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A Framework for Social Capital

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is concerned with enhancing the utility of social capital by developing and testing a comprehensive and measurable framework as a tool for researchers, policy-makers, and development theorists and practitioners. A framework was developed for measuring the degree to which different forms of social capital reside in a community and for distinguishing community-to-community variations. The Framework was also designed to identify the accumulation of social capital in relation to structural characteristics within a community, and to identify what advantages might be associated with variants of social capital.

The pursuit of the understanding of social capital has been convened within narrow disciplinary fields and has reduced the notion in definition, purpose, and utility. Much of the literature and past research has focused on approximations to identify social capital that are field-specific and representative of, at best, markers of social capital, rather than social capital itself. For this reason, this dissertation is concerned with developing a robust framework that has the potential to embrace the nature and extent of social capital across these disciplinary fields, while providing insight into the forms, influences, and trajectories of social capital.

The utility of the Social Capital Framework that was developed for this dissertation was examined by transforming the Framework into a survey tool for administering in two communities to identify applicability and sensitivity for identifying the degree to which variants of social capital reside. The results showed that the

Framework was able to distinguish the degree to which different forms of social capital existed, and how the social capital accumulates in relations to structural variables, in particular, gender. The Framework's utility was not universal across all forms of social capital and showed that further enhancements are required, particularly, if it is to enable social capital to be attributed to forms of advantage. The results also identified areas where future research would be of value, particularly, in examining the trajectory of people's forms of social capital.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

In recent years, concern has been growing over the performance of mainstream economic models that dictate economic and social planning in many countries throughout the world. Embedded in neo-liberal thinking and rational choice theory, these models are characterised by their support for free-market trade, minimal or no state involvement in the economy and individual opportunism. Increasingly, these models are being criticised for being utilitarian, overtly ideological and for paying little or no attention to the context in which people lives are constructed.

In a bid to overcome these weaknesses, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists are progressively turning their attention to approaches that address the social situation and context in which action takes place (Swedberg, 1995:525). Contrary to liberalist thinking, it has become increasingly apparent that the social components of societies, organisations, and families play an important role in determining what action people take and how they obtain advantages, thus warranting increased attention. Mark Granovetter argues that

. . . economic action is socially situated, and cannot be explained by individual motives alone; it is embedded in ongoing networks of personal relations rather than carried out by atomized actors (Granovetter, 1992:4).

Development Theory since the Second World War has been characterised by the notion of 'trusteeship' (see Chapter Two page 26 to page 49). However, increasingly theorists are finding that for development intervention to be effective a stronger theory of action is required (Carman, 1996; Coleman, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1992; Cowan and Shenton, 1995; Crush, 1995; Putnam, 1993). Understanding the dynamics of how action occurs within social structures and, therefore, how development interventions need to be targeted is emerging as an approach with significant potential. In its infancy, however, it has lacked specificity and defined framework or frameworks for meaningful evidential testing and development.

One notion that has come into prominence and seeks to situate action in its social setting is social capital. Social capital was first systematically theorised by Pierre Bourdieu¹ who distinguished it as a resource available to individuals, unique from other forms of capital (Wetterberg, 2007:586). Bourdieu considered social capital to be the actual and potential resources associated with robust networks containing institutionalised social relations marked by mutual recognition (1986a:248-249).

The concept of social capital was also used by Coleman (1987, 1988) who identified it as a form of capital that exists in the structure of relations between and among people (Coleman, 1988:S98), and is generally defined as trust, social norms, including reciprocity, that exist in one's social networks and facilitate, or have the potential to facilitate, mutually beneficial collective action (Woolcock, 1998:153).

¹ A number of people may have used the term 'social capital' before Pierre Bourdieu including Lyda Hanifan (1920), Alvin Gouldner (1960), Jane Jacobs (1961). But it was the work of Pierre Bourdieu (with Passeron, 1970) that conceptualised it in a context consistent with how its applied today (Woolcock, 1998).

The broad interest in the notion of social capital comes from its potential to enhance features of society. While there is no congruency in these may be, opinions include that it enables learning, social mobility, economic growth, political prominence, community vitality (Wall, 1998:304), and social position. When the relationship between agents is characterised by high levels of mutual trust and shared norms, commonly known as network density, then the agents will be more willing to take collective action. High levels of network density are, therefore, a precursor to agents combining and mobilising resources for mutual advantage. When network density is present agents trust each other to act fairly and obey laws. When networks are not dense, agents are reluctant to engage with other agents, and collective action becomes unlikely (Putnam, 1993a:5). Not only is the nature of social relationships important, but so is social capital as a public, not a private form of capital.

Social capital is formed and maintained through the co-operation of two or more agents, under conditions that Bourdieu called “mutual acquaintance or recognition” (1986a:248-249). Irrespective of the agents being individuals, groups or other institutions, social capital exists in networks transecting all dimensions of society. Fostering the collective stock of social capital, therefore, becomes important in building well-functioning societies because, as Robert Putnam (1993a:4) puts it: “Working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital”. The notion of social capital turns attention away from the contemporary emphasis on individual human capital and refocuses attention on community

building. As Patricia Wilson (1997:745) suggests, social capital places community building on the centre stage for development agents.

Robert Putnam (1993a:5) argues that the main avenue for community building is not through the state or the market, but via the domain with the greatest accessibility to the general populace, that is, civil society. Putnam's seminal research into how history has shaped institutions and how institutions have shaped politics in Italy was published in *Making Democracy Work*. In this work Putnam claimed to show that

. . . communities did not become civic simply because they were rich. The historical record strongly suggests precisely the opposite: They have become rich because they were civic. The social capital embodied in norms and networks of civic engagement seems to be a precondition for economic development (Putnam, 1993a:5).

While civil society is increasingly being considered an appropriate domain for the delivery of development initiatives, questions remain over how civil society can best aid the formation of social capital. Like civil society, social capital is a wide ranging notion that cuts across many levels and dimensions of society. This generality makes it difficult to separate sources of social capital from the advantages it produces. To overcome this problem social capital needs to be unpacked and its different forms identified and advantages inherent in each form identified. By differentiating between different forms and their constituent components, social capital's potential will be understood and utilised in its broader form and not lost through the reductionist nature of more assumption prone disciplines.

The contemporary debate has, in part, highlighted the actuality of different forms of social capital and the different, and sometimes complementary, roles they play in development. As Woolcock (1998:155-158) points out¹, social scientists from different traditions have conceptualised social capital in different forms. Those with a foundation in rational choice theory regard it as information formed from interaction between rational agents who need to combine their efforts for mutual benefit², whereas, theorists influenced by Emile Durkheim consider the normative nature of non-contractual elements of contract to be what enables any commitment to action (Flora, 1998:482-483). Furthermore, network theorists consider social capital to be people's non-rational social ties (Woolcock, 1998:156). The divergent nature of these opinions indicates that there may well be different forms of social capital and that they may have a different contribution to make in pursuit of development (Wetterberg, 2007:586). As Michael Woolcock (1998:156) states: "If Social Capital can be rational, pre-rational, or even non-rational, what is it not?"

The lack of information on social capital has led to widespread interest in the notion across the entire political spectrum, often culminating in it being used to support opposing policy measures (Woolcock, 1998:151-170; Portes, 1998:2; Wall, 1998:303). Conservatives, for example, take the position that the state's involvement can do very little to create social capital and that its intervention is likely to destroy existing resources. For this reason, the only effective means of promoting social capital is through an unhindered private sector. This view is promulgated by Francis Fukuyama, who is a vocal advocate of corporate

¹ Also see, Wall et al. (1998:300).

