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The Added Value of Religion in Poverty-to-Work Programs: A Framework for Analysis*

William Lockhart
Baylor University

What is the advantage of faith in "faith-based" poverty-to-work programs? My qualitative, field research sought to determine the key distinctions between faith-based and secular programs by comparing three "faith-saturated" programs with three secular programs: one run by a reorganized governmental agency, another by a for-profit business, and a third by a secular, non-profit organization. Although the faith-saturated programs suffered somewhat financially without governmental funds, their religious nature affected the social capital, cultural capital, and the internal status provided by these programs. More research is needed to clarify and to quantify how these resources have an effect upon the future employment of their clients or the stability of the programs. Key contextual factors also need to be taken into account.

Introduction

"Charitable Choice," an effort to involve more faith-based organizations in providing social services, was inaugurated in the 1996 welfare reform bill signed by President Clinton and has been expanded under the "faith-based and community initiative" of President George W. Bush.[1] Faith-based programs have been asserted as being more compassionate, effective, and efficient than secular programs, yet there have been few scholarly comparisons of such programs, and most say that their work is preliminary.[2]

This article creates a framework for analyzing faith-based and secular poverty-to-work programs and for finding what extra-value, faith-based programs provide. This framework is based upon my qualitative, field research of

six poverty-to-work programs—three of which were secular and three of which were "faith-saturated." As described below, "faith-saturated" programs seek to incorporate religious ideas and values into all aspects of the programming. Thus, they present a potentially sharp contrast to secular programs, highlighting where faith makes a difference.

The bulk of this study describes five, different resources provided by both secular and faith-based poverty-to-work programs. This study does not analyze how the program clients received or utilized these resources nor how effective these programs are in helping the clients make the transition from jobless poverty to employment. The focus here is on clarifying where there may be differences in the provision of resources between faith-based and secular programs. Since a description of these resources involves reference to scholarly papers, the surveys of the relevant literatures are incorporated in my discussion of the analytical framework. Prior to that discussion, I present my six research sites and my process of gathering data. I then present the analytical framework. In the concluding section, I describe limitations of my framework, including a necessary discussion of contextual factors.

Qualitative Research of Poverty-to-Work Programs

This article is part of a larger, exploratory research project comparing faith-based and secular poverty-to-work programs.[3] During the field research phase, occurring from the summer of 1999 to January 2001, I comparatively investigated six poverty-to-work programs. To control for community effects, I restricted my research to two, medium-sized cities in the southeastern United States. In the first city, two secular programs were chosen; the third was explicitly faith-based. In the second city, two explicitly faith-based programs were chosen; the third was secular. Table 1 lists these research sites by program religiosity, organizational affiliation, and clients served.[4]

Table 1
Research Sites by Program Religiosity, Organizational Unit, and People Serviced

Location	*Program Religiosity*	*Program Sponsor*	*Clients Served*
City A	Secular	Government Unit	Parents delinquent in providing child support
City A	Secular	For-Profit Business Unit	Parents delinquent in providing child support, TANF recipients
City A	Faith-Based	Non-Profit Organization	All
City B	Secular	Non-Profit Organization	Homeless men and women
City B	Faith-Based	Non-Profit Organization	Homeless women and their children
City B	Faith-Based	Non-Profit Organization	All, yet focus on low-income housing projects

My comparative field research involved field observations and the examination of curricula used by these programs. At one site I was also a participant observer, taking the role of a volunteer mentor. I also engaged in semi-structured, in-depth, confidential interviews with program directors, clients, volunteers, and staff persons at the six sites. These interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Analysis of data was assisted by QSR's "N4" software for non-uniform data.

Religiosity

I chose three, secular research sites to represent the three, main, organizational structures that support secular programs: a redeveloped governmental agency, a secular non-profit organization, and a secular for-profit organization. Monsma and Mount's 2002 survey of welfare-to-work programs in four major cities found that 25 percent of all welfare-to-work programs were run by governmental organizations, 45.8 percent by secular non-profits, and 5.2 percent by for-profit organizations.[5]

To bring into sharp contrast with the secular programs any differences that religion makes in poverty-to-work programs, I chose three, explicitly religious programs run by independent 501(c) (3) organizations with interdenominational Protestant boards. Of the three explicitly religious programs that I investigated, one organization was a joint venture of two mainline churches; a second was created through a coalition of evangelical and traditionally black

churches; the third included mainline, traditionally black and Pentecostal churches in its board and staffing. Due to their interdenominational character, I would not describe these programs as being "pervasively sectarian." However, one might describe them as being "pervasively religious," because explicitly religious themes were incorporated in nearly all their activities.

