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**Social Capital in Human Service/Child Welfare Organizations:
Implications for Work Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, and Quality**

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by

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Dedication

To my wife: Suzana Saavedra Montana.

Thank you for love and support, and for making this work possible.

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Social Capital in Human Service/Child Welfare Organizations:
Implications for Work Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, and Quality

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Public human services organizations are part of society's complex web of organizations that serve all dimensions of society, including disadvantaged and vulnerable individuals, families, groups, and communities under the rubric of social welfare. This dissertation is an exploratory study of the concept called social capital and its relevance to public human service organizations, especially those organizations providing child welfare services.

Americans' perceptions of public human service organizations is largely negative and conjures up images of excessive bureaucracy, poor consumer satisfaction, inferior services, and poor employee morale. Public child welfare organizations epitomize these negative perceptions. Further, many in society believe that the public child welfare system is in crisis and in need of substantial reform. Some have suggested that social learning theory and organizational learning perspectives can guide reforms efforts aimed at changing the bureaucratic paradigm associated with public child welfare and public human services in general. This study builds on these perspectives by examining factors associated with organizational life through the conceptual lens of social capital. These

organizational factors include: work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services that are thought to be important to organizational performance.

A review of the literature reveals that theorists and researchers possess a variety of conceptualizations and definitions of social capital and it has proven to be a highly exclusive concept. This study examined an operationalization and measurement of social capital in a human service organization and explored its relationship to work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services. Factor analysis was used to examine an operationalization of social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Multiple regression analysis was used to explore relationships between these concepts. The influence of demographic variables on these organizational concepts was examined using hierarchical regression.

This study used secondary data from the Texas Department Protective and Regulatory Services (now called the Department of Family and Protective Services) and collected by The Survey of Organizational Excellence research group located at the School of Social Work, University of Texas at Austin. Findings from this study suggest an operationalization of social capital is possible using more definitive conceptualizations and definitions of the concept; however, more refined measures are needed. Findings also suggest that social capital may have positive relationships to organizational life concepts used in this study. Implications for social work/child welfare knowledge and practice, human service organizations, organizational leaders, and social work education are drawn.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Organizations are as old as human history. Throughout history, military, religious, government, societal, intellectual, and other groups have used organizations for directing activities to achieve their ends. In more recent times, social work has also used organizations to deliver a wide variety of human services in areas such as mental health, health services, child welfare, school-based services, aging, and substance abuse, to name a few. Understanding organizations and their effects on human services has led to organizations being viewed as a distinct area of social work practice (Austin, 2002; Hasenfeld, 1983; Netting & O'Conner, 2003). However, the world's long history of organizations has caused many people, including social workers, to take them for granted and unconsciously fail to consider how organizations may influence their professional practice.

The origins of the word *organization* come from the Greek word *organon*, meaning tool or instrument (Hasenfeld, 1992). In general, organizations can be defined as a group of individuals engaged in collective action using structured activities directed toward a specified end (Austin, 2002; Leana & Van Buren, 1999). Austin (2002) elaborates further by stating that organizations are either *communal*, meaning groups like family, friendships, and communities, or *formal*, meaning a collective established for the explicit purpose of producing goods and services or pursuing some action-oriented activity within society. Organizations play an important and vital role in modern social order, economy, and governance and the ability of modern organizations to provide

goods and services and enhance the lifestyles of many people is probably unprecedented in human history.

Human services organizations are part of society's complex web of organizations that serve all dimensions of society, including disadvantaged and vulnerable individuals, families, groups, and communities under the rubric of social welfare. Through the years, the profession of social work has been represented in the workforce of human service organizations and has played a prominent role in shaping policies and practices carried out by these organizations. Human service organizations come in several forms such as private nonprofits or voluntary associations. Public human services organizations (federal, state & local jurisdictions) are the largest provider of human services despite attempts to reduce the role of government in human services beginning with the administration of President Richard Nixon in the 1970's. The nation's public child welfare system is one example of government playing a large role in the sponsorship, financing, and delivery of human services to children and families.

Like their counterparts in the private sector, public human service organizations are attempting to improve their efficiency and effectiveness. The motivation behind these efforts is both enlightened leadership and external forces such as new legislation, court actions and public pressures to change or risk losing their support. Public child welfare organizations are one case in point. Despite these efforts, public human service organizations have been slow to change and a number of explanations have been offered, such as ineffective leadership, excessive bureaucracy, their monopoly on production and services, and antiquated management principles. Whatever explanations may be true, public agencies, such as child welfare, often find themselves reacting to external

pressures to change, rather than well thought-out and systematic organizational reforms that would improve performance and services. This dissertation hopes to shed some light on how public child welfare organizations, and human service organizations in general, could improve their performance and regain greater public confidence and support for their mission and organizations. To this end, this dissertation is an exploratory study of a concept called social capital and its relevance to public human service organizations that provide child welfare services. More specifically, social capital is examined against several organizational concepts associated with organizational life. These concepts are often cited in the literature as important to organizational success and include: work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services.

Statement of the Problem

The public child welfare system is in crisis and in need of substantial reform (Cohen, 2004; California Department of Social Services, 2003; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999; Texas Health and Human Services Commission, 2004). Cohen (2004) and others state that there are many contributing factors as to why public child welfare is in such disarray, including failed national policies, indeterminate service technologies, conflicting societal goals and values respective to safety and family preservation, and society ignoring the root causes of child maltreatment such as poverty (Lindsey, 2004; Pecora, Whittaker, Maluccio, Barth & Plotnick, 2000; Pelton, 1990). Some believe that the nature of child welfare organizations themselves contribute to the crisis, such as the adoption of rigid bureaucratic structures to deliver services (Arches, 1991; Cohen, 2004; Cohen, & Austin, 1994; Esposito & Fine, 1985; Shera & Page, 1995). Perceptions of

bureaucratic human service organizations, in general, conjures up images of poor consumer satisfaction, inferior quality of services, mechanical and routine services, dehumanizing relationships among staff members, poor relationships among staff and consumers, and poor staff retention. Public perception of public human services organizations still remains negative, cynical, and suspicious (Lauderdale, 1999). Some studies lay support to these claims, especially in the domain of public child welfare (Cohen & Austin, 1997; Nissly, Mor Barak, & Levin, 2005; Shera & Page, 1995).

Despite these negative perceptions, there are distinct advantages to bureaucracy, such as an ability to provide uniform and equitable services to clients free of employee bias or discrimination (Skidmore, 1995); although some have argued that employee bias is considerably present (Lipsky, 1980). Other advantages include a rational division of labor based on hierarchy, specialization, and clearly defined job tasks. Much of this organization tradition is based on early works of organizational theorists such as Fredrick Taylor (1911) and Max Weber (1924, 1947), who saw work in organizations as systematic and specialized based on performance standards defined by management. The role of management is to control and discipline workers to ensure production. Taylor's and Weber's contributions to organizational theory holds that specified tasks or *functionalism*, discipline, authority, and hierarchical relationships produce organizational superiority, competence, and competitiveness in the market.

Management and organization literature has consistently presented the limitations of traditional bureaucratic structures, referred to in this literature as *functional organizations* (Crainer, 1998). Functional organizations often produce isolated and unmotivated workers, uncoordinated production activities among agency units or

divisions, unimaginative and docile workers, and management more concerned about production goals rather than product quality or excellence. Other literature discussing organizational performance and quality also suggests that functional organizations are not as effective in promoting and sustaining important organizational factors associated with healthy organizational life (Barnard, 1999; Petter, Byrnes, Choi, Fegan, & Miller, 2002; Shera & Page, 1995; Wright 2001). Some organizational factors relate to employees' psychological state such as job satisfaction, commitment to work, and worker motivation. Other organizational factors relate more to products or services such as productivity, innovation, quality, and consumer satisfaction. Low levels of these factors related to organization life have important implications for consumers or clients receiving goods and services from an organization. Specifically, low levels of these factors can produce inferior products and services, higher levels of consumer/client dissatisfaction, and less market and public support. From a human service perspective, this may mean that clients are poorly served, disadvantaged, or harmed by the organization.

The private sector believes that addressing these factors of organizational life (job satisfaction, motivation, quality, etc.) as essential to an organization's competitiveness and profitability in the market. The private sector often has more discretion and flexibility in implementing organizational changes meant to improve these organizational factors than their counterparts in the public sector. As such, many private sector organizations have moved away from functional structures to flatter arrangements and relationships that emphasize teamwork and network approaches. These changes often improve factors associated with organizational life as well as their organizational performance.

For the public sector, it is highly unlikely that any significant retreat from traditional bureaucratic structures or functionalism will occur in the foreseeable future. Government legislation, policies, regulations, including civil service requirements, and mandates, as well various layers of governmental oversight and control make any significant retreat from functionalism difficult. Nevertheless, inattention to important factors of organizational life can have dire consequences for public human services organizations in a era of increased accountability and performance expectations by stakeholders, legitimators (i.e. legislators, advocates, licensing and accreditation bodies), funders, consumers, and the public at large (Austin, 2002). Perhaps far reaching or radical change “may not be in the cards” for public human service organizations, but there is still a need for the public sector to adapt and respond proactively to environmental demands imposed by ever changing political, economic, and social issues. Adaptation and responsiveness is often predicated on new ways of thinking, innovation, and creativity, which requires that the organization be a learning and thinking organization (Lauderdale, 1999). In the case of human services, learning and thinking organizations are more likely to devise better ways to serve clients, respond better to community needs, and achieve better qualitative results for consumers (Cohen & Austin, 1994). In essence, learning and thinking organizations are more likely to improve their organizational performance and in child welfare, provide more meaning and critical service to children and families facing dire circumstances.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore ways public human service organization can improve the provision of services they provide to the public. This study will examine a large public child welfare organization, the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services (now called the Department Family and Protective Services) as a human service organization and explore the indicators of organizational life thought to be related to organizational performance (Lauderdale, 1999). A child welfare organization was chosen because, in many ways, public child welfare epitomizes and magnifies the perceptions of public human services as inept and incapable of providing quality and meaningful services (Curtis, Dale, & Kendall, 1999; Lindsey, 2004; Mech, 2003; Schorr, 2000; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999; Waldfogel, 2000). Cohen (2004) states that reform in child welfare will come from a number of different perspectives and concentrations merging together to crystallize an idealized redesign. This reform includes organizations as social learning institutions which emphasizes change through organizational learning and de-bureaucratizing the workplace (Cohen & Austin, 1994; Cook & Yanow, 1996; Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996; Lauderdale, 1999). This study seeks to examine organizational life from the perspective of social capital. It is similar to many of the principles associated with social and organizational learning, which may serve to contribute to the idealized redesign of child welfare and human services in general.

Although not entirely void of empirical examination, most analysis of social capital remains theoretical and is examined in the context of societies or communities (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998) or individual benefits derived from membership in a social network (Boxman, DeGraaf, & Flap, 1991;

Burt, 1997). Limitation in empirical work is largely due to problems of definition and measurement, which will be discussed later in this study. However, there is emerging conceptual and empirical research examining social capital in private organizations, but a relative paucity of social capital research in human service organization. Market forces and the knowledge-intensive economy have motivated private for profit organizations to use a social capital framework for instituting organizational change, innovation, and quality to gain organizational advantage in the market (Ghoshal & Moran, 1996; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

Market forces play a lesser role in motivating public sector organizations toward innovation, quality and change needed for competitiveness, excellence and improved performance. Public human services organizations are typically established by legislative mandates and supported by government appropriations for the purpose of providing public benefits, services, and goods. Motivation to improve organizational performance often comes from public officials, citizens, and other stakeholders who demand public organizations be responsive and accountable. Historically, leaders in public human service organizations only feel the pressure to change when there is high and visible levels of public dissatisfaction with their goods and services. Organizational change is often more reactive rather than proactive and often subsides after public appeasements and small symbolic changes occur. In this age of increased public scrutiny and outcome accountability directed at human services in general, leaders in public human service organizations are seeking new information, knowledge and business models to support their efforts toward organizational excellence and performance. Historically, social work has been less concerned with the “business side” of organizational practice. It

should be noted that understanding and incorporating a business component to organizational practice is critical for public support of human services and mission of social work in general. Examination of how social capital is applicable to public human services organizations is one framework to improving the operational and the practice side of human service organizations. This exploratory study seeks to add to the body of knowledge and information that can be used by public human service executives, managers, supervisors, and staffs in pursuit of improving organizational responsiveness and services to the public it serves, especially in the area of public child welfare.

Conceptual Framework

This exploratory study will examine the concept of social capital mainly developed from the economic, management, and organizational sciences and draws theoretical implications to public human service and child welfare organizations. Social capital is conceptualized in this study as an organizational variable that may have a theoretical link to organizational performance and outcomes (Yoo, 2002; Yoo & Brooks, 2005). This study will also examine any potential relationship social capital may have to the organizational concepts of employee motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services that are thought to be associated with individual and organizational performance. Social capital can be defined as strategic investments in social relationships in order to acquire resources that are embedded in social networks (Lin, 2001). Social capital encapsulates principles of trust, reciprocity, and connectedness among members of a social network. Social capital in organizations is also characterized by goal orientation and successful collective action (Leana & Van Buren, 1999). The concept of social capital has been applied to studies of nations, societies, communities,

organizations, families, and individuals. In the context of private organizations, social capital is beginning to emerge as new theory that will improve organizational performance and competitive advantage.

The organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality have a longer and richer history in the organizational science literature than social capital. Employee motivation is an employee's willingness to engage in behaviors that are directed toward achievement of organizational goals (Franco, Bennett, & Kanfer, 2002). Job satisfaction is the degree to which an employee likes his or her job covering several dimensions of work and global feelings of how they view their job (Flap & Völker, 2001). The concept of innovation refers to the creation of new processes, products, or services that primarily benefit the organization and its consumers or clients (Shin & McClomb, 1998). Quality can be defined as the difference between what the customer expects and what the customer actually receives (Deming, 1982; Schneider, Holcombe & White, 1997; Selber & Streeter, 2000). The concept of social capital will be explored in relation to these organizational concepts, which the child welfare literature suggests are under siege and connected to poor performance in those organizations.

Research Questions

1. How can social capital and its theorized relationship to work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality be modeled for human service/child welfare organizations based on salient attributes and characteristics of these concepts described in the literature?

2. What are the primary attributes and characteristics of social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality that can be used to operationalize and explore the model in a human service/child welfare organization?
3. Are work motivation and job satisfaction perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?
4. Are organizational innovation and quality of services perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?
5. Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different job assignments?
6. Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different demographic characteristics?

To answer these research questions, factor analysis was used to explore an operationalization of social capital, work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services. Multiple regressions were used to explore relationships among these organizational concepts. Lastly, hierarchical multiple regressions were used to examine the influences of job assignment and demographic characteristics on the relationships between social capital and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality.

This study made use of organizational assessment data used in many social learning organizations (Cohen, 2005; Landuyt, 1999; Lauderdale, 1999) to address these research questions. Organizational assessments often use employee surveys to collect data and have been described as good measures of employee perceptions and attitudes concerning organizational life (Saari & Judge, 2004). Secondary data analysis using employee

survey data collected from the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services (DPRS) was used to examine social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality of services. DPRS was a public human service organization that provided child welfare services. Due to a recent reorganization, the DPRS was renamed the Department of Family and Protective Services, but the acronym “DPRS” is retained for this study because these data were collected when the organization was DPRS. These DPRS data are archived by the Survey of Organizational Excellence (SOE) located at the University of Texas at Austin, School of Social Work. More thorough discussion of these data and the SOE will be presented under the methodological section of this study found in Chapter 3.

Relevance to Social Work

From its early beginnings, the provision of social work services has been embodied and operationalized through formal organizations such as Charity Organization Societies and Settlement Houses supported mainly by private benefactors (Iglehart & Becerra, 2000). Commencing with Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal of the 1930s, the federal government and its large bureaucracies assumed greater authority and financing of public benefits and services meant to relieve the human suffering associated with the Great Depression. Governmental responsibility was expanded to states under the first-order devolution, meaning federal, state and local public agencies shared in public financing, administration, and provision of human services (Poole, 2003). President Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty in the 1960s further expanded this trend of benefits and services provided by public organizations. Despite more recent attempts at second-order devolution, meaning broader inclusion of nonprofit, community-based

organizations in human services delivery (Poole, 2003), public organizations still maintain a prominent and major role in providing human services to individuals and communities. In essence, public agencies continue to reflect broader societal concerns and troubles and how society chooses to address them.

The discipline and profession of social work has figured prominently in the delivery of services provided by all human service organizations. Social work has brought knowledge, skill and expertise to these organizations so that they may better serve members of society. However, social work's major contribution to human services organizations has been its theories and concepts, methods of practice, and service technologies applied mainly to service delivery focused at individuals and groups. Historically, social work has paid lesser attention to these organizations in general, whose reasons for existence exceed simply the provision of services. Human service organizations also exist to transmit societal values and morals, ensure responsibility and accountability, provide information and data to constituents, and to demonstrate results. To be responsive to these purposes and a broader public constituency, leaders in human service organizations must engage in other activities beyond service delivery, such as administration, management, planning, financing, evaluation and a myriad of other tasks. Organizational leaders must also translate and apply social welfare policies, thereby greatly influencing the form and reality of these policies. All of these organizational functions eventually frame the boundaries of social work practice in organizations and mold the goods and services provided by these agencies.

In more recent years, social work has paid greater attention and exerted greater influence over organizational functions and factors so that constituents and clients are

better served. The social work profession has come to realize that continually deferring to other disciplines such as management, business, or economics to provide organizational leadership may not always serve the best interest of clients and often diminishes the social work profession to a secondary status in the organization. Administrating a human services organization should be more of a multidisciplinary affair with social workers possessing organizational and management knowledge in order to make a contribution to organizational performance and excellence. Also, social workers need to consider that the quality, effectiveness, and offering of services are greatly influenced by how these services are provisioned in the organization by administrators and leaders. To this end, this study hopes to make a contribution to social worker's understanding and knowledge regarding organizational factors that influence their world of practice and the provision of human services.

This dissertation also has implications for social work research. Traditionally, social work research is more rooted in therapeutic interventions, case management, and other micro approaches to practice and intervention. Social work research has been slower to engage in the study of organizations, which are instruments of social welfare policy and practice (Hasenfeld, 1983; Mor Barak, Nissly, & Levin, 2001). Other disciplines, such as management, business, sociology, public administration, and economics have developed a rich history of organization and management theory and research largely supported by private foundations, large corporations, and governments. Support for social work research has been mainly confined to the micro and mezzo arenas; nonetheless, expanding organizational research is important as it is the vehicle used to promote the social work mission. Social work must begin its own rich history of

thought and research based on the values and principles congruent with the profession. This dissertation hopes to make a contribution to emerging thought and research on human service organizations by examining how social capital, job motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality bear a relationship to the mission of social work.

Expanding the knowledge base on human service organizations is also central to the mission of social work education. Social work students must be educated about the contextual environments in which they will practice, including child welfare organizations. Many professional social workers will spend a large portion of their careers in medium to large organizational settings. Knowledge of organizational theories and concepts is vital to their ability to perform and excel in their practice. The connection of practice to organizational settings should be clear before leaving their schools of social work. Netting and O’Conner (2003) highlight this historic and proximal relationship:

All social workers practice within organizational contexts. Our concern is that if *all* social workers do not *understand* how organizations work and how people behave in these complex structures, they are essentially disempowered in the very arenas in which they are likely to spend the majority of their professional lives. They will have little chance to change organizations, much less use these settings as places from which to launch their community, policy, advocacy and administrative practice efforts. (p. xii)

I would add to Netting and O’Conner by stating that graduate students are the next generation of organizational leaders. Teaching new theory and thought regarding organizations is important to their success. The concepts proposed in this study, social

capital, motivation, job commitment, innovation and quality will provide additional material for curriculum and instruction so that students can gain greater insight specific to how organizational life contributes to social work practice, their professional success, and the quality of services provided to clients.

Summary

This chapter introduced the role and importance of public human service organizations in American society. Since their inception, public human service organizations have remained highly bureaucratic and have lagged behind private sector organizations in the creation of other types of organizational perspectives and structures thought to be more beneficial to their performance. Societal perceptions of public human services organizations still remains highly negative and child welfare organizations epitomize these unenthusiastic and disapproving perceptions held by society. Organizational learning and factors associated with quality of organizational life may offer some reprieve from the bureaucratic paradigm. This study builds on these works and examines factors associated organizational life through the conceptual lens of social capital using secondary data. Social capital is an emerging, but somewhat elusive concept that may hold some promise for improving the performance of public child welfare organization and human service organizations in general. However, its promises will only be realized through more examination and understanding of the concept. This study undertakes this examination by exploring its salient qualities that may applicable to concepts associated with organizational life and performance.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter begins with an overview of human services organizations and bureaucracy. The state of child welfare as a human service organization is presented. Next, organizational concepts, job satisfaction, motivation, innovation and service quality are examined along with the effects human service and child welfare organizations may have on these concepts. This is followed by a broad examination of social capital theory and concepts found in the literature. This broad discussion of social capital is meant to provide a backdrop to last section of this chapter concerning organizational social capital, which is the concept being examined in this exploratory study. Discussion of organizational social capital is interwoven with any theoretical relationship it may have with the organizational concepts of job satisfaction, motivation, innovation, and service quality. Lastly, a model of organizational social capital is presented and discussed.

Human Service Organizations

In writing about human service organizations, Rino Patti (1992) posed the question “What determines the nature of service delivery systems in human services? (p. viii) Part of this question stems from the realization that the study of human service organizations is still relatively new and these organizations represent practice settings that need to be better understood. The question also stems from the ongoing need of human service organizations to respond to ever changing sociopolitical inquiries about their responsiveness, efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability. Insight into answering this question has been difficult because of the complexity of human service organizations found in American society (Austin, 2002; Hasenfeld, 1992). Additionally, much of the

thinking and knowledge needed to explore this question and to discover answers have long been organized in disciplines such as business, management, organizational science, economics, and sociology. One can easily assume that a simple application of this thinking and knowledge from these disciplines would aid in answering this question, but human service organizations are unique from other types of organizations and application of principles found in other disciplines calls for careful consideration of what knowledge and skills to apply (Ewalt, 1991).

Hasenfeld (1983, 1992) was among the first to note specific characteristics of human service organizations that distinguished them from others. He noted that people are the raw material of human service organizations in that they are concerned about changing people. They engage in moral work and the work is often performed by women. They function in an uncertain social and political environment and are constantly seeking legitimacy and sanction for their purpose. Their service technologies are somewhat uncertain and empirical-base lags in development. The point of service delivery occurs at that moment of interaction between staff and client. The effectiveness of the service is often connected to the quality of the relationship between the two. The goals of human service organizations are often ambiguous. Measurement of success or failure is difficult and is regularly settled by agreement or compromise, but well open to debate and criticisms.

Many writers who focus on human services organizations agree that they mainly come in three forms: 1) public or governmental organizations, 2) private nonprofit organizations, sometimes referred to as voluntary or charitable organizations, and 3) for-profit organizations, which provide human services as part of a commercial enterprise

(Austin, 2002; Brody & Nair, 2003; Netting & O'Conner, 2003.) The literature sometimes treats public and private non-profit organization as a single type, referring to both as nonprofit human service organizations. Social welfare policies that spurred the growth of public nonprofit human service organizations occurred first in the 1930's with the New Deal policies and again in the 1960's with the War on Poverty (Poole, 2003). Throughout the 20th century, the organization of public human services was heavily influenced by writers who saw organizations as *rational-legal* entities, such as Fredrick Taylor (1911) and Max Weber (1924, 1947), which seeded the creation of today's modern bureaucracies (this influence extended across all types of organizations, both private and public). Since Taylor's and Weber's time, there have been a steady proliferation and a labyrinth of organizational theories to guide, or sometimes confuse, modern thinking about organizations (Netting and O'Conner (2003). For example, Shafritz and Ott (2005) recently compiled 49 theses on organizational theories across nine domains, ranging from classical and neoclassical organization theories to theories that encompass human relations, economics, power, culture, and environment. Some modern theories that have influenced social work more than others include: human relations theory, contingency theory, systems theory, political-economy theory, ecological theory, institutional theory and empowerment theory (Austin, 2002; Gutierrez, GlenMaye, & DeLois, 1995; Hardina, 1995; Kettner, 2002, Hasenfeld, 1992). Despite the many theories which guide thinking about organizations, fundamentally human service organizations continue to be bureaucratic and functionalistic (Austin, 2002; Netting & O'Connor, 2003). In reviewing these organizational theories, one could

conclude that most of these theories applied to human services organizations operate more to lessen the effects of bureaucracy, rather than radical departure from it.

This bureaucratic tradition continues to be true for the nation's public child welfare system (Contin, Karger, & Stoesz, 1996; Lindsey, 2004; Shera & Page, 1995; Schorr, 2000). Austin (2002) refers to the nation's public child welfare organizations as machine bureaucracies, which he describes as closed systems with rigid and standardized work processes. In modern day, the child welfare bureaucracy is often the source of frustration, criticism, and sometimes is labeled as one of the causes as to why child welfare system performs so badly (Cohen 2004). In some respects, this is ironic as both Taylor (1911) and Max Weber (1924, 1947) saw bureaucracy as models of efficiency and quality. It may very well be that there are features of bureaucracy that do account for efficiency and quality, while others hinders, however, years of organizational research show a clear pattern of bureaucracy stifling innovation, job satisfaction, and worker motivation (Adler & Borys, 1996). In part, social capital theory seeks to minimize the effects of too much bureaucracy by acknowledging its benefits while pointing out its deficits. Before discussing social capital in an organizational context, major tenets of bureaucracy are discussed, followed by its effects on child welfare organizations and its effects on quality of work life concepts examined in this dissertation: quality of services, innovation, job satisfaction and motivation.

Bureaucracy: The Nature of the Beast

Max Weber (1924, 1947) is often viewed as the leading originator of bureaucratic theoretical thought. Weber saw bureaucracy as a great innovation and ideal organizational type (Pinchot & Pinchot, 1993). Weber's bureaucracy embodied the

principles of *rationality* and *legal authority*, which meant that organizational functions were prescribed by fixed laws, rules, and standard conventions. Organizational activities should be directed at goals and purposes of the organization. Members of the organization held positions or *offices* within a rigid hierarchical structure. Each lower office was under the control of a higher office. Higher offices controlled specialized functions and activities within the organization and these offices collectively were seen as the *administrative organ* of the organization. Decision-making was the responsibility of individuals in the higher echelons of the organizations who possessed *competence*, *qualifications* and sanctioned *authority* to execute the duties of the office. Officials executed their duties by giving *impersonal orders* to subordinates in the organization who were compelled to obey. Offices were required to record in writing all administrative acts, decisions, and rules. All offices were generally subject to the authority of a single head who possessed ultimate authority and responsibility for the organization.

Weber believed that bureaucracy was the superior organizational structure needed to meet capitalism's requirements of efficiency, precision, stability, discipline, and reliability. Its impersonality to the human dimensions of people in the organization, such as sociability, was seen as a strength, as members of the organization were subject to the "formal equality of treatment" implemented "without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm" (Weber, 1947, p.340). Governments like the United States, reflecting more universal trends to legitimize, support, and defend capitalism also adopted the efficiencies and means of production (specialization, hierarchy, rules, etc.) associated with bureaucracy. This was a stark departure from the more collegial governments more prominent in Weber's time.

Soon after, discourse, criticism, and alternate views of Weber's ideas became prominent. For example, Barnard's (1938) study of organizations portrayed bureaucracies as more cooperative structures based on individual psychological and social dimensions, including the role and value of informal structures nested in the formal structure of the organization. Simon (1946) took issue with the assumption that administrative efficiencies could be based on specialization, hierarchy, and span of control (units), which he viewed as largely ignoring other influences and processes affecting decision-making, communication, and organizational behavior. One of the more insightful responses to Weber's bureaucracy came from Robert Merton (1952), whose criticism uncannily resonates to this day:

- Bureaucracy eventually experiences *trained incapacity*, that is, abilities and skills that were successful in the past become inadequate under changing conditions.
- Bureaucracy is almost completely void of public discussion of its practices and methods, unlike public discussion of policy which both governs and is implemented by bureaucracy.
- Bureaucracy which emphasizes precision, efficiency, and reliability, is also responsible for ambivalence and inability to perceive changing trends, demands, and conditions in the environment.
- Bureaucracy reinforces the methodical, prudent, and disciplined behaviors of members, but not risk-taking, innovative, or ingenious behavior.
- Bureaucracy's conformance to the rules becomes an end to itself, rather than a means to an end, resulting in displacement of organizational goals.

- Functionaries (bureaucracy members) form a sense of common destiny, as there is inherently little competition for advancement or opportunities in a system based on seniority. Members turn inward to protect their own interests or guard the *sacredness of their task* rather than orient themselves to client and public interest.

Through the years, bureaucracy has taken on a negative connotation and is associated with organizations being inefficient, unresponsive, coercive and demoralizing to employees (Cohen & Austin, 1997, Crainer, 1998). Efforts to reform the *bureaucratic paradigm* such as *Reinventing Government* (Kamensky, 1996) and the *New Public Administration* (Frederickson, 1996) are the result of “decades of public dissatisfaction, professional discontent, and intellectual criticism” (Caiden, 1994, p. 123), but these efforts have changed bureaucracy only in limited ways. However, not all agree that bureaucracy is necessarily a bad thing and bureaucracy has been associated with positive characteristics like economy, stability, fairness, and objectivity in the provision of services (Austin, 2002; Crook, 2001; Skidmore, 1995). Alder & Borys (1996) found that some research points to bureaucracies as *enabling*, meaning they provide guidance, clarify role ambiguity and conflict, and help some people feel competence and effective.

The State of Child Welfare

The origins of the bureaucratic tradition in child welfare can be traced to the first White House Conferences on Children beginning in 1909. This first conference was the significant because it was the impetus for the Federal Children’s Bureau in 1912 and the Child Welfare League of America in 1920 (Costin, 1985). By the time of Roosevelt’s New Deal in the 1930s, the federal government had assumed a major role in confronting child abuse as well as the general welfare of children. Through the middle of the century,

the nation's response to child abuse ebbed and flowed, but in 1962 the publication of *The Battered Child Syndrome*, by Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller and Silver (1962) brought significant child welfare legislation and policies that are the foundation of the nation's current child welfare system (Contin, Karger, & Stoesz, 1996).

These legislative, political, and legal mandates have made "Child welfare systems ...creatures of the state." (Schwartz & Fishman, 1999. p. 127), while simultaneously making them one of the most beleaguered and despised American institutions (Lindsey, 2004; Pelton, 1989, 1990; Schorr, 2000; Roberts, 2002). Public perception of public child welfare organizations is negative and is often characterized as being incompetent, intrusive, ineffective, unaccountable, overwhelmed, and mismanaged. The unfortunate death or serious harm of a child known to a public child welfare agency brings severe public criticism of that agency, followed by outside investigation, calls for system and organizational reforms, more oversight and regulations, and changes in child welfare policies and practices (California Department of Social Services, 2003; Texas Health and Human Service Commission, 2004). It is viewed as a system in crisis that is unable to meet its dual mission of protecting children from harm and preserving the sanctity of the American family (Curtis, Dale & Kendall, 1999; Lindsey, 2004; Mech, 2003; Schorr, 2000; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999; Waldfogel, 2000).

In trying to assess the failures of the child welfare system some point to federal and state policies that promote the sometimes conflicting and irreconcilable goal of child safety and family preservation (Pecora, Whittaker, Maluccio, Barth & Plotnick, 2000; Pelton, 1989, 1990). At an organizational level, this conflicting goal creates mission confusion causing the agency to appear inept and to lack a clear purpose (Busch &

Folaron, 2005; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999). Others view the problems of the public child welfare as rooted in trying to solve the wrong problem, for its true causes are embedded in broader social problems of poverty, social class, and racism (Contin, Karger, & Stoesz, 1996; Lindsey, 2004; Roberts, 2002; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999). Still others suggest that the systems failures are also the result of poor empirical knowledge and failed service technologies (Adams & Nelson, 1995; Lindsey, 2004; Pecora et al., 2000; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999; Waldfogel, 2000). Still others point to poor and inadequate staff training and poor quality of staff (Blome, 2003; California Department of Social Services, 2003; Texas Health and Human Service Commission, 2004; Tracy & Pine, 2000). Lastly, some have suggested organizational factors such as entrenched bureaucracy negatively impacts workers' attitudes about work (i.e. job satisfaction) thought to have a relationship to organizational performance (Arches, 1991; Esposito & Fine, 1985; Shera & Page, 1995; Cohen, & Austin, 1994).