² James Coleman (1988, 1992) and his Linear System of Action theory is representative of this view.

authoritarianism (Fukuyama, 1995; 1995a). At the other end of the political spectrum, liberals argue that the state can nourish a stable and progressive environment for an energetic civil society to flourish (Woolcock, 1998:157). As Robert Putnam states, conservatives

. . . misunderstand the potential synergy between private organization and the government. Social capital is not a substitute for effective public policy but rather a prerequisite for it and, in part, a consequence of it (Putnam, 1993a:9-10).

The current confusion over the meaning and applicability of the concept of social capital makes its meaningful incorporation into public policy and development theory and practice more difficult. As various commentators have suggested, if its value is to be realised, more information is needed on the different forms of social capital and the outcomes these forms may contribute to (Putnam, 1993; Putnam, 1995; Woolcock, 1998, Wetterberg, 2007). Before social capital can be put on the central stage for development agents, it must first be placed on the centre stage of social science research.

If social capital is to stake a claim in social science research, it is in need of an agreed, robust framework with which its value can be tested, applied to different situations, and the dynamics of different forms of advantage examined. The development of a social capital framework must exhort widespread agreement as being conceptually robust and it must allow for measurement that is attributable and reliable. The advancement of such a framework needs to begin before the unfounded popularity of social capital wanes and to allow for practical analytic tools

to emerge from robust academic debate. The author's endeavour to contribute to the development of the concept of social capital within social science is outlined in the next section of this dissertation, 'The Central Purpose of the Dissertation' (see page 20). The remainder of this section ('Background', see page 19 to page 20) introduces the key elements of the Social Capital Framework that will be developed in the Chapters Two and Three.

As will be argued throughout this dissertation, actions that lead to access to advantages are situated within social structures. The advancement of a framework for social capital needs to allow for the occurrence of social interaction across a broad range of social structures. The Framework detailed in Chapter Three will categorise a series of social structures into a notionally manageable set to inform the development of the Social Capital Framework to be researched. Moreover, it will be argued in Chapter Three that the categorisation of these social structures can be aligned to forms of social capital.

A social structure is not social capital *per se*. The qualities within the social structure, reflecting the individuals involved, that represent the components and attributes of the social structure are what constitute social capital. The components used for the Framework have been introduced and discussed previously in the social capital literature with a reasonable level of agreement; however, the attributes aligned with these components that give rise to the measurability of social capital are more developmental and subject to continual debate. In Chapter Three will argue the validity of the association of these attributes with social capital components, and that they are fit for inclusion in a robust measurement framework.

It is this matrix, that is, the intersection of social structures and components that form the high-level view of the Social Capital Framework developed for this dissertation. The matrix will be applied to individuals to draw conclusions about the characteristics of communities and how these characteristics pertain to social capital. The Framework also allows for forms of social capital represented within the Framework to be considered and contrasted with two communities that are different in social structure, demographics characteristics, and in the advantages sought by them.

The way social capital accumulates in relation to structural factors, such as, age, ethnicity and gender, will be examined by applying the Social Capital Framework assembled in Chapter Three to the two communities for comparison to discern differences. The levels or stocks of social capital revealed by the Framework will also be matched against the advantages actuated by individuals with the purpose of exploring the Framework's utility for associating the potential trajectory of social capital accumulation.

The Central Purpose of the Dissertation

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to addressing the primary weakness of how social capital is treated, which threatens the continued utility of social capital. This problem of under-conceptualisation has led a wide range of authors to re-frame social capital to fit their model (for example, Coleman, 1987, 1988; Putnam, 1993, 1995; Fukuyama, 1995a, 1996; Wilson, 1997) in a way which has manipulated the

framing of social capital to a point where it means everything to everyone, and risks meaning nothing to no-one.

The thesis provides a rigorously constructed conceptualisation of social capital that facilitates the development of well-supported and conceptually consistent social capital measurement framework. This framework, once tested and refined, has the potential to allow for meaningful social capital measurement, with clear limitations and lesser propensity for commandeering for purposes that are conceptually inconsistent and unrigorous.

The Research Questions

The questions this research seeks to answer are:

- Can different forms of social capital be identified and measured?
- Can a measurement framework be used to identify varying stocks of social capital in its various forms?
- Can the same measurement framework be used to identify a relationship between different forms of social capital and structural variables?
- Can the same measurement framework be used to identify a relationship between different forms of social capital and variables associated with advantage?

These research questions emphasise enquiry into two relationships. Firstly, the interaction between social relations and collective action which is examined and four distinct categories of social capital are identified. The research then seeks to

establish to what degree these different categories can be identified in communities. The second relationship examines how each category of social capital may accumulate in relation to the characteristics associated with individuals and the economic and/or social advantages attributable to these individuals.

The over-riding limitation of the research is its incapacity to investigate the complex and varied social relations that exist in society. Although the research employs a more encompassing framework than past social capital research, any framework and system of categorisation is, by nature, restrictive. It is conceivable that different forms of social capital exist outside this framework and will be neglected by the research. Moreover, significant overlap may exist in the categorisation of these social relationships. Furthermore, resource constraints dictated that the sample size be limited to an exploratory study, meaning that conditions like ethnicity, gender, educational and occupational status, and other demographical variables could not be isolated and controlled.

Although it is acknowledged that these limitations impact on the research, it is not the intention of the research to produce a definitive work on social capital but to make a contribution to the social capital debate.

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is structured in two parts, containing eight chapters. The first part (Chapter Two to Chapter Five) is dedicated to examining the theoretical relationship between social capital and development, and developing a robust Social Capital Framework. The second part (Chapter Six to Seven) reports and discusses the

enquiry into the utility of the Social Capital Framework that has been developed for this dissertation.

The first three chapters examine the notion of social capital; its meaning, origin, history, and why it has become part of the research agenda for both mainstream economics and sociology, and in the field of development studies. Chapter Two is concerned with exploring the various approaches to development and showing the importance of social capital in the alternative development paradigm. The discussion then introduces the concept of social capital and positions it in relation to the development studies literature. The remaining chapters in the first part of the dissertation, Chapter Four and Chapter Five, discuss the context of the research and outlines the methods used in obtaining the research information. These chapters provide the Framework and methods of enquiry that informed part two of this dissertation.

Part two is made up of three chapters and seeks to answer the central concern and key research questions of this dissertation. Chapter Six presents the main findings of the research. This is followed by a discussion of the meaning of the results in relation to the central concern of the dissertation in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight draws together the theoretical discussion and the findings of the research and considers the general implications of the results, and future potential for enhancing the Framework and in social capital.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Development theory seeks to describe, explain, and predict changes, both at the global and local-level. In the past, development theorists and practitioners have deliberated on a broad gamut of issues, including notions of ‘progress’, ‘growth’ and social issues, such as poverty alleviation and human rights. A common thread to have emerged is that, by its very nature, development work is far too complex to be reduced to isolated issues and uni-disciplinary approaches. However, at various times sociology has fluctuated in importance to development theory and practice, its presence has always been preserved to some degree. As such, despite the demands for multi-disciplinary approaches, sociology has always been important in helping to address the complexity of development issues.

In a contemporary form, this can be seen most strikingly in modernisation theory with its foundations in social theory, in particular in the works of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. This synthesis of sociology and other disciplines found in such seminal work as Rostow. Rostow’s (1956) ‘The Take-off into Self-sustained Growth’, discusses the creation of suitable conditions for economic development through a “major change in political and social structure and, even, in effective cultural values” (Rostow, 1956:27). Similarly, from a sociological perspective, sociologists like Neil Smelser, who sought to explain modernisation as “a conceptual cousin of the term ‘economic development,’ but more comprehensive in scope” (Smelser, 1966:96). Smelser states:

Some of the typical institutional changes and discontinuities that are part of the modernizing process includes changing work relations, changing family relations, and changing community relations (Smelser, 1966:97).

