborative projects: the Happy Hill development. Along with LISC, the city, and Habitat, the four worked to revitalize the historic black neighborhood, which had not been home to new construction in over 50 years (Johnson, 2003). The project featured both public housing financed by a $18.2 million HOPE VI grant, and affordable housing offered by Southside, by supplying up to $35,000 in mortgage assistance and up to $2,000 for help with a down payment (Johnson, 2004). This partnership began in FY01 with the execution of a Memorandum of Understanding between the neighborhood and aforementioned parties, and the redevelopment plan was approved in FY04 (City of Winston Salem, June 2000). According to the city, acquisition was limited as Habitat and Southside CDC had begun purchasing properties in the site years earlier, and had already completed six houses by the adoption of the plan (Department of Housing/Neighborhood Development). The partnership between the parties was "loose," with generally just an overlap in target area. While Happy Hill involved a huge amount of dedicated funding and was one of the city's focus areas, other financially intensive projects that began later in the study years illustrate more complex partnerships. For example, the Goler CDC focused on several real estate projects in the Goler neighborhood that included renovations, senior, low-income, and mixed-income housing. Renovation projects relied on cooperation from the city, who supplied a rehabilitation construction adviser to the CDC in order to save architectural costs (Giunca, 2006). Further, as the CDC invited the city to participate in the planning process, in 2004 the city agreed to coordinate between departments to change necessary zoning laws (LISC, 2004). In a more unorthodox arrangement, the CDC also partnered with the for-profit developer Landex Corporation along with LISC to finance a $19M mixed-income apartment complex, called The Gallery Lofts. This partnership was a learning process for the CDC, as they had to seek outside counsel from Duke University law students to verify that their contract with Landex was fair. The original contract was rejected for too heavily favoring the developer, and a new draft cost Goler months of negotiation (Daniel, 2005). Still, Goler CDC's initiative in attempting this development scheme (which was eventually successful—the lofts were constructed in 2007), shows the ability of Goler to introduce other partners into their developments.

Other personal relationships illustrate progress. For instance, Partners for

Homeownership began just two years prior to LISC, with a mission that slightly overlapped: to build houses with the support of diverse agencies. Initially, Ms. McCoy mentioned that the Executive Director, Ms. Jane Milner, was an adversary. As she explained it, once Partners realized that LISC had tools they needed to be more efficient, they were able to successfully establish a learning relationship. This description does have a strong bias towards LISC, but Ms. McCoy did have several favorable things to say about her relationship with Ms. Milner after the initial hurdles. Leadership changes that occurred between 2000 and 2006 point positively toward a greater focus on partnerships in this sector as well, although these may have been informal. While executive directors of the CDCs and Partners remained unchanged, Paula McCoy replaced Teri Beckman at LISC and Sylvia Oberle replaced Kay Lord at Habitat. Both Ms. McCoy and Ms. Oberle served on the ECHO Council, and mentioned that they felt strongly that they were hired for their relational abilities and connections in the community. Ms. Oberle previously served as Director for the Center for Community Safety at Winston-Salem State University, and in that role actually served on the board of S. G. Atkins CDC. Through these informal connections, each woman mentioned that they were able to address the relational issues of their respective organizations.

Still though, each woman noted trouble with CDCs as the toughest challenge their organization faced. Ms. Oberle noted that the city, "does turf pretty well," and said that while she believed there should be much more collaboration between Habitat and the CDCs (as Habitat could focus on housing and the CDC focus on economic development), she found this idea to be unlikely in Winston-Salem (Nov. 4th, 2010). Ms. McCoy echoed her sentiment when she mentioned that, "The tough issues that we ran into locally were among the CDCs and between the CDCs. They were very territorial." The collaboration that LISC was after was a shared services model for the administration of the CDCs. Ms. Rader provided insight as to why this was unsuccessful: when one of the CDCs approached the Winston Salem Foundation for grant money for a CFO, it was denied to encourage LISC's model of a collective back office. After receiving the rejection, the CDC approached another family foundation and received money for the position. This behavior showed a need for the Funder's Collaborative, where Ms. Rader said, "That never would have happened." In this light, then, the replacement of LISC with a Funder's Collaborative seems to place more

monitoring power in the hands of funders.