Efforts to reform child welfare have been slow and complex, but Cohen's (2004) discussion of the four paradigms needed to advance child welfare reform includes efforts to "de-bureaucratize the child welfare workplace and build in more employee involvement in decision-making." (p.657). Efforts to de-bureaucratize the workplace is placed in the context of an organizational social learning paradigm. Reform is reflected by changes in practices and services are initiated by those in the organization who have knowledge and experience in the field of what works in a dynamic environment. Organizational purpose and collective learning is emphasized rather than organizational hierarchy and suggest an interactive and flattened structure. Child welfare reform efforts in this tradition emphasizes an expanded role for staff at the lower echelons of the

organization and encourages work approaches such as participatory decision-making, tasks done in teams or by groups, and staff empowerment to facilitate change and reform. Thus, the social learning paradigm emphasizes change through *organizational learning* and high participation by those who are engaged in the actual work at ground zero.

Cook and Yanow (1996) describe organizational learning as “the capacity of an organization to learn how to do what its does” (p. 438). It is what is learned by the collective versus individual. Organizational learning is the process of acquiring knowledge that is useful to the organization that initiates productive action to a goal (Edmondson & Moingeon, 1996). Just as importantly, learning and knowledge are used to detect error. Organizational learning occurs best when organizations adopt a *quality of work life* perspective. The quality of work life perspective views workers and their knowledge as an asset and greater workers participation in organizational activities is supported, such as problem solving and decision-making (Growdy, 1988). Quality of work life changes the nature of work by giving workers a greater sense of discretion and control over their work and, if necessary, allow for the redesign of work based on new learning and knowledge. Quality of work life program and practices are viewed as a win/win for employees and employers (Camman & Ledford, 1984) because workers are thought to experience more job satisfaction and motivation, which in turn may create more opportunities for innovation, thereby, theoretically improving the quality of services and organizational performance (Cohen, 1992; Cohen & Austin, 1994; Growdy, 1988; Nadler & Lawler, 1983; Swearingen, 1997).

Organizational Concepts: Exploring the Missing Links

Work concepts associated with quality of work life such as job satisfaction, worker motivation, innovation and quality of services can also be considered as a group of *organizational concepts* or variables that bear some relationship to organizational performance (Yoo, 2002; Yoo & Brooks, 2005). Organizational concepts such as commitment, morale, productivity, stress, burnout, and personal needs are other common examples and are more associated with individuals as the units of analysis. Leadership and management style, supervision, structure and relationships, social support, mission and goals, technology, and environment are concepts most associated with organizations as units of analysis. Both units of analysis very often intersect and overlap and the literature contains many examples of theoretical relationship amongst these organizational concepts and their overall relationship to organizational performance (Ambrose & Kulik, 1999; Mor Barak, Nissly & Levin, 2001; Herzberg, 1975; Eklund & Halberg; Glisson & Durick, 1988; Jaskyte; 2003; Locke, 1976; Selber & Streeter; 2000; Yoo, 2002; Wright, 2001). Additionally, these organizational concepts are sometimes referred to as factors that make up the overall quality of *organizational life* thought to improve performance (Lauderdale, 1999; Nadler & Lawler, 1983).

Unlike private organizations participating in free markets, whose organizational performance is measured in revenues and assets, performance in human service organizations, including child welfare, is assessed by its ability to positively affect client outcomes as stated in its mission. The ability to positively affect client outcomes is often associated with quality of services (Balfour & Neff, 1993; Barak, Nissly, & Levin, 2001; Glisson & Hemmelgarn, 1998; Selber & Streeter, 2000; Weiner, 1988; Yoo, 2002). Patti

(1988) associates quality as a dimension related to organization effectiveness and quality is a product of organizational competency. Organizational competency is described in the literature as a product of learning and knowledge (Levitt & March, 1996; Nanda, 1996)

Quality is a complex concept, but some salient and common themes do emerge from the literature. Quality is described as encompassing quality of products and goods and quality of services (Schneider, Holcombe & White, 1997). Quality can be defined as the difference between what the customer expects and what the customer actually receives (Parasuraman, Zeithaml & Berry, 1985; Schneider, Holcombe & White, 1997; Selber & Streeter, 2000). Parasuraman et al. (1985) describe three characteristics of quality related to services that are relevant to human services including child welfare. First services are *less tangible* because they are generally acts, rather than quantifiable and distinct objects provided to consumers. Second, these acts are *heterogeneous* varying among service providers because of differences in education, training, experience, skill, and personality. Third is the notion of *inseparability*, meaning that production and consumption of services occurs at once and at a single point in time between the provider and consumer (a point noted by Hasenfeld, 1992). Rowley (1998) adds a fourth characteristic which he calls *perishability*, meaning services cannot be stored or inventoried. Defining and measuring quality of service, as opposed to products and goods, is more difficult because of inherent variability created by these characteristics.

Measurements of quality are often based on *perceptions* of quality by either the providers or receivers (Mangold & Babakus, 1991; Schneider, Holcombe, & White; 1997; Rowley, 1998; Zerbe, Dobni & Harel, 1998). Studies have shown a positive relationship between employees' and customers' perceptions of quality (Schneider et al.,

1997). Schneider and Bowen (1985) found that customers' perceptions of quality were influenced by employee' behaviors and perceptions of quality. Employee's behavior and perceptions of quality in-turn were linked to organizational philosophy and support of quality in general. Mangold and Babakus (1991) found customer perceptions of quality may be higher than employees' perceptions because of employees' *back-stage perspective* of the organization, implying that knowing the organization's dirty laundry lessen employees' perceptions. Other studies support the connection between organizational norms and support of quality as important factors in employee perceptions of quality (Zerbe et al., 1998; Glisson & Hemmelgarn, 1998; Latting et al., 2004). In child welfare, quality has moved beyond perceptions to include quality linked to specific and quantifiable outcomes for children and families (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2002; California Department of Social Services, 2003; Texas Health and Human Service Commission, 2004). Some research in human services and child welfare supports the link between organizational characteristics, such as support for quality, and the perceived quality by workers and clients and to client outcomes (Chapman, Gibbons, Barth & McCrae, 2003; Glisson & Hemmelgarn, 1998; Hopkins, 2002; Shera & Page, 1995; Yoo & Brooks, 2005).

Quality of services is often linked to organizational innovation (Latting et al., 2004; Peraltmutter, 1998; Poole, Ferguson, & Schwab, 2005). Innovation has a long history in the literature and has been described as "the generation, acceptance and implementation of new ideas, processes, products or services" (Thompson, 1965, p. 2) that creates beneficial consequences to the organization and its customers (Hurley & Hult, 1998; Shin & McClomb, 1998). Poole et al. (2005) describe innovation has having

two forms, process innovation and product innovation. Process innovations are changes to internal procedures, methods, and technology that improve overall product or service quality. Product innovations are new goods, services or outcomes noticeably different from previous goods, services, and outcomes.

In addition to quality, innovation is seen as important to organizational sustainability and its ability to respond to dynamic, uncertain, and volatile environments (Baldrige, & Burnham, 1975, Cohen, 1999; Jaskyte & Dressler, 2004; Russell, 1990, Shin & Comb, 1998). Ahmed (1998) cites studies that indicate mechanistic and rigid hierarchical structures encumber innovation. Cohen (1999) states that bureaucracies, like found in child welfare, are not usually associated with innovation. Still others criticize the nation's child welfare system for its lack of innovative services and its inability to respond to new environmental demands (Costin, Karger & Stoesz, 1996; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999). On the other hand, others have suggested that bureaucracies do have a capacity to innovate through the *structural looseness* (Thompson, 1965) or through more *organic* structures (Ahmed, 1998). Both approaches call for minimizing the effects of bureaucracy through freedom from rules, participative and informal working relationship, and inter-disciplinary teams. There is also some evidence which suggests that large organizations, often a characteristic found in bureaucracy, have a good capacity for innovation (Attewell, 1996; Kimberly & Evanisko, 1981).

Innovation is also associated with new learning and knowledge (Brown & Duguid, 1991; Cohen & Austin, 1994; Collis, 1996, Cross, Parker, Prusak, & Borgatti, 2004; Herie & Martin, 2002; Nanda, 1996). Innovation thrives best when there is organizational leaderships and management support for innovation (Shin & McClomb,

1998; Osborne, 1998, Poole, et al., 2005). Latting et al. (2004) found that top management support for organizational learning and innovations had a positive relationship to worker's sense of trust, organizational commitment, and worker's willingness to take creative non-routine approaches to servicing clients. Additionally, leadership often sets the *tone* for an organizational climate and culture. In their study of culture and innovation, Hurley and Hult (1998) found culture had a positive and significant effect on innovation. Russell (1990) found similar support for culture in his study reporting norms and values as one good predictor of innovativeness. On the other hand, Jaskyte and Dessler (2005) found that a culture based on strongly shared norms and values may inhibit innovation. Strong identification with the group may thwart new ideas and creativity and promote conformity to the group (Nemeth, 1997).

The literature suggests that innovation may have an indirect relationship to job satisfaction and motivation. Innovation has been described as a process of social learning (Cohen, 1999) and as a social process that is heavily dependent on the involvement of others (Jaskyte & Dressler, 2005). Browns and Duguid's (1991) description of *communities of practice* states that prescriptive and canonical work practices associated with Tayloristic principles (bureaucracy) rarely reflect the realities of work in the field. In fact, Tayloristic principles such as specialization and work isolation, may actually serve to *deskill* workers and the full extent of their knowledge, skills, and creativity is rarely used. Quality and innovation are enhanced through communities of practice, which they describe as a highly interactive social process where knowledge, information, social support, and social construction (shared understanding) are used to promote learning and innovation in the field. These social processes stimulate more

interesting, challenging, and innovative work, which are intrinsic factors often associated with motivation at work (see discussion on motivation below). Additionally there is evidence to suggest that social support, as a characteristic of the social processes associated with innovation, is related to job satisfaction (Ducharme & Martin, 2000; Pearce & Randel, 2004; Yoo, 2002) or sometimes serves as a buffer against burnout and stress, which are often linked to job dissatisfaction (Dickinson & Perry, 2001; Himle & Jayaratne, 1991).

Job satisfaction has long been of interest to employers and researchers because of its theoretical connection to worker and organizational performance (Brass, 1981; Ducharme & Martin, 2000; Eklund & Halberg, 2000; Glisson & Durick, 1988; Hochwarter, Perrewé, Farris & Brymer, 1999). Locke (1976) described job satisfaction as a “pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from appraisal of one’s job or job experiences” (p. 1300), with a significant relationship to morale and job involvement. Others describe job satisfaction as a psychological state (Glisson & Durick, 1988) reflecting “the degree to which people like their jobs” ((Flap & Völker, 2001, p. 301). Thus, job satisfaction can be described as an *attitude* related to a person’s experience of work (Büssing, Bissels, Fuchs, & Perrar, 1999; George & Jones, 1996; Glisson & Durick, 1988; Hochwarter et al. 1999). A number of organizational factors have been linked to job satisfaction, such as job characteristics (Brass, 1981; Person & Chong, 2001; Saari & Judge, 2004), social support by organizational members (Ducharme & Martin, 2000; Eklund & Halberg, 2000) and positive leadership and supervision (Eklund & Halberg; 2000; Jaskyte, 2003).

The literature consistently supports that low levels of job satisfaction is highly related to worker turnover and absenteeism (Bussing et al., 1999; George & Jones, 1996; Glisson & Durick, 1988; Lee & Mitchell, 1994; Mobley, 1977; Poter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974). Other writings and research in human service organizations has shown a relationship between job satisfaction and stress, burnout, morale, quality, commitment, and intention to leave or staff turnover (Freund, 2005; Harrinton, Bean, Pintello & Mathews, 2001; Jaskyte, 2003; McNeely, 1992; Mor Barak, Nissly & Levin, 2001), with similar finding in child welfare (Drake & Yadama, 1996; IASWR, 2005; Jayaratine & Chess, 1985; Landsmann, 2001; Nissly, Mor Barak, & Levin, 2005; Vinokur-Kaplan, 1991). Some studies cite the nature of bureaucratic work as lowering job satisfaction, morale, and commitment among workers at child welfare agencies (Arches, 1991; Esposito & Fine, 1986; Ewalt, 1991; Reagh, 1994; Samantrai, 1992).

Staff turnover in child welfare services is particularly problematic because it jeopardizes the ability of child welfare agencies to protect and safe guard the well-being of children (Institute for the Advancement of Social Work Research [IASWR], 2005; Government Accountability Office, 2003; Jones & Okamura, 2000; Mor Barak, Nissly & Levin, 2001; Samantrai, 1992). Staff turnover in child welfare becomes a public cost because public agencies incur separation, replacement, and training costs (Mor Barak, et al., 2001; Graef & Hill, 2000; Westbrook, Ellis, & Ellett, 2006). Also knowledge and skills, often associated with quality and innovation, are lost when a worker departs from the agency (Balfour & Neff, 1993, Jayaratine & Chess, 1986; Jones & Okamura, 2000; Mor Barak, et al., 2001; Westbrook, Ellis, & Ellett, 2006). The loss of knowledge and

skills may direct agencies to become more dependent on routinized and prescribed work to compensate for these losses.

Some have speculated on a link between job satisfaction and motivation (Herzberg, 1975; Wright, 2001). The term motivation is derived from the Latin word *movere* meaning movement (Steers, Mowday, & Shapiro, 2004). Definitions of motivation are associated with stimulating willingness and free choice among workers to engage in behaviors that are directed at achievement of mutually reinforcing personal and organizational goals (Campbell and Pritchard, 1976; Franco, Bennett & Kanfer, 2002; Montana & Charnov, 2000; Perry & Porter, 1979). These behaviors are generally associated with better work performance and production; therefore, the direction, intensity, and persistence of work-related behaviors are highly desired by organizations (Wright, 2001). Motivation has a long and rich history of theories, so much so that the field is crowded and difficult to assess. Campbell and Pritchard (1976) established two broad categories, *content theories* and *process theories*, which capture the essence of the many theories. Content theories refer to understanding motivation in a framework of human needs and fulfillment of those needs. Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, which is based on satisfying a hierarchy of personal needs, McClelland's (1965) needs theory, which references need for achievement, power, and affiliation, and Herzberg's (1975) motivator hygiene theory, which considers extrinsic and intrinsic needs, are examples of content theories. Process theories refer to the intersection between behaviors and incentives or rewards. Vroom's (1965) expectancy theory, which considers the behaviors in anticipation of rewards, Skinner's (1969) reinforcement theory, which is based on a

system of reinforcements and punishment, and Locke's and Latham's (1990) goal theory, which considers rewards in relation to goal attainment, are examples of process theories.

Wright (2001) hypothesizes that motivation is linked to job satisfaction through the process of needs fulfillment and rewards obtained at work. In other words, satisfaction with meeting personal needs and obtaining sufficient rewards leads to job satisfaction. In one study of public employees, Emmert and Taher (1992) found a relationship between satisfaction with certain aspects of work, such as social relations, feedback from colleagues, and the nature of work meeting employee intrinsic needs (motivation). Other studies of public employees have found meeting of intrinsic needs, such as opportunities for growth, challenging work, and self-actualization as important as or more important than extrinsic needs, such as salary, job security, and working conditions (Khojasteh, 1993; Maidani, 1991; Newstrom Reif & Monczka, 1976; Young, Worchel & Woehr, 1998). This lends some support to Herzberg's motivator hygiene theory, which postulates that extrinsic factors function primarily to reduce levels of job dissatisfaction, but does not always equate to job satisfaction.

Unlike job satisfaction, much of the child welfare literature is silent on the issue of motivation among child welfare workers. Instead, a related concept of morale is often used as a proxy for motivation. Morale is similar to motivation in that it refers to an enthusiastic mental and emotional state to task, but it is void of the stimulus behind the state. Thus, morale tells the psychological state, but not what is influencing it. Much like the low job satisfaction, much of the child welfare literature refers to low staff morale among child welfare workers and its theoretical relationships to stress, burnout, quality,

commitment and staff turnover in child welfare (Balfour & Neff, 1993; Esposito & Fine, 1996; Jayaratine & Chess, 1984; Nissly, Mor Barak & Levin, 2005; Shera & Page, 1995).

Some motivation literature on public employees unspecific to human services organizations suggests that public employees are more oriented toward meeting intrinsic needs than private employees, because of altruistic reasons and values they associate with the public good (Gabris & Simo, 1995; Khojasteh, 1993; Perry & Porter, 1982). The meeting of employee intrinsic needs have been found to be precursor to the concept of employee commitment (Young, Worchel, & Woehr, 1998). Landsman (2001) in his study of commitment in public child welfare bifurcates commitment into two streams, which encompasses the professional-bureaucratic conflict: commitment to organization and commitment to child welfare practice (occupation). Landsman found strength of *orientation to service*, defined as the altruistic need to serve others, associated with both job satisfaction and occupational commitment, which may suggest that the satisfying of intrinsic desires is a motivating factor for child welfare workers. Orientation to service maybe similar to *personal motivation* to help children and families expressed by child welfare workers in other studies (Reagh, 1994; Samantrai, 1992; Westbrook, Ellis, & Ellett, 2006). Some suggest that personal motivation even buffers against low levels of job satisfaction (Cohen, 1992; Wright, 2001). Lastly, job satisfaction and commitment have been found to be good predictors of intention to leave and staff turnover, both in child welfare and in human service organizations in general (Mor Barak, Nissly, & Levin, 2001; Freund, 2005).

In general, the literature suggests that public human service organizations, including child welfare, still subscribe to a rigid bureaucratic paradigm for their

production of human services, which some believe contributes to the difficulties found in the nation's child welfare system. Problems in the child welfare state cannot be completely assigned to the nature of bureaucracy, nor is bureaucracy about to make an exit from the human service environment, however the search for more humane and enabling bureaucracy with less attachment to hierarchy, control, and specialization, is well underway. Social capital theory may be one approach to reworking the bureaucratic paradigm so that human service organizations ultimately become more responsive to the work life needs of their staffs, thereby creating an organization that better meets the needs of individuals, families and communities. What follows next is a broad presentation of social capital, including a brief history of the concept and problems of definition and conceptualization. This broad presentation also includes key properties of social capital that help capture the essence of the concept, followed by the controversy on whether the social capital is form of capital. Lastly, risks and the downside of social capital are discussed.

Social Capital: A Broad View of an Elusive Concept.

In the last 30 years or so, social capital has received much attention in contemporary literature across a variety of disciplines such as economics, management, organizational science, political science, and more recently, social work (Gummer, 1998; Livermore & Neustrom, 2003; Sherraden, 1991). Like many new concepts and perspectives in their infancy, conceptualizations and definitions of social capital are numerous. Table 2.1 contains definitions of social capital collected from some of the more prominent thinkers and contributors to the concept.

Table 2.1

Source	Definitions of Social Capital
Baker (1990)	“ a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interest; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors.” (p. 619)
Bourdieu (1986)	“Social Capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”[(p. 248)
Burt (1997)	“The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker in relations between people otherwise disconnected in social structure.” (p. 340)
Coleman (1990)	“Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure and, they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence.” (p.302)
Lesser (2000)	“it is easiest to think about social capital as the wealth (or benefit) that exists because of an individual’s social relationships.” (p. 4)
Lin (2001)	“investment in social relations by individuals through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental and or expressive actions.” (p. 17)
Sandefur & Laumann (1988)	“denoting many kinds of resources appropriable from interpersonal relationships.” (p.481)
Portes (1998)	“the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures.” (p. 6)
Putnam (2000)	“social capital refers to connections among individuals-social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called civic virtue.” (p. 19)
Woolcock (1998)	“the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inherent in one’s social network” (p. 153)

Adapted from: Adler, P. S., & Kwon S.W. (2002). Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of Management Review*, p. 20.

As seen in Table 2.1, definitions are diverse, but generally, social capital can be described as resources embedded in a network of relationships that are available to individuals, organization, communities, and societies for both individual and collective benefit. (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Burt, 1997; Woolcock, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Theorist and researchers find social capital useful for explaining the nature and the benefits of social relationships in networks across a variety of settings, however, some have questioned the worthiness of the concept. Differences in conceptualization, the lack of uniformity in definition, and broad applications across a number of settings have put its heuristic and scientific value under severe stress (Portes, 1998). Despite these unresolved issues, some feel there is potential in the concept to bring together a number of previously independently studied concepts, such as social exchange, social networks and social resources, into a more unified approach to inquiry (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Whether social capital will be able to meet this expectation is yet to be seen, however interest in the concept remains high.

The Genesis of Social Capital

The idea of social capital is not new and some would argue that social capital is new language for the old idea that “connections” matter and has always been in plain view for those choosing to notice (Cohen & Prusak, 2001). What is new is social capital’s examination of specific resources embedded in networks of social relationships and it as a calculated activity that can bring tangible benefits. The term social capital has its origins in the Progressive Era of the early 20th century (for a more thorough discussion of the moral and intellectual concepts associated with social capital throughout history see

Woolcock, 1998). During this time, American Progressives were deeply disturbed at the perceived erosion of families and communities in American cities, which they believed laid at the core of societal ills and civic disengagement of the period. Progressives were influenced by earlier observations and commentary of “social theorists from Europe – Sir Henry Maine’s status versus contract, Ferdinand Tönnies’s *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*, Emile Durkheim’s mechanical versus organic solidarity” among others, concerning capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, and their effects on societies and communities (Putnam, 2000, p. 380). Voracious individualism, impersonal ties, social isolation, and corruption were features of urbanized industrialized societies which Progressives believed lead to degradation of civic engagement and healthy vibrant societies. In this context, Putnam (2000) states that the term was first used in 1916, by a L.J. Hanifan who discussed the social connectedness among neighbors necessary to achieve social potency to improve the quality of local education and by extension society.

Although the term social capital was present in the literature from time to time throughout the 20th century, it received scant attention until sociologist and economists in the latter part of the century began to resurrect the term for describing the beneficial aspects of social networks. Although never evoking the phrase social capital, sociologist Mark Granovetter’s (1973, 1985) analysis of social network ties incorporated many of the concepts still used in contemporary social capital literature. His major contribution was his finding of *weak ties*, described as connections outside of one’s immediate and intimate network (i.e. family and close friends), which were often more advantageous for accessing social and economic opportunities existing in society. Another early contributor was economist Glen Loury (1977) and his discussion of racial economic

inequity among Blacks. Loury stated that these inequities were not exclusive to differences in human capital. Loury believed social position was a major factor in explaining disparities in human capital and income and these were largely influenced by *external social forces* beyond individual control. He called for more inquiry on these external social forces he labeled social capital. It was French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1985) comprehensive essay on forms of capital that gave social capital more recognition and broader appeal within academic circles. Bourdieu's thesis essentially held that market exchanges and rewards were not solely the product of economic capital. He broadened capital to include cultural capital (family, class, and social credentials) and social capital, which he defined as resources embedded in institutionalized relationships (class). His conceptualization of social capital consisted of bounded networks, characterized by solidarity, obligation, and active investment by all of its members in relationships that would produce material and symbolic rewards. Others authors contributed as well to the emerging discourse on social capital, however, it was James Coleman's (1988) research on dense social networks, civic engagement, and their effects on educational and community institutions which gave social capital its current prominence.

Coleman's (1988) presentation of social capital was largely his attempt to reconcile two distinct intellectual streams of the time that viewed human nature as purely economic or social. For Coleman, social capital bridged these two intellectual streams by placing human economic motivation and behaviors within a social context. Coleman stressed the functionality and the benefits of social capital supported by the structure of relationships in which actors, acting both individually and collectively, could pursue their

collective interest. The functionality and the benefits derived from the social structure depended on *network closure* or dense and strong ties among members of the network, held together by norms of trustworthiness and mutual obligations. Social norms functioned as sanctions or reinforcements among network actors and information flowing among actors served as a basis for collective action. For Coleman, social capital made possible certain ends that otherwise would not be possible if done individually.

A more recent influential theorist to contribute to the social capital treatise is political scientist Robert Putnam (1993, 2000). Putnam's (2000) book, *Bowling Alone*, captures the essence of much of his previous work on the subject and in which he laments the fall of civility, connectedness, and participation in American democracy and society. The fall of American civility and participation in the democratic process is associated with the decline of social capital across localities and communities. Putnam (2000) defines social capital as "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19). Putnam believes that the modern era parallels that of the Progressive Era with rapidly changing technologies, economies, and accelerated social changes which work against social capital. Modern societal problems associated with education, child welfare, crime, health, and economic prosperity are connected to strains on social capital. To address these modern day problems, Putnam proposes active structures and policies that promote social capital across America society, communities, and neighborhoods. From this perspective, Putnam equates social capital to *civic virtue*, meaning strong and persistent community participation in public, economic, and social affairs, embedded in norms of trust and reciprocity. Putnam does concede a dark side to social capital (discussed later in this

section), nonetheless, Putnam is as a major proponent and contributor to social capital thinking. He has been instrumental in further shaping the concept, but not without his critics (Arrow, 2000; Fine, 1999).

Sociologist Ronald Burt (1992, 1997, 2000) is another major contributor to the field of social capital. Burt builds on the weak ties argument of Granovetter (1973) and he conceptualizes social capital as *structural holes*, which is akin to linking across social networks. Specifically, a structural hole is an opening in the social structure, such as a group or organization. An actor strategically positioned himself or herself at the hole to link to another network at the opposite end of the hole. New information and other resources flow through the structural hole into the actor's network. In this scenario, the actor positioned at the structural hole gains the most advantage (positional, economic, social, etc.), because they broker information and control activities of people brought together from opposite sides of the hole. Burt believes that structural holes allow non-redundant (different or new) information to flow into the actor's network, which facilitates creativity and new solutions to old problems. Actors looking for opportunities and advantage work to position themselves at structural holes (social capital) in order to broker and control information flowing between networks. To Burt, this helps explain why some people endowed with similar financial and human capital are more successful than others, such as gaining quicker promotion in an organization or greater economic success. Burt's major contribution to social capital is that opportunities lay in spanning networks, as well as realizing values embedded in closed networks.

There are of course other major contributors to the discourse on social capital, such as Baker (1990) and his discussion of a firm's inter-organizational ties as social

structures that support social capital, which in-turn are used to manage market conditions. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) discuss social capital as embeddedness and its implications for economic advancement among immigrant groups. Woolcock (1998) discusses social capital, or lack there of, as a factor impeding social, economic, and political progress in many developing third world countries. The list of contributors further includes, but is not limited to Adler and Kwon (2000), Cohen and Prusak (2001), Fukuyama (1995), Gabbay and Leenders (2001), Lesser (2000), Lin (2001), Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), Sandefur and Laumann (1988), and Tsai and Ghoshal (1998).

No doubt, social capital has become quite popular in the literature, and is a source of both excitement and frustration. Excitement stems from social capital being viewed as a unifying concept that brings together many social concepts such as social networks, social structures and social exchange to explain pathways to productivity and success oriented at goals. Frustrations stem from social capital being fraught with problems of conceptualization, definition, and measurement, and its overzealous, broad, and indiscriminate use across numerous social settings (Kadushin, 2004; Lin, 2001; Roberts, 2004). Adding to this irritation are descriptions of social capital as a theory (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Lin, 2001), a concept (Adler & Kwon, 2002), a paradigm (Sandefur & Laumann, 1988), or simply as a metaphor to economic capital (Burt, 2001). Still others complain that social capital has no real relationship to “real capital” and have suggested that the term be jettisoned from the academic literature (Arrow, 1999; Baron & Hannan (1994). This is unlikely to occur because as Robison, Schmid, and Siles (2002) state, “The calves are out of the barn and into green pastures and not likely to return soon” (p. 8).

Too Much Capital?

Since Coleman's (1988, 1990) introduction of social capital, debate has waged as to whether social capital is in fact a form of capital. The debate typically is led by economist against social scientist warning them of the wrong and excessive use of the term social capital as capital. Baron and Hannan (1994) caution those interested in creating "A Plethora of Capitals" (p. 1122) that they may be subjugating themselves to "economic imperialism" (p. 1111) by "referring to virtually every feature of social life as a form of capital (p. 1124)." A number of prominent economists agree with this position and believe that social capital does not share essential features of physical capital (Arrow, 1999; Fine, 1999, Solow, 1999). Economist Joel Sobel (2002) agrees there are problems with the term but his views are closer to Robison, Schmid and Siles, (2002) in that social capital is "worthy of study, and application of economic principles" (p. 145).

Supporters of social capital as capital have offered their rationale in support of this view. Economists generally described capital in two forms: financial and capital goods (Robison et al. 2002). Adler and Know (2002) believe they have identified characteristics of traditional capital that can be found in social capital. Similarly, Robison et al. assessed whether social capital contain the presence of characteristics associated with *capital goods*, a concept well defined in economic literature. Similarities and dissimilarities of social capital characteristics to traditional capital are presented on Table 2.2. Key ideas or comparisons of social capital to capital are initialized and bolded.

Table 2.2 Social Capital Similarities & Dissimilarities to Traditional Capital	
Authors Alder & Kwon (2000)	Authors Robison, Schmid & Siles (2002)
1. Social capital requires <i>investment</i> in relationships or is <i>constructible</i> for some future benefit.	1 .Social capital possesses <i>transformation capacity</i> , from its original state to economic, informational, social, and self-validation services
2. Social capital is both <i>appropriable</i> and <i>convertible</i> , that is can be used for other purposes and convertible to economic capital	2 .Some forms of social capital are <i>durable</i> , like connections to family and close friends and similar to a factory or machine used for production
3. Social capital can <i>substitute</i> or <i>compliment</i> other resources. Superior connection can compensate the lack of economic resources	3. Like physical capital, social capital has a range of <i>flexibility</i> , depending on its purpose and its capacities to adapt to other forms of production.
4. Like other forms of capital, social capital requires <i>maintenance</i> or suffers from <i>depreciation</i>	4. Social capital can act as a <i>substitute</i> and <i>compliment</i> to other capital, such as reducing expenditures of economic capital (i.e., transaction costs between parties).
5. As with some forms of capital, some forms of social capital are a <i>collective good</i>	5. Like other forms of capital, social capital can suffer from <i>decay</i> and therefore needs maintenance. The lack of <i>maintenance</i> will diminish the strength of relationships
6. Like some forms of physical capital used in transportation, communication, & work, the value of social capital stems from the <i>interaction of users</i>	6. Like other form of capital, there is concern about <i>reliability</i> in relation to gains & loses. Will social capital perform as predicted or under-perform in certain contexts
7. <i>Unlike</i> other forms of capital, social capital is not amenable to quantified measurements	7. <i>Investment</i> in social capital & the <i>creation</i> of other forms of capital such as economic and human capital.
	8. <i>Alienation: Unlike</i> physical capital which can be transferred when no longer used, social capital is embedded in relationships, therefore cannot be transferred without the consent of the other party in the relationship

Based on their comparison of social capital and capital characteristics, Adler and Kwon conclude that social capital “falls squarely within the broad and heterogeneous family of resources commonly called capital” (p. 22). Robison, Schmid and Siles (2002) conclude similarly; however, comparisons of social capital to capital have not convinced many academics within the economics and the social sciences (Sobel, 2002).

Lin (2001), a strong proponent of social capital as capital, describes social capital in the context of neocapital theories, meaning theories based on classic capitalistic theories of exploitation, surplus, investment, and return. Examples of neocapital theories include human capital and cultural capital. Human capital refers to procurement of education or specialized knowledge and skills (investment) in the expectation of acquiring higher earnings (return). Cultural capital concerns investments by society’s ruling class to maintain the dominant culture (status quo) in order to exploit the lower classes and reap the economic and status benefits perpetuated by the dominant culture. For Lin, social capital is another form of these neocapital theories in which real and tangible resources are embedded in social networks and social relations. As such, social capital is about making investments in social relationships in order to acquire concrete goods and services, such as job promotion and higher income, at some future point in time. Despite lingering doubts by some about whether about social capital is capital, it appears already entrenched in the literature as capital, even if only metaphorically.