One of these programs is being replicated across the nation with twenty-seven affiliates at this point and more to come with the encouragement of a new federal partnership.[6] These faith-based programs would be described by Monsma and Mounts as "integrated" because they incorporated religious elements in their programming, such as prayer and Bible study. Monsma and Mounts found that 9.6 percent of all welfare-to-work programs were of this nature.[7]

The religious programs that I chose are not typical of all faith-based, social service programs but, rather, represent the most-explicitly religious programs. As scholars are beginning to note, not all "faith-based" programs are equally religious.[8] Monsma and Mounts found that 14.4 percent of welfare-to-work programs were what they described as "faith-based/segmented." These programs were run by faith-based organizations, but religious elements were *not* integrated into their programming.[9]

Built upon the research typology developed by Sider and Unruh,[10] the "Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives" has developed a new consensus, six-step typology of faith-based programs ranging from "faith-saturated" to "secular" with "faith-centered," "faith-related," "faith-background," and "secular-faith partnerships" in between.[11] The typology focuses both on organizational and program features, with a note that "faith-centered" organizations may sponsor "faith-background" or even "secular" programs.

Using their terminology, the faith-based programs that I visited would be considered "faith-saturated" because they incorporated many religious practices in their efforts, such as prayer, worship, and Bible study, and these practices were required of participants. However, they were more like "faith-centered" than "faith-saturated" in that the staff and volunteers expressed more of a "strong *hope* for religious change and belief that such change significantly contributes to desired outcome" rather than "expectation of religious change and belief that such change is *essential* to desired outcome [emphasis added]." As one FBO board member told me, "Conversions are nice, but not required." I will discuss religious change later.

The secular programs that I investigated were not founded by religious organizations, nor were religious elements found in their mission statements or programming. Although the non-profit organization received donations from religious groups, the bulk of its funds and that of the other organizations came from governmental sources.

Of the three, explicitly religious, faith-based programs that I chose to investigate, one program has not applied for governmental funds and a second program received state funds for one year and then decided to no longer apply for state funds due to "the excessive paperwork required." The third was awarded a federal grant, but before the funds were spent, the grant was taken away when the federal agency looked again at the application and realized that the religious activities were incorporated in the programming. (This was prior to administrative changes issued under Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative.) Repeatedly, the leaders in all three programs stated to me that they would do (and have done) without governmental funds rather than remove the religious elements from their programs. The leaders also expressed how valuable the religious faith of staff and volunteers was to the effectiveness of the programs. What, then, is so important about religious elements?

Poverty-to-Work

The term *poverty-to-work* includes programs working with the homeless, delinquent child-support providers, other low-income persons, as well as welfare recipients in efforts to help the clients leave poverty by the means of employment. In 1996 the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program replaced the New Deal-era Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program and, in doing so, nationalized a growing federal trend in promoting employment in federal programs for the poor.[12]

All the programs that I investigated had a strong focus on enabling their clients to better gain and keep decent employment. Employment was assumed to be essential (although not always sufficient) for escaping long-term poverty and gaining economic self-sufficiency. These programs do not create jobs but assume that there were at least *some* decent employment possibilities available for their clients in an occupational field that they might enjoy. This problematic assumption was questioned by a staff person at one site. When I probed interviewees about this assumption, the response was often variations of this one expressed by one program co-founder: "If the economy goes sour, then we're all going to be looking for jobs, but meanwhile let's help as many as possible find a job."

Clients for the secular programs came primarily through official government program referrals. One program gained referrals from the local human services department of clients who were nearing the end of their eligibility for TANF funds. For two of the programs, indigent clients who were delinquent in their child-support payments were under court order to either attend these programs or to go to jail. Both of these programs had to accept the clients assigned to them, unless the clients showed evidence of mental illness or drug addictions. The third program was related to a large, non-profit organization that provided many services for the homeless. From this pool of the homeless, clients self-selected themselves to apply for the employment assistance program.

Clients for the faith-based programs came to the programs primarily through referrals from churches; thus, the clients had some prior connection with people of faith, even if they themselves were not actively religious. One of the faith-based programs recruited clients by advertising and even going door-to-door in local public housing projects. Yet, although clients may have heard of the faith-based programs from different sources, ultimately their clients were self-selective, choosing to participate in the free programs.