As LISC closed in 2007, one year after the second survey was distributed, its demise could indicate several features of the affordable housing industry. From the funder's perspective, Mr. Austin of the Wachovia Foundation said, "It was here to teach [the CDCs] how to fish. I think it was an appropriate time for them to leave the community." The private community, then, may have simply been satisfied with the sustainability of the CDC community. Mr. Wierman, who originally pushed for LISC's founding, agrees with Ms. McCoy that LISC left simply because the local environment no longer provided enough money. Both said staff time was increasingly directed at "chasing money", and the national office eventually determined that their community-building model was not sustainable in Winston-Salem. This largely indicates the continuing power of the private sector, though most will note that LISC was a major resource in helping CDCs overcome their learning curve and professionalizing.

Though clearly checked by the private sector, the growth of the capacity of the nonprofit sector, with or without partnerships, is undeniable. Looking closer at each organization's net assets, Habitat for Humanity and Goler CDC experienced the greatest growth in net assets over the study years, and in 2006 had the greatest net assets total over the other housing nonprofits and CDCs. Interestingly, these organizations share a faith-based mission, which connects to the high absolute involvement and high growth in faith-based institutions demonstrated in the survey.

The city, on the other hand, has mixed indicators of strengthened capacity and partnership. It is likely that consciousness of social capital increased, largely due to the influence of Mayor Allen Joines, who served for eight years and spent most of that time as a member of the ECHO Council. The city began a major program in 2007 for a home ownership-counseling center with an advisory board of the major agencies in the local housing industry. While not directly related to construction, it does show initiative to address the same concerns as affordable housing. However, complaints about discriminatory housing practices did increase over the study time period, suggesting a lack of responsiveness to community need. Along similar lines, Rev. Ryan Eller, the lead organizer for CHANGE (a branch of the IAF rooted in Winston-Salem), suggested that the political environment was the reason his organization could not develop homes in the same

way that New York City's IAF was able to implement the Nehemiah Project (Nov. 5th, 2010). In the framework of his other comments, this seems to mean that the political environment is still not totally receptive to the legitimacy of a community organization. Because of this, I am skeptical of the political system's treatment of community groups.

In terms of power, the introduction of LISC in 2000 seems to have stolen some of the city's hegemony over affordable housing and transferred it to the nonprofits it worked for. Ms. McCoy still referenced the city as a major partner, but says that, "Before LISC got there, [the city was] the leader for community development." Some of the responsibility for development shifted to the CDCs, though the city maintained its control over the direction and focus of the city's development activity. To do this, the city set a target Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy Area (NRSA), to direct the investment of the city and private funders. This would have the greatest effect on Partners and Habitat, who were not geographically bound in their construction. In most instances, Ms. Oberle said she preferred to work in tandem with the city, but in other cases the interests of the nonprofit did not necessarily prefer strategy. This occurs when people give the rights of their land to the organization as an in-kind donation, which occurred at least once in 2000, as documented by the city's minutes. The organization does have the ability to reject the donation, but Ms. Oberle said it was generally more pragmatic to accept. Thus, while the 2007 CAPER justifies the 25 percent of houses constructed outside of the NRSA to be in line with CDBG goals of dispersed housing, this could in fact be the influence of the nonprofit sector.

Financially, local government was subject to the same whims of the private sector as LISC. When the Chamber of Commerce began an initiative to direct investment at downtown development, the city followed suit and included revitalization of commercial areas in its development plans. LISC even seemed to be onboard for the project; in 2006 it was processing applications for a Neighborhoods of Choice program, which involved a more holistic view of development, including retail as well as housing projects (City of Winston-Salem, Sept. 12 2006). Thus, the idea of partnerships seems to have accompanied this shifted focus from housing.

Local government power is further checked by its dependence on state and national government for a larger portion of its cash flow. Because the city is often the first lender

for a project, it has a great deal of control in choosing which projects are developed; its investment is especially crucial for riskier, innovative projects. However, when the ability to invest in new projects disappears, the city might lose this power. For example, a 2006 discussion about the Ten Year Plan to End Homelessness was marked by great hesitancy on the part of council members. Major concerns were funding related, especially because the original outline of the project (involving development of transitional housing) was dependent on a substantial amount of federal support. Not trusting that this would actually appear, the council members were cautious to endorse the feasibility of the project (City of Winston-Salem, Jan. 10, 2006). No similar discussions around affordable housing appeared in the Housing and Neighborhood Development Committee's minutes, but there are references in the CAPER to adjusted goals to react to limited state and federal funds.