Accompanying this economic-sociological homology, so implicit in modernisation theory, was the perspective that the state should play a central role in the development process. As attention shifted away from a modernisation perspective, towards the politically defined neo-liberal agenda of the 1980s and 1990s, the state's position in the development process also shifted. This transition can be seen as a concerted effort by conservatives to counter the state's involvement in the market and to place "a new emphasis on supply-side factors, private initiatives, market-led growth, and outward-oriented development" (Brohman, 1996:27). Moreover, the key assumption held by both neo-liberal and modernisation theorists—that all individuals and firms will make rational choices based on maximising their economic advantage—was extended into long term planning in the neo-liberal era. But while modernisation theory viewed the state as having a capacity to counter short-run disequilibrium, neo-liberal theory holds that, if the market is allowed to operate freely and without distortion from the state, long-run market equilibrium will eventuate. This shift in perspective meant that social theory, so integral in modernisation theory, was demoted in favour of market mechanisms (Brohman, 1996:30-32).

Progressively, the effectiveness of this approach, and in particular, its reductionist assumptions and its applicability to policy making, have been questioned by an array of theorists, including such opponents as Mark Granovetter (1985, 1990, 1992,

1992a), Richard Swedberg (1987, 1995), Milan Zafirovski (1999) and Pierre Bourdieu (1998a[1997], 1998b, 2003). As this criticism has taken hold, increased attention has been placed once again on non-economic disciplines, including social theory. This has spurred the establishment of new fields such as New Institutional Economics, with its links to evolutionary economics, and New Economic Sociology. Both sociologists and economists have broadened their approaches and the boundaries between these two social science disciplines are, once again, becoming increasingly opaque.

To understand the new opportunities offered by this multi-disciplinary synthesis, the next three sections will explore the nature of development theory and practice, the foundations of disadvantage and the historic and contemporary relationship between the different disciplines and sociology. This endeavour will position the author's ideas in such a way as to pave the way for a synthesis between the notion of social capital and development theory and practice. The next section will, therefore, be devoted to discussing developmentalism in its historic and contemporary forms.

Developmentalism

There are many and varied opinions on the meaning and purpose of development. These range from 'orthodox' interpretations rooted in nineteenth-century notions of progress (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:438), to so-called 'alternative' interpretations which often emphasise the andocentric, ethnocentric, and sexist nature of orthodox viewpoints. Irrespective of this plenitude of opinions, how development is perceived and defined is important as, either consciously or unconsciously, it unequivocally forms the foundation for intervention and ultimately dictates the

nature of the development outcome. For these reasons, it is important to examine closely the meaning of development and its associated discourse.

The orthodox viewpoint is cemented in the notion that change is immanent and constitutes an ultimate form of 'knowable' reality. The predestined, ultimate form is characterised as being 'developed' and any divergence from this trajectory is described as being 'underdeveloped'. Under the orthodox viewpoint the developed versus underdeveloped dichotomy forms the basis and logical rational justification for development theory and intervention. It expresses the intention that the need for change is implicit and beyond debate, and that it is necessary "to resolve the immediate and pressing problems of poverty left unresolved by progress" (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:439). The term 'progress' is central to this perspective; however, as will be commented on in more detail later in this section, the underlying values that provide its nourishment are seldom debated (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:438-439).

Michael Watts (1993:47) points out that when the word 'development' entered the English language in the eighteenth-century, it was associated with ideas of evolution. According to Watts, these ideas were then universalised as Redemption in the nineteenth-century under the influence of Enlightenment and Christianity. The notion of redemption was then amalgamated with the colonialist system to justify, in part, systems of trusteeship and control. For this reason, Watts claims, "By the nineteenth-century the central thesis of developmentalism as a linear theory of progress rooted in Western capitalist hegemony was cast in stone . . ." (Watts, 1993:47). Cowen and Shenton (1995:27-43; 1996:3-56) map a similar lineage of

western capitalism and point out the absence, historically and in orthodox development doctrines, of reference to the relationship between the intention and the process of development. They note that it is simply assumed that, as the process is elucidated, the intention becomes less abstract (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:440). They go on to show that development is often intended to remedy the failures of the process through the assertion of the notion of trusteeship,. They comment that

. . . the intention to develop may *substitute* for an incomplete process of development, a process which did not and could not conform to the original ideal of progress (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:439-440).

More recently the ideal of progress has supposedly been challenged by alternative development approaches, for example, Empowerment and Participatory Rural Appraisal. While these approaches take many different forms, they mostly recant trusteeship as a method of domination (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:452) and then restate the problem of development with the same traces of trusteeship. As Cowen and Shenton (1996:453) show, this can be seen in Banuri's *Dominating Knowledge*, where the question of development is transformed from "what can be *done for* the person?" to "what can the person do", and the perspective of "freedom to become one's own person" is replaced with "freedom to do one's own 'thing'". This is a perspective founded in the notion of Western individualism and echoes the ideas expressed by List in the nineteenth-century.¹ Although phrased in individual terms, community remains central and the paternal nature of the orthodox viewpoint becomes the maternal nurturing community. Thus, under the alternative viewpoint,

¹ For a full discussion of these ideas, refer to the next section.

paternal trusteeship is succeeded by maternal trusteeship (Cowen and Shenton, 1996:453).

While orthodox and alternative interpretations seem unable to liberate the meaning of development from variants of trusteeship, they also provide little opportunity for answering the pressing demands of the very real problems underlying development. In particular, power remains the constant obstacle to elucidating the homology between intention and process. Raff Carmen offers a useful starting point in seeking to mitigate this obstacle, and suggests,

‘Development’ is another word for human agency, the undoing of ‘envelopment’: development exists where people act as subjects and are not acted upon as objects, targets and ‘beneficiaries’, nor manipulated as ‘participants’ in designs and projects not of their own ‘participation’ (Carmen, 1996:2).

Carmen’s definition seeks to address the power imbalance, often expressed as the false development-underdevelopment dichotomy, not only by treating people as active mechanisms of change, but also by positioning both the ‘subject’ and the outsider as agents. While this distinction provides the ‘subject’ with greater autonomy, an agent, by definition, is someone who acts on behalf of the ‘subject’. Therefore, Carmen’s model still, at least to some degree, retains the notion of the outsider as trustee, albeit in a more subjugate role. Moreover, Carmen’s treatment of the ‘subject’ as a fully cognisant entity pays little regard to mechanisms that limit how opportunities are realised. If the ‘subject’ is to become more capable of making their own decisions and mapping their own direction, they must be able to realise

their own objective social reality. It is from this building block that the ‘subject’ will be able to gain the power, and subsequently skills, to enact an expanded range of subjectivities.

Under this treatment of development, the outsider may still have a modified role in a change process, but it would be one that explicitly enables the ‘subject’ to realise their own objective social reality. Therefore, the role of the outsider is modified from one of an agent to one that is more consistent with an empowerment model of advocacy. Like ‘agent’, the definition of the term ‘advocacy’, albeit to a lesser degree, resulting from 18 and 19th Century legal association also retains an unwanted association with trusteeship. However, under an empowerment model of advocacy the definition is more closely aligned with the Latin root of the term, ‘*advocatia*’, which means “to give voice to”.