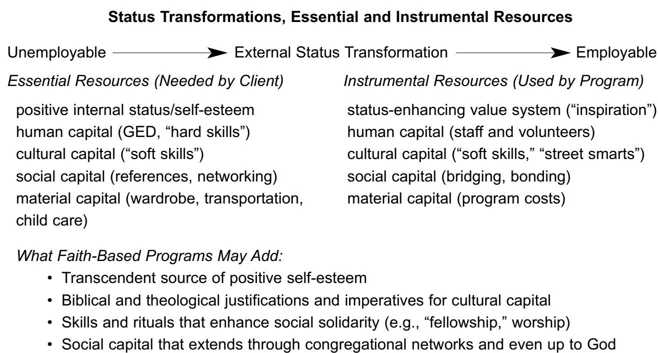
A common assumption of these programs was that the clients need these programs to survive and achieve in the job market. If the clients could merely obtain and retain adequate employment on their own, then they would not be in poverty. The programs' goal is to help their clients overcome any barriers that hinder them from sufficient employment, by getting them on their feet in the work-world and by giving them the tools to survive and thrive. The result of this effort is what I call an "external status transformation."[13] The clients have been transformed from the status of being considered "unemployable" to the status of "potentially good employees" to even "self-sufficient employees." (Although there are stories of poverty-to-work graduates having become entrepreneurs and running their own businesses, most of these apparently become wage earners.)

As I will soon describe, there are a number of resources needed to gain the status of "employable." Clients may come into the program having many of these resources but merely lacking adequacy in only one or two areas. The programs focus on these inadequacies, helping to bring improvements in these areas while maintaining appropriate levels of the others.

A Multi-Resource Analytical Framework

Based on my field research and a survey of the scholarly literature, I developed an analytical framework for poverty-to-work programs that can be used as a grid to delineate the differences between faith-based and secular poverty-to-work programs. Figure 1 lists these criteria.

Figure 1



There are five, essential resources needed for employment status transformations. Some of these may be more important in some labor markets than in others and may be evaluated differently by various employers, but each is claimed to be important by the program leaders and has support in the research literature. One might describe each resource as necessary but not sufficient, because a potential employee completely lacking in any one of these resources would probably not be hired under normal labor market conditions. The exceptions to this would be when employers are desperate for workers, or when they are seeking temporary workers in the secondary job market. Secondary market employment, however, does not provide adequately for economic self-sufficiency.[14] Nor are all these resources together sufficient for employment, for employment is dependent also on the contextual features of the job market and not merely on those seeking a position.

Positive Internal Status

Utilizing the insights of Milner concerning the relationship between religion and status,[15] I generalize the "religious change" described in the Working Group typology of faith-based programs, to "internal status transformations." Status transformations have been little discussed in poverty literature, yet they provide a helpful dimension to the research. In the conventional terminology of some religious groups, the low-income participants of these programs can undergo a type of "conversion" experience from being a "deadbeat dad" or a "welfare mom" to a positive "potential employee." These "converts"—in both faith-based and secular programs—then think of themselves and are perceived by others as being of a status that enables them better to find and keep employment. Internal status transformations do more than increase their "self-esteem," for they are focused on a role or a relationship; for example, telling the client not just "I am a good person" but that "I am a potentially great employee." Religious conversions focus on God and how one will no longer live a negative life but a positive life through the grace of God. Secular "conversions" leave out God but also focus on leaving the negative (as variously described) and embracing the positive. Clients are encouraged to "leave self-destructive behaviors," to "remain positive" and to "build upon their strengths." These conversions affect both one's attitude and one's behavior.

Both the secular and faith-based programs that I investigated want that positive attitude and behavior, claiming that those without these attributes are less likely to be hired and more likely to have difficulties in the workplace. If a client does not come into the program with such a positive attitude, the programs—both secular and faith-based—will seek to convert them into that attitude.

Human Capital and Cultural Capital

In their recent research on employer preferences, Moss and Tilly,[16] note that employers are looking for both "hard skills" and "soft skills." Hard skills equate to objective, certifiable knowledge and abilities that have been traditionally measured with levels of education and that scholars describe as "human capital."[17] "Soft skills" are more subjective and refer to how well employees interact with customers, other employers and supervisors, and how motivated they appear to be.