Social Capital Research

Writing on social capital reflects broad theoretical thinking about the concept and similarly, research on subject reflects an expansive application of the concept across a

number of social domains. This liberal conceptualization of the term has contributed to many and varied descriptions of the term in the research, often linked to units of analysis. For example, some describe it as pertinent to individuals and their pursuit of economic advantage (Burt, 2001; Flap & Völker, 2001). Others define it in terms of class or community and their pursuit or maintenance of group benefits (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988), or society and levels of democratic participation and governance (Putnam, 2000). Still others define it respective to organizations and their performance (Baker, 2000; Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002) and some relate it to nations and economic development (Fukuyama, 1995; Woolcock, 1998).

Woolcock (1998) identifies seven major fronts in which he believes research is advancing despite ongoing problems in definition, operationalization, and measurement:

1. Social Theory and Economic Development – historical, sociopolitical, cultural, and institutional analysis related to economic development in underdeveloped countries.
2. Family and Youth Behavior Problems – Families as units of control or influence on youth behaviors. Also, fringe groups as sources of anti-social behavior.
3. Schooling and Education – Community, class, and cultural influences on educational achievement among member youth.
4. Community Life – neighborhood or locality influences on quality of life, problem-solving, and social action. Also refers to virtual settings and connections which use electronic technology to link project or professional communities.
5. Work and Organizations – worker mobility and economic gains. Also, organization performance based on collective identification with goals.

6. Democracy and Governance – citizen participation in policy, governance, and self-determination.
7. General Cases of Collective Action – mainly directed at field of economics and the impact social dimensions have on markets and transactional costs.

Most empirical studies on work life and organizations focus on individuals as the unit of analysis and their attainment of professional status and income gains. For example, some studies have found that social capital has a positive relationship to corporate earnings and organizational status (Burt, 1997; Meyerson, 1994; Lin, 2001). Other studies have examined the role of social capital in securing more gainful employment (Fernandez & Castilla 2001; Flap, & Völker, 2001). Although still largely theoretical, there is emerging social capital research using organizations as units of analysis and its relationship to organizational performance (Gabbay & Leenders, 2001; Oh, Chung, Labianca, 2004; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Subramaniam & Youndt, 2005; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998; Uzzi 1997; Walker, Kogut, & Shan, 2000). Although not specifically or always using organizations as a unit of analysis, many of the research findings and theoretical ideas of Burt, (1992, 1997, 2000), Coleman (1988, 1990) and Putnam (1993, 2000) find their way into discussion on social capital in organizations. These findings and theoretical ideas, along with contributions from others, concern the normative, beneficial/beneficiary, and structural properties of social capital. These properties are important to defining social capital and are often discussed as distinct and separate, however, they are related, crossover, and intersect and are discussed next.

Salient Properties of Social Capital: Normative, Beneficial/Beneficiary, and Structural

Normative Properties. The most essential norm found in descriptions of social capital is *trust*. Cohen and Prusak (2001) state “Social capital depends on trust” (p. 29). Other norms, such as reciprocity, obligations, honesty, and cooperation are often intertwined in the discussions of social capital and trust. Like other social science concepts, descriptions and meanings of trust in the literature are many and diverse, however the common thread connecting these descriptions is the notion of actor *vulnerability* (Biggley & Pearce, 1998). Also implied in these descriptions is faith that other actors will not exploit one’s vulnerability. Similarly, Cohen and Fields (1999) define trust as the mutual confidence that an individual has in exchange transactions that other parties will not exploit his or her vulnerabilities. As such, individuals are more willing to expose themselves and take risks related to tasks and social interactions. However, trust is extremely delicate and volatile, meaning a single incident or bad experience can cause trust in an individual or network to quickly evaporate. Once lost, trust is difficult to recover.

Discussions of social capital and trust are often fused or implicit making it difficult to ascertain whether they are one in the same concept (Fukuyama 1995; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). Some take up the conversation of trust more overtly and as a distinct concept. For example, Coleman (1988) frames trust as one’s faith in the performance of the social structure in terms of reliability, utility, and repayment of obligations. Similarly, Adler and Kwon (2000) view trust as a psychological state in relation to structure and relationships. For Burt (1992), trust equates to confidence with the person sharing the relationships, as in information exchanges, personal competence,

and performance of duties. For Burt, it is not a matter of trust, but whom to trust. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) use an oxymoron called *enforceable trust* meaning that network members will behave predictably because each member fears sanctions and anticipates rewards inherent in the network.

Putnam (2000) discusses two dimensions of trust that are worth noting: *thick trust* and *thin trust*. Thick trust refers to trust usually given to persons who one knows extensively, who are part of one's inner circle, or with whom one has direct experiences anchored in strong and frequent relationships with them. Thin trust is widespread or generalized trust and is usually given to persons who one causally knows, whose reputation is known, or because of their affiliation with a shared group, community or organization. Thin trust is sometimes referred to as giving people the benefit of the doubt until they prove otherwise (Putnam, 2000).

Leana and Van Buren (1999) describe trust as possessing *fragile* and *resilient* qualities. Fragile trust refers to the perceptions of those in a group of immediate short-term rewards based on formal transactions such as contracts, policies, or prescribed rules. Group work is negotiated and done using formal transactions to ensure a level of trust, reciprocity, and accountability to achieve the desired end. Resilient trust is closer to thick trust, that is, it is based on experiences and strong links with members of the group. Resilient trust is also based on group members sharing similar and entrenched norms and values that solidify the group. Leana and Van Buren (1999) contrast the two by stating "If fragile trust is concerned with developing a workable strategy of reciprocity, resilient trust rest upon ongoing reciprocity norms" (p. 543).

Faithful execution of trust between parties bequeaths more trust or as Cohen and Prusak state “Trust builds trust” (2001, p. 29). This quality of trust as being both antecedent and outcome of social capital has added to the confusion in the literature. The antecedent and an outcome qualities of trust to social capital creates problems in research designs and measurement for studying social capital, leading some theorists to question whether trust is a viable indicator of social capital. (Kadushin, 2004; Leana & Van Buren, 1999; Lin, 2001). For the moment, some have reconciled this quandary by holding that relationship of social capital and trust are positive and mutually reinforcing (Alder & Kwon, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000). Said differently, some basic level of trust is needed in order for social capital to develop and prosper. Basic levels of trust originate from one’s familiarity or indoctrination to the central features of the social network, such as shared beliefs, values, and established rules (Alder & Kwon, 2000). Some theorize that its trust as an antecedent facilitates one’s willingness to participate in social exchange, and as more trust is built, the outcome is many problems of cooperation and coordination among parties are decreased (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

Putnam’s (2000) discussion of trust is interwoven with the concept of *reciprocity*, which he describes as the social capital’s “Golden Rule”. Reciprocity is the exchange of favors between parties, in which one grants a favor to another with the expectation that the favor will be returned. Putnam (2000) characterizes reciprocity as “I do this for you now, in the expectation that you (or perhaps someone else) will return the favor.” (p. 20). Reciprocity can be *specific* meaning the exchange of favors is held between two persons; the one giving and the other reciprocating the favor. Another form is *generalized reciprocity*, whereby a favor is given, but reciprocity may be given by any member

comprising the group. Generalized reciprocity is the idea that I do something for you with the expectation that someone else will do something for me. Portes' and Sensenbrenner's (1993) view of *reciprocity transactions* is similar to Putnam's generalized reciprocity, but it encompasses more than favors and includes "information, approval, sanction, and other valued items [that] are given and received" (p. 1324). With reciprocity, the expectation of a return of the favor is sometimes immediate and calculated, other times it is long-term and conjecture (Putnam, 2000).

Reciprocity is closely associated with the notion of *obligations*. Reciprocity and obligation are similar concepts, but are different in meaning. Reciprocity means to return something in-kind or to degree based more on free will or mutual agreement. Obligation refers more to duty or a vow to repay making the action more binding or in some cases a legal action. At times, the discussion of reciprocity and obligation in social capital literature becomes fuzzy, whereas reciprocity takes on the features of moral obligations that one must complete in order to maintain his or her trustworthiness (Fukuyama, 1995).

Both Coleman's (1988) and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) use slightly different but similar economic exchange analogies to describe obligations pertinent to social capital. Coleman describes obligations as *credit slips* and Portes and Sensenbrenner use the term *chits*, however both are interchangeable terms. Using Coleman's preference, obligations take two forms: credit slips that one holds and credit slips that one needs to repay. In practice, actor "A" accumulates credit slips from actor "B", which establishes for "A" an expectation of an obligatory performance by "B" for servicing the debt. Likewise, "B" holds credit slips from "A" setting an expectation for obligatory performance by "A". But unlike economic exchange, credit slips held on

either side of relationships do not cancel each other out and obligatory performance or repayment of the debt may be different from what was originally incurred. Within the broader social structure, credit slips and obligatory performance are held by all actors relative to other actors. These obligations set up of sort of interdependence among actors, which actors view as an asset and resource that is held in place by collective norms of reciprocity, trust, honor, and disapproval of selfish actions. These obligations, norms, and the social structure facilitate one's sense of personal identity and connectedness to community, which makes collective action more possible (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Beneficial/ Beneficiary Properties. The benefits of social capital vary according to perspectives of the concept, but there are congruent themes on the beneficial aspects of social capital. One prominent beneficial theme is *information*, either in terms of access, ease of transfer, or quality, which this suggests that information is the key resource in social networks sought after by actors. Information is described as the key resources of social capital because it often functions as the basis for mobilization and action (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Closely related to the concept of information and sometimes used interchangeability with the term is learning and knowledge. Although similar and related, they are different because information is more associated with the communication of facts, data, or ideas, while knowledge is associated with insight and conclusions drawn from the process of thinking and cognition about information that leads to awareness and understanding. Learning is located in the place between information and knowledge where one begins the acquisition of knowledge through instruction or experience using thinking and cognition. Later, information, learning, and knowledge will be discussed as key benefits of organizational social capital.

Lin (2001) supports this view that information is a key resource or benefit of social capital because opportunities, options, and ideas available to actors are very dependent on information flowing to the network (also see Burt, 1992). Authors who highlight the normative properties of social capital suggest that norms support and enhance the flow of information within the social network (Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Woolcock (1998) even includes the term information, along with normative descriptions, in his definition of social capital. Putnam's lament (2000) of the drop in civic virtue is the opposite side of the same coin, in which the modern era is steeped in information confusion and relevant information has no social context in which to facilitate action. Of course, information is not the only beneficial property of social capital, but other social capital benefits appear to link, touch, or build on the aspect of information.

Sandefur and Laumann (1988) developed a useful and popular framework for discussing the potential benefits of social capital using *information, influence and control, and solidarity*, however, not all agree that every element of this framework constitutes a benefit (Burt, 2001; Portes, 1998). Most of the beneficial aspects of information have already been discussed except to add that Sander and Laumann also include relevance, timeliness, and trustworthiness of the information. Sander and Laumann conceptualize influence and control as "positive manipulation" through the use of norms such as trust, obligations, and threat of sanctions oriented toward collective goals. This view of influence and control is more internal requiring group cohesions versus Burt's (1997) structural holes perspective, which suggests influence and control as external and accrues to the individual spanning the hole. Solidarity refers to unity and

cohesion among network actors based on group values and norms that guide and facilitate progress toward collective ambition. The central tenant of all of these benefits just described is that collective action is good, or at least provides a benefit to the collective which they previously did not possess (Burt, 2001).

The beneficiary of social capital can reside with both the individual and the collective, but different authors stress one over the other. The distinction is important because personal perceptions of the primary beneficiary of social capital may influence: individual motivation, value, purpose, and functionality of social structure, and goal formulation and attachment. At the opposite ends of the beneficial suppositions are Coleman (1988), who stresses the benefits of social capital to all members of the social structure and Burt (1997), who emphasizes personal opportunities created as a result of social capital. Social capital's individual benefit is referred to as a *private good* and collective benefit as a *public good*. Explicit in discussions of individual and collective benefits is that both types of benefits are derived from associations and actions among actors in a social network. As such, ownership of social capital is not the property of any single actors, but exists in social relationship between actors and is lost when the relationship is terminated (Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1988; Alder & Kwon, 2002).

Discussion of individual benefits often center on the how the actor accesses and uses resources from the social network for personal gain such as job attainment, work promotion, increased economic status, and social prestige. (Fernandez & Castilla, 2001; Flap & Völker, 2001; Lin, 2001). The actions of the actor can sometimes benefit the collective or *bystanders* (Putnam, 2000), but to the individual the collective benefit is generally secondary. It is important to the individual that proper credit be given to him or

her if the collective receives a benefit as this recognition will boost the actor's social capital (worth, prestige, and assets) among members of the group. In Burt's (1997) structural hole perspective of social capital, benefits accrue to the actor positioned at the hole because they control the flow of information and resources that brings opportunity. Lin (2001) further elaborates on individual benefits by describing it as *instrumental action*. Instrumental action is steps or acts taken by an actor to acquire resources and assets not currently possessed, but are embedded and accessible somewhere in the network to be used for personal gain. The desired resources can be economic, political, or social. Examples include actions taken to obtain a raise, secure a promotion, or to create a favorable reputation that leads to further personal gain.

Collective benefit or public good aspect of social capital emphasizes the communal gains or rewards obtained by social units such as family, community, or an organization (Pearce & Randel, 2004). Collective benefit is the inverse of individual benefits in that individual benefits usually suffer when collective benefits are realized. If individual benefits are gained, they are seen as minor or secondary. Any return or loss incurred as the result of collective action is primarily that of the collective. Close knit communities, like ethnic enclaves in urban settings, are often steeped in the collective or public good aspect of social capital characterized by goal orientation and normative qualities (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Portes, 1998). Community members comply with governing norms and rules established for the collective because it creates better opportunity for reaping some individual benefits that they can not secure on their own (Coleman, 1988; Lazega & Pattison, 2001). In other cases, individuals are willing to subordinate personal goals and associate themselves with collective goals, because more

formidable and impressive long-term rewards can only be achieved through collective action (Leana & Van Buren, 1999). Stated differently, everyone contributes to the whole, because everyone will eventually derive some benefit, however, the collective is primary. The collective benefits can also be described as material, psychic, and social (Cohen & Prusak, 2001), implying value is placed on things like group identity, stature, prosperity, and prestige. Lin (2001) equates the public good aspect of social capital to *expressive action*. Expressive action is steps or acts taken to preserve and protect those resources or assets one already possesses due to membership in the network. Expressive action is undertaken with others to defend assets and resources from attacks and losses. Assets may include social position (i.e. class), power, money, and other resources that promote and protect favor conditions like quality of life, control of institutions, or economic resources.

The private versus public good perspectives of social capital are not irreconcilable. Putnam (2000) believes that these perspectives are not mutually exclusive and that individual and collective benefits are complimentary and exists simultaneously. Individual social capital is usually reflected through the collective as members work toward collective goals (Pearce & Randel, 2004). In other cases, organizations hire individuals with strong networks knowing it will mutually benefit the individual and the organization (Erickson, 2001). Collective social capital does have a spillover effect to individual members if only for the reason they comprise the collective. In actuality, individual and collective benefit is a give and take proposition. A more correct approach to social capital is achieving the right balance between private and public benefit. In

essence, individual social capital is interlocked with communal social capital and social capital actually accrues to the collective and its members.

Structural Properties. The structural properties of social capital are often presented as *bonding* or *bridging* (Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004; Lin, 2001). Putnam (2000) refers to bonding and bridging as one's point of reference in the social network, that is, whether one is more inward looking (bonding), focusing almost exclusively on ties within the network, or more outward looking (bridging) focusing on ties to others outside the network. Alder and Kwon (2002) conceptualize similarly by referring to social capital's internal and external nuances, also described as communal (internal) versus linking (external) ties. The bonding aspect of social capital draws from the work of Coleman (1998, 1990), and his idealization of network closure. For social capital to work and possess value, social networks must be dense and contain strong ties that bond members based on normative qualities (trust, reciprocity, and loyalty). Therefore, network members concentrate on building and maintaining ties internally with other members of the network. In effect, closure creates the right conditions for solidarity and the pursuit of collective goals. Network closure suggests boundaries that are clear and defined and membership is relatively homogenous and exclusive of others seen as not possessing the proper credentials for membership (Putnam, 2000). To members, the social structure is seen as a highly resourceful and as a productive entity. Network closure and bonding are most associated with the *sociocentric perspective* of social capital, whereby, the actor's accumulation of social capital derives social structure or form, such as ethnic enclaves, organizations, and communities (Alder & Kwon, 2000; Sander & Laumann, 1988).

Bridging or external ties is connecting across to other networks to acquire new or different resources. Those who espouse the bridging feature of social capital have built on the work of Granovetter (1973) and his demonstration of the *strength of weak ties* to secure employment. In short, Granovetter believed that more meaningful and valued resources often reside outside of one's immediate network. Burt (1992) built on Granovetter's theme in his construction of structural holes, focusing on the actor's external ties and his or her ability to control resources flowing into the actor's network. Bridging requires actors to concentrate on building and maintaining external contacts that provide richer opportunities not found in the actors' immediate network. These external ties are generally more heterogeneous than the more homogenous quality found in network closure (Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004). Bridging is also more linked to the *egocentric* perspective of social capital, whereby the actor's social capital and social network is characterized by the relationships he or she has sought-out, formed and maintained (Lesser, 2000; Sander & Laumann, 1988).

Proponents of bonding aspects of social capital or network closure emphasize its benefits in terms group cooperation and collective pursuit of goals, lower transactional costs (the expense of doing business) and easier resource exchange, and its public good features. In the case of some ethnic groups or enclaves, these benefits provide economic and social opportunities otherwise not available to them because of discrimination and isolation, although not without some negative consequences to be discussed shortly (Portes, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). This view of social capital as network closure almost guarantees members certain privileges and opportunities, provided one is faithful and fulfills their obligations to the collective. Lin (2001) believes network

closure is more effective for expressive action, that is, preserving and maintaining group resources because members can be easily mobilized.

Burt (2001) argues that too much network closure is detrimental to social capital because information within the network becomes *redundant*, meaning the same information or information sources are processed by the group providing less and less value overtime. Network closure ignores the reality of external ties or bridges that exist in most networks and their benefits. Information passing through the structural hole is newer, richer, and less likely to be redundant than the information processed in network closure. This can create opportunity and entrepreneurialism as new ideas and thinking are brought into the network and new solutions to old problems can be introduced.

Bridging is akin to instrumental actions, that is, searching and acquiring resources not yet possessed, but deemed essential for advancement and opportunity (Lin. 2001).

In reality, most actors or groups simultaneously bond and bridge depending on circumstances and situations (Putnam, 2000). In fact, strict adherence to one or the other would probably limit the benefits of social capital. For example, over adherence to group norms as a result of network closure may cause members to engage in *groupthink*, stifling contrary opinions or new ideas when they are needed most. Constant bridging could degenerate the normative glue that allows the group to work toward collective goals. Whether bonding and bridging is more advantageous is probably more dependent on what Alder & Kwon (2000) call *contingency factors*, meaning different situations or contexts may call for different applications of social capital tied to whether bonding or bridging will facilitate movement toward a goal. Probably more important than this dichotomous view of bonding and bridging is the *configuration* of these two attributes

possessed by the actor or group which characterizes the state and quality of their social capital (Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002).

The Negative Side of Social Capital

Social capital is often portrayed as having positive consequences and outcomes, however, social capital can also possess risks or negative consequences as well. Portes' (1998) provides a useful framework in which he describes four negatives qualities of social capital. First, a dominant group's social capital may act to exclude others in order to protect their wealth, resources, and status. Monopoly, power, and protectionism are asserted by the dominant group fortified by class, credentials, ethnicity, and other group characteristics that provide it cohesion. Exclusion can occur in the form of prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and violence by the dominant group over subordinate groups, preventing subordinates access to benefits of information, influence and solidarity (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Social capital in the form of excessive closure can set the stage for severe discord and conflict between groups competing for similar resources. Exclusion and conflict may create the environment for corruption, nepotism, and exploitation as parties are highly motivated by self-interest. Even Putnam's assertion that civic virtue is always positive is tempered by more powerful civic groups and interests using democracy, civic participation, and practices of exclusion to secure and hoard a disproportional share of national or community resources (Woolcock, 1998).

Second, social capital can create situations where group members work to stifle productivity by individual members working harder to achieve success. Group solidarity may create heavy personal obligations on members, thereby, repressing individual schemes and activities that may lead to more personal success (Woolcock, 1998). Burt

(2001) describes social structures high in density and connected to a central authority as a *network constraints* that lessen opportunity. Closely related to this is the problem of free-riding or *social loafing* (Leana & Van Buren, 1999), which is less productive group members exploit and benefit from the energies and output of more productive members. Third is the loss of individual privacy, presentation, and personal freedom. Conformity, loyalty and group surveillance not only work against individual success, but discourage autonomy and creative expression. It also inhibits the acquisition of skills and knowledge needed to transition to larger and extensive exchange networks outside of one's group (Portes & Landolt, 1996). In essence, the ability to move beyond one's village is blocked (Woolcock, 1998).

Lastly, downward leveling of norms perpetuates poor social and economic conditions that are found among some ethnic and disadvantaged groups. This downward leveling of norms is often preceded by years or even centuries of oppression and blockage of upward mobility by dominant groups in society. Out of this historical experience, solidarity among disadvantaged groups is developed based on normative opposition to more powerful groups. Although group solidarity provides benefits and protection, it may also work to perpetuate the status quo. Individuals wishing to leave the status quo to forge their own success and debunk the myths associated with their group are actually restrained by strong group cohesion and opposition. The inability to leave street gangs, inner city ghettos, or mafia families is associated with downward leveling of norms (Portes & Landolt, 1996)

As Portes' (1998) framework suggests, social capital does have a downside and others have suggested that "ties that bind can be ties that blind (Cohen & Prusak, p. 14).

As Putnam (2000) points out, social capital can be used for positive purposes, but can easily take on sinister or perverse goals in which feverish and delusional loyalty is demanded. Extreme cases of the sinister side of social capital include Hitler's Nazi Party and its policy of Jewish extermination, or the Afrikaner National Party's policy of apartheid. The more garden variety of ties that blind is the good old boy network usually built on parochialism, clannish views, and suspicion of outsiders (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Cohen & Prusak, 2001). Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) believe that extreme group affiliations cuts-off new and valuable information creating a sort of group collective blindness. Group members experience a *cognitive lock-in*, leaving them unable to adapt to changes in the environment causing inertia and in extreme cases extinction (Gargiulo & Benassi, 1999). Beyond the issue of information penetrating a closed group, are false assumptions that all information is valuable or the right information. The information may be poor, redundant, or the wrong type needed for a given situation, which in turn may cause poor decisions and wrong actions.

Earlier discussion concerning the individual and collective benefits minimizes the real probability of winners and losers in the process. Coleman (1990) acknowledges that social capital that is valuable to an actor maybe harmful to other actors in the network. Likewise, Burt's (2001) case for structural holes suggests the benefits acquired by the focal actor filling the hole comes at the expense of others in the form of denying them opportunities and their acquiescence of power and control to the focal actor. Another aspect of social capital often ignored is not all network relationships are positive. Some relationships are negative suggesting that information may be withheld, or that negative information about the actor is disseminated throughout the network causing him or her

harm. Brass and Labianca (1999) use the term *social liability* to denote consequences of negative relationships, which they consider the opposite of social capital. Lin (2001) raises the issue of the inequality of social capital, in which some groups, such as women and ethnic minorities, are not as endowed with the right type of social capital and are cut off from opportunities and rewards. This is a similar point raised by Loury (1977), in his earlier analysis of the limitations of human capital. Clearly, social capital has risks and negative consequences, however, most theorists and researcher are convinced that the upsides outweigh the downsides. In considering the risks and benefits associated with social capital, Brass and Labianca (1999) suggest a bookkeeping analogy called the *social ledger*, in which one would record (even if mentally) the characteristics of relationships based on their social capital and social liability qualities. Similarly, Woolcock (1998) states that benefits and costs of social capital suggest finding the optimal level of social capital versus a maximizing level of social capital that may inadvertently cause harm.

Organizational Social Capital

Recently, considerable attention has been paid to social capital in organizations. Theoretical writings and empirical inquiries on social capital in organizations have been largely confined to the private sector in reference to competitive advantage and organizational performance. The literature on social capital in public sector organizations is scant and in the case of child welfare organizations almost nonexistent. Because of this limitation, discussion of social capital and possible links to child welfare organizations, and human service organizations in general, needs to be drawn primarily from the private

sector literature. This section will review literature concerning social capital in organizations and its relevance to organizations in their current environment.

As previously noted, definitions of social capital abound. To frame the discussion of social capital in organizations, a working definition needs to be developed. Leana and Van Buren (1999) present a good departure point for developing a working definition with contributions from others. Leana and Van Buren have coined the term *organizational social capital* consistent with social capital's broader meaning. They view social capital as a desired feature of organizations in which the quality of social relations among members is seen as a key to unlocking assets in their organization. These social relationships are characterized by normative dimensions such as trust, reciprocity, obligation, cooperation, shared identity, and collective goal orientation, which in-turn facilitates knowledge and information sharing, coordination, and action. Their definition of organizational social capital closely approximates that of Cohen and Prusak (2001) and their view of active social connections and behaviors that bond members together and makes collective action possible. These authors take the view that organizational leaders must make active and calculated investments in robust social networks in order to create the feelings of community and shared understanding that will drive coherent organizational behavior. These qualities reflect the public good aspect of social capital and collective ownership of gains and losses. To these qualities found in organizational social capital, I would add the features of the social structure itself, which either facilitate or inhibit the development of meaningful and productive relationships (Alder & Kwon, 2001; Gabbay & Leenders, 1999; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). All of the characteristics of organizational social capital just described mirror Coleman's (1988)

description of social capital based on network closure and normative dimensions, although not exclusively. Bridging across work units and organizational boundaries is also seen as important and beneficial, however, the organization remains primary. Based on these descriptions found in the literature, the working definition of organizational social capital developed for this dissertation is: *social capital is the investments made by organizational members to foster relationships and shared understanding using social structure and normative dimensions, such as trust, reciprocity, and cooperation, which allows the full potential of an organization's knowledge and other resources to be accessed and used for collective action to achieve organizational goals.*

To understand the relevance of this definition of organizational social capital to human service organizations, concepts from economic, management, and organization science literature regarding the *theory of the firm* is first presented. The theory of the firm involves the ongoing search to explain why firms or organizations exist in the market as opposed to pure and free-standing individual economic transactions (Ghoshal & Moran, 1996). Social capital has played a key role in generating new ideas, concepts, and analysis about the theory of the firm. Although many have made contributions, Williamson's (1985) views on transaction cost theory have greatly influenced conventional thinking about the theory of the firm. Transactional costs are the "cost of running the economic system" (p.19) incurred by firms (i.e. personnel, policies and procedures, information systems) and are distinct from production cost. In addition to viewing firms as mode of production and efficiencies, transactional cost theory holds that firms are also governance structures that control individual opportunistic behavior in the market and exploitation against others, thereby, preventing a free fall of economic

inefficiencies that would lead to market failure if these conditions were allowed to prevail. A firm's governance is based on hierarchical structures and controls and the firm is seen as an effective substitution for structuring market transactions (Ghoshal & Moran, 1996).

A contrary perspective to Williamson (1985) is a *resourced-based theory* of the firm. The resource-based theory of the firm views organization as a repository of “specific resources, competencies, and capabilities” (Spender, 1996, p.46) that gives an organization a unique ability to compete and perform in the market. The resource-based theory is sometimes referred to as the *knowledge-based theory* of the firm and both terms are sometimes used interchangeably (Barney, 1996). A knowledge-based theory of the firm describes a firm's resources, competencies, abilities, and capabilities (Barney, 1996; Conner & Prahalad, 1996; Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sheriff, 2005). The origins of knowledge-based theory of the firm stems from thinking and analysis about how a firm could best compete in a changing and modern global economy fueled by, knowledge, information, and new technologies rather than traditional resources of labor, land, and other physical goods (Lesser, 2001). The new global economy began to give rise to such terms as, *knowledge-economy*, *knowledge-intensive organization*, *knowledge-management*, and the *knowledge-worker* reflecting the new market environment in which organizations are situated (Drucker, 1992; Cortada, 1998; Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sheriff, 2005; Lesser & Prusak, 2004). As such, organizations have begun to recognize that knowledge and information are their most valued commodity in this knowledge-intensive environment

The knowledge-based theory of the firm has two major implications that span beyond the private sector. First, the sheer enormity and sophistication of knowledge and information now available is too voluminous for any one individual to absorb and manage. Organizations realize that knowledge-work is better suited to communal approaches rather than isolated and specialized ones. Collective knowledge, information sharing, teamwork, horizontal communication, inter-unit boundary spanning, shared responsibility, and active engagement at work are seen as better ways to tap and manage the organization's knowledge assets. These communal approaches have spawned new inquiry into how social patterns in organizations work to create and transfer knowledge. In their pursuit of the *theory of the firm*, Kogut and Zander (1996) state that organizations are better recognized as *social communities* where knowledge creation and transferability occur, rather than monolithic and hierarchical models of efficiency. Creation and transferability of knowledge better occurs when *knowledge-systems* exist in organizations and these systems are largely a social affair.

Second, the knowledge-based theory of the firm suggests changes in governance structure are necessary based on more communal work associated with knowledge-work. Organizations are no longer top-down entities that secure efficiencies or control human behaviors, but rather are entities that create social environments that facilitate learning and social interaction leading to the creation of knowledge and its transfer within the organization. This is similar to social learning and organizational learning perspectives discussed earlier. Similarly, hierarchy no longer exist to avoid knowledge transfer by confining it to upper echelons of the hierarchy, but is more dispersed and located at the lower echelons of the organization (Nickerson & Zenger, 2004; Spender, 1996).

Organizational oversight and control is interwoven with organizing principles that emphasize horizontal or communal approaches to work, rather than vertical and specialized ones associated with bureaucratic work (Kogut & Zander, 1996).

As more private sector organizations have begun to recognize knowledge as an important factor in production, the knowledge-base theory of the firm has gained increasing popularity. They have also discovered that knowledge creation and value has a sociability component and their knowledge assets are only partly tapped if sociability is ignored, mainly in the form of human capital. Social capital theory represents a perspective for merging the knowledge-based theory of the firm with the sociability aspects of organizations, and alleviates sociability and relationships as resources for unleashing their knowledge asset (Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sheriff, 2005, Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; Kogut and Zander 1996; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Subramaniam & Youndt, 2005; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). The organizational resources mentioned in the operational definition of social capital defined earlier include both social networks and knowledge. As such, more organization leaders (executives, managers and supervisors) have made active and strategic investments in social capital as a way of tapping the resources of their organizations (Cohen & Prusak, 2001; Lesser, 2000) and creating what Ghoshal and Moran (1996) refer to as *organizational advantage*.

Social capital resources and the knowledge based theory of the firm have implications for social work. The profession of social work has long used knowledge as its primary form of service production (Reid, 2002; Rosen, 1994). In addition to knowledge that informs practice, social work knowledge has historically coupled its knowledge-base with a strong sense of professional purpose, values, and ethics (Risler,

Lowe, & Nackerud, 2003), which sometimes blurs the distinctions between practice knowledge and the normative qualities of the profession. For example, Rosen, (1994) found that social work practice is more often guided by values and normative assertions of the profession, rather than by research-based findings. In recent, years, social work has focused on generating empirically-based knowledge to booster service production, however narrowing the *gap* between knowledge creation and utilization in the field still remains problematic (Gambrill, 2003; Petr & Walter, 2005; Rosen, Proctor, & Staudt, 1999) Also adding to the space between research and practice is how to diffuse knowledge once created, which Herie and Martin (2002) argue is poorly understood in social work. Herie and Martin state that knowledge diffusion contains a social dimension that must be considered and understood if it is to occur. Despite the fact that child welfare is seen as “knowledge-intensive human service” (Balfour & Neff, 1993, p. 474), problems concerning knowledge creation and diffusion are more acute in child welfare (Lindsey, 2004; Pecora et al., 2000; Schwartz & Fishman, 1999; Waldfogel, 2000). The knowledge-base utilized by child welfare organizations is often viewed as lacking, poor, and uneven (DePanfilis & Girvin, 2004; Schorr, 2000; Usher & Wildfire, 2003), despite recent advances in its knowledge base (Kluger, Alexander & Curtis, 2000) and more Masters’ in Social Work degrees possessed by workers specializing in child welfare content (General Accounting Office, 2003; Jones & Okamura, 2000).