In partial rejection of the notion of trusteeship pervasive in both mainstream and ‘alternative’ notions of development, this dissertation positions the development practitioner as facilitating the realisation and voice of ‘subjects’. As such, the Social Capital Framework seeks to provide ‘subjects’ with knowledge that will, in part, enable their understanding of their social capital access to resources. This departure from trusteeship, helps to elucidate the homology of intent and process by “replacing the domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance” (Marx in Cowen and Shenton, 1996:449). Under the definition of development used for this research, development is transformed to enable people to choose from a wide-range of dynamic solutions and opportunities and, hence, to accumulate what Bourdieu refers to as cultural and ultimately

symbolic capital. This definition of development is similar to what Amartya Sen (in Cowen and Shenton, 1996:450) refers to as ‘intrinsic’ development.

As can be seen in Raff Carmen’s definition of development, and generally in ethnographic research, the term ‘subject’ is used to re-unify the interventionist with the ‘subject’ of the intervention. However, his terminology excludes the importance of the objective reality of the ‘subject’ and the need for the interventionist to consider the ‘subject’s’ objective social reality, as well as the social relationship between themselves and the ‘subject’. Carmen’s use of the term ‘subject’ is based on the objective-subjective distinction that provided the basis for the development of the Enlightenment-based notion of rationalism. This dualism ensures the opportunity to make the false claim of detachment and to associate differential values with each polemic position.

In contrast, the assumption that the interventionist is detached from the social reality being analysed produces normative, value-orientated information to support what the ‘subject’ thinks should be said, rather than a ‘true’ picture of reality (Jenkins, 1992:48-49). Bourdieu’s two-step objectivity provides an antidote whereby the interventionists locates themselves in relation to the field and, therefore, establish their position and discloses as much of their interest as is possible (Grenfell and James, 1998:126). As Bourdieu puts it,

The important thing is to be able to objectify one’s relation to the object so that discourse on the object is not the simple projection of an unconscious relation to the object. Among the techniques that make this objectification

possible, there is, of course, all the equipment of science; so long as it is understood that this equipment must itself be subjected to historical critique (Bourdieu in Grenfell and James, 1998:126).

By combining this explicit reflexivity with the idea of the interventionist as *advocatia*, Carmen's definition of development can be transformed into a description that is more relevant to this thesis. Development occurs when subjects of development are able to augment their opportunities and to accumulate cultural and, ultimately, symbolic capital. The role of the interventionist in this process is to enable the subject of development, through empowering support, to increase their understanding of their own objective reality and how it limits them from extending their capabilities, and to realise how they can access a greater array of subjective opportunities.

Implicit in this definition is the idea that although actors are able to influence their own future, structural realities often limits their capacity to enact change. The development worker's role is, therefore, to enable actors, given the limitations of objectivity, to understand their social position and to craft their own decisions and futures in relation to this reality. Moreover, advocacy, when combined with reflexivity, is a process that facilitates a transformation from a condition of lacking power to having power. This re-definition encompasses two often indistinguishable aspects of development: recognition and expression of a development goal, and a process towards that goal. It makes no distinction between different groups of people in society and the likelihood that they often have different and sometimes

competing goals. Instead, it implicitly aligns the goal of development to the need to emancipate disadvantaged peoples.

Synonymous with the mindset that categorises people as developed and underdeveloped is the process of geographically identifying peoples who fall into each category. In the 1950s, Alfred Sauvy first used the term 'Third World' to denote geopolitical differentiation of social status and power (Hadjor, 1993:3). Contrary to Sauvy's purpose, its association with being less important or valued is obvious. Raff Carmen states:

Third, as a politically weighted concept, becomes, as compared with First, a synonym for powerlessness, non-possession, non-access and non-entitlement. It is synonymous with invisibility, displacement, exclusion and a culture of silence (Carmen, 1996:29).

Despite its inadequacies, the term has remained in common use during the last fifty years mainly because of its convenience for differentiating between countries. In the absence of a replacement non-ethnocentric term 'Third World' remains useful for highlighting the needs of the peoples who are clustered under its banner. However, synonymous with the criticism of the term as being ethnocentric is its failure to include those peoples living in the so-called 'First World' who are also powerless, dispossessed, disentitled, invisible, displaced and excluded, at times absolutely, and often in relation to the rest of society.

Recently, the term 'Fourth World' has been used to categorise people experiencing relative disadvantage (often indigenous peoples) in their respective 'First' or 'Third

World' context. Like the 'Third World', 'Fourth World' also has negative connotations and its meaning is dictated by the empowered, not the disempowered. Nevertheless, it provides a politically expedient opportunity to express the needs of disadvantaged peoples within 'First World' societies, needs which are being increasingly highlighted by the widening gap in well-being between dominant and dominated groups. There is also greater realisation that the same processes that maintain conditions in the 'Third World' are also creating a growing 'Fourth World' (de Hann, 1998: 1-2).

This section has tried to refine the notion of development and to make it more meaningful and focused. A specific homology of the intention and process of development has been identified by synthesising Cowen and Shenton's (1996) discussion of the work of Amartya Sen with Pierre Bourdieu's more comprehensive understanding of the problem. The legitimate function of development intervention was restated as enabling people to produce and reproduce the cultural capital required to access a greater array of subjective opportunities. The role of the interventionist is to provide, in Bourdieusian terms, objectification of objective reality so that the subject better realises their social reality and perceives the capabilities required to change their social position. Finally, this section discussed development in the context of the structural divisions defined as 'Third' and 'Fourth World'. The purpose in doing this was to locate the problem of development in a dominant versus dominated framework rather than the 'First-Third-World' polemic. The next section will discuss in detail the historical construction of the false values and meanings of development that provide a foundational understanding for the current paradigm of development.

European Origins of Development Theory

Development theory, and the mechanisms for defining people as underdeveloped, emerged with the inauguration speech of United State's President Henry Truman on the 20th of January 1945 (Esteva, 1992). In his address, Truman asserted the necessity to

. . . embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas (Truman in Esteva, 1992:6).

Truman went on to say that

The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing (Truman in Esteva, 1992:6).

While this speech marks the start of a period of American hegemony that has continued to this day, the origins of development and the notion of underdevelopment can be, and arguably must be, traced beyond this political milestone back to the eighteenth-century (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:29; Rist, 1997:47). The benefits of identifying the continuation of these eighteenth-century ideas about development is that it allows the Eurocentric nature of development theory, including current interpretations, to be placed within the context of its conscious and unconscious hegemonic intent.

Robert Nisbet (1969) claims that the beginning of the path to development theory can be traced back to classical times and the “cycle of all living things” (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:30). Nisbet based his analysis on the way that organisms pass through a series of life-cycles, beginning with germination and ending with the depositing of seeds and decaying. He applied this metaphor to nation-states, suggesting that they would also pass through a cyclic process beginning with state building, leading to disorder and ruin, and ending ultimately in renewed political construction. Early development theory was, therefore, based on the idea of an inescapable cycle of generation, degeneration, and regeneration. Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton (1995:30) point out that this remained the pervasive development notion until new ideas of progress emerged in the eighteenth-century.

Modern ideas of progress are associated with the replacement of this notion of inevitable degeneration and regeneration, with ideas based on the Christian doctrine of divine revelations. These ideas were extended in a secular form by the Enlightenment theorists, who considered that progress should be directed by human agency in pursuit of human interests, ultimately leading to unlimited improvement in the human condition (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:31). Gilbert Rist (1997:38) points out that two of the most influential figures in fostering this view were Georges Buffon and Antoine-Nicolas Condorcet. Buffon’s contribution, in antithesis to Voltaire, was to advance the notion that all humans are of a single human species with every individual originating from a prototype. From this model the individual becomes either pure or debased, depending on the climatic conditions. Condorcet, pre-empting Walt Rostow, advanced the idea that progress could be understood by mapping history into ten stages, culminating in “the abolition of inequality between

nations, the progress of equality within each nation, and the true perfection of mankind” (Rist, 1997:39).