With regard to human capital, all the programs included or referred clients to high-school equivalency classes and other job skills training, particularly computer skills. Although all the other programs provided computer skill in-

house, two of the faith-based programs did not, because they lacked the funds and facilities to provide such programs. Instead, they referred their clients to other agencies that have such computer classes. Otherwise, faith-based and secular programs are nearly identical in what they provide and how they provide human capital to their clients.

According to Moss and Tilly, "soft skills" are now seen as a "most important quality" looked for in applicants for eighty-four percent of all entry-level positions.[18] Program instruction in "soft skills" includes learning what is the appropriate clothing for job interviews and practicing proper workplace behaviors, including respectful interactions with supervisors and customers. Soft skills can thus be appropriately described as forms of "cultural capital," a term originally coined by Bourdieu[19] and used by him to show how distinctions are perpetuated between different classes. "Cultural capital" is the information, skills, and preferences that people do not ordinarily learn in the classroom but might learn at home, on the streets, and in other social interactions.[20]

Just as "street smarts" are important for survival in some neighborhoods, so "workplace smarts" are important for survival in the workplace. Although many middle- and upper-class people may think that everyone grows up learning appropriate workplace manners, Wilson notes in *When Work Disappears*[21] that many people in very disadvantaged neighborhoods come from families and communities where people do not work and, thus, have not learned by observation the culture of work.

Poverty-to-work programs help clients to learn the ways of the workplace culture so that they might act in a way that enables them to look good in the eyes of employers. When workplace culture differs greatly from what is familiar, clients are taught to understand both cultures and how to "code-switch" language and behavioral styles from what may be acceptable at home to what is appropriate in the work world.[22] As I observed at a national conference for employers of poverty-to-work clients, there is also a growing effort to train supervisors in understanding people who are not from the white, middle-class culture.[23]

Social Capital

Scholars speak of "social capital" and "social ties." Social capital can be defined as the resources available for a person or organization through social networks.[24] Scholars are noting the different dimensions of social capital and how these are important for the poor.[25] Lateral ties often provide social support and access to resources, yet may also produce negative interactions.[26] Vertical ties to those in higher social positions provide access to superior

resources and advanced job possibilities.[27] Bridging ties helps bring people from different groups together to create mutual understanding, social solidarity, and mutual assistance.[28]

The newer secular and faith-based programs see the importance of social ties. They teach their clients how to "network" particularly with those in higher occupational positions who can give them assistance in finding better jobs. In contrast with the standard bureaucratic welfare programs of the past, the newer programs seek to develop what appear to be supportive relationships between their clients, staff, and volunteers. The case manager is seen not as an uncaring bureaucrat but as a caring friend with connections and skills to be used on the client's behalf. In fact, the programs tend to avoid the "client" terminology, preferring to describe their clients as "students," "members," or "mentees," and even as "brothers" and "sisters." The relational distance between clients and case-managers is, thus, reduced.

However, as much as the relational distance is reduced in the effort to provide stronger social support, there is still an element of social control.[29] Mentors and case managers are to monitor the progress of their clients and to determine what barriers hinder their efforts. They are to encourage them to overcome these barriers and to help them find resources as necessary. In the secular programs, with their connections to governmental requirements, warning language is more often heard, with reminders of the potential for clients to be cut off from any governmental support that they are receiving, but on the whole—at least at this point in the programs' lives—the relationships are constructed to be warm and supportive rather than coercive.[30]

Material Capital

Material capital can often be the unnoticed aspect of these programs, but these programs cannot be run without finances and the use of facilities. My observations of secular and faith-based programs showed that those with government funding tended to be able to afford nicer facilities, including computer labs. However, with government funds also comes the potential for government cut-backs. The future will show us what will happen in those circumstances.

The clients also need material resources including housing and basic necessities. Related particularly to the job search, clients need "an interview outfit," transportation, and childcare. The secular programs with their government funding tended to provide these needs with program funds or through referrals. The faith-based programs looked either to referrals, to other social service agencies, or to church donations and volunteers to provide these resources.

To summarize my analytical framework, both faith-based and secular programs, through intensive social relationships and extensive instruction, seek to help participants gain status in the eyes of potential employers through (1) giving them new self-images that are designed to help them succeed; (2) increasing and credentialing their human capital; (3) helping them to live out what is seen to be the desired cultural capital of the workplace; (4) helping them to create positive, multidimensional social ties that provide support during the transition and access for advancement in the future; and (5) providing the basic material resources needed to survive and to acquire these other resources.