While the local government was able to maintain its power over the strategic planning of the city as a whole, it appears that at the end of the study years the city had conceded some power to the nonprofit sector and both were subjected to restrictions of capital. The social capital changes in the survey, then, are to a degree reflected at the upper level, but fail to explain the distribution of social capital, which rested primarily with the funders.

Diversity

For Winston-Salem specifically, an important dimension of social capital is its ability to overcome racism. Despite its prominence as a major southern industrial area, the city was generally insulated from the Civil Rights movement. Instead of being home to protests, a group of corporate and government leaders apparently met and agreed to quietly integrate the city. As a result, the city as a whole has never been pushed to confront racism, nor has community organizing been able to put down a foundation in the city. To the staff that introduced social capital at the Winston Salem Foundation, social capital provided a veil to address both of these issues. To Dr. Easterling, social capital was, "a safe vehicle to promote change that needed to happen". To him, while the topic is superficially appealing to a broad number of groups and people in power, on a deeper level it brings issues of privilege to the surface and demands tough discussions of those same people. Ms. Rader mentioned she liked using the term social capital at The Winston-Salem Foundation instead of community organizing, a word that, "never would have gotten through the board"

because of its negative connotation.

Survey results demonstrated lessened social capital only through diverse friendships, particularly among people of different social classes, as well as some intolerance across racial groups, as discussed earlier. This community-level regression would again theoretically be demonstrated at the citywide level. I will consider the diversification of actors and projects, and the empowerment of minorities through community organizing.

Social capital initiatives, particularly the ECHO Council, worked to directly confront racism through its discussions. Members of the council open each meeting with an activity designed to build social capital in the group, and Ms. Gore mentioned one dealing with racism as having the most profound impact on the council. The member challenged his peers to submit their own definition of racism, then pushed them to consider mindsets instead of actions—for example, to consider why stores stocked more white dolls than black dolls. According to Ms. Gore, this conversation had a major impact on members and several mentioned to her that they brought this conversation to their workplace.

In another way, simply by encouraging conversation in a racially (if not professionally) diverse forum built linking social capital among different members. Ms. Rader described her most powerful memory of the council, in which a "real neighborhood woman" gave a member of the Chamber of Commerce advice not to consider public transportation lines when planning for the new Dell Computers plant in the city. Ms. Rader saw the two talking in the parking lot long after the meeting, and the man eventually worked with the Department of Transportation to adjust bus lines around the plant. While the two shared a weak tie, this interaction had huge effects on the city.

City activities noted a similar concern about racism. At the end of the study years, in FY07, the city's housing report included mention of the Winston-Salem Human Relations Commission's education on multiculturalism. This education consisted of town hall meetings, trainings, public forums, and written materials distributed throughout the city. The housing consortium hoped that these activities would help to address fair housing in the city, and minimize "not in my backyard behaviors." The effectiveness of this effort would only be apparent after the study interval, but for this research the initiative itself is worth noting.

Among nonprofits, there are several indicators of a lessening of racism within the upper tiers of the organization itself. For instance, until 2004, Goler CDC voluntarily submitted the race of its board members in its form 990 filings. After that year, property acquisitions and depreciation reports complicated the filings, so the board list was no longer a separate attachment. However, this could also indicate a decreased emphasis on race within the CDC. Habitat, which was in 2000 a primarily white-run organization working in black neighborhoods, according to Oberle, worked to diversify its volunteer groups. Several projects funded under the Winston-Salem Foundation's ECHO grant stand as testament to this effort. For example, the foundation gave Habitat $166,000 in 2000 to form racially diverse partnerships to work on Habitat homes. Later, in 2004, it received a grant for a project that used volunteers from a public high school and a private high school working together on the same home. In 2002 it became the first Habitat in the country to coordinate an interfaith build. While the last two projects do not directly address racism, they do address typically segregated institutions in Winston-Salem.