It is Adam Smith, however, who is the most heralded of the Enlightenment theorists, being credited with

. . . rejecting the classical view . . . [and] replacing it with a new description of rich and poor countries interlocked in a system of free trade reflecting the realities of a changing world (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:31).

In reaction to the classical view, Smith and other writers from the Scottish Enlightenment School, like their predecessor Condorcet, suggested that societies progress through a series of stages, a conclusion based on their analysis of European industrialism. Smith asserted that this immanent and unstoppable transition (Rist, 1997:40), when coupled with autonomous human agency, makes limitless improvement in the human condition possible, a view that is held up as being the foundation of future mainstream development theory. However, what modern-day development theorists neglect to mention is that the idea of limitless improvement was immediately debunked by observers of the “political disorder that followed the French Revolution and the social disorder that accompanied the birth of industrial capitalism” (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:31). In particular, Thomas Malthus, in his “Essay on the Principle of Population” (1798), denounced Smith’s view. Malthus argued that increasing society’s wealth would

. . . not necessarily bring improvement or happiness to every part of it. He argued that Smith had not stopped to take notice of those instances where the

wealth of a society may increase without having any tendency to increase the comforts of the labouring part of it (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:31-32).

Malthus linked increases in wealth to increases in population and asserted that this would form an insurmountable obstacle to development. Although this assertion was rather premature, the years that followed provided supporting vindication because of the political and social disruption that occurred in Britain during the 1830s and 1840s. This was a disruption that can be associated with working class disenchantment over living conditions, as well as manufacturers becoming disenchanted with the functioning of the economy. Significantly, a product of this disruption was the rise of “Luddites, Radicals, trade unionists, utopian socialists, Democrats and Chartists” (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:32). In France, disruption linked with increased industrial capitalism, resulting in the *Journal des Travailleurs* (1848) which stated that “unemployment is the most hideous sore of current social organisation”. The result was the emergence of development strategies more aligned to confronting this ‘hideous sore’, and contrary to the idea of ‘natural’ progress (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:32).

Concomitant with the rise of industrial capitalism and the desire to establish order in society was the advent of positivism. In particular, the Saint-Simonians, in a significant departure from Adam Smith, asserted that “humanity was a collective entity that had grown from generation to generation according to its own law of ‘progressive development’” (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:32). Founded on the notion that individual prosperity was inextricably related to that of the collective, they suggested the redressing of the moral, physical, and intellectual aspects of humanity.

The Saint-Simonians supported the rise of Enlightenment thinking and the French Revolution because they counteracted the ‘organic epoch’, but they criticised its adherence to individualist ideas. This is because they considered these ideas incapable of establishing a new humanity that needed to be based on sympathy-governed industrialism. Their attempt to counter the disorder of *laissez faire* with scientific socialism, underpinned by the idea of transformation, marked a new direction in development thought. The pivotal aspect of their approach was that transformation should be directed towards a superior state, and by those “entrusted with the future of society” (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:34).

The idea of utilising the capacity of land, labour, and capital in the best interests of society formed the basis of the Saint-Simonian vision of sympathetic industrialism, which required the transference of productive property from individual ownership to trustees. Trustees, commonly in the form of banks and bankers, would be selected on their ability to allocate resources in the best interest of society. Banks would act as a treasury for the wealth and the productive capacity of society. Thus, order would be established on the morality of bankers (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:34).

This notion of elite trusteeship was extended by Auguste Comte who considered “progress as the development of Order under the influence of Love” (Comte in Cowen and Shenton, 1995:34). This harmonisation of progress and order could be achieved through understanding the laws of social evolution and, therefore, the laws of development as evident in nature. For Comte, progress without the congruity and morality of order was the reason for the lack of improvement. Thus, progress had to be compatible with the notion of order offered by a sociological knowledge that

operated under the guidance of an innate social predisposition, a type of ‘social sympathy’. For Comte, in determining development the trustees were to be joined by all-knowing sociologists practised in positivism. Comte’s notion of development formulated a path synonymous with the idea that the self-professed developed people had the mandate to act to determine the path of those they considered underdeveloped (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:34-35).

While Comte was organising his ideas on trusteeship, Friedrich List was also extending the Saint-Simonian perspective on progress and order, but towards a different end. Like the Saint-Simonians, List formulated his ideas in opposition to the disorganised dangers of *laissez faire* capitalism: However, he viewed the state as having a role critical in establishing order. For List, all labour had not only a self-serving purpose but also the collective purpose of supporting the state, while the interests of the state were to establish humanity by harnessing the productive potential of all citizens. Therefore, the state’s role was to foster development by ‘economical education’ directed towards the industrialisation of the nation. List believed that once these productive potentials had been fully developed within the state, then, through congruous inter-state relations, progress would be made synonymous with order (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:35-36).

According to List, there were undesirable consequences for agrarian states lacking in suitable internal conditions of development to trade agricultural goods for manufacturing goods. Trading under these conditions would effectively make the agrarian nation dependent on the more developed nation. The developed nation’s interests were different from the agrarian nation and they could not be trusted to act

in ways that supported the development of the underdeveloped nation (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:35).

While List's ideas on state intervention and trade show some resemblance to state policies of protectionism, he saw inequality between nations as being an effective mechanism of development. He considered that nations had different productive potential and that 'savage states' of the 'torrid zone' (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:36) should not attempt industrialisation. With imperialistic overtones, List asserted that countries of the 'torrid zone' would civilise faster if they continued to support industrialised countries by trading only in agricultural goods. This would lead to increased competition between industrialised countries for their agricultural products, hence ensuring that they would not be exploited. For List, competition, when combined with the political representation of industrialised countries within the agrarian country, ensured a complementary relationship between states (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:36-37). List's notion of development, while supportive of the positivist notion of progress with order, transforms this perspective to an imperialist extreme.

Independently, and at the same time as List was formulating his ideas, Comte's work on synthesising progress and order via trusteeship was being expanded into a theory of liberal democracy by John Stuart Mill. Like Comte, Mill rejected the Enlightenment notion of social transformation through human endeavour and, instead, considered that development needed to be based on a condition of generalised knowledge. For Mill, education facilitated the development of society's mental capacity and thus enabled its 'social machine'. Human mental capacity

could only be developed through the necessity of increased choice (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:38-39). Mill considered choice as using

. . . observation to see, reasoning and judgement to foresee, activity to gather materials for decision, discrimination to decide, and when (they have) decided, firmness and self-control to hold to (the) deliberate decision (Mill in Cowen and Shenton, 1995:39).

Mill considered choice to be synonymous with development and a prerequisite to the ultimate condition of a 'stationary state'. Material progress, under the guidance of the ordering influence of education, would continue until it no longer increased wealth, thus culminating in a 'stationary state'. Mill also considered it imperative that states establish a political system supportive of this notion of development, a political system that fostered human capacity by expanding choice and also maintained order. Like Comte, Mill considered trusteeship to be the best form of administration for less developed nations. Evidence of Mill's view can be seen in his support for British trusteeship, and not democracy, in post-1857 India (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:41).