The Added Value of Religion

Applying this framework of analysis, I found three areas where religion made a difference in the provision of resources to clients in poverty-to-work programs: internal status transformations, cultural capital, and social capital.

Religious Internal Status Transformations

Commentators describe our society as becoming increasingly "therapeutic" where the pursuit of happiness has turned to a focus on internal self-esteem.[31] Despite the early, prejudiced theories against religion,[32] there is growing evidence that religious people typically have higher self-esteem than non-religious people.[33]

However, there has not been much work on the relative impact of secular approaches to self-esteem as compared to faith-based ones. Internal status transformation generated by religion make an appeal to a transcendent being who powerfully cares for the individual and has a future for him or her. Anecdotal evidence indicates that this helps the poor.[34] It is not known if secular appeals and status transformation have as deep or as long-lasting an effect.

Religious Cultural Capital

The faith-saturated programs strengthened their teachings on "life skills" by infusing them with the divine: It is God who teaches these values and behaviors in the Bible; Christ can help you love difficult people; and the Holy Spirit gives you the ability to do what is right. This quote from a graduate of a faith-based program illustrates:

Q. [Summing up previous comments,] so the program really made a difference in your life by helping you to see who you are and where you want to go?

R: Mmm-hmm. And learning what God has to say about it all. And it really lets you learn about what's found in the Scriptures and, you know, from taking the class, I learned that everything you need is in the Bible. Even if you're talking about work and being on time and being of a good spirit, it takes me right to the Scripture. Every class, everything takes me right towards Scripture in the Bible. And there you go! Life focuses on the main thing: God.

Faith-saturated programs use religious language to reinforce the general teachings on workplace culture.

In addition, the faith-saturated programs that I investigated provided religious cultural capital that is not provided by secular programs. These items include knowledge of the Bible, how to pray, the words and music to praise songs, et cetera. As used by several scholars, religious capital leads one to choose one religion rather than another.[35] Not disputing that aspect, I focus here on utilizing Bourdieu's image of cultural capital and Swidler's image of the cultural "tool kit,"[36] to note, rather, how these skills provide clients an opportunity to better "fit in" to religious congregations where they might gain additional resources such as material goods and services, job information, and the like.[37]

Religious language, particularly the language of conversion, also gives participants words and images to describe the changes going on in their lives and how they must make different choices than they have made before.[38] This language can reinforce any internal status transformations occurring in the lives of the clients. The leaders of the faith-based programs that I investigated admitted that religious capital is not essential for someone to get a good job; however, they think that it is quite important in keeping it going in the right direction for life—including the workplace.

Religious Social Capital

There are three aspects of social capital that can potentially be affected by religion. First is the richness of religious traditions in creating and maintaining rituals and values that promote social ties. The new generation of poverty-to-work programs seek to create supportive relationships. With the tradition of church dinners and with plentiful church volunteers, the faith-based programs provided substantially more variety and quantity of food in the meals and

snacks provided to the clients during their programs. The informal, multifaceted relationships that develop over these meals can greatly create a sense of belonging where one can even begin to "let down one's hair" and speak of real tensions and joys. The faith-based programs also add to the group solidarity and sense of mutual support by their times of corporate prayer.

In two of the programs, this is ritually done at the beginning or end of each class session, with everyone gathering in a circle, holding hands. This prayer time is often proceeded with an informal, simple, *a cappella* praise song. In the prayer circles, program leaders and volunteers admit needs and struggles that they have and where they need prayer. This models vulnerability to the clients and the concept of "taking it to the Lord in prayer." As the programs progress, the clients tentatively speak of their needs or the needs of family members and find warm support and encouragement. Then, with confidence, they become full participants in the prayer time, even asking staff members what is going on with their prayer concerns.

Second, in addition to relationships with program staff members, the faith-saturated programs all sought to develop their participants' social ties to local congregations through formal support covenants, more informal relationships with volunteers and pastors, or through encouraging regular congregational worship. Through the social capital expanded by relationships with congregations, the participants are often exposed to a more diverse group of people, and the congregations can provide social support and other resources.[39]

Third, faith-saturated programs seek to develop their clients' relationships to God, described as the ultimate vertical and supportive[40] relationship. This leads to the controversial issue of conversion. Although the leadership, staff, and volunteers of all of the faith-based organizations felt that the relationship with God is quite important not only for them but for their clients, I did not see nor hear of any examples of forceful proselytizing going on. One program leader admitted that everyone whom they have had in the short history of the organization had been a Christian, coming in—it seemed to be a manner of self-selection. The others note how they are clear with potential clients about the religiosity and the use of the Bible in the classes. When I asked a leader of one program what they would do if a Muslim expressed interest in their program, he said,