However, even amongst the city's educated, indicators of racism remain. While, as previously described, most attributed LISC's exit to a lack of funding and a realignment of interests to downtown development, Ms. McCoy described an alternate opinion:

> *There was some opinion by some CDCs that had there been another Director of LISC at that particular time when the shift happened, that they could have been able to influence certain funding and LISC might not have left...There certainly was an opinion that some of those race dynamics came into play. I prefer to see that the city shifted its priority to the downtown.*

As an African American woman, Ms. McCoy seemed to be describing a sentiment that she would have been more successful at fundraising as a white woman in that city climate. While this viewpoint was not expressed in any of my other interviews, no Executive Director of a CDC was willing to speak with me. While the sentiment may or may not have actually existed, Ms. McCoy's comment displays a perception of oppression that persisted throughout my study years. Though there may have been more opportunities to work with diverse partners, this was not necessarily fostering tolerance or acceptance.

Marginalized groups were, however, gaining collective power when facing the city's leaders through CHANGE. The organization grew out of a group of clergymen called the

Interfaith Partnership, and completed its first action in 2002. True to the IAF's strategy of organizing through institutions that are already in-place in the community, the group works through churches to establish its membership. Forty-five of the fifty-five member organizations are faith based, and while the churches themselves are still largely segregated, about half of the churches in CHANGE are white, and the other half are predominately African American. The lead organizer also mentioned a growing Latino caucus. In order to build consensus among this diverse constituency, CHANGE targets winnable issues, and thus has great success with its actions. Dr. Easterling, who was appreciative yet critical of the organization, said it was, "one of the most placid organizing models [he] had ever come across." The group has been unable to participate in any affordable housing development themselves, but they have targeted neighborhood improvements since their first year. Their first action was an audit of 68 neighborhoods resulting in a list of 1000 items that the group demanded the mayor fix in 120 days. As the mayor addressed 997 of the 1000 items, the action was generally viewed to be a success.

The membership of CHANGE grew consistently from its founding to 2006, but the leadership and financial strength of the organization was extremely weak in 2006. Due to exhaustion, both original staff members quit, and the organization was unable to bring in a new full-time lead organizer until 2008. Though the organization was clearly meeting a need and had wide appeal, this testifies to the difficulty of building these diverse relationships. The leadership breakdown may be another indicator of increased diversity (which is divergent from the survey) but consistent intolerance (which was reflected).

Conclusions, Limitations, Implications

Certain changes in overall social capital are reflected in a city's partnerships, particularly in overall productivity, the growth of certain sectors, and tolerance. However, in Winston-Salem it seems that changes in social capital were not in fact community-based at all, but stemmed from trickle-down initiatives spearheaded by the community's powerful. Thus, the relationship between citywide power and community changes might be somewhat obscured in this particular city. Though this limits several of my conclusions, the data does still indicate that an increased consciousness of social capital and trust will be applied to formalized partnerships, and as relationships strengthen, these partnerships will strengthen as well. The places where people congregate will also likely build the

power of the hosting sector, but this does not necessarily expand the trust and understanding of diverse groups.

Data collection for this research was limited, as many people active between 2000-2006 had moved or retired by the time of this project, and were unreachable for interviews. Further, Ms. Gore described Winston-Salem as a "slow movement town". Thus, changes at the community level were slight, although apparent. While the project also intended to address civic capacity, the extent to which this can be applied to affordable housing development is unclear, as the focus and prioritized needs to the city shifted around 2004 to downtown revitalization. As Stone pointed out that a city's priorities are always changing, the shift in focus and failure to treat affordable housing as a "crisis" may in fact serve to support his theory of consensus building. This research did show that the relationships formed through affordable housing projects continued in the downtown business district development, and in that way, the civic capacity of the city may have improved across industries and foci.

This research further demonstrates that social capital can be held in the hands of the powerful, and is not necessarily a means for giving power to those stripped of financial capital. While the partnerships at the sector level seemed to reap the benefits of decreased transaction costs, there was little indication of increased receptivity to community needs. Investments that aim to empower these communities should be wary of trickle down investments, as these will likely only strengthen the networks of the most powerful, and not work to balance the inequality at the bottom. What the survey failed to demonstrate at the upper level was the distribution of social capital, which was clearly more effective in the hands of the funders than in the hands of community groups. Thus, social capital may not be a valid development tool at all, as it does not seem to promote the redistribution of capital or power. Even using Putnam's indicators of social capital, I am tempted to believe that within a complex power system Bourdieu's interpretation most accurately reflects social capital at work. Additional studies should test other cities that either did not invest at social capital at all (so all changes would be purely natural) or that targeted populations of community members rather than community leaders. Further, Winston-Salem should be again surveyed in 2010, and perform the research again with a 10 year time interval.