Mill's particular way of bringing order to progress can be seen in the work of subsequent development perspectives. Clearly, Mill's notion of liberal democracy has become cemented in government-funded international development, to the point where work like, for example, Francis Fukuyama's (1992): *The End of History and the Last Man* can be uncritically embraced by many academics, politicians and public officials around the world. Cowen and Shenton (1995:40) also note that Mill's vision of a 'stationary state' can be seen as a precursor to the notion of

sustainable development; that is, the process of a generalised knowledge that enabled the ‘social machine’ of society, rather than egoistic image of Enlightenment.

The evolution of development theory, at the most basic level, can be seen as a transition from the view of development as a natural cycle of life to progress with order. The ‘organic epoch’ prevalent in the eighteenth-century and in the Enlightenment perspective of limitless improvement was challenged by the political and social disruption caused by the rise of industrialism in Britain and by the French Revolution. This disorder was countered with the ascent of positivism in the early nineteenth-century, and a view of development as progress as practised through trusteeship. This view was exalted, firstly through the Saint-Simonians’ notion of ‘sympathetic industrialism’, where physical and financial capital was to be entrusted to banks and bankers, and later in Comte’s social evolution where all-knowing sociologists were also honoured with trusteeship. These notions of trusteeship were later synthesised with the idea of the state as a collective endeavour and liberal democracy permeated by choice. The collective entity of the state was entrusted to those deemed fit and worthy to make decisions for those considered unfit. These Eurocentric ideas have formed the building blocks of all preceding development theory (Cowen and Shenton, 1995:29-43; Rist, 1997:25).

Hegemonic Production and Reproduction

The values that underpin development theory, in particular the idea of trusteeship, have become the bedrock of international economic and political relations. Not only are they constantly used to legitimise intervention, but they are repeatedly used to construct and re-construct the hegemonic order (Schaffer, 1995:29). This

hegemonic order has become so accepted that it is seldom questioned and the relationship between First-Third-Fourth Worlds is taken as legitimate. Its pervasive influence in expanding inequities in power, and therefore opportunity, ensures a lack of analysis and debate, and marginalises all notions of a counter-hegemony. Therefore, in trying to formulate a counter-hegemony, a pivotal issue becomes the mechanisms that restrict resistance. In thinking about this, Pierre Bourdieu's work offers considerable potential.

Raymond Williams provides a definition of hegemony that extends beyond ideology and encapsulates Bourdieu's notion of distinction—the way dominated groups reproduce the practices of dominant groups, while simultaneously the dominant groups maintain their distance from the dominated groups (Schaffer, 1995:30).

Williams states:

Hegemony is a lived system of meanings and values, not simply an ideology, a sense of reality beyond which it is, for most people, difficult to move, a lived dominance and subordination internalized (Williams in Schaffer, 1995:31).

This definition leads to the fundamental question as to where hegemony is situated. In his analysis of the Kabyle peasantry Bourdieu concluded that for the unemployed sub-proletariat, poverty “imposes itself on them with a necessity so total that it allows them no glimpse of a reasonable exit” (Bourdieu in Jenkins, 1992:28). In this way, for the unemployed sub-proletariat, objective reality incapacitates a vision of social change, for which they blame their own subjective expectation rather than objective restrictions. Bourdieu's position is neither deterministic nor is it utopian.

This fuzziness is powerful, and enables Bourdieu to construct a model that outlines the relationship between ‘subjective expectations’ and ‘objective probabilities’ (Jenkins, 1992:28-29). Therefore, hegemony exists at the level of thought and, more importantly, it is manifested in action (Schaffer, 1995:29).

For Bourdieu, the site of hegemony is the *habitus* and, as such, it is embedded in cultural practice (Schaffer, 1995:29). Bourdieu uses *habitus* to mean a “system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (Bourdieu in Schaffer, 1995:36). The *habitus* is the scene of all attributes and actions associated with the position of an individual within a social structure. As such, the *habitus* guides all social interaction and therefore acts to reproduce the individual’s position in the social structure (Schaffer, 1995:36-37). It is the site of hegemonic order because *habitus* guides individuals to “misrecognize the power relations that manifest themselves through interpersonal interaction” (Schaffer, 1995:36). Therefore, it is through *habitus* that hegemony influences action and action reproduces hegemony.

The “structuring of the structure of society” (Bourdieu, 1986[1979]:170) directs an actor’s perception of their social position in different fields and, in a wider sense, their position within the hegemonic order. Implicit in the relationship between dominant and dominated groups is the false notion of self-elevatory opportunity from a predetermined position at the margins of the dominated to the dominant group. The opportunity of advancement is rendered false by what Bourdieu calls ‘distinction’. Dominated groups tend to struggle to elevate their social position by reproducing the practices of dominant groups. As such, the dominated group will

tend to adopt the cultural and consumptive practices of the dominant group. However, to protect their social position, dominant groups maintain their distance from the dominated groups and so maintaining distinction. Therefore, it is through the false perception of the opportunity to elevate one's social position, reinforced through attitudes of trusteeship, that hegemony manifests itself in action (Schaffer, 1995:36).

If hegemony is situated in the *habitus*, then any counter-hegemony must be targeted at “the unthought categories of thought which limit the thinkable and pre-determine what is actually thought” (Bourdieu, 1990:178). The prospects of a counter-hegemony are dependent on the reconstruction of the *habitus*. As Bourdieu puts it:

[t]o change the world, one has to change the ways of making the world, that is the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu in Schaffer, 1995:31).

Fundamental to the reconceptualisation of development theory and intervention as a counter-hegemonic process is the reconstituting of the ideas and meanings on which it is formed. As was noted in the previous section, the notion of trusteeship originated from the positivist tradition of associating progress with order. The meaning of order has been constantly produced and reproduced through a positivist dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity. This dichotomy associates one way of looking at a situation as being more authoritative than another. This dichotomy, therefore, has a pivotal effect on the *habitus* and supports the hegemonic relationship between the ‘First’ and ‘Third/Fourth Worlds’. For this reason, an important step in

the reconstruction of the *habitus* is the recognition of group distinction and sociability.

The Current Paradigm

The current dominant modes of thinking and practice in the field of development, while being explicitly related to trusteeship and choice, are undoubtedly Neoliberalism and its emerging cousin (albeit with explicit inclusion of a network dimension) New Institutional Economics. These modes of thinking and practice are based on the reduction of capital to its singular form of economic capital and they gain their power through the misrecognition of group distinction. In doing so, they negate most of what is important in understanding the real world. As Bourdieu explains:

It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, . . . inasmuch as it takes for granted the very foundations of the order it claims to analyze, . . . [it] has prevented the constitution of a general science of the economy of practices, which would treat mercantile exchange as a particular case of exchange in all its forms (Bourdieu, 1986a:242).

The establishment of an economy of practice based on a general science, rather than economics would define an explicit place for sociology. Bourdieu suggests that it would be

. . . an opportunity for the sociologist, who is not normally called in, except to mend crockery broken by economists, to remind us that sociology could and should play an initial part in political decisions which are increasingly left to the economist or dictated by economic considerations of the narrowest sort. Through detailed description of the suffering caused by neo-liberal policies . . . and through a systematic cross-referencing of, on the one hand, *economic indices* concerned with the social policy of business . . . as well as its economic results . . . with, on the other hand, *indices of a more obviously social type* (industrial accidents, occupational diseases, alcoholism, drug use, suicide, delinquency, crime, rape, and so on), I would like to raise the question of the *social costs of economic violence*; and thus try to lay foundations for an *economics of well-being* (Bourdieu, 1998a[1997]:129).