Compounding the problem of applying knowledge to practice is the complexity, diversity, and the interaction of problems confronted by families and children served by the child welfare system (Lindsey, 2004; Rzepnicki & Johnson, 2005). These types of problems are not confined only to child welfare, but are also found in the private sector.

Ackoff (1999) refers to these highly complex and interaction of problems with difficult solutions as “messes” (p.14). Similarly, Nickerson and Zenger (2004) have developed a typology for the degree of problems confronted in the private sector called *dimensionalizing the solution landscape*. They argue that the most complex and difficult problems stem from” complex systems in which the value of recombinations of existing technology represents solutions.” (p. 619) Complex problems are high-interaction problems in their typology and solution; meaning that an individual can not solve these types of problems solely using individual knowledge, but only through interactions with other actors possessing different knowledge sets. Ackoff concurs with this assessment by mentioning that the only way to *dissolve* messes, versus patch work solutions, is through the interaction of perspectives and knowledge among organizational members; a point not lost by Cohen (2004) in discussion of social learning as one avenue for child welfare reform. Typically, the response to highly complex and heterogeneous problems of individuals, families, and communities in child welfare is adoption of more formal and prescriptive rules and procedures that limits workers exercise of knowledge and discretion, which some believe only reinforces a *culture of compliance* (Rzepnicki & Johnson, 2005). For workers, this is seen as disempowering and amounts to a one size fits all approach to multifaceted and complicated issues faced by children and families in the child welfare system, which some suggest negatively impacts worker motivation, job satisfaction, and performance (Cohen & Austin, 1997; Pearlmutter, 1998; Shera & Page; 1995; Spreitzer 1996). Related to the nature of problems, Reid (2002) points out that social work knowledge has itself become increasingly complex, large, and discordant, suggesting that social work knowledge in general does not fit well into the knowledge at

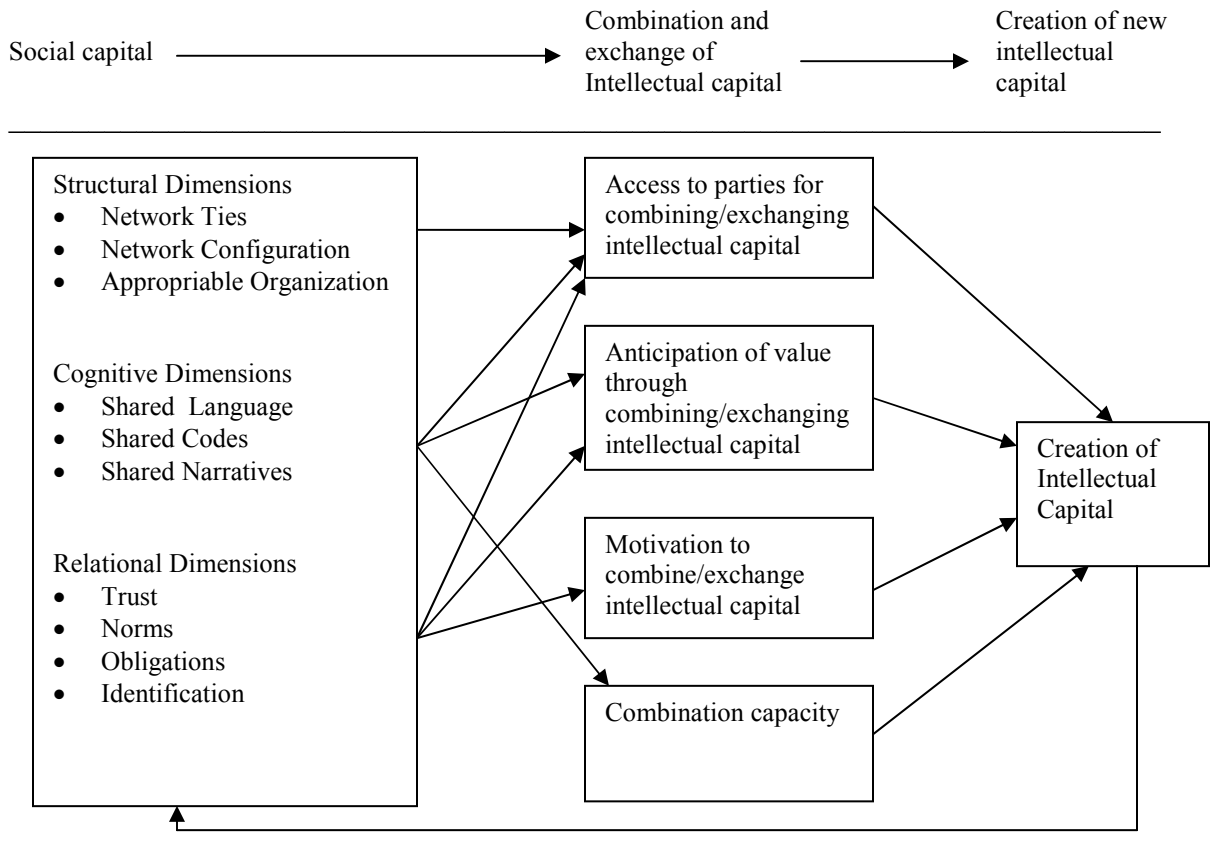
the top and specialization paradigm. The use knowledge in social work and child welfare has parallels with the knowledge-based theory of the firm. Clearly, knowledge is key in helping those facing difficult situations and issues. Social capital when combined with the knowledge-based theory of the firm provides a mechanism for better application of knowledge for practice, both in its bridging capability such as reaching out to new knowledge, and its in bonding capability, which is more oriented toward internal knowledge diffusion. Further, it is believed that the use of organizational social capital has theoretical relationships historically discussed constructs in organizational literature and life, such as job satisfaction, motivation, innovation and service quality. This discussion is taken up next in developing a model of organizational social capital.

Toward a Model of Organizational Social Capital

Nahapiet & Ghoshal, (1998) provide a useful framework for modeling social capital in organization based on the knowledge-based theory of the firm. Their framework of social capital in organizations was chosen because other theorist and researchers frequently use their framework to examine how social capital may function in organizations (Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; King, 2004; Lesser & Cothel, 2004; Lesser & Storck, 2004; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). Their framework contains four primary elements which are: 1) intellectual capital, 2) exchange and combination, 3) three dimensions of social capital in organizations and 4) factors that shape the creation of social capital. The third element of the framework, dimensions of social capital, may have the strongest theoretical relationship to the other organizational concepts being examined in this study: job satisfaction, motivation, innovation and quality. To understand how their framework of social capital in organization works and

potential relationship to other organizational concepts in this study just mentioned, a more detailed description is provided. Additionally, an adaptation of Nahapiet and Ghoshal’s modeling of social capital is seen on Figure 21.

Figure 2.1
Social Capital in the Creation of Intellectual Capital



Adapted from: Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998). Social capital, intellectual capital, and the organizational advantage. *The Academy of Management Review*, 23, 242-266.

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) refer to an organization’s knowledge as *intellectual capital*, which they define as the “knowledge and knowing capacity of a social collectivity” (p.245). Their notion of intellectual capital is that learning and knowledge is a collective enterprise or is social knowledge, as opposed to the sum of individual knowledge. This implies that as individuals leave the organization, their knowledge

remains with the collective and that collective knowledge is greater and more productive than any knowledge possessed by a single individual. Nahapiet and Ghoshal drew from the work of Spender (1996) who formulated a typology for different ways of knowing relevant to organizations which they believe social capital helps to create and disseminate in organizations. Spender typology is diagramed on Table 2.3.

Table 2.3
Types of Organizational Knowledge

	<i>Individual</i>	<i>Social</i>
<i>Explicit</i>	Conscious	Objectified
<i>Implicit</i>	Automatic	Collective

(Source: Spender, J.C. (1996) Making knowledge the basis of a dynamic theory of the firm. Strategic Management Journal, 17, p. 52.)

Spender (1996) builds on previous work on knowledge which holds that most knowledge is either implicit (tacit) or explicit. He then divides implicit and explicit into individual and social as seen in Table 2.3. Individual implicit knowledge, which Spender calls automatic knowledge, is intuitive knowledge based on one's experiences, prior learning, and is largely subconscious. Individual explicit knowledge is conscience knowledge in the form of facts, information, and concepts that are easily retrieved from memory or recently learned. Social implicit knowledge is collective knowledge that is mostly hidden and embedded in culture, sometimes manifesting itself in routines or codified in documents and manuals. Social explicit knowledge is objective knowledge based on empirical research and findings that is shared among organizational members or professional communities. Spender notes that these four typologies intersect and flex so that there is constant interaction among the four types. These four types of knowledge comprise the organization's full knowledge or intellectual capital. In the current

knowledge-intensive environment, organizations overtly demonstrate higher interest in explicit knowledge to gain a competitive edge, however they are highly dependent on implicit knowledge and its transmission as a way of getting important germane and routine work done. Ostensibly, Spencer's (1996) views knowledge creation in organization as a social construction created by the social interplay of actors using their explicit and implicit knowledge. These social dimensions of knowledge is what Spender believes contributes most to organizational knowledge, a view supported by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998).

For the second element of their framework, Nahapiet & Ghoshal, (1998) building on the earlier work of Moran and Ghoshal (1996), postulate that individual knowledge creates intellectual capital through *exchange* and *combination*. Exchange is different parties sharing their knowledge and experiences through social relationships and interactions. Although it is true that knowledge can be transmitted through technologies like the Internet and other electronic forms, much of this knowledge is explicit (data, facts, or new information) and doesn't transmit implicit knowledge (norms, values and routines) often critical for everyday operational work in organizations. Cohen and Prusak (2001) argue that companies which over rely on virtual or electronic connections (i.e., e-mail, cell phones, teleconferencing, Internet, etc.) actually undermine the transmission of all types of knowledge within an organization. Knowledge is more effectively exchanged when people connect socially. When knowledge is exchanged, new combination of that knowledge occur creating new ideas and knowledge or intellectual capital (Moran and Ghoshal, 1996). Nahapiet & Ghoshal state there are four conditions that must be present for exchange and combination to occur:

- *Opportunities* for exchanges and combinations in the social structure.
- *Expectation of new value* creation by parties in the exchange and combination.
- *Motivation* by individuals involved in the exchange and combination, expressed as belief and anticipation, that they will accrue some personal benefit in the interaction.
- *Combination Capacity* or the organization ability and capacity to create new combinations of knowledge or intellectual capital.

Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998) believe that social capital creates opportunities and conditions for exchange and combination through the third element of their framework, which are the structural, cognitive, and relational dimensions. These dimensions are relational, interdependent and mutually reinforcing, but are discussed separately for clarity. First, the *structural* dimension refers to the overall pattern of relationships found in an organization. It is the accessibility, linkages, and the familiarity of members of the organization to each other facilitated by structure. The structural dimension is comprised of network ties, network configuration, and appropriability. *Network ties* are the connections among members; who you know and who you can access within the social structure. *Network configuration* refers to the density of ties, ease of access, and hierarchical arrangements. *Appropriability* refers to the degree which social relationships developed for one purpose are easily transferable to other settings within the network structure. The relevance of the structural dimension of social capital is that it shapes access or pathway members have to each other and their ability exchange and combine knowledge. Put slightly differently, the structural dimension can either facilitate or

constrain exchange and combination and members are constantly trying to maneuver and shape it so that it takes on the most beneficial form to task (Gabbay & Leenders, 2001).

The cognitive dimension is concerned with how an organization's intellectual capital is transmitted, understood, and eventually shaped into intellectual capital or social knowledge. The cognitive dimension occurs through "shared representations, interpretations and systems of meaning" among members in the organization (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p.244). It is the member's shared understanding and perceptions of the organizations by transmitted through shared language, codes and shared narratives. *Shared language* is common words, phrases, and acronyms with specificity and meaning to work and practice. *Coding* systematizes and categorizes information and understanding transmitted through language. *Shared narratives* are stories, myths, accounts, and gossips that communicate understanding and meaning about work and practice. The significance of the cognitive dimension of social capital is that it provides meaningful and contextual communication between members for exchanging and combining knowledge. The cognitive dimension is also associated with shared vision and sense of mission based on common perception, interpretation and understanding (Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998).

The *relationship dimension* refers to the characteristics and the quality of the relationships between members based on normative quality such as trust, reciprocity, obligations and group identification developed over time. Trust, reciprocity, and obligations in this framework are similar in meaning already discussed earlier in this chapter. However in this framework they include other normative quality that reinforce trust, reciprocity, and obligations, such as teamwork, sharing of information and

knowledge, acceptance of diversity, cooperation, openness to criticism, and tolerance of failure that may help offset the dark side of social capital. These norms function in the context of network closure in which organizations have clear legal, financial, political, and social boundaries and also serve as in-group social control. Network closure and the function of norms in this framework draw from the work of Coleman (1990) in which norms manage individual behavior (sanctions and rewards) through the social consensus, authority, and the group's "socially defined right" to exercise control (p. 243).

Identification is one's sense of self-being, and uniqueness based on reference and membership to a group. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) take positive position of network closure in describing the relational dimension, but acknowledge the negative consequences of too much network closure. However, in this framework, the qualities of the relational dimension functioning in a positive way and greatly influences conditions necessary for exchange and combination.

If social capital is thought to improve organizational performance, what are the factors or conditions necessary for creating superior levels of social capital in organizations? Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) postulate time, interdependence, interaction, and closure, which collectively represent the fourth and last element of their framework and have been previously mentioned in prior discussion. They are briefly presented here. *Time* refers to accumulated history that allows stability, continuity and trust to develop in relationships. For organizations interested in social capital, allowing the time (and space) for people to connect is viewed as managing principle (Cohen & Prusak, 2001). *Interdependence* refers to the degree that tasks in the organization are linked to each other and requires high levels of interaction, cooperation, and

connectedness among members in order to achieve collective goals. *Interactions* refers efforts to develop and maintain strong ties among members of the organizations (Coleman, 1988). Interaction is behaviors associated with investing and maintaining relationships or social capital will be lessened or lost (Robison, Schmid & Siles, 2002; Adler & Know, 2002). Lastly, closure is organizational boundaries and is associated with both individual and group identity. Closure also defines members from non-members and continued membership is monitored by rules, norms, and perceived loyalty to the collective (Coleman, 1987; Leana and Van Buren, 1999).

Other qualities of organizational social capital have been identified by other authors. Leana and Van Buren (1999) identify 3 positive qualities supported elsewhere in the literature (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Cohen & Prusak, 2001, Gabbay & Leenders, 2001, Lesser & Storck, 2004; Oh, Chung & Labianca, 2004; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998; Walker, Kogut & Shan, 1997):

1. Social capital as a justification for individual commitment: This is similar to earlier discussion of the public good in which the individual defers short-term interest in favor of long-term organization goals. Organizational social capital then functions as a *rationale* for deferring immediate gain and profit, with higher pay out for the individual and organization. This is similar to *associability* or competence and willingness to participate in collective action directed at organizational goals versus general sociability.

2. Social capital facilitates a flexible work organization: If one agrees that organizations need to be flatter, more engaging, and utilize networks as a way of becoming more competitive, then social capital facilitates this structure and related activities.

Organizational social capital facilitates teamwork, group identity, and creation of

networks to increase quality, productivity, and creativity. Social capital helps *work clusters* interact, crossover, and remain flexible depending on the task. Generalized trust is present among group members, which supports high organizational performance and productivity.

3. Social capital manages collective action: Social capital reduces *transaction costs* (contracts, formal rules, negotiated methods of work, etc.) associated with doing business in the organization. Social capital acts a substitute for formal work arrangements, job descriptions, and hierarchical monitoring of performance common in traditional organizations. The organization can operate more efficiently and effectively because of productive social relations, mutual commitment and group solidarity, and accountability based on norms and values adopted by the collective.

Leana and Van Buren (1999) also identify potential downside to organizational social capital. For example, creating right conditions for social capital do not come without costs, Costs can include expenses for maintaining networks and teams including time, space, culture, and organizational activities that promote interaction among members (Cohen & Prusak, 2001). Also costs may include *slack resources*, such as maintaining staff levels when production is down in order to maintain relationships and networks for latter application. However, these costs can be construed as investments in social capital in the hopes of increased returns.

Costs may include non-monetary cost or institutional losses such as *forgone innovation* and loss of *institutional power*. *Forgone innovation* refers to social capital being a double edge sword, meaning innovation may be stifled when group norms, roles and practices cause resistance to new ideas and change. *Institutional power* refers to how

functional and productive organizational power arrangements may become destabilized. For example, expressions of power associated with positive leadership and influence (vision, purpose and energy), which are thought to be beneficial to an organization become impotent and are deferred to the group in the name of maintaining group cohesion and dominance.

In addition to monetary and institutional losses, Lesser and Cothrel (2004) note barriers to social capital that some organization may not be able to overcome. They cite:

- Constraints on time due to high volumes of routinized or individual work.
- Extensive decentralization or long distances between different work settings.
- Poor physical space that limits interaction.
- Societal and corporate cultures based on individual ability and success.
- Natural limits to the size of social networks.
- Difference in cognitive abilities and interpretations among staff, which suggest that people may not be on the same page.

For some organizations, practically evaluating these barriers may suggest too high a cost socially, politically, and economically, or overcoming these barriers may seem too far out in the future.

Social Capital in Human Service Organizations

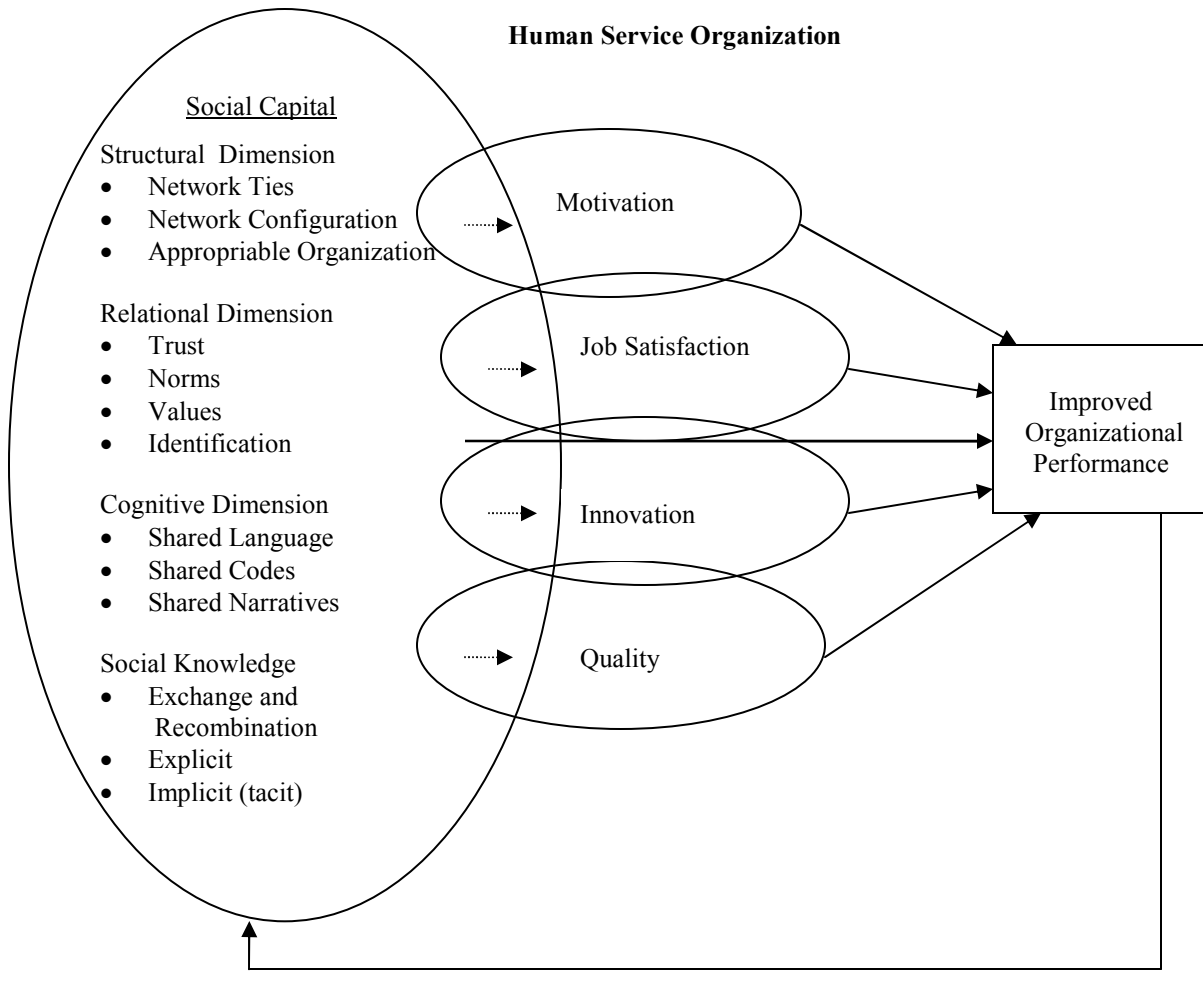
Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) main premise is that social relationships and knowledge are important assets of an organization, and these dimensions of social capital influence social connectivity and the creation and transfer of intellectual capital necessary for competitive advantage. Competitive advantage is linked to the concept of organizational performance, a concept more familiar to human service organizations.

Public human service organizations pursue more efficient and effective organizational performance based on other salient elements found in the public sector in addition to competitiveness, such as public policy, accountability, laws and regulations, service outcomes for clients, fiscal responsibility, and public support for its activities and services. Social capital may offer an avenue for further advancing organizational performance of human service sector including child welfare beyond the entrenched bureaucratic paradigm.

Many argue that all organizations provide unique social settings and possess distinctive capacities to create social capital if organization executives, managers and supervisors invest in creating the right organizational conditions (Alder & Kwon, 2002; Cohen & Prusak, 2001; Bolino, Turnley, and Bloodgood (2002); Leana & Van Buren, 1999). The right organizational conditions associated with social capital bear a resemblance to Quality of Work Life, organizational learning, and social learning principles discussed earlier in the context of human service organizations and thought to have a positive relationship to job satisfaction, motivation, innovation, and quality of services. However social capital emerges somewhat differently from these other organizational principles because of strategic and deliberate investment on the part of executives, managers and supervisors, through the use of money, time, space, culture, energy and social activities, to create a proper social context in anticipation of returns, either monetary or through better organizational performance.

Figure 2.2 is a model of social capital in a human service organization that builds on the model developed by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998).

Figure 2.2
 Social Capital in Human Service Organizations: Theoretical Relationship to
 Organizational Concepts and to Organizational Performance



Adapted from: Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998). Social capital, intellectual capital, and the organizational advantage. *The Academy of Management Review*, 23, 242-266.

The model of organizational social capital seen in Figure 2.2 contains the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions described in the Nahapiet and Ghoshal model: however, a fourth dimension is added entitled *social knowledge*. Nahapiet and Ghoshal modeled social knowledge or intellectual capital as an outcome of social capital. In postulating their model, they acknowledge that the pattern of influence between social capital and social knowledge may also occur in the opposite direction. They theorize a

“coevolution” of social capital and intellectual capital; meaning a highly related, simultaneous evolutionary, and reciprocal relationship between two theoretical concepts. This suggests that some level of social knowledge is needed to underpin the development of social capital and may also serve as an indicator of its presence. For this reason, social knowledge is included in the model. The components of the social knowledge dimension suggest the occurrence of exchange and recombination of explicit and tacit knowledge as discussed in the Nahapiet and Ghoshal model.

This modeling of social capital in a human service organization uses overlapping circles to highlight the theoretical relationship between organizational social capital and the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. The dotted arrows embedded in the overlapping areas of the circles does not imply that social capital is an antecedent or cause of the other four organizational concepts discussed in this study, rather, it is meant to illustrate social capital may support these concepts in a positive way. Each smaller circle slightly overlaps the neighboring circle which indicates the overall theoretical relationship between these four concepts supported by the literature. Solid arrows emanating from all the circles point to the *improved organizational performance* box, suggesting that all 5 concepts work collectively to enhance the functioning of human service organizations.

Figure 2.2 suggests that organizational social capital has a positive relationship to motivation and job satisfaction; however, rarely does the literature on social capital discuss any relationship to job satisfaction and motivation, except for Flap & Völker (2001). They found the social aspects of work found in social capital related to some dimensions of job satisfaction, with some theoretical implications to motivation. There

tends to be better theoretical discussion on a positive relationship between social capital and innovation and, by extension, quality of services (Alder & Kwon, 2002; Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002; Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sheriff, 2005; Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004). Subramaniam and Youndt, (2005) and Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) appear to have conducted the only empirical studies directly linking social capital directly to innovation. Any relationship between social capital and job satisfaction, motivation and quality still remains highly theoretical and one must scan the literature for more “clues” on any potential relationships. Fortunately, clues can be found in the social science, management, and organization science literature and applied to the dimensions Nahapiet and Ghoshal, (1998) identified to explore theoretical relationships between social capital and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. Using Nahapiet and Ghoshal’s conceptualizations of these dimensions, these relationships are explored and discussed within the context of the social capital in human service organizations model with implications to child welfare.

Beginning with the structural dimension, this dimension implies that organizational arrangements shape the structure of social relationships. Rigid hierarchical structures mainly sanctions vertically relationships related to task. The application of social capital implies altering the traditional form of hierarchy and specialization in organizations so that network ties are broaden and sanctioned horizontally, diagonally and vertically. Burt (1997) suggest this represents a new organization form which he calls *network organizations*. This new configurations of ties allows members to bridge to otherwise disconnected persons allowing new and fresh information to flow to work units (Burt, 2001; Oh, Chung & Labianca, 2004) and is appropriable to different setting and

tasks. The altering or flattening of hierarchical structure does not suggest the abrogation of authority, but does imply the sharing of power, the empowerment of workers, and becoming more of an enabling bureaucracy (Alder & Borys, 1996). The role of hierarchy (executives, managers, supervisors) under social capital changes from authority and control, to one that promotes social communities of work or communities of practice, thereby supporting knowledge exchange and combination and the creation of intellectual capital .

As mentioned earlier, the structural dimension of social capital is similar to the Quality of Work Life, organizational learning, and social learning perspectives applied to organizations and thought to be linked to job satisfaction and motivation (Camman & Ledford, 1984; Cohen & Austin, 1994; Gowdy, 1988). All of these perspectives, including social capital, call for a lessening of hierarchy and changing the nature of work, whereby, workers are more participatory and engaging at work and assume greater collective control over work processes directed goals and objectives. More authority, power, and decision-making is granted to workers creating more variety and challenges at work, which workers may find more stimulating and intrinsically rewarding and satisfying (Camman & Ledford, 1984; Paul, Brain, Niehoff & Turnley, 2000; Petter, Byrnes, Choi, Fegan & Miller, 2002) . In addition to motivation and job satisfaction, the structure dimensions of social capital broaden the ability of organizational members to reach, connect, and establish relationships with others allowing for better diffusion of information and knowledge, a feature often associated with innovation and service quality (Subramaniam and Youndt, 2005; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). For the other side of the same coin, we know, a common complaint of child welfare workers is the overly

bureaucratization of work based on hierarchy and specialization. Child welfare workers report being discouraged about their work because these structures create feelings of: client are not being helped, poor working conditions, isolation and lack of support, too much responsibility with little authority, an over emphasis on paperwork and reporting, and promulgation of too many rules and procedures (Arches, 1991; Cohen & Austin, 1994; Esposito & Fine, 1985; Reagh, 1994; Samantrai, 1992; Rycraft, 1994; Westbrook, Ellis, & Ellett, 2006). Many of these factors are contrary to the intrinsic needs of workers and may cause the formation of negative attitudes toward work, which may lower motivation, job satisfaction, propensity to innovate and concerns about service quality.

The relational dimension describes social relationships in the organizations, often in the form of friendships, camaraderie, frequent and congenial social exchanges, and joint cooperation that one has with other members based on normative dimensions especially trust, reciprocity, obligation, and group identity. Closely related to norms are values, especially social work values that should figure prominently in the delivery of human services. Social work values include service, social justice, dignity of people, integrity, competence, and importance of human relationships (National Association of Social Workers, Code of Ethics, 2006). It is through these on-going social relationships that people pursue social motives such as recognition, approval, reputation, and status (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). These social motives are easily recognized as intrinsic factors often associated with motivation. In a study by Flap & Völker (2001), they found that social motives, such as co-worker approval and positive relationships at work, are related to some dimensions of job satisfaction, especially when these social motives are tied to goal attainment; similar to goal theory presented earlier as one theory of a

motivation. Pearce and Randel (2004) found a positive relationship between job performance, a concept often linked to job satisfaction and motivation, and Workplace Social Inclusion, which they define as approximate to social capital and its normative dimensions. The relation dimension of social capital also reinforces earlier discussion on innovation as social process (Jaskyte & Dressler, 2005), involving interpersonal communication and interaction to exchange ideas and knowledge (Perry-Smith & Shalley, 2003). Ghoshal and Moran (1996) suggest that organizations are more apt to fail at innovations unless they create a social context firm in trust, commitment, and cooperation, in which the exchange of ideas and thinking can occur. Similarly, the relational dimension may also apply to service quality. Quality is sometimes used as a measure of organizational performance (Latting et al., 2004; Oh, Chung, Labianca, 2004) or is defined as an organizational outcome (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). The relational dimension supports the social process that shapes collective perceptions about quality (Oh, Chung, Labianca, 2004), or generates agreements about outcomes based on collective understanding (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998).

The relational dimensions and its normative qualities may also help establish behavioral and emotional attachments to group. These emotional attachments can also serve as a form of social support to workers during times of low morale or times of crisis (Oh, Chung, & Labiana, 2004). Some child welfare literature does support the notion that social support, both from supervisors and co-workers, acts to buffer or reduce stress, burnout, and job dissatisfaction, all conditions associated with staff turnover in public child welfare (Dickinson & Perry, 2001; Nissly, Mor Barak, & Levin, 2005). For example, Yoo (2002) reports that child welfare workers identified social support as

related to their job satisfaction and also buffering the effects of bureaucracy and poor leadership. Still others report that only specific forms of social support directly related to tasks, such as informational and instrumental support, act to buffer burnout among child welfare workers (Himle & Jayaratne, 1991). One study suggest that gallows humor told among co-workers in child welfare may operate as a form of social support, because it facilitates camaraderie, shared understanding, and helps workers deal with difficult work related situations (Westbrook, Ellis, & Ellett, 2006).

The cognitive dimension of social capital can be described as mutual understanding and purpose among members in the organizations through using shared language, codes, and narratives, which shapes an organization's intellectual capital (Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002). Cohen & Prusak (2001) conceptualization of the cognitive dimension of social capital is *social talk* and *story telling*, which includes causal conversation, chatting, anecdotal accounts, myths, hero stories, failure stories, war stories, gossip and stories about the future told among organizational members informally gathered to "talk shop". Swap, Leonard, Shields and Abrams (2004) view story telling as instrumental for learning, transfer of knowledge, and creation of social knowledge in organizations. In addition, social talk conveys and amplifies norms, values, attitudes and behaviors that comprise organizational culture (Lesser & Prusak, 2004). Story telling is also associated with helping to maintain organizational memory, acting as a repository of important events, successes, failures, and past problems and solutions that may have relevance to present time (Lesser & Stock, 2004). Social talk and story telling are believed to: reinforce organizational purpose and mission, help clarify organizational goals and objectives, and act as a bonding mechanism and bolster group identity among

members (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005). However despite these many purported benefits, Snowden (2004) warns that narratives and storytelling must communicate a clear and identifiable message or moral, otherwise organizations risk the creation of the *anti-story*: the cynical and counter reaction to the goodness and benefits of storytelling just described.