These studies would overcome several of the limitations of this study, and, if they revealed social capital again lacked redistributive effects, would support these conclusions.

PolicyMap. Good Data. Smart Decisions.

Map of Winston-Salem with Percent of all people who were African American in 2000.

Percent of all people who were African American in 2000.

Percent of the population that is Black or African American, by single classification of Census race, in 2000. Percentage calculations were suppressed in cases where the denominator of the calculation was less than 10 of the unit that is being described (eg, households, people, householders, etc). Such areas are represented as having "Insufficient Data" in the map. Denominators for percentage calculations were created by summing all of the component data items in a particular dataset.
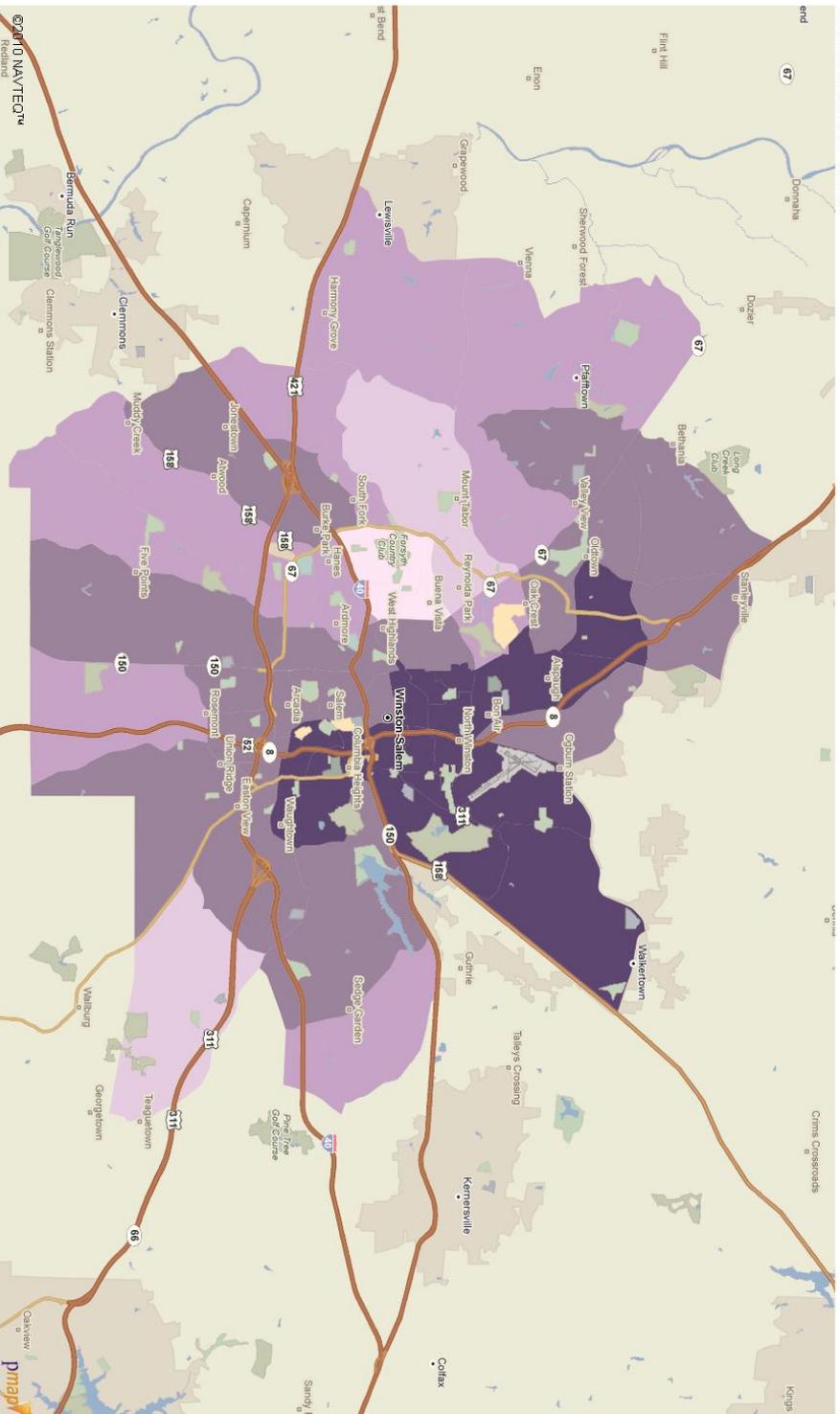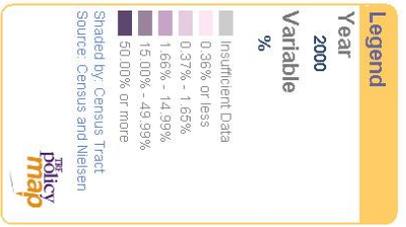
Legend