The inclusion of sociology in the construction of a general science of an economy of practice does not transpose *homo economicus* for *homo sociologicus*; rather, it sets out the necessity to retain the value of both, by subtly entwining their method and practice and, therefore, theory. As Bourdieu states:

The real logic of the functioning of capital [and therefore the real world], cannot be understood unless two opposing but equally partial views are superseded: on the one hand, economism, which, on the grounds that every type of capital is reducible in the last analysis to economic capital, ignores what makes the specific efficacy of the other types of capital, and on the other hand, semiologism . . . which reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication and ignores the brutal fact of universal reducibility to economics (Bourdieu, 1986a:252-253).

As noted earlier in this chapter, the neo-liberal move to minimise the influence of sociology – more recently reconfirmed through New Institutional Economics – has

impacted on the field of development. Amalgamating sociology into the matrix of disciplinary tools utilised in development offers the potential to ‘sharpen’ the blunted instruments currently being used. This approach offers the pedagogic potential necessary in any development intervention.

Sociology and Economics

The seeds of an amalgamation can be found in traditions dating back to the 18th Century writers, including Montesquieu, François Quesney, and Adam Smith (Polanyi, 1971[1944]:123; and, Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:8). At this time the boundaries between social science disciplines were ill-defined and authors moved freely between the different branches. In particular, Adam Smith’s work was well received by sociologists of the time because of his “attempt to construct a general social science, which was moral and very broad in scope” (Swedberg, 1984:13). Furthermore, Smith’s primary interest was to “determine the institutional arrangements . . . under which the self-interest of the individual and the interest of society actually do coincide” (Swedberg, 1987:14). It is clear that Smith, rather than assuming that the economy was a separate system, took for granted that the economy was one of several sub-systems that need to be investigated in relation to each other. This view of society as a whole was also the thematic approach of Karl Marx.

Founded on Hegelian notions of the relationship between the political economy and society, Marx’s work also effectively integrated social, economic, and political streams of thought from Britain, France, and Germany. The basis of Marx’s approach was to take the ideas of political economy prevalent in Britain at the time

and merge them with particular aspects of French socialism. Marx clearly viewed the economy as embedded in society and rejected the prevailing tendency of the time—as exemplified in Britain by Ricardo—to treat the economy as a separate entity (Giddens, 1971:xiv). According to Smelser and Swedberg, in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), Marx proclaimed that:

. . . the economy constitutes “the real foundation” of society, and on this foundation—and dependent on it—“the legal and political superstructure” is based (Marx [1859] 1970, pp. 20-21). At a certain stage of development, “the forces of production” come into contradiction with “the relations of production,” and the ultimate result of the accompanying crisis is a social revolution (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:9).

As a young man, Max Weber became familiar with Karl Marx’s work and, although an ardent critic of Marx (Giddens, 1971:185), he lectured on his work while a professor of economics. He was also familiar with both sides of the Battle of the Methods debate, the Historical School of Economics and the Marginal Utility School. The 1940s saw the thinking of the Germany Historical School becoming increasingly prominent in European economic thought. Following on from the work of List, these writers questioned British classical economic doctrines and posited four main principles: an evolutionary approach to economics; emphasis on the positive role of government; inductive/historical approaches; and conservative reform (Oser and Brue, 1988:194-195). In the 1870s a bitter and protracted debate started between the Historical School and the Austrian Marginal School. The Marginalists emerged primarily in opposition to augmenting support for socialist thinking and, while they supported classical economic views on policy, they

considered classical theories to be flawed (particularly value and distribution theory). Their main policy tenets included: the application of Ricardo's marginal utility theory to all economic theory; reliance on market equilibrium; rational economic behaviour; microeconomic emphasis; minimal government; and, the use of abstract, deductive methods (Oser and Brue, 1988:212-214). The eventual prevalence of these central tenets marked the transition from classical to neoclassical economics. Although Weber was familiar with both sides of the debate, his ideas were more influenced by the German Historical School (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:9). This is particularly evident in his insistence on a more multidisciplinary approach to economics.

Weber's contribution, as both a writer and editor to a handbook containing the views of both these schools, constituted his most significant contribution to Economic Sociology. Of particular interest is *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*. Smelser and Swedberg note that Weber's choice of the term *Sozialökonomik* is important because he intended it to symbolise

. . . a new type of economics, a broad multidisciplinary field of inquiry that would include economic theory, economic history, and economic sociology (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:10).

Weber was clearly of the view that in studying economic phenomena, all three positions needed to be integrated and that the debate should not be appropriated by any one position (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:10). In his contribution to *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Weber sought to develop a

coherent Economic Sociology. Smelser and Swedberg (1994:10) note that Chapter Two, “Sociological Categories of Economic Action”, is a kind of founding work in Economic Sociology. Using the general sociological categories he constructs in Chapter One (such as social action, social relationships, organisations, and associations) Weber then situates these social categories in the economy and applies them to economic action and economic organisations. Weber’s economic action can be defined as different from that used in economics in three ways: economic action is interpreted as being social; economic action includes meaning; and, it incorporates power. These notions have constantly featured in the writing about Economic Sociology since Weber and essentially form its foundation (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:10-11). However, it should be noted that at the same time that Weber was developing his Economic Sociology in Germany, Emile Durkheim was doing the same within a French tradition.

Emile Durkheim’s contributions to the amalgamation of sociology and other social science disciplines originated from a different environment to Weber. Being French, Durkheim, although familiar with Marx, was never influenced by him to the degree as Weber. Durkheim’s knowledge of economics was not gained at a university, but rather from his own reading programme, particularly work from the German Historical School (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:11). However, he was influenced by the split between the two separate streams of political thought of the time: conservative nationalism and radical socialism. Although he rejected both, the split between the streams contributed to Durkheim’s underlying theme of integrating individualism with the moral demands of society (Giddens, 1971:199).

Durkheim's position was developed in rejection of the position of French and English orthodox economists and their emphasis on the reality of the individual. Furthermore, he considered that the arbitrary assumptions and logical extractions of economics created a world that did not exist. In Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) he rejects the economic notion that the divisions are a means to create wealth and further efficiency. Instead, Durkheim maintains that labour has a more expansive role in effecting cohesion and solidarity in society. Durkheim argued that as society changed and the divisions became more defined, *mechanical solidarity* ceased. In modern society *mechanical solidarity* was replaced by *organic solidarity* where, because of the specialist nature of labour, people became dependent on one another for their basic needs and their well-being. Durkheim asserted that it was this interdependency, not the structure of the market or economic exchange, which formed the cohesion of society. When these interdependencies fail, according to Durkheim, *anomie* eventuates. He considered that *anomie* was inevitable because of the way both economists and sociologists treated the economy as the most important aspect of society and, for this reason, overemphasised increased production. For Durkheim, the only way to avoid this disintegration was for morality to be the central point of society (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:12).

Another contemporary and collaborator of Max Weber who made a significant contribution to the relationship of sociology and other social science disciplines was Joseph Schumpeter. Unlike both Weber and Durkheim, Schumpeter was not a sociologist but, rather, an economist who had a deep interest in sociology. He was particularly influenced by the work of Weber and set about developing his own *Sozialökonomik*. Schumpeter believed that the role of the individual entrepreneur

was disappearing in the capitalist system, thus undermining the functioning of capitalism, and, in combination with other factors, lead to the accession of socialism (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:12-13). Schumpeter's writings on the entrepreneur contain many sociological ideas and are a good example of how he integrated ideas from sociology into his studies of economic phenomena. His ideas on the entrepreneur and innovation have been a common topic in fields of study like, for example, Economic Sociology ever since (Swedberg, 1987:46-47).