Social talk and story telling are highly interactive social processes and requires a social content where group members “share what they know, help one another accomplish tasks, and enjoy the satisfactions of membership in a group.” (Prusak & Cohen p. 89), which can be viewed as social support at work. Child welfare research suggest that social support at work is related to job satisfaction (Dickinson & Perry, 2001; Nissly, Mor Barak, & Levin, 2005; Yoo 2002). Similarly, social talk and storytelling may also promote Workplace Social Inclusion, which Pearce and Randel (2004) found linked to job performance. Brown and Duguid (2001) also state that social acquisition of knowledge (learning), in this case through social talk and storytelling, is an intrinsic need, which theoretically suggest that satisfying this need is leads to job satisfaction (Wright, 2001). Social talk and storytelling may also help build positive relationships at work, which Flap & Völker (2001), found related to some dimensions of job satisfaction. Personal narratives and storytelling may shape what Brown and Duguid (1991) call a *cognitive map* of problems-solving skills and more meaningful practice that builds a sense of confidence and competence to deal with realities in the field. Confidence and competence are often included in description of self-efficacy, a concept strongly associated with motivation at work. (Bandura, 1997; Gist & Mitchell, 1992).

The cognitive dimension of social capital is linked to innovation. Narratives and storytelling facilitates the process of exchange and combination of ideas and knowledge, and buttress the knowledge-innovation link (Ghoshal & Moran, 1996; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Subramaniam & Youndt, 2005; Zander & Kogut, 1995). Organizational innovations often stems from the need to overcome problems (reactive) or the desire to alter the environment through new products and services (proactive). Brown and Duguid (1991) argue that storytelling can function as a diagnoses process for problems in field. Stories about similar problems are recounted and are used to interpret and diagnose the presenting problem, often leading to innovative solutions. Similarly, Inkpen and Tang (2005) state that working through problems, often the context or message embedded in narratives and storytelling, promotes cognitive accuracy seen as important to innovation. The cognitive dimension also reinforces shared understanding of organization mission and goals and important aspects of organizational culture (Inkpen & Tsang; 2005; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998). The social context in which the cognitive dimension is embedded and supporting culture brings together asymmetries in knowledge and experience which support proactive innovations and improvements to products and services (Inkpen & Tang, 2005; Jaskyte & Dressler, 2005; Subramaniam, & Youth, 2005).

Social knowledge dimension placed within the model acknowledges knowledge as important and key asset of organizations consistent with knowledge-based theory of the firm. Its presence in the model is also meant to account for its potential coevolution qualities to these other three dimensions. For this reasons, discussion of social knowledge theoretical relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality was interwoven in the preceding discussion on the structural, relational, and cognitive

dimensions. The model implies that an important consideration for human service organizations, including child welfare, is not only the acquisition of knowledge, but also knowledge diffusion within the organization (Balfour & Neff, 1993, Herie & Martin, 2002; Reid, 2002). Recent efforts to professionalize the field of child welfare are highly based on the infusion of knowledge through specialized education, training, and expansion of empirically-based knowledge related to child welfare (Jones & Okamura, 2000). These efforts can be seen as large investments in human capital and but lesser attention has been paid to the diffusion of knowledge within human service organizations (Herie & Martin, 2002). Subramaniam and Youndt (2005) imply that organizations that rely heavily on human capital for performance and ignore social capital do not realize the full potential of their employees. When interacting with the other three dimensions of social capital, social knowledge specific to social work has a greater potential to be disseminate and circulate among organizational member.

Summary

This chapter began with an introduction to human service organizations and an overview of bureaucracy as the main organizational type found in public human service organizations. The nation's child welfare system, as a form of public bureaucracy and human service organization was presented, along with current problems and challenges confronted by the system. Part of the solutions to overcoming the problems faced by the child welfare system may reside in changing the organizational context in which work is performed, which is currently associated with poor motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services. The relationship among this organizational concepts were explored which suggest that they in turn are associated with high staff turnover rates

and poor organizational performance in child welfare organizations. A broad exploration of concept of social capital was presented along with how social capital may operate in the context of private for-profit organizations to improve their competitive advantage and organizational performance. Finally, a operational definition and model of social capital in human service organizations was developed drawing on theoretical concepts and ideas found across a number of academic disciplines, such as economics and sociology, which have influenced private sector for-profit organizations. In the methodological chapter to follow, some primary elements of the model, social capital in human service organization, will be explored and tested using secondary data from the Survey of Organizational Excellence. Secondary data will present challenges and limitations in testing all elements of the model, but represent a starting point for further exploration of social capital within the context of human service organizations.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter begins by introducing the scope of this study in relation to the model developed in Chapter 2 and called social capital in human services organizations. Because this study used employee survey data, this chapter includes a discussion of organizational surveys and their usefulness for collecting data about organizations. The source of the study's data, The Survey of Organization Excellence (SOE) and the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Service (DPRS) are introduced. The use, selection, and rationale of the study's variables using secondary data are presented. The chapter concludes with presentation of the data analysis plan.

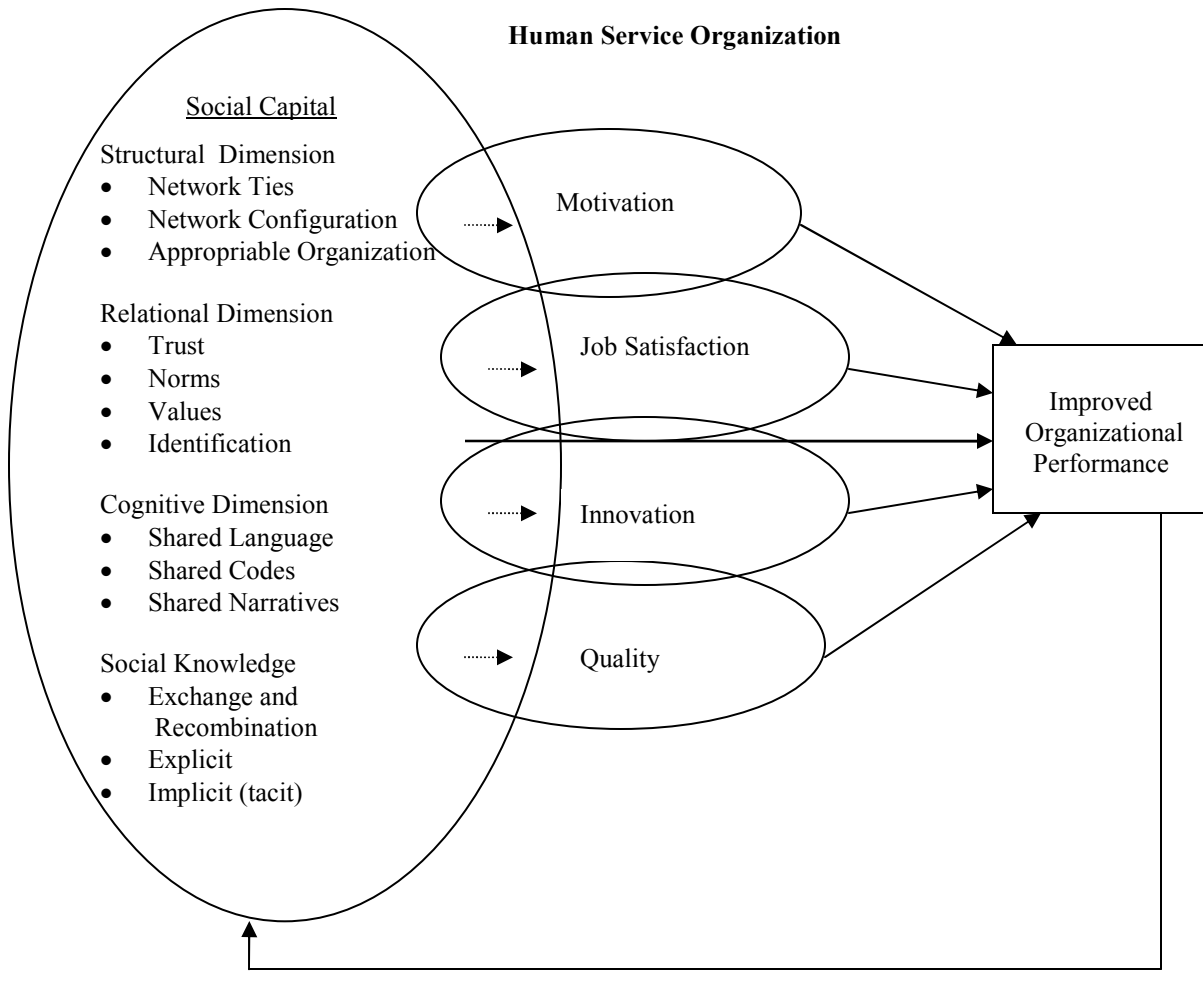
Scope of the Study

In response to research question one, a model of social capital in human service organizations was developed and presented in Chapter 2. Full examination of the model is beyond the scope of this study, because basic premises of the model, such as the multidimensionality of social capital, are yet untested. Also the enormity of task, from beginning to end of the model, logically requires an incremental approach based on analysis of some initial findings and reevaluation of the model as the future study proceeds. Elements of the model to be explored and tested are those most related to the research questions 2 through 4, and relate to operationalization, measurement, and relationships among concepts. For convenience, this study's research questions and the model, social capital in human services organizations are reprinted below.

Research Questions.

1. How can social capital and its theorized relationship to work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality be modeled for human service/child welfare organizations based on salient attributes and characteristics of these concepts described in the literature?
2. What are the primary attributes and characteristics of social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality that can be used to operationalize and explore the model in a human service/child welfare organization?
3. Are work motivation and job satisfaction perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?
4. Are organizational innovation and quality of services perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?
5. Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different job assignments?
6. Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different demographic characteristics?

Figure 3.1
 Social Capital in Human Service Organizations: Theoretical Relationship to
 Organizational Concepts and to Organizational Performance



Adapted from: Nahapiet & Ghoshal (1998). Social capital, intellectual capital, and the organizational advantage. *The Academy of Management Review*, 23, 242-266.

Yoo (2002) emphasizes the need to examine organizational characteristics and context that may have an impact on client services, especially among child welfare organizations. Exploration of certain aspects of the social capital in human services model and the study's research questions present a reasonable starting point for examination of social capital in human services organizations. To begin an exploration

and examination of the model, the organizational concepts under study must be operationalized. The approach used in this study was to extract salient qualities and characteristics of organizational social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality found in the literature and use these salient qualities and characteristics as a basis for selection of SOE/DPRS survey items. The objective of this approach was to select a set of variable items that reasonably represented the concept of social capital in organizations as seen in Figure 3.1. Given the vast array of conceptualizations and definitions of social capital found in the literature, the operational definition of organizational social capital developed for this study (see p. 68) also helped to guide this approach. Similarly, another objective was to select a set of variable items that reasonably represented the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. The selected SOE/DPRS items and the rationale for selection are presented later in this chapter.

If a set of variables could be identified and justified from the SOE/DPRS data, then the relational aspects posed in questions 3 and 4 between social capital and the other organizational concepts under study could be examined. The intent of this exploratory study is to assess the relationships of social capital to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality and determine whether the results lend support to any aspects of the model, social capital in human service organizations. Other testing of model that better explains causality and other relationships that may be suggested by the model can be explored in future research, depending on the findings from this study. If this study is successful in answering research questions 2 through 4, research questions 5 and 6 would

be addressed by examining group differences in perceptions of social capital using employee demographic and employment characteristics.

Limitations of Secondary Data

The use of secondary data imposes limitations to this study since secondary data do not always precisely indicate of the concepts under study. Rubin and Babbie (2005) note this limitation by stating that data collected for one purpose may not precisely measure the constructs used in a different study. The researcher must be concerned about slippage between the construct and the indicator used to measure it (Hyman, 1972). In recognizing this problem, Hyman states that a significant benefit of secondary data analysis is higher level of abstraction in thinking about the concepts under study, versus more narrow thinking about concepts and indicators developed for a primary inquiry. The issue then becomes whether the original data come close or are approximate indicators for variables used in another study. In asking new questions of old data, the researcher attempts to maximize the fit between the research question and the data, which can benefit to the field (Elder, 1993). There are also the very practical benefits, such as judicious use of resources such as time and money and less unwarranted intrusion on subjects (Hyman, 1972). This study used SOE data to explore new ideas concerning organizational theory and concepts consistent with the benefits mentioned by Elder and Hyman.

Organizational Surveys

Many contemporary organizations view surveys as an important tool for understanding organizational life and its relationship to organizational performance and excellence. Organizational life refers to the many dimensions and aspects that make up

an organization including job satisfaction, motivation, autonomy, commitment and empowerment, and are thought to be related to employee and organizational performance. Organizational life is closely linked to organizational culture also seen as critical to organizational performance (Schiemann, 1996). Organizational surveys directed at employees gather data on employee feelings, perceptions, and behaviors concerning different aspects of organizational life and culture. These data help organizational leaders better understand their employees and their organizations, a positive ingredient for improving organizational performance.

Employee surveys as a formal methodological approach gained widespread acceptance in the 1950s. Initially surveys were used to assess workers' interest in unionization efforts and to gauge employee' satisfaction, morale, and motivation (Kraut, 1996). Organizational efforts have evolved to capture a broader range of organizational data such as perception of salaries and benefits, fairness and equity, training and strategic initiatives, to name a few. Church and Waclawski (1998) describe organizational surveys as "A systematic process of data collection designed to quantitatively measure specific aspects of organizational members' experience as they relate to work" (p.4). Several authors have enumerated benefits of organizational surveys (Kraut, 1996; Lauderdale, 1999; Smith, 2003), but their primary advantage is organizational assessment or diagnosis for directing change in an organization (Nadler, 1996). Connected to assessment and change is bench-marking, that is comparing survey results with some predetermined measure to identify relative strengths and weakness of the organization and progress related to change (Church & Waclawski, 1998; Lauderdale, 1999). In essence, organizational surveys inform leadership on the state or condition of their

organization and allow them to make informed decisions to address problems and guide the change process.

Survey of Organizational Excellence (SOE)

The beginnings of SOE and its relationship to Texas state government can be traced to 1979 (Lauderdale, 1999). Then Governor William Clements was interested in improving the performance of Texas state government, which he assessed as performing poorly and focusing too narrowly on regulatory matters and activities. This regulatory focus discouraged the growth of businesses and other economic enterprises. Consistent with the Governor's business and public background, he believed that government had a broader function to support economic expansion and growth. Clements also contended that government organizations needed to adopt a business model of practice, meaning an operational orientation that reflected goals, outcomes, and results. Governor Clements then approached the President of the University of Texas at Austin, Peter Flawn, to identify faculty members who might be interested in polling state employees about how they felt working for state government. Both the Governor and the President viewed this partnership as a way of broadening the mission of state government to include economic expansion and growth. Two faculty members, Dr. Martha Williams and Dr. Michael Lauderdale, agreed to participate in this venture with the Governor's office. Dr. Williams and Dr. Lauderdale developed the forerunner to the SOE, called the Employee Attitude Survey (EAS). Under the auspices of the Texas Employee Attitude Assessment Program, data on several aspects and dimensions of work were obtained from Texas State employees from 1979 to 1992 by Dr. Williams and Dr. A. James Schwab.

In 1993, the Texas Employee Attitude Assessment Program and EAS were reevaluated and refined and the program and survey became known as the Survey of Organization Excellence or SOE. Some significant improvements to the SOE since 1993 include bench-marking, that is comparison to external measures on how the surveyed organization is performing and more rapid return of survey results to the organization, usually in about 4 weeks. The SOE currently views itself as supporting organizations' human resources to build viable institutions, businesses, communities, and economies that will serve Texas into the 21st century (Survey of Organizational Excellence, 2005). In essence the SOE represents a partnership between organizational leaders and workers for emulating a learning and thinking organization. The SOE continues to play an important role in ongoing efforts to improve Texas state government, especially assisting organizational leaders with issues such as accountability, performance, outcomes, and expectations of doing more with less.

The SOE Instrument

The SOE survey consists of five sections containing 122 items (See Appendix "A"). The first section of the survey contains primarily demographic items, as well as items related to organizational role and promotion and personal household income. The second section of the survey contains 59 items measuring 20 constructs related to five major dimensions of work in the organization using a 5 point Likert scale. Table 3.1 lists the SOE dimensions and related constructs of measured in the second section.

Table 3.1
Survey of Organizational Excellence
Dimensions and Constructs

Dimensions	Constructs
Work Group	Supervisor Effectiveness Fairness Team Effectiveness Diversity
Accommodations	Fair Pay Physical Environment Benefits Employee Development
Organizational Features	Change Orientation Goal Oriented Holographic Strategic Quality
Information	Internal Availability External
Personal Demands	Job Satisfaction Time & Stress Burn-out Empowerment

The third section of the survey asks employees about their perceptions regarding compensation and training. Sixteen Likert scale items ask employees their perceptions about salaries, fairness and equity related to compensation, training, and satisfaction with employer benefits packages. The fourth section contains 11 items on organization wide issues, both internally, such as mission and internal communication, and externally, such as governing bodies and relationships with other organizations. Eleven Likert scale items comprise section four. The fifth and the last section of the survey is for supplemental or

customized items that organizations can pose to their employees. Currently this section can accommodate 20 additional items.

The Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services

The study's population and unit of analysis are employees of the former Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services (DPRS). The DPRS was selected because it is a large public child welfare agency, similar to descriptions found in the Chapter 2. Due to recent reorganization in Texas State government, DPRS was recently consolidated under the Texas Health and Human Services Commission and renamed the Department of Family and Protective Services. Data and units of analysis do not reflect these changes in state government for the year data were collected, however these data do represent the most recent available for child protective service employees. Under the reorganization, these same child protective service employees and programs continue to provide the majority of child welfare service in the State of Texas. Like many public human service organizations across the country, the DPRS provided other human services in addition to child welfare. The DPRS' mission was to protect children, elderly, and other vulnerable populations from abuse and neglect. DPRS classified its programming as Child Protective Services, Prevention and Early Intervention, Adult Protective Services, Child Care Licensing and Residential Care Licensing.

The DPRS had participated in the SOE since 1996. The DPRS data set used for this study was for fiscal year September 1, 2003 through August 31, 2004. Six thousand and eight (6,308) surveys were distributed to all employees through the organization's mail system. Surveys were returned directly to SOE and electronically scanned. If employees choose, they could respond to the survey on-line and submit their completed

survey electronically. All employees' responses were anonymous. For the study year, 4,006 were returned for a return rate of 63.1 percent. Rubin and Babbie (2005) state that a survey response rate of at least 50 percent or greater is considered adequate for analysis and reporting. Permission to use the SOE data has been granted by Dr. Michael Lauderdale, faculty member who oversees the SOE. Table 3.2 lists the program/task areas reported by respondents employed by DPRS.

Table 3.2
SOE Data from DPRS by Program Areas
Data Report 2003-2004

Child Protective Services	2, 621	65%
Adult Protective Services	432	11%
Child Care/Residential Care Licensing	298	7%
Administrative/ Operational Support	586	15%
Coding Errors	61	1.5
Missing Data	8	Less than 1%

Source: The Survey of Organizational Excellence, 2003-2004, Texas
Department of Protective and Regulatory Services, Austin, TX: University of
Texas

The categories seen on Table 3.2 are summaries of main program or administrative areas. The classification of Child Protective Services includes employees assigned to Prevention and Early Intervention and this category represents the largest group of respondents, followed by Administrative/Operational Support, Adult Protective Services, and Child Care/Residential Care Licensing. Coding errors and missing data

represent less than 2 percent. Child care and residential care licensing are somewhat similar in function and were combined into a single category. The category of Administrative/Operational Support includes respondents who identified themselves as working in executive, administrative, operational support, legal and contracts services, professional development, finance, or other positions related to administration and operational activities, which primarily supported the agency’s direct programs and services.

Selection of Variables

Organizational Social Capital. The criteria for selection of SOE items used to explore and analyze organizational social capital are based on salient qualities and characteristics of these concepts found in the literature. These qualities and characteristics are summarized in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3
Summary of Key Dimensions of Social Capital in Human Service Organizations
(See Chapter 2: Literature Review)

Structural Dimension: The access or pathway members have to each other based on structural arrangements.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network Ties • Network Configuration • Appropriability 	<p>Connection among members; who you know and who you have access to.</p> <p>Density of ties, ease of access, and hierarchical arrangements.</p> <p>Degree to which social relationships developed for one purpose are easily transferable to other setting.</p>
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Relationship Dimension: Characteristics and quality of the relationship between members.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust • Norms • Values • Identity 	<p>Mutual confidence that an individual has in exchange transactions that other parties will not exploit one’s vulnerabilities</p> <p>Reciprocity, obligations, cooperation, sharing of information, teamwork, openness and tolerance.</p> <p>Respect, service, social justice, dignity of people, integrity, competence and importance of human relationships.</p> <p>Sense of self-being and uniqueness based on reference and membership to group.</p>
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Cognitive Dimension: Transmission and shared understanding of social knowledge associated with shared vision and sense of mission.

- Shared Language Common words, phrases, terminology, and acronyms.
- Shared Codes Systematizing and categorizing of information and understanding.
- Shared Narratives Storytelling, myths, gossip, and narratives about work

Social Knowledge: the knowledge or knowing capacity of a social collective and a key asset.

- Exchange and Recombination Social exchange of information, knowledge, and experiences among members and the process of rearrangement of knowledge leading to new ideas and knowledge.
 - Explicit Conscience awareness of facts, data, information and new or different objective knowledge.
 - Implicit (Tacit) Intuitive or subconscious knowledge embedded in culture, routines, and codified as rules or procedures.
-

Twenty-one (21) SOE items from DPRS 2003/2004 data were selected as variables for analysis of organizational social capital based on their logical proximity to one of the four dimensions of social capital. The items and the rationale for their selection are as follows:

1. Structural Dimension (Pattern of Relationships)

Variables:

- Item #14: The right information gets to the right people at the right time.
- Item # 17: We feel the channels we must go through at work are reasonable
- Item # 20: We have an opportunity to participate in the goal setting process.
- Item #29: There is a real feeling of team work.
- Item #82: We know how our work impacts others in the organization.

Rationale: These items when scored high may suggest less rigid hierarchy and that work trends that are more communal, rather than specialized; qualities described in the structural dimension of social capital. Item #14 may suggest that information is fluid and moves through the organization horizontally, diagonally, and is not hampered by

rigid hierarchy. Item #17 may suggest that hierarchy is reasonable and perhaps even supportive of team work processes suggested in item #29. Item #20 may suggest opportunity to participate in the organization affairs outside of a specialized role. Item #29 suggests structure and work is oriented toward collective work and bonding among members. Item #82 may suggest access to and knowledge about others within the structure.

2. Cognitive Dimension (Shared Understanding)

Variables:

- Item #3: Our goals are consistently met or exceeded.
- Item #22: We seem to be working toward the same goals.
- Item #45: We balance our focus on both long range and short goals
- Item #81: We understand the state, local, national, and global issues that impact the organization.
- Item #84: I have a good understanding of our mission, vision and strategic plan

Rationale: None of the SOE items indicates that shared narratives may be occurring in any overt way, nonetheless, items #3, #22, #44, and # 84 suggest shared understanding, interpretation, and similar perceptions of the organizational goals and mission described in the cognitive dimension. Item # 81 may suggest issue collective interpretation and understanding on broader topics relate to organizational purpose and mission. It seems plausible, that any shared understanding, etc., suggested by these items may be the result of shared language and codes, and perhaps, shared narratives.

3. Relational Dimension (Normative Qualities related to Relationships)

Variables:

- Item #9: Every employee is valued
- Item #16: The work atmosphere encourages open and honest communication.
- Item #23: There is basic trust among employees and supervisors.
- Item #41: Within my workplace, there is a feeling of community.
- Item #49. The people I work with treat each other with respect.
- Item #52: Our employees are generally ethical in the workplace.

Rationale: Items #9, #16, # 23, #49 and #52 suggests normative elements described in the relational dimension, especially the concept of trust often found in descriptions of social capital. Item #41 is suggests identity, closure, and bonding also found in this dimension.

4. Social Knowledge (Intellectual Capital)

Variables:

- Item #15: We integrate information and act intelligently upon that information.
- Item # 36: Training is made available to us so that we can do our jobs better.
- Item # 48: Work groups are actively involved in making work processes more effective.
- Item #76: Information and knowledge are shared openly within this organization.
- Additional Item # 8: I have been given adequate reference material specific to my job responsibilities.

Rationale: As previously stated, social knowledge may indicate the presence of social capital. Item # 36 may suggest the acquisition of knowledge is important and valued in the organization. Items #15 and #76 suggest the exchange, combination and use of information and knowledge. These three items suggest the acquisition and

diffusion of explicit knowledge. Additional Item # 8 was included in the 2003/2004 survey. Additional Item # 8 and Item #48 appears to capture the essence of tacit knowledge that sometimes is codified or manifested in organizational routines and work processes. Additionally, Item #48 may suggest that work groups are supported by organizational culture and help transmit tacit knowledge.

Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, and Quality.

The criteria for selection of items used to explore and analyze the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality are based on salient qualities and characteristics of these concepts found in the literature. These salient qualities and characteristics are summarized on Table 3.4. Twenty-three (23) SOE items from DPRS 2003/2004 data were selected for these concepts. The items and the rationale specific to each concept follow Table 3.4

Table 3.4
Summary of Key Characteristics of Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation and Quality
(See Chapter 2: Literature Review)

Motivation	Stimulating willingness and free choice among workers to engage in behaviors directed at personal and organizational goals, linked to satisfy intrinsic and extrinsic needs and system of rewards.
Job Satisfaction	Worker’s psychological state resulting from one’s assessment of job that forms an attitude about their job. Satisfaction is linked to: satisfying of intrinsic and extrinsic needs, job characteristics and tasks, and organizational characteristics.
Innovation	The generation and implementation of new products and services thought to be an improvement or different from the old. Innovation is thought to be a highly interactive social process linked to social learning, which generates new thinking and ideas.
Quality	The difference between what customers expect and what customers receive. Quality is also based on worker’s perceptions of quality linked to interactions with customers and in relationship to organizational goals and outcomes.

1. Motivation refers to stimulating willingness and free choice among workers to engage in behaviors that achieve mutually reinforcing personal and organizational goals. These behaviors are generally associated with better individual and organizational performance and are highly desired by organizations. Seven (7) SOE items were selected that are weighted toward intrinsic factors of human needs, versus extrinsic factors, such as salaries and benefits. Intrinsic factors were selected because the literature supports the satisfying of intrinsic needs as more motivating than extrinsic needs, although both are considered important.

Variables:

- Item #25: We feel a sense of pride when we tell people that we work for this organization.
- Item #28: Outstanding work is recognized.
- Item # 30: We feel our efforts count.
- Item # 31: We are encouraged to learn from our mistakes.
- Item # 33: We are given accurate feedback about our performance.
- Additional Item # 15: I stay with the agency because I like helping my clients.

Rationale: Items #25, #30, #31 and #33 suggests intrinsic factors related to challenging work, self-actualization, recognition, and opportunities for growth. Item #28 is linked to recognition, but also incorporates the element of reward and social motive or social approval. Additional Item # 15 was additional SOE item available for response in the 2003/2004 survey. Additional Item #15 may function as a personal motivator based

on altruistic need to service others or personal commitment to occupation discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

2. Job satisfaction is a psychological state reflecting whether an employee likes his or her job based on work characteristics, such as on job tasks and routines, stressors associated with job, and overall morale. Low job satisfaction is highly related to worker turnover and absenteeism. Job satisfaction is an organizational construct found in SOE survey. Four of the variables listed below are survey items used to measure job satisfaction: items #24, #32, #42 and #43. Two others are added.

Variables:

- Item #21: Decision-making and control are given to employees doing the actual work
- Item #24: We are given the opportunity to do our best work
- Item # 32: We have adequate resources to do our jobs.
- Item # 42: The environment supports a balance between work and personal life.
- Item # 43: The pace of the work in this organization enables me to do a good job.
- Item #44: My job meets my expectations.

Rationale: The SOE constructs descriptions state that items #24, #32, #42 and #43 relate to job satisfaction but are heavily weighted to employee's perceptions of adequate time and availability of resources to perform their jobs. Two additional items are added to expand job satisfaction dimensions; Items #21 and #44. Item #21 suggests one may have the ability to make decisions and has control over work processes, which implies an empowered psychological state often linked to job satisfaction discussed in Chapter 2 under Quality of Work Life, organizational learning and social learning. Item

#44 is a SOE indicator for the construct burnout. Burnout is often associated with job satisfaction and this item suggests the job's ability to meet personal expectations is satisfying.

3. Innovation refers to generating and implementing of new ideas or thinking that leads to changes in processes, products, or services that benefiting both the organization and its clients. Innovation is thought to be highly linked to learning and knowledge generating new ideas and thinking. Innovation is viewed as a social process and is inclusive of others.

Variables:

- Item #2: We are constantly improving our services.
- Item #18: Work groups are trained to incorporate the opinion of others.
- Item # 46: My ideas and opinions count at work
- Item #47: People who challenge the status quo are valued.
- Item # 56: When possible, problems are solved before they become a crisis

Rationale: Item # 2 suggests a collective and articulates the relationships between innovation and improvement in processes, products, and services. Item # 18 also suggests a social dimension linked to inclusion of ideas (opinion). Similarly, Item #46 suggests new ideas are valued and encouraged. Item #47 may indicate that people who seek change will be supported, suggesting a positive culture for innovation. Items #2, #18, #46, and #47 suggest proactive innovation, versus reactive innovation suggested in Item #56, or the creation of innovative solutions to presenting problems.

4. Quality is described as client perceptions of the difference what they expect and what they actually receive, based on actual or perceived needs. Perceptions of quality are

also held by workers based on their observations and impressions of meeting client needs. Quality is often linked to organizational performance and sometimes viewed as an outcome. Quality is an organizational construct found in the SOE survey and it is described by the SOE as a principle of excellence linked to customer service, continuous improvement, and embedded in culture. Four of seven SOE items are selected as variables for quality, plus 1 additional item (#80) was selected, which is currently used by the SOE survey as an indicator of the construct “strategic”.

Variables:

- Item #1: We are known for the quality of service we provide
- Item #4: We produce high quality that has a low rate of error.
- Item #5: We know who our customers (those we serve) are.
- Item #6: We develop services to match our customers’ needs
- Item #80: We work well with the public.

Rationale: These items reflect workers’ perceptions of service quality based on the principles of customer service: value and worth of services, knowing your clients, and meeting client needs. Item #80 was added because quality, in part, may contribute to working well with the public and employees’ perceptions of this interaction. The following items are also used in the SOE survey as variables of quality but were not selected as variables for this study.

- Item #2: We are constantly improving our services.
- Item #28: Outstanding work is recognized.
- Item #32: We have adequate resources to do our jobs.

For this study, it is believed that item #2 would serve well as an indicator of innovation and Item #28 would serve well as an indicator of motivation (see rationales above). Item #32 is used both as an indicator of both job satisfaction and quality in the SOE survey. For this study, Item #32 is limited to an indicator of job satisfaction for purposes of clarity and discernment in data analysis.

Data Analysis Plan

SOE/DPRS data thought to indicators of social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were analyzed using SPSS. Items from the SOE survey used a five-point Likert scale which assessed the employee's levels of satisfaction or agreement for the item. A sixth optional response was selected but holds no scaled value. Responses on the Likert scale included: 1) Strongly Disagree, 2) Disagree, 3) Feel Neutral, 4) Agree, 5) Strongly Agree and 6) Don't Know/Not Applicable. These data when collected were ordinal level data, but were converted to metric data using numeric coding from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Any survey item above the neutral midpoint of 3.0 suggested that employees perceive the item more positively than negatively. Conversely scores below 3.0 were viewed negatively.

Organizational social capital was conceptualized for this study as a multidimensional concept thought to be comprised of related dimensions identified as: structural, cognitive, relational, and social knowledge that may reveal one overarching concept. Kreuger & Newman (2006) state that in trying to assess the relationship among several indicators to reveal hypothetical concept, factor analysis is the appropriate analysis. Further, Springer, Abell, and Hudson (2002) recommend an exploratory factor analysis approach when the literature offers little support for the psychometric properties

of the concept. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) state that exploratory factor analysis is associated with theory development and for exploring an operational definition of concept using observed variable items. Cronbach's alpha was used to assess the internal consistency reliability of the variables item loading on a factor. The other organizational concepts being explored in this study, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality also underwent factor analysis using the variable items identified in the selection of variables section. These variables items were thought to be indicators for motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality which factor analysis may reveal. Cronbach's alpha was used to measure the internal consistency reliability of the variable items loading on a factor.