> We don't tell a person, "You've got to become a Christian." What we do is, we show them our curriculum; they have to make the choice.… We show them our textbook [pointing to a Bible], but as far as saying, "Hey, you've got to convert to Christianity," no, we do not do that. What we do when a person enters, we tell the person that this is our curriculum, this is the course

> that we offer, and this is the way that it's taught. And they say, "Okay, I can live with that." Or, they say, "I can't live with that" and they don't enter the program. That's why I say that … we won't be able to reach everybody, but those that are willing to say, "Well, I can abide by the curriculum. I can do this," we'll reach.

Yet, at the same time, he admitted that in every group of twelve to twenty people who have gone through the program there has been at least one who has "committed his or her life to Jesus Christ" during the program. On the other hand, there have been some who have never done anything more with Christianity after the program. The program leaders are happy when people begin and develop a relationship with God through Jesus, but they also say that this is not the purpose for these programs. The purpose of the program is to help people get and keep jobs; if they become Christians, too, that is nice but not essential to the success of the program.

One of the unexpected findings of my research was that some staff people at two of the secular organizations were quite open to encouraging their participants to find support from religion and a relationship with God in "whichever way" they find God. In a manner akin to some Alcoholics Anonymous programs, this relationship with the divine was seen as instrumental in helping participants step forward through difficulties into full-time employment.[41]

Conclusion

I found that five, main types of resources were provided by both secular and faith-saturated programs: status, material goods and services, social capital, human capital ("hard skills"), and cultural capital ("soft skills"). Contrasting the faith-saturated programs to the secular ones, I found that explicitly religious programs provided three of the resources in a different manner and that they added a sixth resource—religious cultural capital. Although both secular and faith-saturated programs provided the same external status—the clients presenting themselves as good prospects for employment—the faith-saturated programs promoted internal status transformations based on religion rather than on the psychology and positive thinking of secular programs. The social capital provided by faith-saturated programs was similar to secular programs, except that the religious programs may reach beyond professional relationships to include congregational networks of relationships for resources.

Religious programs may also have the advantage of institutional experience in creating community and in providing social support. The cultural capital (or "soft skills") provided by the faith-saturated programs were also similar to secular programs, except that these explicitly Christian programs reinforced their teachings with reference to the authority of Scripture and a supportive and authoritative relationship with God. In addition, faith-saturated programs provided religious cultural capital, including religious knowledge, attitudes, and skills.

This religious cultural capital may well help open the door for resources provided through religious social networks. However, other scholars note that congregations may also restrict their access[42] or not really be concerned about the poor in their community.[43] Merely that a faith-based organization is involved does not mean that it will be providing these resources or be truly helping the poor.

Further research is needed to see how "faith-related" and other less faith-intensive programs provide these resources and to determine what is the effect of governmental funding on the activities of faith-based programs. Since the faith-based programs I researched were not government-funded, their clients were under no governmental obligation to participate. This may be a significant factor to investigate, for perhaps these faith-based programs were more successful with their self-selected clients than secular programs were with their clients who were required by the government to participate or face sanctions. However, that qualification does not dispel the importance of further investigating differences in social, cultural, and religious capital—in fact, required participation may significantly interact with these capitals. The interaction of a mandated governmental program and religiosity is one reason that Charitable Choice was designed to be a *choice* for clients for whom quality secular options are also available.

Although I think that my findings can be generalized nationally, there are contextual variables that should be taken into consideration.[44] My research was limited to a time of economic boom and record low unemployment. I researched in only two cities, both in the southeastern United States. Of these two cities, one had a broader experience in contracting out social services, which perhaps opened the door for the for-profit business service provider, which was absent in the other city. Additional contextual factors that I was unable to measure include the geographical and social location of programs, local attitudes to religion and religious social services, and the influence of government social workers. Race and class issues also affect the use of cul-

tural capital and the extension of social capital. As documented by Moss and Tilly[45] employers may interpret the quality of a potential employee's work skills and interaction skills through biases affected by the race, class, and neighborhood background of the employee. These contextual effects must be taken into account.