Year 2000
Variable
%

- Insufficient Data
- 0.36% or less
- 0.37% - 1.65%
- 1.66% - 14.99%
- 15.00% - 49.99%
- 50.00% or more

Shaded by Census Tract
Source: Census and Nielsen

Appendix A. *Percentage of all people who were African American in 2000.*
Courtesy: Policymap.

PolicyMap. Good Data. Smart Decisions.

Map of Winston-Salem with Percent of all home loans that were high cost in 2004.

Percent of all home loans that were high cost in 2004.

Percent of all loans made that were high cost in 2004. High-cost loans were previously denoted as "subprime" loans in PolicyMap. High-cost loans are defined as loans with a reported rate spread. The rate spread on a loan is the difference between the APR on the loan and the treasury security yields as of the date of the loan's origination. Rate spreads are only reported by financial institutions if the APR is 3 or more percentage points higher for a first lien loan, or 5 or more percentage points higher for a second lien loan. High-cost loans do not denote HOEPA loans, but HOEPA loans may be included in the high-cost loan category. These loans were originated for the purchase or refinance of an owner-occupied, one-to-four family dwelling, as reported by HMDA. Medians were not calculated and percents were not computed where the count of loan events of that type or the denominator of the calculation was less than five.

Legend

Year
2004

Variable
%

	Insufficient Data
	7.76% or less
	7.77% - 12.73%
	12.74% - 18.18%
	18.19% - 26.83%
	26.84% or more