Once the factor structures were revealed, factors were converted into new variables to examine the relationship of social capital to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality using standard multiple regression. Standard multiple regression is the appropriate analysis when trying to assess or explore the relationship among variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The factors that represented the concept of social capital were selected as independent variables in multiple regression analysis to explore their relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality used as dependent variables. Lastly, hierarchal multiple regressions were used to examine the influences of job assignment and demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, race/ethnicity and education, on relationships found between social capital and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality.

Chapter 4

Results

In response to research question number one, a model of social capital in human service organizations was developed to illustrate its potential relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. This chapter presents the analyses of data used to explore this model collected from The Survey of Organizational Excellence for the Department of Protective and Regulatory Services (SOE/DPRS) for the fiscal year September 1, 2003 through August 31, 2004. Analyses of these data are presented in four main parts. Part one is descriptive demographic data that reveals the characteristics of SOE/DPRS survey respondents by gender, age, racial/ethnic identification, and education. Part two addresses research questions number two through exploratory factor analysis using survey items from SOE/DPRS to examine the multidimensionality of social capital and to develop an operationalization of the concept. Factor analysis is also used to establish an operationalization of the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality for this study. Part three addresses research questions three and four, by examining the relationship of social capital to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality through the use of multiple regression analyses. Finally, part four addresses research questions four and five by examining employment and demographic differences on perceptions of social capital through *t*-test and ANOVA analyses. Some employment differences on perceptions of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality are also included in part four.

Demographic Characteristics of the Study's Population

Six thousand three hundred and eight (6,308) surveys were distributed to DPRS employees and 4,006 were returned for a return rate of 63.1%. Tables 4.1 through 4.4 presents the demographic characteristics of population represented in these data. Table 4.1 indicates females vastly out numbered males.

Table 4.1
Gender of Survey Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	3301	82.4%
Male	671	16.8%

Note. No response from 0.8%

Table 4.2 indicates that respondents who identified themselves as Anglo-American comprised a majority of the workforce.

Table 4.2
Race/Ethnic Identification of Survey Respondents

Race/Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
African-American	708	17.7%
Hispanic-American	882	22.0%
Anglo-American	2236	55.8%
Asian-American or Pacific Islander or Native American	61	1.5%
Multiracial/Other	78	1.9%

Note. No response from 1.0% of participants

Table 4.3 indicates that a majority of the workforce were between the ages of 30 to 49 years of age (56.4%), however under 30 and over 50 years of age were well represented in the workforce.

Table 4.3
Ages of Survey Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
16 to 29 years old	713	17.8%
30 to 39 years old	1195	29.8%
40 to 49 years old	1064	26.6%
50 to 59 years old	886	22.1%
= > 60 years old	116	2.9%

Note. No response from 0.8% of participants

Table 4.4 indicates that a substantial majority of respondents possessed a bachelor's degree, followed next by employees who possessed a master's degree.

Table 4.4
Education of Survey Respondents

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Did Not Finish High School	<5	Not Available
High School Diploma or GED	205	5.1%
Some College	463	11.6%
Associate Degree	140	3.5%
Bachelor's Degree	2388	59.6%
Master's Degree	747	18.6
Doctoral Degree	53	1.3%

Note. No response and "Did Not Finish High School" comprised 0.3 % of Survey Respondents

Factor Analysis Findings: The Multidimensionality of Social Capital

One aim of this exploratory study is to examine the hypothetical concept of organizational social capital in human service organizations using salient qualities and characteristics theorized and discussed in the literature. Many have called for more empirical testing of the concept, which still remains elusive and relatively untested (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Putnam (1995), a leading proponent of the concept in American civic society states that “We must sort out the dimensions of social capital, which is clearly not a unidimensional concept...” (p. 76). Research question number two is a response to these calls reflecting an exploration of measurement and operationalization of the concept and is restated below.

What are the primary attributes and characteristics of social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality that can be used to operationalize and explore the model in a human service/child welfare organization?

The model presented in this study conceptualized social capital as a multidimensional concept, possessing structural, relational, cognitive, and social knowledge dimensions respectively. Table 4.5 again summarizes these dimensions of social capital:

Table 4.5
Summary of Key Dimensions of Social Capital in Human Service Organizations
(See Chapter 2: Literature Review)

Structural Dimension: The access or pathway members have to each other based on structural arrangements.

- Network Ties Connection among members; who you know and who you have access to.
- Network Configuration Density of ties, ease of access, and hierarchical arrangements.
- Appropriability Degree to which social relationships developed for one purpose are easily transferable to other setting.

Relationship Dimension: Characteristics and quality of the relationship between members.

- Trust Mutual confidence that an individual has in exchange transactions that other parties will not exploit one's vulnerabilities.
- Norms Reciprocity, obligations, cooperation, sharing of information, teamwork, openness and tolerance.
- Values Respect, service, social justice, dignity of people, integrity, competence and importance of human relationships.
- Identity Sense of self-being and uniqueness based on reference and membership to group.

Cognitive Dimension: Transmission and shared understanding of social knowledge associated with shared vision and sense of mission.

- Shared Language Common words, phrases, terminology, and acronyms.
- Shared Codes Systematizing and categorizing of information and understanding.
- Shared Narratives Storytelling, myths, gossip, and narratives about work.

Social Knowledge: The knowledge or knowing capacity of a social collective and a key asset.

- Exchange and Recombination Social exchange of information, knowledge, and experiences among members and the process of rearrangement of knowledge leading to new ideas and knowledge.
- Explicit Conscience awareness of facts, data, information and new or different objective knowledge.
- Implicit (Tacit) Intuitive or subconscious knowledge embedded in culture, routines, and codified as rules or procedures.

A total of 21 SOE/DPRS items were selected for analysis to explore the multidimensionality of social capital and to begin answering research question number two. Table 4.6 summaries these 21 items selected as variables that are thought to be indicators or markers of the dimensions of social capital. The rationales for selection of these variable items for each of these dimensions were discussed in Chapter 3, pages 107 through 110.

Table 4.6
SOE items selected as variables for each
dimension of social capital using DPRS Data

Structural Dimension (Pattern of Relationships)

- Item #14: The right information gets to the right people at the right time.
- Item # 17: We feel the channels we must go through at work are reasonable.
- Item # 20: We have an opportunity to participate in the goal setting process.
- Item #29: There is a real feeling of team work.
- Item #82: We know how our work impacts others in the organization.

Cognitive Dimension (Shared Understanding)

- Item #3: Our goals are consistently met or exceeded.
- Item #22: We seem to be working toward the same goals.
- Item #45: We balance our focus on both long range and short goals.
- Item #81: We understand the state, local, national, and global issues that impact the organization.
- Item #84: I have a good understanding of our mission, vision and strategic plan.

Relational Dimension (Normative Qualities related to Relationships)

- Item #9: Every employee is valued.
- Item #16: The work atmosphere encourages open and honest communication.
 - Item #23: There is basic trust among employees and supervisors.
 - Item #41: Within my workplace, there is a feeling of community.
 - Item #49: The people I work with treat each other with respect.
 - Item #52: Our employees are generally ethical in the workplace.

Social Knowledge (Intellectual Capital)

- Item #15: We integrate information and act intelligently upon that information.
 - Item # 36: Training is made available to us so that we can do our jobs better.
 - Item # 48: Work groups are actively involved in making work processes more effective.
 - Item #76: Information and knowledge are shared openly within this organization.
 - Additional Item # 8: I have been given adequate reference material specific to my job responsibilities.
-

These SOE/DPRS data, when collected were ordinal level data, but were converted to metric data using numeric coding from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) with response “Don’t Know/Not Applicable” coded as zero in the original data file received by the researcher. Responses entered as zero in the data set were recoded as missing values, because “Don’t Know/Not Applicable” is not a meaningful response to measuring the level of agreement or disagreement to the concepts being analyzed and would also inflate the number of valid cases in computation.

Exploratory factor analysis using an oblique rotation was used to examine these dimensions thought to comprise social capital. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) state that factor analysis is appropriate for summarizing the pattern of relationships or correlations among variables that may represent some distinct, yet unknown, underlying processes, thereby, aiding to illuminate a concept and for suggesting an operational definition. It is theorized that some of these selected variable items would produce factors consistent with the dimensions thought to comprise social capital. An oblique rotation to test for correlations among factors was selected because the literature reviewed suggested that these dimensions of social capital are highly interrelated and interdependent. A factor analysis using an oblique rotation allows for an examination of any correlation among factors.

Forcing a Four Factor Solution and Selection of a Factor Solution

The 21 selected variables thought to represent social capital were analyzed using SPSS and were entered simultaneously in the factor analysis. Two methods of extraction were performed to test the four dimensions of social capital; a forced four factor extraction method and the default factor extraction method using eigenvalues greater than

1. Table 4.7 below presents the forced four factor solution after all diagnostics for suitability of factor analysis were performed and after variables with low communalities were removed. Only variable loadings greater than 0.32 are shown.

Table 4.7
Pattern Matrix for
Factor Solution Forcing Four Factors

SOE Items	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
20	.767			
48	.626			
9	.411			
45	.368			
17	.341			.325
22	.335			
81		.738		
82		.724		
49			.793	
41			.790	
29			.675	
23			.568	
16			.519	
15				.819
14				.803

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization, $p < .001$.

Similarly after all diagnostics were performed, Table 4.8 presents the results of default factor extraction method, which resulted in a three factor solution. Again, only variable loadings greater than 0.32 are shown. Neither factor solution supported the multidimensionality of social capital in human service organizations as conceptualized in this study; that is distinct structural, cognitive, relational, and social knowledge dimensions.

Table 4.8
 Pattern Matrix for Factor
 Solution Using Default Extraction Method

SOE Items	Factors		
	1	2	3
14	.791		
15	.751		
17	.674		
20	.669		
22	.642		
48	.573		
45	.536		
9	.526		
81		.767	
82		.725	
41			.757
49			.747
29			.650
23	.375		.525

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization, $p < 001$.

In interpreting both these factor solutions, the three factor solution presented in Table 4.8 offered a clearer and more parsimonious result. It was adopted as the factor solution for further exploration and analysis of the concept social capital and these results will be presented in more detail shortly.

The interpretation of forced four factor solution presented in Table 4.7 was more ambiguous and uncertain than the three factor solution. For example, item 17 on Table 4.7 reflected what some consider to be a *poor* loading on factor 4 and it simultaneously overlapped with factor 1; thereby making the interpretation of the loading ambiguous (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). This left two very respectable variable loadings on factor 4, but interpretation of a factor with two variable loadings is often considered risky even for exploratory factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

The three factor solution in Table 4.8 was more parsimonious, because factors 1 and 4 in Table 4.7 combined into a single factor in Table 4.8 (factor 1). Additionally, the two variables that loaded on the second factor in both Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 were identical. Except for the addition of item 16, the variables that loaded on factor 3 in Table 4.7 were also identical to the variables that loaded on factor 3 in Table 4.8. Ultimately, the interpretation of the forced factor solution in Table 4.7 was less clear. The three factor solution presented in Table 4.8 was less ambiguous and provided for superior variable loadings across 3 factors by combining factors 1 and 4 and nearly replicating the other 2 factor as seen in Table 4.7.

Interpretation of the Default Extraction Solution for Social Capital

The number of valid cases entered for factor analysis using the default extraction method was $N=2,879$. The ratio of cases to variables was 131:1, exceeding the conventional requirement of 5:1. Eighty-nine percent (89%) of the variables in the correlation matrix possessed $r \geq 0.30$, indicating the presence of substantial correlations among variables needed for factor analysis. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) revealed that all of the individual variables in the analysis possessed MSA's of ≥ 0.50 ; therefore none required initial removal from analysis. The overall Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin MSA = 0.961, exceeding the 0.50 requirement for overall MSA ($p < 0.001$). Evaluation of communalities revealed several variables that explained less than 0.50 proportion of variance and were subsequently removed from further analysis. Factor analyses were repeated until all community values for each variable was greater than .0.50. Analysis of the pattern matrix, after all communalities of less than 0.50 were removed, revealed one variable with complex structure (two loadings > 0.40).

The final factor solution as previously mentioned and seen on Table 4.8 revealed 3 underlying factors, not the anticipated 4 factors that would correspond to the structural, cognitive, relational, and social knowledge dimensions of social capital described earlier. Eigenvalues > 1.0 in the 3 factor solution explained 56.03% of the variance, less than the recommended 60% or more of the variance explained, so caution should be applied to these results. The number of valid cases in the final solution was $N = 3,149$, and the ratio of cases to variables was 225:1. Examination of the Table 4.8, the pattern matrix, revealed loadings on 3 factors. Eight (8) variables loaded on factor one, 2 variables loaded on factor two, and 4 variables loaded on factor 3.

Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) suggest that correlations > 0.32 are adequate to suggest relationships among factors. Table 4.9 shows the results of the factor correlation matrix and the matrix revealed a relationship among all factors > 0.32 . The pattern of relationships shown in Table 4.9 was that factor 1 was more highly correlated with factor 3, than with factor 2. Factors 2 and 3 had the lowest correlation.

Table 4.9
Factor Correlation Matrix for Final
Factor Analysis Solution for Social Capital

Factor	1	2	3
1	---		
2	.571	----	
3	.651	.384	----

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization, $p. = 001$.

To validate the final factor analysis solution, a split sample validation (approximately 50/50) was performed. One half of the sample did not validate when applying the convention that all communalities must remain greater than 0.50 in both validation samples for a validation test to be considered successful. Specifically variable

items 14 ($h^2 = .486$) and 45 ($h^2 = .498$) communalities were < 0.50 . Two subsequent split sample validations were successful, however two others were not: resulting in similar < 0.50 communality values for items 14 and 45 as in the initial validation. Removal of these variables in a subsequent analysis severely deteriorated the final factor solution, resulting in a singular factor solution with four variable loadings that were difficult to interpret. Despite inconsistencies in validation and for purposes of further exploring the more robust three factor solution to social capital, it was decided to retain variable items 14 and 45 as part of the final solution. This decision was based on Garson's (2006) suggestion that even low communality values (i.e. 0.25) may be meaningful if the variable is contributing to a well-defined factor, which appeared to be the case with variable items 14 and 45. However, such results must be interpreted with caution. The final solution was checked for outliers using factor scores. One outlier less than 3.0 was detected in factor 2. An analysis excluding the outlier was performed and no change in communality or factor structure occurred in the solution excluding the outlier.

Loadings for the variable items are shown in Table 4.10. Directly following each variable item and in brackets is the social capital dimension which the variable was assigned prior to factor analysis. Variables items are listed by loadings, highest to lowest, following the pattern matrix displayed in Table 4.8

Table 4.10
 Factor Analysis
 Variable Item Loadings for the Concept Social Capital
 With Dimension Notations*

Factor #1

- Item #14: The right information gets to the right people at the right time. [S]
- Item #15: We integrate information and act intelligently upon that information. [SK]
- Item # 17: We feel the channels we must go through at work are reasonable. [S]
- Item # 20: We have an opportunity to participate in the goal setting process. [S]
- Item #22: We seem to be working toward the same goals. [C]
- Item # 48: Work groups are actively involved in making work processes more effective. [SK]
- Item #45: We balance our focus on both long range and short term goals. [C]
- Item #9: Every employee is valued. [R]

Factor #2

- Item #81: We understand the state, local, national, and global issues that impact the organization. [C]
- Item #82: We know how our work impacts others in the organization. [S]

Factor #3

- Item #41: Within my workplace, there is a feeling of community. [R]
- Item #49. The people I work with treat each other with respect. [R]
- Item #29: There is a real feeling of team work. [S]
- Item #23: There is basic trust among employees and supervisors. [R]

Note. *Social Capital Dimension: S = structural, C = Cognitive, R= Relational, & SK = Social Knowledge

These findings from the factor analysis did not support the multidimensionality of social capital in human service organizations as conceptualized in this study, that is, distinct structural, cognitive, relational, and social knowledge dimensions. This maybe

due to the limitations of secondary data in measuring concepts not included in the original study. However, what is interesting in these findings is the variable *representation* of the dimensions of social capital in factor one (see Table 4.8). Variables conceived as being indicators of distinct dimensions of social capital grouped together (loaded) onto factor 1, seemingly providing a good representation of their assigned dimensions. As seen in Table 4.10, the structural, cognitive, and social knowledge dimensions are all represented by at least two variables. The only exception being the relational dimension with only one variable assigned to this dimension loading onto this factor. Another interesting observation is factor 3, where most of these variable loadings represent the relational dimension of social capital as conceived in this study. Even variable item #29, originally thought to be an indicator of the structural dimension, can arguably be interpreted as relational given its reference to “there is a feeling of team work”. Recall the results from the factor correlation matrix (Table 4.9) showed that factor 1 and factor 3 possessed the highest correlation, which seemingly connects the relational aspects of social capital to factor 1. Factor 2 is represented by 2 variables, one variable originally conceived indicating the structural dimension and the other variable the cognitive dimension. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) state that “interpretation of factors defined by only one or two variables is hazardous...under even the most exploratory factor analysis.” (p.622) With this caution in mind, it would appear that factor 2 relates to some broader awareness of external and internal issues that impact employees’ overall perceptions of their work.

Though these findings do not supporting the multidimensionality of social capital as described in some of the literature reviewed and as conceptualized in this study, these

findings may still suggest the presence of some elements and qualities associated with the multidimensional descriptions of social capital. The interpretation, decision, and naming of factors is risky business; however, it seems plausible that factors 1 and 3 at least give some indication, albeit imperfect, of the concept of social capital. In addition to the representativeness of dimensions of social capital suggested by factor 1, these variables suggest the collective benefit or the public good aspects of social capital based on collective action and the unlocking of assets through information exchange (intellectual capital). Factor 3 may suggest underlying normative dimensions at work (i.e. trust, community) found in a bounded system (closure) which supports collective action. Based on this rationale, factor 1 and factor 3 will be used as variables in further exploration and analysis of social capital in this study. As stated earlier, interpretation of a factor with 2 variable loadings is hazardous; therefore it was dropped for purposes of further analysis. For purposes of the study, factor 1 will be referred to *general social capital characteristics* and factor 3 will be referred to as *normative qualities linked to social capital*.

The variables in general social capital characteristics (factor 1) and normative qualities linked to social capital (factor 3) were tested for internal consistency (reliability) using Cronbach's alpha, similar to testing for reliability in a summated scale. Table 4.11 displays alpha scores for variables in each of these two factors. Alpha values greater than 0.60 are considered adequate for internal consistency in exploratory research. Both factors solutions possessed good alpha scores suggesting good reliability.

Table 4.11
Cronbach's Alpha for Each
Factor Analysis Solution

General Social Capital Characteristics (Factor 1)	Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital (Factor 3)
$N = 3466$	$N = 3885$
Alpha = 0.8918	Alpha = 0.8542

Factor Analysis Findings for Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, and Quality

To complete the answer to research question number two, this study used SOE variable items to operationalize the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Successfully operationalizing these concepts would allow for further exploration of their potential relationship to social capital, now operationally defined as: general social capital characteristics (factor 1), and normative qualities linked to social capital (factor 3).

Table 4.12 again summarizes the salient qualities and common definitions of these organizational concepts found in the literature reviewed.

Table 4.12
Summary of Key Characteristics of Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation and Quality
(See Chapter 2: Literature Review)

Motivation	Stimulating willingness and free choice among workers to engage in behaviors directed at personal and organizational goals, linked to satisfy intrinsic and extrinsic needs and system of rewards.
Job Satisfaction	Worker's psychological state resulting from one's assessment of job that forms an attitude about their job. Satisfaction is linked to: satisfying of intrinsic and extrinsic needs, job characteristics and tasks, and organizational characteristics.

Innovation	The generation and implementation of new products and services thought to be an improvement or different from the old. Innovation is thought to be a highly interactive social process linked to social learning, which generates new thinking and ideas.
Quality	The difference between what customers expect and what customers receive. Quality is also based on worker's perceptions of quality linked to interactions with customers and in relationship to organizational goals and outcomes.

Table 4.13 summarizes the SOE/DPRS items that are thought to be adequate indicators of these concepts based on the literature reviewed. Rationales for these items as variables for these concepts were presented in Chapter 3, pages 110 through 115. Each of these concepts is conceptualized as unidimensional, meaning the variables selected for each concept should relate to that concept during factor analysis.

Table 4.13
SOE/DPRS Items Selected as Variables for
Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, & Quality using DPRS Data

Motivation

- Item #25: We feel a sense of pride when we tell people that we work for this organization.
- Item #28: Outstanding work is recognized.
- Item # 30: We feel our efforts count.
- Item # 31: We are encouraged to learn from our mistakes.
- Item # 33: We are given accurate feedback about our performance.
- Additional Item # 15: I stay with the agency because I like helping my clients.

Job Satisfaction

- Item #21: Decision-making and control are given to employees doing the actual work.
- Item #24: We are given the opportunity to do our best work.
- Item # 32: We have adequate resources to do our jobs.
- Item # 42: The environment supports a balance between work and personal life.
- Item # 43: The pace of the work in this organization enables me to do a good job.
- Item #44: My job meets my expectations.

Innovation

- Item #2: We are constantly improving our services.
- Item #18: Work groups are trained to incorporate the opinion of others.
- Item # 46: My ideas and opinions count at work.
- Item #47: People who challenge the status quo are valued.
- Item # 56: When possible, problems are solved before they become a crisis.

Quality

- Item #1: We are known for the quality of service we provide.
 - Item #4: We produce high quality that has a low rate of error.
 - Item #5: We know who our customers (those we serve) are.
 - Item #6: We develop services to match our customers' needs
 - Item #80: We work well with the public.
-

Principle Component Analysis (PCA) using an orthogonal rotation (varimax) was selected as a factor analysis strategy. PCA maximizes the total variance (common and unique) of variables allowing for better summarization of the relationship between variables thought to indicate a unidimensional concept. A total of 22 SOE/DPRS items were selected as variables to examine these four concepts: 6 variables for motivation, 6 variables for job satisfaction, 5 variables for innovation and 5 variables for quality. Each organizational concept underwent separate factor analysis. Each organizational concept possessed the minimum of 5 variables required for factor analysis. The number of valid cases and ratio of cases to variables in the initial factor analyses for each concept were as follows:

- Motivation: $N = 3507$ ratio = 584:1
- Job Satisfaction $N = 3869$ ratio = 645:1
- Innovation $N = 3499$ ratio = 700:1
- Quality $N = 3677$ ratio = 735:1

An analysis of the correlation matrices revealed that 70% of the variables for motivation, 93% of the variables for job satisfaction, 100% of the variables for innovation, and 90% of the variables for quality possessed $r \geq 0.30$; indicating the presence of substantial correlations among the variables needed for factor analysis. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin MSA's revealed that all of the individual variables in each analysis possessed MSA's of ≥ 0.50 ; therefore none required initial removal from analysis. The overall Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin MSA's for each analysis exceeded the 0.50 requirement for overall MSA ($p < 0.001$).

Since initial solutions revealed only one factor for each analysis, rotated component matrices were not produced and the evaluation of communalities was derived from the component matrices. Evaluation of communalities for each analysis revealed several variables that explained less than 0.50 proportion of variance and were subsequently removed from analysis. The factor analyses were repeated until all communality values for each variable were greater than .0.50 for all four analyses. After the variables with low communalities were excluded, the final factor solutions for all four organizational concepts analyzed still revealed a single factor solution for each concept. Total variance explained for motivation, job satisfaction and innovation were greater than 60%, except for quality which was 57.64%; indicating caution should be applied to these results. Table 4.14 below presents the factor loadings from the component matrices. For each analysis, variables loaded onto a single factor in the final solution.

Table 4.14
Summaries of Component Matrices
Factor Loadings for Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, and Quality

Motivation: Component 1		Innovation: Component 1	
SOE Items	Loadings	SOE Items	Loadings
28	.832	46	.854
30	.830	47	.835
33	.819	18	.794
31	.774	Q56	.781
Job Satisfaction: Component 1		Quality: Component 1	
43	.822	4	.790
44	.810	1	.774
24	.806	6	.740
42	.805	80	.731

Notes. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis, $p = .001$ for each analysis.

To validate the final factor analysis solutions for all four organizational concepts, split sample validation analyses were performed. For all four factor solutions, the split sample validations were successful. Final solutions were checked for outliers using factor scores. Seventeen (17) outliers greater than 3.0 were detected for quality. An analysis excluding outliers was performed for quality, but no change in communality or factor structure was detected in the solution excluding outliers. No outliers were detected for motivation, job satisfaction or innovation.

Loadings for the variable items are shown in Table 4.15. Variable items are listed for each organizational concept, from highest to lowest, following the component matrices in Table 4.14.

Table 4.15
Final Factor Solutions: Variable Items Loadings for
Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, & Quality

Motivation

- Item # 28: Outstanding work is recognized.
- Item # 30: We feel our efforts count.
- Item # 33: We are given accurate feedback about our performance.
- Item # 31: We are encouraged to learn from our mistakes..

Job Satisfaction

- Item # 43: The pace of the work in this organization enables me to do a good job.
- Item # 44: My job meets my expectations.
- Item # 24: We are given the opportunity to do our best work.
- Item # 42: The environment supports a balance between work and personal life.

Innovation

- Item # 46: My ideas and opinions count at work.
- Item # 47: People who challenge the status quo are valued.
- Item # 18: Work groups are trained to incorporate the opinion of others.
- Item # 56: When possible, problems are solved before they become a crisis.

Quality

- Item #4: We produce high quality that has a low rate of error.
 - Item #1: We are known for the quality of service we provide.
 - Item #6: We develop services to match our customers' needs.
 - Item #80: We work well with the public.
-

The variables items for each of the organizational concepts were tested for internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha. Table 4.16 displays Cronbach's alpha scores for each organizational concept analyzed. Alpha values greater than 0.60 are considered adequate for internal consistency in exploratory research. All four alpha scores suggested good reliability among variables within each of these concepts.

Table 4.16
Cronbach's Alpha for Variables in Each Factor Solution

Motivation	Job Satisfaction	Innovation	Quality
N = 3848	N = 3904	N = 3505	N = 3716
Alpha = 0.8282	Alpha = 0.8254	Alpha = 0.8330	Alpha = 0.7536

Findings from the factor analyses lend support to the variable items selected as indicators of organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. These four factors, labeled as motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality, will be retained as variables in order to explore and analyze their potential relationship to social capital, operationalized by the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital.

Factors scores were weighted to create new variables for social capital using scores from pattern matrix (see Table 4.8). Factors scores taken from the component matrices (see Table 4.14) were also weighted to create operational variables for motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. The newly created variables and their SPSS variable names are listed below:

<u>Variables</u>	<u>SPSS Variable Names</u>
• General Social Capital Characteristics	scchar
• Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital	normsc
• Motivation	motiva
• Job Satisfaction	jobsat
• Innovation	innov
• Quality	qual

Findings from Multiple Regression Analyses

Research questions numbers three and four explore the relationship of social capital with the other organizational concepts discussed in the study: motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. Research questions three and four are restated below:

3. Are work motivation and job satisfaction perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?

4. Are organizational innovation and quality of services perceived by employees in human service/child welfare organizations related to their perceptions of social capital?

Standard multiple regression was selected as the method to assess individual relationships between the variables used to operationalize social capital and the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) recommend standard multiple regression when the intent of the analysis is simply to assess the relationship among variables, versus other regression strategies more appropriate for hypothesis testing. Four separate regression analyses were used to test individual relationships. The variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, were used as independent variables in each analysis. For each of the four analyses, four different dependent variables were used and included: motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality.

Assumptions

The level of measurement for all variables used in regression analyses were metric and computed from factor analysis. These data used in the regression analyses were prescreened for level of measurement, missing data, normality, linearity, and outliers prior to a regression model being selected for interpretation. Detailed presentation and discussion of variable diagnostics concerning missing data, normality, linearity, outliers, along with interpretations of baseline and revised regression models can be found in Appendix “B”. The statistical significance level was set at 0.05

Motivation

Table 4.17 provides the results of the standard multiple regression used to assess the relationship between the dependent variable motivation and the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. The variable general social capital characteristics did possess missing data greater than 5%, but *t*-tests revealed no statistically significant differences between cases with missing and valid data. All variables were normally distributed and the relationships between the dependent variable motivation and the independent variables were linear. Because a revised regression model, in which outliers were excluded, explained greater than 2% of the original variance found in the baseline model, the revised regression model was retained for interpretation.

Table 4.17
 Model Summary: Standard Multiple Regression for Motivation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSCC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSC
 ($N = 3040$)

Model 1.	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	F	p	df
	.843	.711	.711	3732.47	< .001	2
Coefficients	B	β	t	p		
GSCC	.391	.552	40.204	<.001		
NQLSC	.414	.358	26.058	<.001		

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 2.015, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.505, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). A 75/25% split-validation method was used to test the above model and the results of the validation analysis supported the model (see Appendix “B”).

The Multiple R , (.843) indicated that the overall relationship between dependent variable motivation and the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, was very strong and statistically significant, $F(2,3037) = 3732.47, p < 0.001$. The model accounted for 71.1% of the variance (R^2) in motivation. The examination of individual relations between variables (B coefficients) indicated that the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, had a direct relationship with the dependent variable motivation that were statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$). Higher scores for the variables representing social capital were associated with higher scores for the variable motivation.

Job Satisfaction

Table 4.18 provides the results of the standard multiple regression used to assess the relationship between the dependent variable job satisfaction and the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. The variable general social capital characteristics did possess missing data greater than 5%, but *t*-tests revealed no statistically significant differences between cases with missing and valid data. All variables were normally distributed and the relationships between the dependent variable job satisfaction and the independent variables were linear. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.18
 Model Summary: Standard Multiple Regression for Job Satisfaction
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSCC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSC
 ($N = 3399$)

Model 1.	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	F	p	df
	.752	.556	.556	2214.46	< .001	2
Coefficients	B	β	T	p		
GSCC	.431	.558	37.448	<.001		
NQLSC	.254	.214	13.601	<.001		

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.983, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.518, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this

analysis (< 0.10). A 75/25% split-validation method was used to test the above model and the results of the validation analysis supported the model.

The Multiple R , (.752) indicated that the overall relationship between dependent variable job satisfaction and the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, was strong and statistically significant, $F(2,3396) = 2214.46, p < 0.001$. The model accounted for 55.6% of the variance (R^2) in job satisfaction. The examination of individual relations between variables (B coefficients) indicated that the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, had a direct relationship with the dependent variable job satisfaction that were statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$). Higher scores for the variables representing social capital were associated with higher scores for variable job satisfaction.

Innovation

Table 4.19 provides the results of the standard multiple regression used to assess the relationship between the dependent variable innovation and the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. The variables innovation and general social capital characteristics did possess missing data greater than 5%. The results of t -tests revealed statistically significant differences for the variable innovation between cases with missing and valid data. The pattern of missing data was examined within the data set and the pattern appeared random, however caution should still be applied to these results. The result of t -tests for the variable general social capital characteristics revealed no statistically significant differences between cases with missing and valid data. All variables were normally distributed and the relationships

between the dependent variable innovation and the independent variables were linear. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.19
 Model Summary: Standard Multiple Regression for Innovation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSCC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSC
 ($N = 3265$)

Model 1.	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	F	p	df
	.871	.758	.758	5112.69	< .001	2
Coefficients	B	β	t	p		
GSCC	.435	.662	51.992	<.001		
NQLSC	.359	.315	26.334	<.001		

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.972, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.518, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). A 75/25% split-validation method was used to test the above model and the results of the validation analysis supported the model.

The Multiple R , (.871) indicated that the overall relationship between dependent variable innovation and the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, was very strong and statistically significant, $F(2,3262) = 5112.69, p < 0.001$. The model accounted for 75.8% of the variance (R^2) in innovation. The examination of individual relations between variables (B coefficients) indicated that

the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, had a direct relationship with the dependent variable innovation that were statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$). Higher scores for the variables representing social capital were associated with higher scores for the variable innovation.