Future research and evaluation of poverty-to-work programs and other faith-based social services should take into consideration all these factors while continuing to explore the potential added-value of religion in poverty programs. If faith-based poverty-to-work programs are to have a distinctive place in the array of social services provided for the poor, advocates, administrators, scholars, and policy developers need to pay attention to three distinctive resources that religion provides: religious internal-status transformations, religious cultural capital, and religious social capital. How that can best be done in a pluralistic society is still under debate, but these resources helped to mobilize volunteers and church resources to this cause and were appreciated by many clients I interviewed.

Notes

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3. William H. Lockhart, "Getting Saved from Poverty: Religion in Poverty-to-Work Programs" (dissertation, University of Virginia, 2001). The research was funded in part by a dissertation grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, a dissertation fellowship from the Louisville Institute, and dissertation research funds from the Center for Children, Families, and the Law, and the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture at the University of Virginia. The interpretations found in this article do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. government or any of these funding agencies.

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11. Working Group, "Finding Common Ground."
12. Rebecca M. Blank, *It Takes a Nation* (New York and Princeton, N.J.: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press, 1997); Matthew Diller, "The Revolution in Welfare Administration: Rules, Discretion, and Entrepreneurial Government," *New York University Law Review* 75, no. 5 (November) (2000); Nathan Glazer, "Making Work Work: Welfare Reform in the 1990s," in *The Work Alternative: Welfare Reform and the Realities of the Job Market*, ed. Demetra Smith Nightingale and Robert H. Haveman (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1994); Lawrence M. Mead, ed., *The New Paternalism*, paperback ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997); Gary D. Sandefur and Steven T. Cook, "Permanent Exits from Public Assistance: The Impact of Duration, Family, and Work," *Social Forces* 77, no. 2, December (1998).
13. For more on the idea of status transformations, see Murray Milner Jr., *Status and Sacredness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
14. Gary Burtless, "Employment Prospects of Welfare Recipients," in *The Work Alternative: Welfare Reform and the Realities of the Job Market*, ed. Demetra Smith Nightingale and Robert H. Haveman (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1994); David Card and Rebecca M. Blank, eds., *Finding Jobs: Work and Welfare Reform* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000); Children's Defense Fund, "Families Struggling To Make It in the Workforce: A Post-Welfare Report," (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 2000); Kathryn Edin and Laura Lein, *Making Ends Meet*, paperback ed. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997); Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickeled-and-Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2001); Michael J. Piore, "Jobs and Training," in *The State and the Poor*, ed. Samuel H. Beer and Richard E. Barringer (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishing, 1970; reprint, excerpted as "The Dual Labor Market: Theory and Implications" David B. Grusky, ed. *Social Stratification in Sociological Perspective*, 359–61; 2d ed., 435–38. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press 1994, 2001).
15. Milner, *Status and Sacredness*.
16. Philip Moss and Chris Tilly, *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill, and Hiring in America*, first hardback edition, vol. 6 in the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality series, *Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001).

17. Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination*, 2d ed., 1971 edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94, no. S (1988).

18. Moss and Tilly, *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill, and Hiring in America*, 59.

19. Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, ed. Richard Brown (London: Tavistock, 1973); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, English translation edition (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

20. DiMaggio (among others) compares human and cultural capital and reminds us that "As the individual level, human capital is a product of investment, whereas cultural capital is more likely to be acquired effortlessly as a by-product of socialization. To put it another way, the acquisition of human capital expresses an individual logic of strategic competition, whereas the acquisition and maintenance of cultural capital express a collective logic of monopolistic closure at the level of the status group" (DiMaggio 2001:544). Thus, cultural capital is typically gained through normal socialization, and, as Bourdieu argued, thus helps to reproduce class.

    However, in the poverty-to-work programs I investigated, secondary resocialization is occurring, including training in cultural capital. DiMaggio's research provides evidence that this may occur, for he also writes: "Although inherited cultural capital sustains the reproduction of privilege for many children of the well-educated and well-to-do, inherited or achieved cultural capital also serves as a means of upward mobility for some working-class youth." Paul DiMaggio, "Social Stratification, Life-Style, Social Cognition, and Social Participation," in *Social Stratification in Sociological Perspective*, ed. David B. Grusky (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001).

21. William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

22. M. Lisette Lopez and Carol B. Stack, "Social Capital and the Culture of Power: Lessons from the Field," in *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, ed. Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson, and Mark R. Warren, *Ford Foundation Series on Asset Building* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); Moss and Tilly, *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill, and Hiring in America*.