Shaded by: Census Tract
Source: HMDA
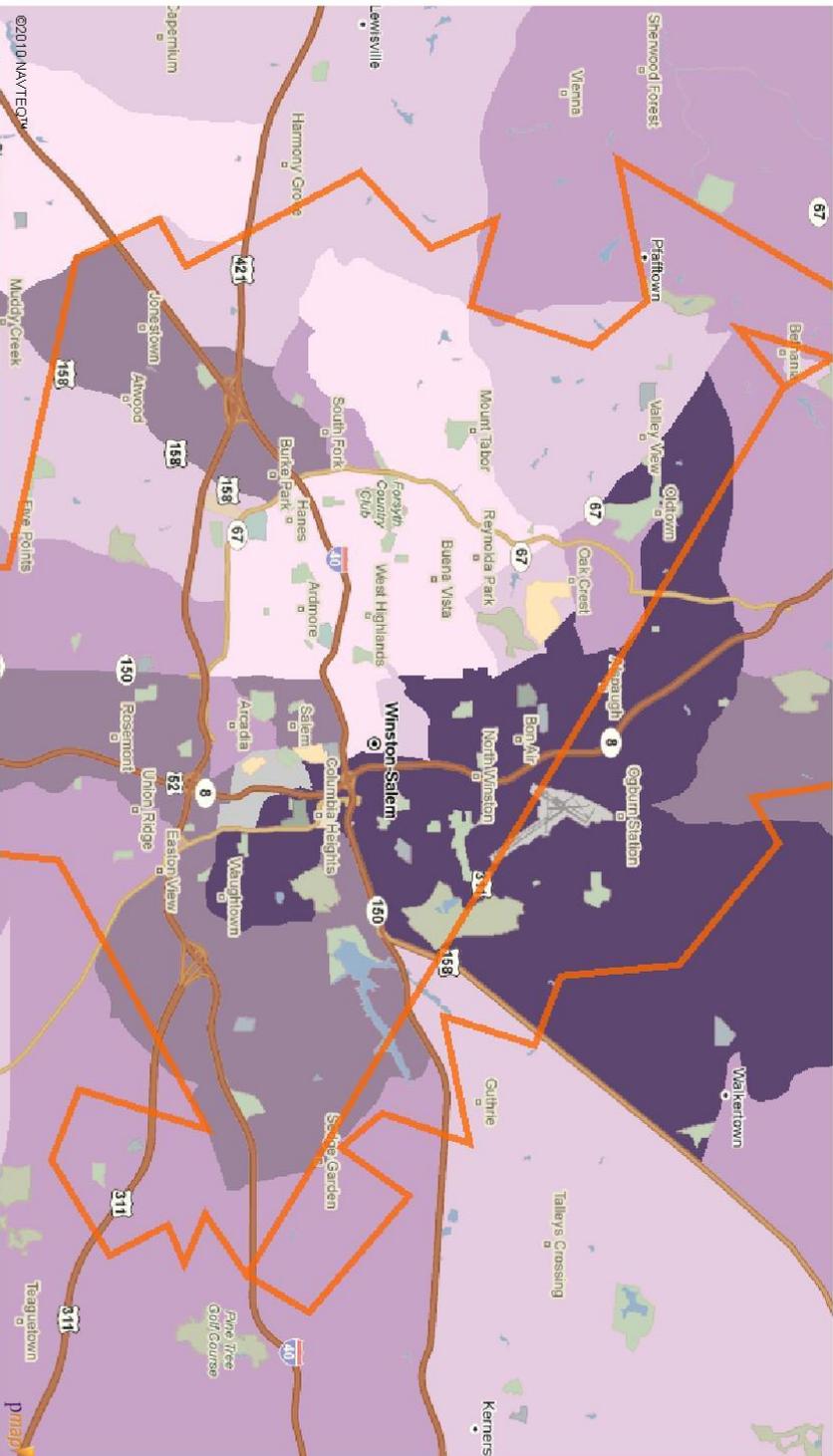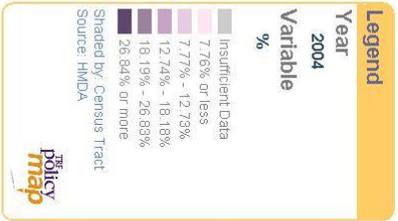
Appendix B. *Percent of all home loans that were high cost in 2008.*
Courtesy: Policymap.
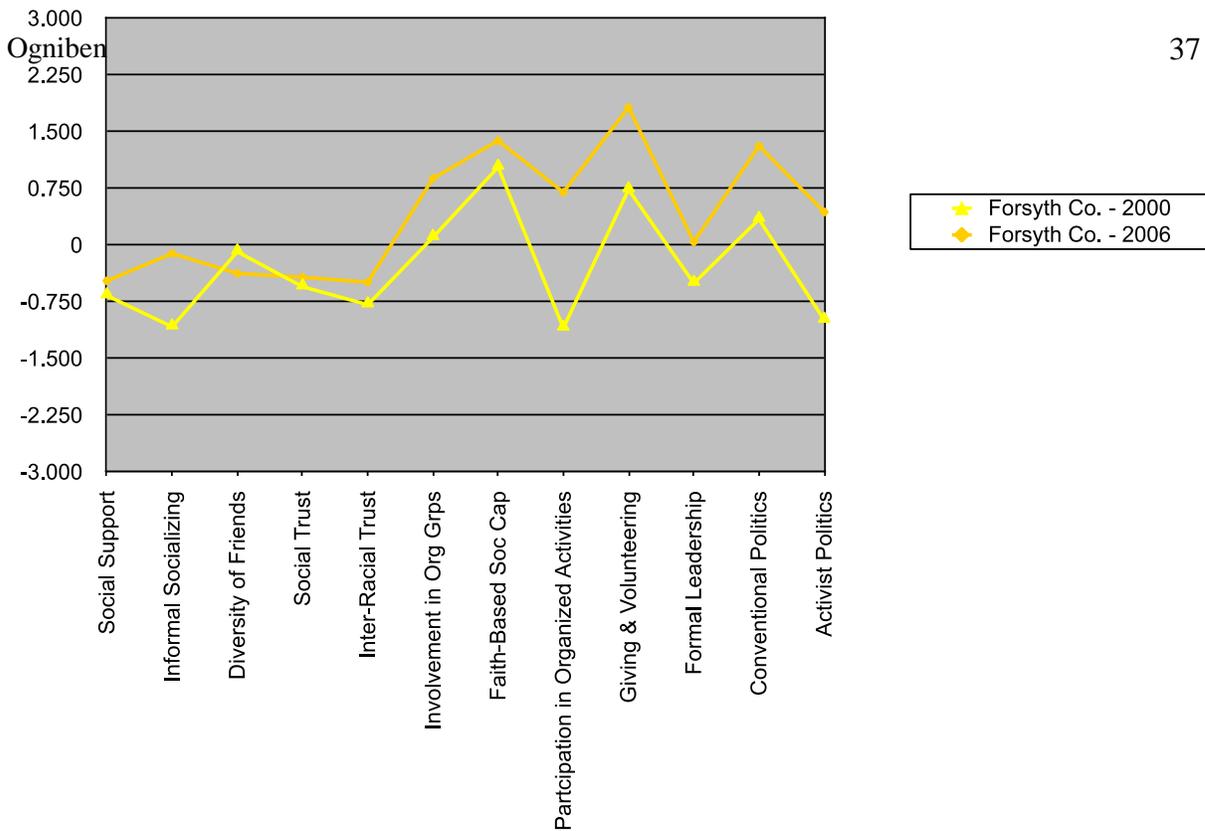
Appendix C. *SCBS Changes in Social Capital*