Quality

Table 4.20 provides the results of the standard multiple regression used to assess the relationship between the dependent variable quality and the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. The variables quality and general social capital characteristics did possess missing data greater than 5%, but *t*-tests revealed no statistically significant differences between cases with missing and valid data. All variables were normally distributed and the relationships between the dependent variable quality and the independent variables were linear. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.20
Model Summary: Standard Multiple Regression for Quality
General Social Capital Characteristics = GSCC
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSC
($N = 3273$)

Model1.	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	F	p	df
	.668	.446	.446	1316.66	< .001	2
Coefficients	B	β	T	p		
GSCC	.374	.643	35.748	<.001		
NQLSC	.033	.035	1.945	<.052		

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.976, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.523, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). A 75/25% split-validation method was used to test the above model and the results of the validation analysis supported the model.

The Multiple R , (.668) indicated that the overall relationship between dependent variable quality and the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, was strong and statistically significant, $F(2,3262) = 1316.66, p < 0.001$. The model accounted for 44.6% of the variance (R^2) in quality. The examination of individual relations between variables (B coefficients) indicated that the variable general social capital characteristics had a direct relationship with the dependent quality ($p \leq 0.05$). Higher scores for the variable general social capital characteristics were associated with higher scores for quality. However, these results did not support a relationship between the variable normative qualities linked to social capital and the dependent variable quality, $B = 0.033 (t = 1.945, p = 0.052)$.

The Influence of Job Assignment

The influences of job assignment on the relationship between social capital and the organizational variables motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were examined in this section. Differences due to category of job assignment were also examined. Examining these influences and differences is related to research question number five which is restated below:

Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different job assignments?

To explore differences between categories of job assignment, DPRS employees were divided into two job assignment categories: child welfare workers (CWS) and non-child welfare workers (Non-CWS). The decision to differentiate between CWS and Non-CWS was based on the literature's suggestion that organizational factors often influence the quality of organizational life experienced by child welfare workers in human service organizations. CWS workers often experience poor quality of organizational life, which is often associated with low motivation, job dissatisfaction, lesser innovation, and poor quality of services. Four hierarchical regressions were used to examine differences between these two categories of job assignment for the dependent variables motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality, after controlling for the two variables representing social capital.

A dichotomous variable was created for job assignment using employee responses from the SOE survey in which they indicated their DPRS program/division. Respondents can select from 18 programs/divisions, including child protective services (CPS). CPS comprises the largest child welfare program at DPRS. Employees were identified as CWS ($N = 2919$) and coded as zero if they identified themselves as assigned to CPS ($n = 2,621$), Child Care Licensing ($n = 255$) or Residential Child Care Licensing ($n = 43$). Although not exclusively, employees assigned to Child Care Licensing were responsible for licensing and monitoring family foster homes, as well as family day care centers. Employees assigned to Residential Child Care Licensing were responsible for licensing

congregate care facilities used as foster care placements, such as group homes. Both these licensing functions are activities often associated with child welfare services. All other employees were identified as Non-CWS and were coded as “1”. These Non-CWS employees were assigned to adult programs or to administrative support functions for children and adult programs ($N = 1018$).

Assumptions

The variable job assignment had less than 5% missing data. Diagnostic findings and cautions stated for missing data in the previous section for standard multiple regression also apply here for hierarchical multiple regressions. Missing data diagnostics can be found in Appendix “B”. The metric level variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital met the assumptions of normality and linearity. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was satisfied for the dichotomous variable job assignment in each analysis (> 0.01). Caution should be applied to results suggesting group differences that are statistically significant because the large sample size may be contributing to these findings. The statistical significance level for results was set at 0.05.

Motivation

Table 4.21 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of job assignment on the relationship between social capital and motivation. Table 4.21 presents a revised regression model, in which outliers were excluded. The revised regression model explained greater than 2% of the original variance found in the baseline model, therefore the revised regression model was retained for interpretation.

Table 4.21
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Motivation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3285)

Variables	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² _{adj}	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> _{chg}	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i> ₁	<i>df</i> ₂
Model 1. GSSC	.842	.709	.709	.709	4006.30	< .001	2	3282
Model 2. NQLSC	.843	.711	.710	.001	13.21	<.001	1	3281
Model 2. Job								
Coefficients Model 2.	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>				
GSSC	.393	.553	41.529	< .001				
NQLSC	.407	.352	26.556	<.001				
Job	.218	.034	3.635	<.001				

Note. Job: CWS = 0, Non-CWS = 1

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.973, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.989, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, job assignment made a very minor contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and motivation, $F(1, 3281) = 13.21, p = <.001$. Model 1 accounted for 70.9% of the variance in motivation and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a minuscule change of .001; only increasing the proportional reduction in error for predicting motivation to 71.0%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable motivation than did job assignment. The results of *B* coefficients presented in the model summary show differences in the independent variables and direct relationships between independent variables and the

dependent variable motivation. Specifically, higher levels of the variables representing social capital and higher categories of the variable job assignment (Non-CWS) were associated with higher levels of motivation that were statistically significant.

Job Satisfaction

Table 4.22 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of job assignment on the relationship between social capital and job satisfaction. Table 4.22 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.22
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Job Satisfaction
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSC
 (N = 3340)

Variables	<i>R</i>	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	F_{chg}	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i> ₁	<i>df</i> ₂
Step 1. GSSC NQLSC	.751	.564	.564	.564	2157.53	< .001	2	3337
Step 2. Job	.760	.577	.577	.013	104.62	<.001	1	3336
Coefficients	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>				
GSSC	.442	.575	36.665	< .001				
NQLSC	.256	.215	13.773	<.001				
Job	.760	.116	10.229	<.001				

Note. Job: CWS = 0, Non-CWS = 1

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.988, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity

tolerance value equaled 0.989, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, job assignment made a small contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and job satisfaction, $F(1, 3336) = 35.69, p = < .001$. Model 1 accounted for 56.4% of the variance in job satisfaction and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a slight change of .013; increasing the proportional reduction in error for predicting motivation to 57.7%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable job satisfaction than did job assignment. The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary show differences in the independent variables and direct relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable job satisfaction. Specifically, higher levels of variables representing social capital and higher categories of variable job assignment (Non-CWS) were associated with higher levels of job satisfaction that were statistically significant.

Innovation

Table 4.23 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of job assignment on the relationship between social capital and innovation. Table 4.23 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.23
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Innovation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3209)

Variables	R	R ²	R ² _{adj}	ΔR ²	F _{chg}	p	df ₁	df ₂
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.871	.758	.758	.758	5014.68	< .001	2	3206
Model 2. Job	.871	.758	.758	.000	.391	.532	1	3205
Coefficients Model 2.	<i>B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>				
GSSC	.435	.623	51.412	< .001				
NQLSC	.358	.315	26.118	< .001				
Job	-.034	-.005	-.625	.532				

Note. Job: CWS = 0, Non-CWS = 1

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.977, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.989, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, job assignment made no contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and innovation, $F(1, 3205) = 5.659, p = < .532$. Model 1 accounted for 75.8% of the variance in innovation and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 was zero resulting in no proportional reduction in error for predicting innovation to 75.9%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable innovation than did job assignment. The results of *B* coefficients presented in the model summary showed a direct relationship for the variables, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, with the dependent

variable innovation. Specifically, higher levels of variables representing social capital are associated with higher levels of innovation. However, there was no statistically significant relationship between the independent variable job assignment and the dependent variable innovation ($p = .532$).

Quality

Table 4.24 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of job assignment on the relationship between social capital and quality. Table 4.24 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.24
Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Quality
General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
($N = 3219$)

Variables	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	F_{chg}	p	df_1	df_2
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.667	.444	.444	.444	1286.32	< .001	2	3216
Model 2. Job	.689	.474	.474	.030	181.54	<.001	1	3215
Coefficients Model 2.	B	β	t	p				
GSSC	.362	.621	35.032	< .001				
NQLSC	.039	.041	2.318	.020				
Job	.906	.173	13.474	<.001				

Note. Job: CWS = 0, Non-CWS = 1

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.965, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity

tolerance value equaled 0.990, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, job assignment made a small contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and quality, $F(1, 3215) = 181.54, p = < .001$. Model 1 accounted for 44.4% of the variance in quality and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a small change of .030; increasing slightly the proportional reduction in error for predicting quality to 47.4%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable quality than did job assignment. The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary showed differences in the independent variables and direct relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable quality. Specifically, higher levels of the variables representing social capital and higher categories of the variable job assignment (Non-CWS) were associated with higher levels of quality that were statistically significant.

The Influence of Demographic Characteristics

The influences of demographic characteristics on the relationship between social capital and the organizational variables motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were examined in this section. Differences due to demographic characteristics were also explored. Research question number six is restated here:

Do employees' perceptions of organizational social capital vary significantly among employees with different demographic characteristics?

Four demographic variables available from SOE/DPRS data were selected for analysis and included: gender, race/ethnic identification, age, and education. Four hierarchical regressions were used to examine differences between categories of gender,

race/ethnicity, age, and education, after taking into account differences in social capital for the dependent variables motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality.

Race/ethnic identification was changed into a dichotomous variable to examine differences between minority and non-minority employees. Employees indicating that they were members of a minority group were coded as zero and non-minority members were coded as “1”.

Assumptions

None of the four new demographic variables entered into the regressions analyses, possessed missing data greater than 5%. Diagnostic findings and cautions stated for missing data in the previous section for standard multiple regression also apply here for hierarchical multiple regressions. Missing data diagnostics can be found in Appendix “B”. For the variable education, the square root transformation of the variable was used in the analyses of outliers, as the original variable and all other transformations do not meet the assumption of normality. Age was changed into a dichotomous variable because the variable and its variable transformations did not meet the assumption of linearity for all dependent variables used in these analyses. To by pass the assumption of linearity, while still incorporating information about the influences of age, employees 39 years and younger were coded as zero, and employees over the age of 39 were coded as “1”. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was satisfied for all dichotomous variables used in each analysis (> 0.01) Caution should be applied to results suggesting group differences that are statistically significant because the large sample size may be contributing to these findings. The statistical significance level for results was set at 0.05.

Motivation

Table 4.25 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influenced of demographic variables on the relationship between social capital and motivation. Table 4.25 presents a revised regression model, in which outliers were excluded. The revised regression model explained greater than 2% of the original variance found in the baseline model, therefore the revised regression model was retained for interpretation. The square root transformation of the variable education was used in the revised regression model.

Table 4.25
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Motivation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3278)

Variables	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² _{adj}	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> _{chg}	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i> ₁	<i>df</i> ₂
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.842	.709	.709	.709	3986.40	< .001	2	3275
Model 2. Gender Age Race Education	.843	.710	.710	.001	4.150	.002	4	3271
Coefficients Model 2.	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>				
GSSC	.398	.559	41.774	< .001				
NQLSC	.402	.349	26.070	< .001				
Gender	.140	.019	2.029	.043				
Age	.077	.014	1.464	.143				
Race/Ethnicity	.158	.028	2.930	.003				
Education	.064	.006	.671	.502				

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.980, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.972, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, the demographic variables made a very minor contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and motivation, $F(4, 3271) = 4.150, p = .002$. Model 1 accounted for 70.9% of the variance in motivation and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a minuscule change of .001; only increasing the proportional reduction in error for predicting motivation to 71.0%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable motivation than did demographic variables.

The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary showed some differences occurring in independent variables and some direct relationships for some independent variables and the dependent variable motivation that were statically significant. Specifically, the variables representing social capital and the variables gender and race/ethnicity had a direct relationship with motivation. Higher levels of the variables representing social capital and higher categories of variables gender (male) and race/ethnicity (non-minority) were associated with higher levels of motivation. All other individual relationships were not statistically significant.

Job Satisfaction

Table 4.26 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influenced of demographic variables on the relationship between social capital and job satisfaction. Table 4.26 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression

model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.26
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting
 Job Satisfaction
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3336)

Variables	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	F_{chg}	p	df_1	df_2
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.749	.562	.561	.562	2135.12	< .001	2	3333
Model 2. Gender Age Race Education	.761	.580	.579	.018	35.69	< .001	4	3329
Coefficients Model 2.	B	β	t	p				
GSSC	.413	.563	35.649	< .001				
NQLSC	.279	.235	14.858	< .001				
Gender	.250	.033	2.925	.003				
Age	.306	.053	4.677	< .001				
Race/Ethnicity	-.281	-.049	-4.218	< .001				
Education	-.291	-.106	-9.222	< .001				

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 2.001, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.962, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, the demographic

variables made a small contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and job satisfaction, $F(4, 3329) = 35.69, p = < .001$. Model 1 accounted for 56.2% of the variance in job satisfaction and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a slight change of .018; increasing the proportional reduction in error for predicting job satisfaction to 58.0%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable job satisfaction than did demographic variables.

The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary showed differences occurring in independent variables and direct and inverse relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable job satisfaction that were statistically significant. Specifically, the variables representing social capital and the variables gender and age had a direct relationship with job satisfaction. Higher levels of the variables representing social capital were associated with higher levels of job satisfaction and higher categories of the variables gender (male) and age (> 39 years) were also associated with higher levels of job satisfaction. The variables race/ethnicity and education possessed an inverse relationship with job satisfaction; meaning a higher category of the variables race/ethnicity (non-minority) and higher levels of education were associated with lower levels of job satisfaction.

Innovation

Table 4.27 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of demographic variables on the relationship between social capital and innovation. Table 4.27 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model,

but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.27
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Innovation
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3221)

Variables	<i>R</i>	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	F_{chg}	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i> ₁	<i>df</i> ₂
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.870	.758	.758	.758	5008.34	< .001	2	3203
Model 2. Gender Age Race Education	.871	.759	.759	.002	5.659	< .001	4	3199
Coefficients	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>				
Model 2.								
GSSC	.434	.619	50.805	< .001				
NQLSC	.360	.317	25.995	< .001				
Gender	-.160	-.022	-2.541	.011				
Age	-.017	-.003	-.344	.731				
Race/Ethnicity	.089	.016	1.805	.071				
Education	-.079	-.030	-3.359	.001				

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.971, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.964, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, the demographic variables made a very small contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and innovation, $F(4, 3199) = 5.659, p = < .001$. Model 1 accounted for 75.8% of the

variance in innovation and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a minuscule change of .002; increasing very slightly the proportional reduction in error for predicting innovation to 75.9%. These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable innovation than did demographic variables.

The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary show some differences occurring in independent variables and some direct and inverse relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable innovation that were statistically significant. Specifically, social capital has a direct relationship with innovation indicating higher levels of the variables representing social capital were associated with higher levels of innovation. Both gender and education possessed an inverse relationship with innovation, indicating higher a category for the variable gender (male) and higher levels of the variable education were associated with lower levels of innovation. All other individual relationships were not statistically significant.

Quality

Table 4.28 provides the results of the hierarchical multiple regression used to assess the influence of demographic variables on the relationship between social capital and quality. Table 4.28 presents the original baseline model. A revised regression model, which excluded outliers, explained more of the variance than the baseline model, but the increase in R^2 was less than 2%, indicating retention and interpretation of the baseline model.

Table 4.28
 Model Summary: Hierarchical Multiple Regression for Variables Predicting Quality
 General Social Capital Characteristics = GSSC
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital =NQLSC
 (N = 3212)

Variables	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² _{adj}	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> _{chg}	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i> ₁	<i>df</i> ₂
Model 1. GSSC NQLSC	.668	.446	.446	.446	1292.41	< .001	2	3209
Model 2. Gender Age Race Education	.684	.468	.467	.022	32.70	<.001	4	3205
Coefficients Model 2.	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>				
GSSC	.369	.630	34.938	< .001				
NQLSC	.047	.050	2.765	.006				
Gender	.280	.047	3.594	<.001				
Age	.477	.105	8.019	<.001				
Race/Ethnicity	-.057	-.012	-.937	.349				
Education	-.185	-.084	-6.373	<.001				

The Durbin-Watson statistic in this analysis was 1.987, which satisfied the assumption for independence of errors (between 1.50 to 2.50). The multicollinearity tolerance value equaled 0.959, indicating that multicollinearity was not a problem in this analysis (< 0.10). Based on model 2 in the above model summary, the demographic variables made a small contribution to the overall relationship between social capital and quality, $F(4, 3205) = 32.70, p = < .001$. Model 1 accounted for 44.6% of the variance in job satisfaction and the change in ΔR^2 statistic as seen in model 2 represented a small

change of .022; increasing slightly the proportional reduction in error for predicting quality to 46.8.9% . These results show that social capital accounted for a greater portion of variance (R^2) in the dependent variable quality than did demographic variables.

The results of B coefficients presented in the model summary show some differences occurring in independent variables and some direct and inverse relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable quality that were statistically significant. Specifically, variables representing social capital, gender, and age had a direct relationship with quality. Higher levels of the variables representing social capital were associated with higher levels of quality and higher categories of the variables gender (male) and age (> 39 years) were also associated with higher levels of quality. Education possessed an inverse relationship with quality indicating higher levels of education were associated with lower levels of quality. Race/ethnicity did not have a statistically significant relationship with quality.

Summary

In this chapter, factor analysis was performed using twenty-one variables thought to be representative of social capital and its four dimensions. The results of the factor analysis did not confirm four distinct dimensions for social capital as suggested by the literature. However, a reasonable representation of social capital was captured in 2 factors called, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. The results of the factor analyses for motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality also captured a reasonable representation of these organizational concepts. The result of the standard multiple regression analysis provided support that social capital, as operationalized in this study, possessed a positive relationship to the

organizational variables of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality. The introduction of variable job assignment and the demographic variables of gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education using hierarchical multiple regression analyses were less useful in predicating motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Further interpretation of these findings is the presented and discussed next in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

This study began with an overview of public human service organizations in American society. This overview argued that bureaucracy and functionalism continues to be the predominant organizational form used by public human service organizations, despite long standing criticisms about its limitations and shortcomings. Public child welfare was discussed as exemplary of the many criticism levied against public human services organizations. Many have called for reforming America's child welfare system. One aspect of child welfare reform includes altering the bureaucratic paradigm and reshaping the organizational context to better support organizational life of members. The relationship between enhanced organizational life and organizational performance has both theoretical and empirical underpinnings. The properties of organizational life are many and varied, but this study examined the organizational concepts of work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality of services. These organizational concepts are thought to have some relationship to overall organizational performance and implications were drawn to public human service organizations. Additionally, the state of these organizational concepts were explored in the context of child welfare organizations.

The concept of social capital was introduced beginning with its historical origins and further investigation brought out the difficulties with the concept, such as varied interpretations and definitions. Nonetheless, an attempt was made to highlight its salient properties and theoretical benefits to societies and communities and why the concept was

worthy of further study. Ultimately, this study arrived at an examination of social capital in organizations, sometimes referred to as organizational social capital. The benefits of organizational social capital were examined and included: greater sharing of information and knowledge, shared understanding of mission and goals, and better coordination and actions toward organizational goals. Many of the features of organizational social capital emphasized de-bureaucratizing the workplace and providing organizational members opportunities to participate in organizational affairs.

Although hampered by a variety of conceptualizations and definitions of the concept, an operational definition of social capital in organizations was developed. This definition incorporated important features of social capital found in the literature, such as investment in network relationships, shared norms and understanding, and knowledge as a primary asset of social capital. In response to research question number one, a model of social capital in human service organizations was developed primarily from the work of Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998). These authors theorized social capital in organizations as multidimensional, which they identified as the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions of social capital. The model developed for this study incorporated social knowledge as a potential fourth dimension. The model of social capital in human service organizations illustrated the potential relationship of the concept to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. These relationships became the basis for initial empirical testing of the model, which are theorized to lead to increased organizational performance.

Interpretation of Findings: Factor Analyses

In response to research question number two, data from SOE/DPRS were used to operationalize and test social capital as a multidimensional concept in order to further explore its relationship to the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. These organization concepts were also operationalized using SOE/DPRS data. The results of the factor analysis did not support social capital as possessing four distinct dimensions; but two of the factors did provide a reasonable representation of social capital as described in the literature. However, the total amount of variance explained (56.03%) for the factor solution for social capital suggested caution in interpreting the results. The factor loadings values for the variable items were above 0.32 for both factors, which suggested that the variable items were indicative of some unifying underlying process for the concept being explored (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The variable items loading onto these factors were representative of aspects and characteristics of social capital and were subsequently labeled, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital. It was concluded that these factors were adequate indicators of social capital in an organization. This conclusion was further supported by the result of Cronbach's Alpha, which suggested good internal consistency reliability among these variable items for each factor.

The eight variables that loaded onto the factor, general social capital characteristics, are again listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Factor Analysis:
Variable Item Loadings for Factor: General Social Capital Characteristics

- Item #14: The right information gets to the right people at the right time.
 - Item #15: We integrate information and act intelligently upon that information.
 - Item #17: We feel the channels we must go through at work are reasonable.
 - Item #20: We have an opportunity to participate in the goal setting process.
 - Item #22: We seem to be working toward the same goals.
 - Item #48: Work groups are actively involved in making work processes more effective.
 - Item #45: We balance our focus on both long range and short term goals.
 - Item #9: Every employee is valued.
-

The variable items covered a range of characteristics often associated with social capital. Items #14 and #15 reflect the transmission and use of information said to occur with social capital. The literature reviewed for this study mentioned that social capital lubricates the flow, exchange, and use of information. This study highlighted information sharing as an important resource and benefit of social capital and how it functions as a basis for collective mobilizations and action. In the collective cognitive processes of organizations, information is the precursor to social learning and knowledge. Social knowledge, sometimes referred to as intellectual capital, is seen as an organization's most important asset. Along with normative descriptions, the term information is often used to describe social capital (Woolcock, 1998). The elements of goal setting associated with social capital are found in items #20, #22 and #45. These items are consistent with notions of solidarity and work done for collective benefit, often described by social

capital theorist (Cohen & Prusak, 2001; Coleman, 1988; Sander and Laumann 1988). These items are also consistent with shared understanding and members' similar perceptions of organization said to occur with social capital.

Items #17 and #48 are consistent with access and interactions with peers that social capital suggests facilitates the flow of information and other resources. Item #17 captures employee sense of hierarchy and how it facilitates or hampers access to individuals needed to do work. Item #48 addresses whether nature of work is participatory and whether there is a robust application of information and knowledge. Although item #9 appears normative in nature, it represents how one's own membership and the membership of others is perceived in the organization, which may be a good indicator of the group cohesion feature associated with social capital.

Table 5.2 list the variable items that loaded on factor 3, normative qualities linked to social capital.

Table 5.2
Factor Analysis:
Variable Items for Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital

•	Item #41: Within my workplace, there is a feeling of community.
•	Item #49. The people I work with treat each other with respect.
•	Item #29: There is a real feeling of team work.
•	Item #23: There is basic trust among employees and supervisors.

These four items characterize a normative domain which relate to members' sense of solidarity and group affiliation. It maybe that these variable items were interpreted by respondents as referring to more immediate group affiliations, such as work units or task groups, versus organization wide. These norms may act to control and support social

behavior at work, which social capital suggests leads to better productivity. Items #41 and #29 are similar in that both items address employees' sense of belonging and connectedness to others and the importance they assign to this membership, which may even extend to their sense of identity. Items #49 and #23 are distinct normative qualities that employees perceive as important in the context of group membership and social interactions needed to perform work.

Recall the results of the factor correlation matrix (Table 4.9) indicated a strong correlation ($r = 0.651$) between factors, general characteristics of social capital and normative qualities linked to social capital. This relationship reinforces earlier statements that normative qualities, like those found in the factor normative qualities linked to social capital, may work to support information and knowledge exchange, informal networks, goal setting, group cohesion, and coordination and action toward goals. Recall also that trust is one of the most important norms associated with social capital and is often used as a surrogate for social capital. Unfortunately, only one dimension of trust is assessed in item #23, which is trust between supervisors and employees. It does not provide an overall sense of trust throughout the organization, such as trust among peers or with senior managers. Despite this, the variable item concerning trust is important because the relationship between supervisors and workers, especially in child welfare, is often viewed as critical to worker retention.

Taken as a whole, the 12 variable items listed on Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are consistent with network closure or the bonding aspects of social capital in organizations, which Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) state promote intellect capital. Network closure draws primarily from Coleman (1988, 1990), and states that social network must be

dense and contain strong ties that bond members based on normative qualities. Members concentrate on building and maintaining internal ties among each other, in order to create the right conditions for solidarity and the pursuit of collective goals. Network boundaries are seen as clear and defined and the social structure is viewed as a resourceful and productive entity. These features of network closure and bonding are consistent with the sociocentric perspective of social capital, meaning that the creation and accumulation of social capital derives from a robust and highly interactive social structure, which organizations are ideally suited (Alder & Kwon, 2000; Sander & Laumann, 1988).

Several variable items presented on Table 5.3 were initially selected as indicators of social capital, but were dropped during factor analysis because of low communalities or complex structures, despite references in the literature which made their selection logical choices.

Table 5.3
Variables Removed During Factorial Analysis for Social Capital
Due to Communalities < 0.50* or Complex Structure**

-
- 1 – *Q84: I have a good understanding of our mission, vision and strategic plan.
 - 2 – *Q36: Training is made available to us so that we can do our jobs better.
 - 3 – *EQ8: I have been given adequate reference material specific to my job responsibilities.
 - 4 – *Q3: Our goals are consistently met or exceeded.
 - 5 – *Q52: Our employees are generally ethical in the workplace.
 - 6 – *Q76: Information and knowledge are shared openly within this organization.
 - 7 - **Q16: The work atmosphere encourages open and honest communication.
-

Item #84, which assesses employees' understanding of organizational mission, vision, and strategic plan was particularly surprising considering the literature suggestion

that social capital is thought to positively affect shared understanding of organization vision and mission. One speculation is that there are differences among organizational members on perceptions of vision and mission. For example, service workers may be more attune with immediate and concrete goals, rather than attune to more abstract and elongated timeframes (3-5 years) often inherent in visions and missions.

Other variables dropped during factor analysis that appeared to have good support from the literature included: Item #3 pertaining to goals, Item #52 pertaining to ethics, Item #76, pertaining to information and knowledge sharing, and Item # 16 pertaining to open and honest communication. For exploratory purposes, a PCA analysis using an orthogonal rotation was conducted, in which all of the variance between variable items is analyzed. The PCA results did not significantly alter the results presented in Chapter 4, except for Item #52, which loaded onto a factor largely similar to the factor normative qualities linked to social capital. One speculation as to why these variable items did not contribute to the final factor solution is that some employees may view these variable items as more pertinent or applicable to organization wide assessments. One example is the use of the term “our” in some items versus the term “we” found in many retained items that may account for some differences in how the item is perceived. The term “we” may evoke a response that tends to be more local and closer to actual work groups or units. Of course, this is speculative and more analysis is needed to definitively support such a conclusion, however, it does seem reasonable that social capital in a large state agency covering a sizeable geographic area would be influenced more by local social networks and conditions.

The variable items that loaded onto the factors identified as motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality are shown again on Table 5.4

Table 5.4
Factor Analysis: Variable Item Loadings for Factors
Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Innovation, & Quality

Motivation

- Item #28: Outstanding work is recognized.
- Item #30: We feel our efforts count.
- Item #33: We are given accurate feedback about our performance.
- Item #31: We are encouraged to learn from our mistakes.

Job Satisfaction

- Item #43: The pace of the work in this organization enables me to do a good job.
- Item #44: My job meets my expectations.
- Item #24: We are given the opportunity to do our best work.
- Item #42: The environment supports a balance between work and personal life.

Innovation

- Item #46: My ideas and opinions count at work.
- Item #47: People who challenge the status quo are valued.
- Item #18: Work groups are trained to incorporate the opinion of others.
- Item #56: When possible, problems are solved before they become a crisis.

Quality

- Item #4: We produce high quality that has a low rate of error.
 - Item #1: We are known for the quality of service we provide.
 - Item #6: We develop services to match our customers' needs.
 - Item #80: We work well with the public.
-

Work motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality of services are organizational concepts that have long been associated with organizational life and have theoretical and empirical relationships to each other. The variable items which loaded

onto these factors were consistent with findings from the literature. The variable items that loaded onto motivation were consistent with the fulfillment of human needs, reinforcement, rewards, and achievement, which are intrinsic factors thought to support one's willingness to engage in more active work behavior. The variable items that loaded onto job satisfaction were consistent with job satisfaction being a perception of people liking their job based on work conditions or their expectations of work. The variable items that loaded onto innovation were consistent with innovation being the generation and acceptance of new ideas occurring through social processes and sometimes is a proactive response to external conditions. The variables that loaded onto quality were consistent with one dimension of quality being the employees' perception of it, which is also thought to spillover to customers' perceptions of quality.

Several variable items initially selected as indicators of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality were dropped from factor analyses because of the low communalities, despite support in the literature that these variable items reflected these concepts. The dropped variable items are shown in Table 5.5

Table 5.5
Variable Removed during Factor Analysis for Motivation,
Job Satisfaction, Innovation & Quality due to Communalities < 0.50

Motivation

- 1 – EQ15: I stay with the agency because I like helping my clients.
- 2 – Q25: We feel a sense of pride when we tell people that we work for this organization.

Job Satisfaction

- 1 – Q21: Decision-making and control are given to employees doing the actual work.
- 2 – Q32: We have adequate resources to do our jobs.

Innovation

- 1 – Q2: We are constantly improving our services.

Quality

- 1 – Q5: We know who our customers (those we serve) are.
-

Despite logical and best thinking about these variable items as indicative of their respective concept, one would expect some variable items not to conform well to the factor. Overall, the total amount of variance explained for each of the analysis and factor loading values (> 0.32) suggested these variable items were good indicators for these four organizational concepts, although caution should be applied to the results for quality (total variance explained = 57.65%). This is further supported by the result of Cronbach's alpha, which suggested good internal consistency reliability among these variable items in each of the factors.

The overall conclusion reached as the result of factor analyses was that each of the factor solutions derived from the secondary data provided a reasonable representation and operationalization of the concepts under study. Factors that are thought to represent

social capital and the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were subsequently treated as new variables to examine their relationships.

Interpretation of Findings: Multiple Regression Analyses

Research questions three and four posed whether social capital had some relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. The results of the multiple regression analyses suggested that the two variables or indicators of social capital, general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital, had positive relationships with the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality (see Table 4.17 through Table 4.20). As stated in chapter two, empirical studies of the relationship of social capital to these four organizational concepts are few and remains largely theoretical. Flap and Völker (2001) found social capital related to some dimensions of job satisfaction, and theorized positive implications to motivation. Subramaniam & Youndt, (2005) and Tsai & Ghoshal (1998) empirically linked social capital to innovation. The results of multiple regression analyses in this study are consistent with these studies in that the two independent variables representing social capital had at least a strong overall relationship to job satisfaction and innovation. This overall relationship also proved at least strong for motivation and quality as well.

The individual relationships between each indicator of social capital and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were also significant, except for the relationship between normative qualities linked to social capital and quality. Why normative qualities linked to social capital did not show a relationship to quality was puzzling, given its statistically significant relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, and

innovation. One speculation is that the variable items that represented the normative qualities linked to social capital (community, teamwork, respect and trust) overly reinforced inward looking and group behavior aspects of the job, rather than the outward aspects of job more associated with quality. Another explanation is although norms may serve to solidify group cohesion and feelings about working in groups, other factors may work to diminish workers' perceptions about quality, such as discordant and prescribed policies found in child welfare systems that workers' perceive as ineffective or harmful. Better valid measures of normative aspects of social capital in future research would help sort out this finding.

Overall the findings of the multiple regression analyses suggested that social capital in organizations may help to predict levels of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and to some extent quality. More valid and reliable measures are needed to concretely state this conclusion, but this study does provide early empirical evidence of these relationships. If social capital does represent what Burt (1997) describes as network organizations characterized by greater access, participation, engagement, social knowledge, and social connectedness, then it seems plausible that some workers would find these conditions more stimulating and this in turn would lead to greater motivation and job satisfaction. This may be especially true for professional classifications of workers who may desire more opportunities to demonstrate and expand their knowledge and skills in a participatory and engaging way with peers.

It also seems plausible that social capital can create conditions in organizations that stimulate innovation and quality. Social capital may facilitate what Thompson (1965) long ago described as structural looseness and what Ahmed (1998) more recently

called organic structures. Both of these organizational descriptions tout the benefits of fewer rules, informal relationships, and the use of inter-disciplinary teams to facilitate innovation. Innovation is a highly social process associated with new learning and knowledge often supported by norms embedded in organizational culture, such as trust that one's new ideas will be received and considered. Quality is often linked to organizational innovation by way of new or improved products or processes that positively affect services and outcomes. From this view, quality can be considered an extension of innovation and suggest that quality directly benefits from social processes and exchanges that create innovation. Patti (1988) views quality as a dimension of organizational effectiveness and competency in human service organizations.