23. Steve Parese, "Soft Skills," (Phoenix, Ariz.: Welfare to Work and Beyond, 2000).

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27. DeFilippis, "The Myth of Social Capital in Community Development"; Nan Lin, Walter M. Ensel, and John C. Vaughn, "Social Resources and Strength of Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment," *American Sociological Review* 46 (1981); Jo Anne Schneider, "The Kenosha Social Capital Study: Churches, Nonprofits, and Community," (Indiana, Pa.: Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2001).

28. Xavier de Souza Briggs, "Bridging Networks, Social Capital, and Racial Segregation in America," in *John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University Faculty Research Working Papers Series* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2003); Michael W. Foley, John D. McCarthy, and Mark Chaves, "Social Capital, Religious Institutions, and Poor Communities," in *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, ed. Susan Saegert, J. Phillip Thompson, and Mark R. Warren, *Ford Foundation Series on Asset Building* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000); Mark R. Warren, J. Phillip Thompson, and Susan Saegert, "The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty," in *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, ed. Susan Saegert; J. Phillip Thompson, and Mark R. Warren, *Ford Foundation Series on Asset Building* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); Robert Wuthnow, "Religious Involvement and Status-Bridging Social Capital," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41, no. 4 (2002).

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31. Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*, paperback ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); James Davison Hunter, *The Death of Character: Moral Education in An Age Without Good or Evil* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Jr. Nolan, James L., *The Therapeutic State: Justifying Government At Century's End* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Charles J. Sykes, *A Nation of Victims: The Decay of the American Character* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).
32. Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961; reprint, 1989).
33. Christopher G. Ellison, "Introduction to the Symposium: Religion, Health, and Well-Being," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 4, December (1998); Christopher G. Ellison, "Religious Involvement and Subjective Well-Being," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 32, no. March (1991); Byron R. Johnson, Ralph Brett Tompkins, and Derek Webb, "Objective Hope: Assessing the Effectiveness of Faith-Based Organizations: A Review of the Literature" (Philadelphia, Pa.: Center for Research on Religion and Urban Civic Society, University of Pennsylvania, 2002); Kenneth I. Maton and Elizabeth A. Wells, "Religion As a Community Resource for Well-Being: Prevention, Healing, and Empowerment Pathways," *Journal of Social Issues* 51, no. 2 (1995); Christian Smith and Robert Faris, "Religion and the Life Attitudes and Self-Images of American Adolescents" (Chapel Hill, N.C.: National Study of Youth and Religion, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002).
34. Deanna Carlson, *The Welfare of My Neighbor* (Washington, D.C.: Family Research Council, 1999); Joseph H. Holland, *Holistic Hardware: Tools That Build Lives*, paperback ed. (New York: Xlibris Corporation, 2000); John M. Perkins and with Jo Kadlecek, *Resurrecting Hope* (Ventura, California: Regal Books, 1995); Amy L. Sherman, *Restorers of Hope* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1997).
35. Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29, no. 3, September (1990); Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000). I prefer to use the longer term "religious cultural capital" to describe this because religions also provide various forms of social and human capital that extend beyond what Iannaccone and others describe.
36. Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action," *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986).
37. Lockhart, "Ties That Bind, Encourage, and Keep On Track: Social Ties in Faith-Based and Secular Poverty-to-Work Programs."
38. Robert Wuthnow, *God and Mammon in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1994).

39. Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Congregation and Community* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Foley, McCarthy, and Chaves, “Social Capital, Religious Institutions, and Poor Communities”; Greeley, “Coleman Revisited: Religious Structures As a Source of Social Capital”; Andrew M. Greeley, “The Other Civic America, Religion and Social Capital,” *The American Prospect* 32, no. May-June (1997); Wuthnow, “Religious Involvement and Status-Bridging Social Capital.”
40. Milner notes how the encounter with the divine can be quite threatening and dangerous (Milner, *Status and Sacredness*, especially chap. 13).
41. W. Bradford Wilcox, “Tough Love Isn’t Enough,” *Stewardship Journal* 4, no. 2-3 (Spring/Summer) (1994).
42. John P. Bartkowski and Helen A. Regis, *Charitable Choices: Religion, Race, and Poverty in the Post-Welfare Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).
43. Omar M. McRoberts, *Streets of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood, Morality and Society Series* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
44. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for reminding me of this point.
45. Lopez and Stack, “Social Capital and the Culture of Power: Lessons from the Field”; Moss and Tilly, *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill, and Hiring in America*.

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