Courtesy: Dr. Doug Easterling.
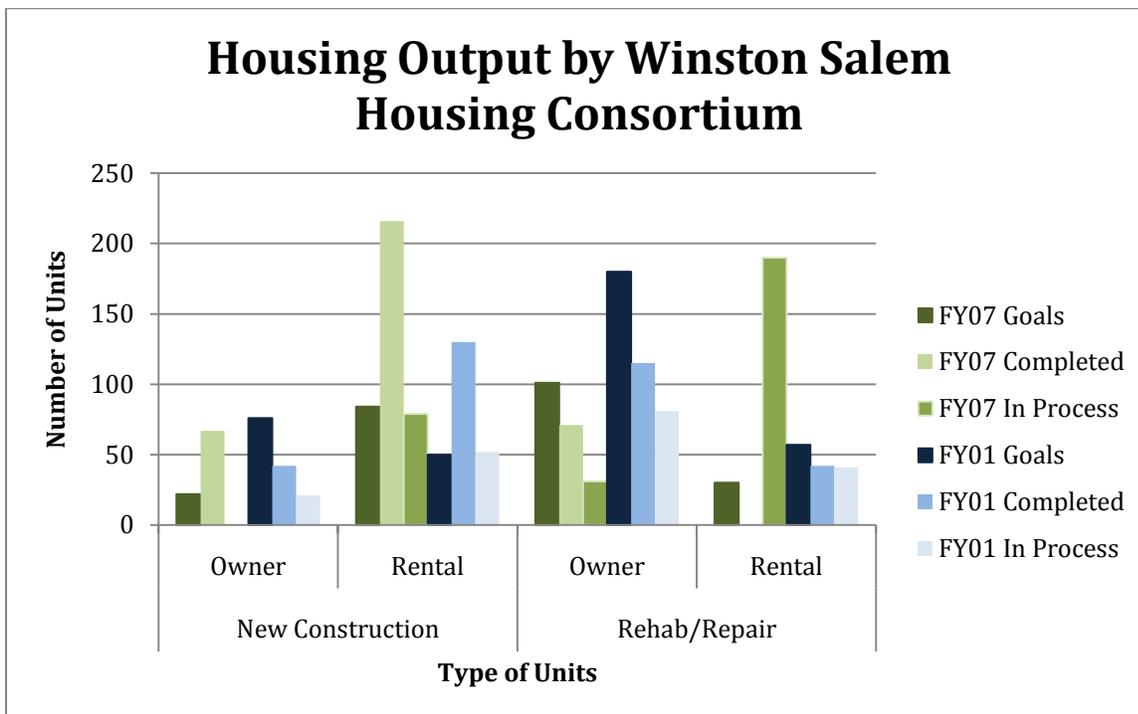
Appendix D. *Housing Output by the Winston-Salem Housing Consortium.*

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