It may be that social capital represents a refinement of past and present organizational theories and perspectives thought to improve organizational life. Adler and Kwon (2002) suggest that social capital may be emerging as an "umbrella concept", whose ideas and notions are found in other organizational theories and perspectives that have been previously studied (p.18). Of course this suggestion is far from certain, but many of the organizational perspectives described in the literature such as quality of work life (QWL), social learning, organizational learning, the enabling bureaucracy, the empowering organization, and workplace social inclusion denote similarities of less bureaucracy and greater social connectedness to improve organizational performance. Similarly, each of these perspectives links the altering of the bureaucratic paradigm to greater motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Whether or not a unifying concept, the results from the multiple regression analyses suggest that certain aspects and characteristics of social capital are related to a worker's perceptions of motivation and

job satisfaction and their perceptions about organizational innovation and quality. Said differently, these results suggest that social capital may work simultaneously to satisfying intrinsic needs, attitudes about job, creativity, and perceptions about services. Further, the theoretical and sometimes empirical relationships between motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality are well documented in the literature and were discussed as part of this study.

Interpretation of Findings: The Influence of Job Assignment

The results of the hierarchical multiple regression revealed that job assignment had little overall effect on relationship between social capital and the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Job assignment had the greatest influence on the variable quality, increasing the proportional reduction in error for predicting quality by 3 percent, however this was still modest. These finding indicated that social capital, a concept highly linked to organizational culture, had more to do with influencing motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality, than job assignment. Said differently, how one senses the quality of organizational life may have more to do with the cultural context of work, rather than specific work tasks. Social capital is thought to create a positive, supportive, and engaging cultural context at work. Even though the type of work performed by child welfare agencies is often seen as difficult, stressful, and can lead to poor attitudes about job environment, the cultural context of work created by social capital may help to buffer poor attitudes associated with child welfare work. Also, the cultural context created by social capital is thought to reinforce the agencies broader sense of mission and purpose with workers. In this context, even

difficult work may be seen as meaningful and rewarding, which may help to build and reinforce positive attitudes about job.

Clearly, the variables associated with social capital remained better predictors for motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality as first indicated by results of the standard multiple regression. However, the result of the hierarchical regression suggested some differences might exist between CWS and Non-CWS workers; however, caution should be applied to these results as the large sample size may be exaggerating these differences. Specifically, CWS workers had lower levels of motivation, job satisfaction, and quality as represented by the positive slope of B coefficient for the variable job assignment (Non-CWS) in each of these three analyses. The B coefficient for the variable innovation was not statistically significant. One interpretation of these findings is that even though social capital may act to buffer negative attitudes about work as just discussed, this does not negate the fact that some jobs within an organization are more difficult, stressful, and carry more of a burden than others. Even though a buffering effect may be present, because of a positive cultural climate supported by social capital, its buffering effects may be less potent on some job categories than others. This may suggest that some categories of employees may need more attention and support than others, like those in the front lines of child abuse response and treatment.

Interpretation of Findings: The Influence of Demographic Variables

Much like result of job assignment, demographic variables had little overall effect on the relationship between social capital and the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Like job assignment, demographic variables had the greatest influence on the variable quality, increasing the proportional

reduction in error for predicting quality by 2.2 percent, however this was still modest. Overall, the variables operationalized for social capital were better predictors for motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. These findings are consistent with the literature on organizational social capital and its relationship to organizational life. The social capital perspective views organizational qualities such as closure, bonding, membership, identity, goal orientation, and knowledge sharing as supporting positive motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, quality and other factors associated with organizational life. Demographic characteristics, per say, are less important, rather than creating social context where diversity is welcomed. Some have suggested that organizations steeped in social capital are more acceptant of diversity (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), because of social capital's emphasis on mutual cooperation, knowledge exchange, and collective goal attainment. This may be especially true if an agency is already familiar and works well with diversity, both internally with employees and externally with clients, which is often the case with child welfare organizations. From this perspective, demographic characteristics such gender, race, age, and education may be less relevant to one's attitudes about job, as opposed to one's feelings about acceptance, membership, and their overall role in the group.

The individual relationships between demographic variables and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality were difficult to interpret, especially in trying to detect an overarching pattern between demographics and these dependent variables. It seemed logical that a pattern might emerge given the literature's suggestion that motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality are often linked and work to reinforce each other; however, no such pattern emerged. For example, being older was associated

with job satisfaction and quality, but not with motivation or innovation. Being a non-minority was associated with motivation, but was also associated with lower job satisfaction and borne no relationship to innovation or quality. A clearer pattern emerged with gender, suggesting that males tend to be more motivated, more satisfied with the job, and perceive higher levels of quality. However, males tend to perceive lower levels of innovation. Higher levels of education resulted in lower levels of job satisfaction, innovation, and quality, but also result in higher motivation. This void in an overall pattern probably suggests that the results of the regression analyses did not provide a clear picture of the relationship between demographic variables and motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality acting as dependent variables. These unclear results are probably more a product of minor difference being statistically significant due to large sample size.

Implications of the Study

The public child welfare system epitomizes many of the shortfalls associated with bureaucratic human service organizations and many individuals touched by the failures of the nation's child welfare system have called for reform. While acknowledging that some of the reforms needed in child welfare must come from new policies, programs, and practice methods, other reforms must include organizational transformation, which Cohen (2004) suggests can be learned from social learning theory. Organizational transformation through social learning and its cousin, organizational learning, can lead to de-bureaucratizing the workplace and the broader involvement of employees across multiple levels of the organization. Social capital was offered as an alternative perspective to the bureaucratic paradigm and is seen as consistent with the principles of

social learning and organizational learning and other like perspectives that could contribute to child welfare reform. This study also suggests that social capital has positive implication for factors associated with organizational life, such as motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality that can help support organizational transformation.

While acknowledging several limitations to this study that will be discussed shortly, this study does seem to suggest social capital has implications to human service organizations and child welfare in the areas of workforce development and retention and for improvement of outcomes related children and families. One large workforce initiative over the last two decades is Title IV-E education and training. Title IV-E education and training programs are federally funded and are designed to professionalize the child welfare workforce through university-based curriculum and instruction. These efforts seem to support the notion that child welfare work, and social work in general, is knowledge-work and specialized knowledge is needed to improve services and outcomes. What is ironic about these efforts is that workers are cast into organizations that sometimes neutralize the new skills and knowledge gained through Title IV-E curriculum and training. The predictable result is that many workers leave the agency, which is supported by studies that workers may not stay unless unsatisfactory working conditions are improved (Arches, 1991; Esposito & Fine, 1985; Jones & Okamura, 2000). More needs to be done to create organizational settings where workers can apply a broad range of skills, knowledge, and expertise learned from specialized education and training. Experience and research has shown that rigid application of rules and services that emphasize a one size fits all approach is less effective when confronted by heterogeneous, multifaceted, and complicated problems faced by children and families.

Workers know this, which leads to personal frustration, dissatisfaction with the system and job, low morale, and a sense that needs of the bureaucracy are more important than meaningful solutions to problems. Organizational leaders in public child welfare organizations may want to consider the social capital perspective as way to improve the application and exchange of important knowledge and skills gained thorough specialized child welfare education and training. Further, adoption of this perspective may also have positive implication for worker motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality of services that help to mitigate staff turnover and other negative effects associated with excessive bureaucracy.

Whether social capital directly leads to improved organizational performance was not tested in this study. This study did support social capital having a direct relationship to the organizational concepts of motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. At a minimum, an indirect relationship may exist between social capital and improved organizational performance via social capital direct relationship to motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. The literature reviewed for this study suggested that improved organizational performance is often linked to motivation job satisfaction, innovation, and quality. Child welfare organizations are probably no different and if their workers are more motivated, satisfied, innovative and perceive better quality, perhaps this does results in better organizational performance so critical to meeting client needs.

In essence, the social capital perspective is about creating organizational conditions that in turn may create more motivated and satisfied workers. These workers use their collective knowledge to resolve complex familial problems in innovative ways, which they connect to better quality of services. In some ways, these relationships and

activities just described are an operationalization of knowledge-based theory of the firm, which states that knowledge is an organization's most important asset. Social capital is thought to better facilitate utilization of this important organizational asset. For child welfare organizations engaged in knowledge-work, social capital provides a framework for creating greater knowledge assets useful to organizational transformation efforts called for under child welfare reform.

This study also suggests that human service managers and supervisors may need to rethink the conventions of hierarchical management and leadership where value is placed on knowledge at the top, directive style, top-down power relationships and concentrated decision-making at the top. Social capital suggests that the role of managers and supervisors is changed from that of command and control to facilitators, team builders, mentors, and collaborators with staff, without abrogating the responsibility and authority of their office. Their energies are spent in creating the right organizational conditions such as time, space, culture, trust, and the social context that promotes cooperation and action that may lead to better organizational performance. Gummer (2001) suggests that social capital investments made by organizational supervisors and leaders will in the long run aid in retention of workers. This is consistent with other literature that suggests that the supervisory and worker relationship in child welfare is critical to worker retention and morale (Dickinson & Perry, 2001; Mor Barak, Nissly & Levin, 2001; Yoo, 2002).

The results of this study also have implications for social work education and organizational practice. Social work students need to understand the debilitating nature of overly bureaucratic human service organizations and the potentially negative

consequences these organizations can have on people. They need to understand the limits these organizations could place on their practice and their ability to assist populations. As such, social work education should prepare students to engage in organizational transformation and in some cases advocate for it, rather than becoming passive and disempowered members of a debilitating bureaucracy. This is critically important since many graduate students assume leadership positions in human service organization, like child welfare, soon after graduation. Although more research is needed on social capital in human service organizations, the early findings from this study suggest social capital may have a place along side other organizational theories currently taught in schools of social work, such as human relations theory, X and Y theories, and theories related to power and culture in organizations (i.e. feminist and empowerment theories).

Limitations of the Study

One limitation noted periodically in this study was the large number of cases used in regression analyses, which results in small differences being statistically significant. This would warrant caution in concluding the extent or presence of differences and future study using smaller number of cases would be helpful in better interpreting differences suggested by this study. Another limitation was the use of secondary data for operationalize and measuring concepts for which these data were not intended was mentioned. Rubin and Babbie (2005) note this limitation of secondary data by stating that data collected for one purpose may not precisely measure the constructs used in a different study. The issue becomes whether the original data comes close to being a valid indicator for constructs used in other research. Although social capital was not a concept conceived and used in the SOE, it is believed that these data did serve as approximate

indicator for social capital and the other organizational concepts used in the study as well. The rationale for using SOE items to operationalize social capital and the other organizational concepts was based on the literature reviewed, which served to discern their salient and distinguishable properties. Even this seemingly objective and reasoned approach is not entirely free of subjectivity and the interpretation of discussions and findings in the literature is sometimes tricky, on which some people may disagree. The potential for unintended biases and the use of secondary data calls for caution in the interpretation of all findings and conclusions presented in this study. Additionally, no causal inferences should be drawn from any findings presented in this study. Despite these limitations, the exercise of trying to operationalize and measure an abstract and elusive concept did lead to higher and more refined thinking about social capital that may prove useful in future studies.

Another limitation of the study is its ability to generalize beyond the public human service organization selected for this study. Results and conclusions reached in this study are applicable to the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services, must be generalized with caution to other organizations. This includes generalizing to the newly formed Department of Family and Protective Services whose employees may possess different perceptions about organizational life based on changed organizational structure and context.

Future Research

This exploratory study generated a number of questions and unresolved issues that could be used to guide future research. First, future research should undertake development of valid and reliable measures of social capital in organizations based on a

more uniform definition of the concept. Measures of social capital have been undertaken, but many deal with measuring the concept in the context of national populations (Inkeles, 2000) or regional/community groups (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Some work on valid measures has occurred in private for-profit multinational business corporations (Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998), but these measures are based on different interpretations of the concept. Other measures focus more exclusively on the individual benefits derived from social capital (Burt, 2001, Lin, 2001). King (2004) has outlined well the limited, but broad range of measurements developed to this point and the problems associated with measurement, including dealing with the problem that social capital may be a cumulative process that can only be measured overtime. Despite some progress, adequate measures of social capital in organizations have proceeded slowly and appear to be nonexistent in the context of human service organizations.

If problems of measurement can be overcome, then research to tests and illuminate the multidimensionality of social capital should be pursued. Various dimensions have been put forth in the literature and some were explored in this study, but more definitive evidence is needed to identify and articulate the qualities of these dimensions and how they relate. Also, future research will need to be done to clarify the various contexts in which social capital functions as an antecedent or consequence. This may prove very difficult for researchers given the literature suggestion that social capital evolves and sustains itself through simultaneous and reciprocal relationships with other concepts. For example, are higher levels of motivation a consequence of social capital or vice versa; or are they mutually reinforcing and how is that explained based on empirical evidence.

To help guide future research, more refined models of social capital in human services organizations need to be developed and tested. More rigorous studies can then be designed to test social capital relationship to concepts associated with organizational life and whether social capital is a viable way of organizing and coordinating work; which may leads to better organizational performance and better outcome for clients. These are important areas of research to pursue given that many child welfare organizations are moving toward more group and team decision-making approaches to practices to improve their outcomes largely based on professional values and positive assumptions about these practices. Research in this area alone may help to clarify and guide these approaches, which appear to be promising practices.

Similarly, more research is needed to explore the effects of social capital on job assignments particular to child welfare work. There were some indications in this study that the characteristics of child welfare work may lessen the quality of organizational life. Future research should pursue how social capital may buffer the effects of low morale, job dissatisfaction, etc., which may ultimately lead to higher staff retention in child welfare organizations.

Lastly, future research should address the question: is too much social capital in organizations problematic? Some theorist have suggested that too much closure and bonding may have potential negative costs for organizations, such as shutting out new ideas or members overly conforming to group norms. It maybe that too much social capital could have severe consequences for organizational performance and client outcomes that organizational leaders need to better understand.

Appendix A
Survey of Organizational Excellence
Survey Items

Source: The Organizational Excellence Group, School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin

Survey of Organizational Excellence
Employee Demographic Section

- A. My highest education level
 - 1) Did not finish high school.
 - 2) High school diploma (or GED)
 - 3) Some college
 - 4) Associate's degree
 - 5) Bachelor's degree
 - 6) Master's degree
 - 7) Doctoral degree

- B. My race/ethnic identification
 - 1) African- American/Black
 - 2) Hispanic/Mexican-American
 - 3) Anglo-American/White
 - 4) Asian-American/Pacific Islander/Native American Indian
 - 5) Multiracial/Other

- C. My annual Salary (before taxes)
 - 1) less than \$15,000
 - 2) \$15,000-\$25,000
 - 3) \$25,001-\$35,000
 - 4) \$35,001-\$45,000
 - 5) \$45,001-\$50,000
 - 6) \$50,001-\$60,000
 - 7) \$60,001-\$75,000
 - 8) \$75,001 or more

- D. Years I have lived in this state
 - 1) less than 2
 - 2) 2-10
 - 3) Over 10

- E. My age (in years)
 - 1) 16-29
 - 2) 30-39
 - 3) 40-49
 - 4) 50-59
 - 5) 60+

- F. Persons in my household, including myself
 - 1) 1
 - 2) 2
 - 3) 3
 - 4) 4
 - 5) 5 or more

- G. Hours per week employed
 - 1) Less than 20
 - 2) 20-39
 - 3) 40 or more

- H. Years of service with this organization
- 1) 0
 - 2) 1-2
 - 3) 3-5
 - 4) 6-10
 - 5) 11-15
 - 6) 15+
- I. I am:
- 1) Female
 - 2) Male
- J. I am currently in a supervisory role.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- K. I received a promotion during the last two years.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- L. I received a merit increase during the last two years.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- M. I plan to be working for this organization in two years.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- N. I am the primary wage earner in the household.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- O. There is more than one wage earner in my household.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Survey of Organizational Excellence Employee Survey Items

Responses: 1) = Strongly Disagree
 2) = Disagree
 3) = Feel Neutral
 4) = Agree
 5) = Strongly Agree
 6) = Don't Know/Not Applicable

Items:

Dimensions and Constructs (See Table 3.1)

1. We are known for the quality of service we provide.
2. We are constantly improving our services.
3. Our goals are consistently met or exceeded.
4. We produce high quality work that has a low rate of error.
5. We know who our customers (those we serve) are.
6. We develop services to match our customer's needs.
7. My performance is evaluated fairly.
8. My supervisor is consistent when administering policies concerning employees.
9. Every employee is valued.
10. We work to attract, develop, and retain people with diverse backgrounds.
11. We have adequate computer resources (hardware and software).
12. Information systems are in place and accessible for me to get my job done.
13. Information is shared as appropriate with other organizations.
14. The right information gets to the right people at the right time.
15. We integrate information and act intelligently upon that information.
16. The work atmosphere encourages open and honest communication.
17. We feel the channels we must go through at work are reasonable.
18. Work groups are trained to incorporate the opinions of each member.
19. Work groups receive adequate feedback that helps improve their performance.
20. We have an opportunity to participate in the goal setting process.
21. Decision making and control are given to employees doing the actual work.
22. We seem to be working toward the same goals.
23. There is a basic trust among employees and supervisors.
24. We are given the opportunity to do our best work.
25. We feel a sense of pride when we tell people that we work for this organization.

26. The amount of work I am asked to do is reasonable.
27. We are efficient.
28. Outstanding work is recognized.
29. There is a real feeling of teamwork.
30. We feel our efforts count.
31. We are encouraged to learn from our mistakes.
32. We have adequate resources to do our jobs.
33. We are given accurate feedback about our performance.
34. When possible, alternative work schedules (flex-time, compressed work weeks, job sharing, telecommuting) are offered to employees.
35. Training is made available to us for personal growth and development.
36. Training is made available to us so that we can do our jobs better.
37. We have access to information about job opportunities, conferences, workshops, and training.
38. Supervisors know whether an individual's career goals are compatible with organizational goals.
39. We have sufficient procedures to ensure the safety of employees in the workplace.
40. Our workplace is well maintained.
41. Within my workplace, there is a feeling of community.
42. The environment supports a balance between work and personal life.
43. The pace of the work in this organization enables me to do a good job.
44. My job meets my expectations.
45. We balance our focus on both long range and short term goals.
46. My ideas and opinions count at work.
47. People who challenge the status quo are valued.
48. Work groups are actively involved in making work processes more effective.
49. The people I work with treat each other with respect.
50. The appropriate information is shared with the public.
51. Favoritism (special treatment) is not an issue in raises or promotions.
52. Our employees are generally ethical in the workplace.
53. I am confident that any ethics violation I report will be properly handled.
54. Harassment is not tolerated at my workplace.
55. I am satisfied with the opportunities I have to evaluate my supervisor's performance.
56. When possible, problems are solved before they become a crisis.
57. We use feedback from those we serve to improve our performance.
58. I believe we will use the information from this survey to improve our performance.
59. I have regular involvement (once a month or more) in community activities or groups.
60. People are paid fairly for the work they do.

61. Salaries are competitive with similar jobs in the community.
62. Benefits can be selected to meet individual needs.
63. I understand my benefit plan.
64. Benefits are comparable to those offered in other jobs.
65. My pay keeps pace with the cost of living.
66. Changes in benefits and compensation have been explained during the last 2 years.

Compensation

67. I am satisfied with my continuing education/training opportunities.
68. I am satisfied with my medical insurance.
69. I am satisfied with my sick leave.
70. I am satisfied with my vacation.
71. I am satisfied with my retirement.
72. I am satisfied with my dental insurance.
73. I am satisfied with my vision insurance.
74. I am satisfied with my holiday benefit.
75. I am satisfied with my Employee Assistance Program (E.A.P.).

Organization Wide

76. Information and knowledge are shared openly within this organization.
77. An effort is made to get the opinions of people throughout the organization.
78. We work well with other organizations.
79. We work well with our governing bodies (the legislature, the board, etc.).
80. We work well with the public.
81. We understand the state, local, national, and global issues that impact the organization.
82. We know how our work impacts others in the organization.
83. Our web site is easy to use and contains helpful information.
84. I have a good understanding of our mission, vision, and strategic plan.
85. I believe we communicate our mission effectively to the public.
86. My organization encourages me to be involved in my community.

Appendix B

Discussion of Assumptions Interpretation of Baseline And Revised Regression Models

Standard Multiple Regression

Appendix “B”
 Discussion of Assumptions
 Standard Multiple Regression

Missing Data

The percentages of missing data for each of the variables are listed on Table B.1.

Table B.1
 Missing Data for Each Variable
 Used in Regression Analysis

Variable	Valid	Missing	Total	Percent Missing
General Social Capital Characteristics	3466	540	4006	13%
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital	3885	121	4006	3%
Motivation	3848	158	4006	4%
Job Satisfaction	3904	102	4006	3%
Innovation	3505	501	4006	13%
Quality	3716	290	4006	7%

As seen in Table B.1, the variables general social capital characteristics, innovation, and quality were missing data greater than 5.0%, which convention suggests maybe problematic for multivariate analysis. To assess whether these missing data were problematic, missing/valid dichotomous variables were created for these variables to test whether the group of cases with missing data differed significantly from the group of cases with valid data, using *t*-tests with other variables included in the analysis. There were no significant differences when comparing the dichotomous variable general social

capital characteristics to the variables normative qualities linked to social capital, motivation, job satisfaction, innovation, and quality.

- Cases that had missing data for the variable general social capital characteristics had an average score on the variable normative qualities linked to social capital that was 0.1709 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 1.461, p = 0.144$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable general social capital characteristics had an average score on the variable motivation that was 0.2300 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 1.716, p = 0.087$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable general social capital characteristics had an average score on the variable job satisfaction that was 0.2302 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 1.656, p = 0.098$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable general social capital characteristics had an average score on the variable innovation that was 0.0776 units lower than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = -0.398, p = 0.616$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable general social capital characteristics had an average score on the variable quality that was 0.0759 units lower than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = -0.646, p = 0.518$).

There were no significant differences when comparing the dichotomous variable quality to the variables general social capital characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital:

- Cases that had missing data for the variable quality had an average score on the variable general social capital characteristics that was 0.2702 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 0.805, p = 0.422$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable quality had an average score on the variable normative qualities linked to social capital that was 0.1966 units lower than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = - 1.124, p = 0.262$).

There was a significant difference when comparing the dichotomous variable innovation to the variable normative qualities linked to social capital, but there was no significant difference with the variable general social capital characteristics.

- Cases that had missing data for the variable innovation had an average score on the variable normative qualities linked to social capital that was 0.4624 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 4.102, p = 0.001$).
- Cases that had missing data for the variable innovation had an average score on the variable general social capital characteristics that was 0.5302 units higher than the average for the cases who had valid cases ($t = 1.885, p = 0.061$).

Since there was a significant difference with the dichotomous variable innovation and the variable normative qualities linked to social capital, the variable innovation was examined within the data set. The pattern of missing data for the variable innovation appeared random, indicating a less serious problem than a nonrandom pattern, however caution should be applied to any results specific to innovation.

Baseline Regressions.

The results of the four baseline regression models indicated that the overall relationship between the independent variables of general social capital characteristics

and normative qualities linked to social capital and the four dependent variables in each analysis were statistically significant. Table B.2 summarizes the results of the Multiple R and R^2 for baseline regression models. The proportion of variance explained (R^2) in the baseline models were used as benchmarks for comparing R^2 in subsequent regression solutions, which tested for assumptions of normality and linearity and the effects of outliers.

Table B.2
Summaries of Baseline Regression Models
Predictor Variables General Social Capital Characteristics and
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital in Each Analysis

Dependent Variable	N	R	R^2	R^2_{adj}	F	p	df
Motivation	3372	.827	.683	.683	3633.08	< .001	2
Job Satisfaction	3399	.752	.556	.556	2214.46	< .001	2
Innovation	3265	.871	.758	.758	5112.69	< .001	2
Quality	3273	.668	.446	.446	1316.66	< .001	2

Normality of Variables.

Statistical methods were used to assess the normality of variables using skewness and kurtosis. All variables used in regression analyses were normality distributed with values for skewness and kurtosis not exceeding -1.0 or +1.0. No transformation of variables to satisfy the assumption of normality were required or used in subsequent analyses. Table B.3 lists the results for normality for each variable.

Table B.3
Multiple Regression Analysis:
Normality of Variables: Skewness and Kurtosis

Variable	Skewness	Kurtosis
General Social Capital Characteristics	- 0.461	0.004
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital	- 0.686	0.058
Motivation	- 0.531	- 0.064
Job Satisfaction	- 0.374	- 0.330
Innovation	- 0.441	- 0.205
Quality	- 0.454	- 0.094

Assumption of Linearity.

Each of the dependent variables used in the four multiple regression analyses were evaluated for linearity against the two independent variables using correlation matrices. Independent variable in the analyses was transformed into logarithmic, square root, and inverse variables. In assessing linearity, the original independent variables and the transformed variables were used to evaluate strength of relationship with the dependent variables. The assessment of the linearity between dependent variables and independent variables indicated that all relationships were linear. The probabilities associated with the correlation coefficients for each relationship were statistically significant and none of the statistically significant transformations for the independent variables had a relationship that was substantially stronger. No transformed independent

variables were used in subsequent analyses. Table B.4 summarizes the probabilities associated with the correlation coefficients for each dependent variable and the independents variables. These results indicated that the assumption of linearity was satisfied.

Table B.4
Multiple Regression Analysis:
Probabilities Associated with the Correlation Coefficients

Dependent Variable	General Social Capital Characteristics		Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital	
	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
Motivation	.789	< .001	.725	< .001
Job Satisfaction	.737	< .001	.612	< .001
Innovation	.841	< .001	.746	< .001
Quality	.669	< .001	.476	< .001

Evaluation of Outliers.

Cases in the data set were evaluated for univariate outliers for each dependent variable used in analyses. Multivariate outliers were evaluated for combinations of scores among independent variables and again for combinations of scores among dependent and independent variables. Univariate outliers were evaluated using standard scores (z-scores). Cases with standard scores in excess of -3.29 or + 3.29 are considered univariate outliers; the standard score value that corresponds to $p < 0.001$. An evaluation of all dependent variables (motivation, job satisfaction, innovation and quality) used in analyses revealed no univariate outliers. Mahalanobis D^2 was used to evaluate multivariate outliers among the independent variables (general social capital

characteristics and normative qualities linked to social capital). A case can be considered a multivariate outlier if the probability associated with Mahalanobis D^2 is 0.001 or less. Eleven (11) multivariate outliers were detected using Mahalanobis D^2 and were removed for subsequent regression analyses. Studentized residuals were used to detect outliers for combinations of scores on dependent and independent variables. The detection of outliers using studentized residuals uses the same z-score criteria for detecting univariate outliers, which are scores in excess of -3.29 or + 3.29. The analyses of studentized residuals applied to each combination of the dependent variables to independent variables revealed the following:

- Motivation (DV) + General Social Capital Characteristics & Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital (IVs) = 24 outliers.
- Job Satisfaction (DV) + General Social Capital Characteristics & Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital (IVs) = 8 outliers.
- Innovation (DV) + General Social Capital Characteristics & Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital (IVs) = 19 outliers.
- Quality (DV) + General Social Capital Characteristics & Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital (IVs) = 7 outliers.

Outliers detected through studentized residuals were removed from subsequent regression analyses.

Table B.5 compares the Multiple R and the total proportions of variance explained (R^2) found in baseline regression models to those found in revised regression models which excluded outliers. If R^2 in the revised regression model is 2 % greater than R^2 in the baseline model, it is usually selected as the model for interpretation.

Table B.5
 Comparison of Baseline and Regression Models
 Independent Variables: General Social Capital Characteristics
 And Normative Qualities Linked to Social

Variables		R	R^2	p
Motivation				
	Baseline	0.827	68.3%	< 0.001
	Revised	0.843	71.1%	< 0.001
Job Satisfaction				
	Baseline	0.752	56.6%	< 0.001
	Revised	0.762	58.1%	< 0.001
Innovation				
	Baseline	0.871	75.8%	< 0.001
	Revised	0.881	77.6%	< 0.001
Quality				
	Baseline	0.668	44.6%	< 0.001
	Revised	0.679	46.1%	< 0.001

Table B.5 indicates that revised regression models, which excluded outliers, explained more variance than the baseline models. However, a change in R^2 greater than 2% was only found in the revised regression model which used motivation as the dependent variable, therefore, the revised regression model was retained for interpretation. The increases in R^2 for all other revised regression models were less than 2% and baseline models were retained for interpretation.

Split Validation.

A noted problem with multiple regression analysis is that the method tends to over optimize a solution that may not generalize well to its population (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Split-validation of the results with a subset of the sample is recommended. A 75/25% split-validation method was used to test each of the four regression solutions. Seventy-five percent (75%) of the total sample were randomly selected into the training

sample and the other 25% selected into the validation sample. Table B.6 and Table B.7 list the results of the 75/25% split-validation analyses. As seen on Table B.6, the results of the training sample are used to validate the regression model using the full data set. The amounts of change in R^2 between the training and validation samples are also compared. Some shrinkage of R^2 in the validation sample from the training sample can be expected, but generally not more than 2% for the validation to be considered successful.

Table B.6
Model Summaries: 75/25% Split Validation - Overall Relationships
Independent Variables: General Social Capital Characteristics
Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital

Dependent Variables	<i>R</i>	R^2	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df</i>
Motivation					
Full Data Set	.843	.711	3732.47	< .001	2
Training Sample	.840	.706	2727.87	< .001	2
Validation Sample		.724			
Job Satisfaction					
Full Data Set	.752	.556	2214.46	< .001	2
Training Sample	.749	.552	1649.29	< .001	2
Validation Sample		.579			
Innovation					
Full Data Set	.871	.758	5112.69	< .001	2
Training Sample	.872	.761	2826.75	< .001	2
Validation Sample		.751			
Quality					
Full Data Set	.668	.446	1316.66	< .001	2
Training Sample	.657	.432	936.90	.157	2
Validation Sample		.488			

The validation analysis requires that the training sample replicate the pattern of statistical significance (p values) found in the regression analysis using the full data set.

As seen in Table B.6, the training sample followed the pattern of statistical significance for the overall relationships between the dependent variable and the independent variables in each analysis. A comparison of the total proportion of variance explained in training sample with the validation sample revealed increases in R^2 in the validation samples, except for the analysis in which innovation was the dependent variable. This shrinkage in R^2 in the validation sample in which innovation was the dependent variable equaled 1.0% and was within the acceptable criteria of no more than 2.0%.

As seen in Table B.7, the training sample also followed the pattern of statistical significance for each individual relationship between dependent variables and independent variables in each analysis, except for the dependent variable quality and the independent variable normative qualities linked to social capital. The validation for the variables quality and normative qualities linked to social capital followed the pattern of no statistical significance that was found earlier in the regression analysis with the full data set.

Table B.7
 Model Summaries
 75/25% Split Validation: Individual Relationships
 Independent Variables: General Social Capital Characteristics = GSBB
 Normative Qualities Linked to Social Capital = NQLSB

Coefficients for Dependent Variables		<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Motivation				
Full Data Set				
	GSBB	.391	40.20	<.001
	NQLSB	.414	26.05	<.001
Training Sample				
	GSBB	.387	34.55	<.001
	NQLSB	.422	22.99	<.001
Job Satisfaction				
Full Data Set				
	GSBB	.431	37.44	<.001
	NQLSB	.254	13.60	<.001
Training Sample				
	GSBB	.429	32.42	<.001
	NQLSB	.259	12.06	<.001
Innovation				
Full Data Set				
	GSBB	.435	51.99	<.001
	NQLSB	.359	26.33	<.001
Training Sample				
	GSBB	.431	45.08	<.001
	NQLSB	.361	23.44	<.001
Quality				
Full Data Set				
	GSBB	.375	35.74	<.001
	NQLSB	.033	1.94	.052
Training Sample				
	GSBB	.371	30.35	<.001
	NQLSB	.028	1.41	.157

Overall, the validation analyses supported the regressions models using the full data set as presented and discussed in Chapter 4, Tables 4.18 through Table 4.21.

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