The evolution of sociology has also been significantly affected by the work of Karl Polanyi. Polanyi, following on from Weber, believed that it was a mistake to view the economy as the most important part of society and that people were motivated by personal gain rather than a sense of community. Instead, Polanyi argued that the economy needed to be viewed as being secondary to society and that people and their actions had to be viewed from a humanistic perspective. Polanyi sought to reframe thinking about the economy in a way that could enable it to be applied across the social sciences. Of particular importance to community development is an essay Polanyi published in 1957 called, "The Economy as an Instituted Process" (Polanyi, 1971[1957]). Polanyi's approach in this essay is to explain the economy as a social process and to explain the key concept of embeddedness, a notion that later played a central role in the work of Mark Granovetter. Polanyi explains:

The human economy . . . is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, economic and noneconomic. The inclusion of the noneconomic is vital. For religion or government may be as important to the structure and functioning of the economy as monetary institutions or the availability of tools and

machines themselves that lighten the toil of labour (Polanyi in Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:15)

In “The Economy as an Instituted Process”, Polanyi (1971[1957]) also differentiates between the ‘formal’ and ‘substantive’ meaning of the economy. The ‘formal’ meaning, identifying the economy as being rationally defined, was rejected by Polanyi as being abstract and flawed. On the other hand, he viewed the ‘substantive’ meaning that the economy is institutionally discernible and is based around income generation, as being the only approach suitable to the social sciences for investigating past and present economies. Furthermore, Polanyi also categorised economic action into three types: reciprocity based on mutual obligation; redistribution; and, exchange (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:15). These three types of economic action were critical to Polanyi’s contribution to development, as they constitute the integrating factor holding the economy together and stable (Swedberg, 1987:60). Although Polanyi made important contributions, it was the work of Talcott Parsons and Neil Smelser that cemented sociology as a valuable field of investigation.

Talcott Parsons, after instruction in both economics and sociology at Harvard University, became fascinated with the relationship between these two disciplines. After his dissertation, Parsons published *The Structure of Social Action*, a work that represents a synthesis between the two disciplinary fields and was extended in a subsequent joint publication with Neil Smelser in 1956, *Economy and Society*. Written in the context of national construction and reconstruction after World War Two, *Economy and Society* represents an important post-Weberian progression

towards a synthesis between sociology and economics (Swedberg, 1987:62). Extending Weber's analysis of the economy as a sub-system of the social system, Parsons and Smelser redefined the purpose of the economy as being to deal with the environmental adaptation of society and extended the analysis to the economy's reciprocity with other sub-systems. They also utilised structural differentiation to explain the development of institutions. Since Parsons's death, Neil Smelser has continued on with this work, including publishing a text defining a new field of study called Economic Sociology, *The Sociology of Economic Life* (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:16). However, in an almost prophetic statement, Parsons and Smelser pointed out in *Economy and Society* that

Few persons competent in sociological theory have any working knowledge of economics, and conversely . . . few economists have much knowledge of sociology (Parsons and Smelser, in Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:17).

This statement remained valid for the 20 years following the publication of *Economy and Society* due to there being less disciplinary amalgamation than expected during this time. However, since the middle of the 1970s, there have been increased incursions across the divide by both economists and sociologists. In the tradition of economics, this took the form, most notably, of New Institutional Economics, while in sociology this can be seen in emerging fields, such as, New Economic Sociology (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:16; Granovetter, 1990:93-94).

More than the writings of any other theorist, it was the work of Oliver Williamson, particularly *Markets and Hierarchies* (1975), that sparked the emergence of New

Institutional Economics. Its emergence has been important to Economic Sociology for several reasons. Importantly, it was based on the purposeful strategy of expanding the agenda of mainstream neo-classical economics. New Institutional Economics has shifted the focus away from the individual as the unit of analysis and, instead, onto institutions. Moreover, its premise that individual actors are part of groups and that these groups are valid research respondents is, in part, shared by Economic Sociology. Furthermore, its forays into fields that have not been the traditional domain of contemporary classical economics like, for example, crime, altruism, fertility, marriage, and divorce have blurred the boundaries of the social sciences. In fact, the encroachment by New Institutional Economics into other social sciences was taken to the extreme by Jack Hirshleifer who claimed that “economics really does constitute the universal grammar of social science” (Hirshleifer in Granovetter, 1990:94). As untenable as this claim is, the imperialistic nature of New Institutional Economics is one reason for sociologists’ increased interest in the topic being addressed by New Institutional Economists and the economy in general (Granovetter, 1990:94). As Granovetter states:

One of the main differences between the old and the new sociology of economic life is thus exactly that the newer work reverses economic imperialism by offering sociological accounts of core economic subjects such as markets, contracts, money, exchange, and banking (Granovetter, 1990:94).

Mark Granovetter has made an important contribution not only to reversing the incursion of neo-classical economics, but to defining what Granovetter coined the ‘New Economic Sociology’. A student of Harrison White, Granovetter was

originally a network analyst and was therefore comfortable with mathematical techniques. Also, importantly, because network analysis often uses the individual as the base unit, it is more individualistic, which makes it appropriate to the investigation of the “automized conception of action in neoclassical theory” (Granovetter, 1990:95). Granovetter’s ongoing work in New Economic Sociology is based on the argument that

. . . orthodox neoclassical theory, and its recent work on economic and social institutions, are flawed in ways that a sociological perspective can highlight and help remedy (Granovetter, 1990:95).

Granovetter’s (1985) article “Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness” has been a pivotal work in the renewed interest in Economic Sociology. Granovetter employed the concept of embeddedness as identified by Karl Polanyi in “The Economy as an Instituted Process” (Polanyi, 1971[1957]). However, Granovetter moved away from the perspective, inherent in Polanyi’s work and in the work of modernisation theorists, that during development the economy needed to become more differentiated from the characteristics of pre-industrial social relations. As well as rejecting the neo-classical utility maximising individual, Granovetter also took the view that economic action was always situated in social relations of some kind, meaning that development only changed the kind of embeddedness, not the degree of embeddedness. Moreover, Granovetter asserted that, rather than being an efficient response to an economic problem as maintained by New Institutionalists, firms emanated from the “structures of personal

relationships and networks of relations between and within firms” (Woolcock, 1998:162).

Since Granovetter’s 1985 article, network analysis has become an important focus of much of the work in New Economic Sociology. Its broad appeal originates from the fact that it can be applied to different units of analysis ranging from individuals to whole economies, and it is able to be applied quantitatively to identify degrees of affiliation (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994:18).

The methodological individualism-based rational action theory of James Coleman has been one of the more interesting areas of social theory to emerge in recent years. Coleman uses rational choice theory to address sociological problems, his distinctly *homo economicus* approach being centred on the notion that people “act rationally to satisfy preferences, or to maximize utility” (Coleman, 1994:166). His approach digresses from, and seeks to amend, the neo-classical economic assumption that market transactions are cost free. In an attempt to overcome the problematic nature of this assumption, Coleman introduces non-utility maximising social elements into his model of economic exchange. He does this by merging four elements of neo-classical economics (methodological individualism, actor maximisation or optimisation, social optimisation, and system equilibrium) with four elements from sociology (utility by giving up control, social capital, the social origin of rights, and the centrality of institutions) (Coleman, 1994:166-171).

Coleman’s contribution to crossing the divide between sociology and economics is valuable in that it seeks to construct a more general scientific view of the economy.

However, like New Institutional Economics, its potential to model the real world seems limited. Coleman takes the same approach as New Institutional Economics by including social elements as 'impure' elements to compensate for the incapacity of the rational, thus placing social elements as subordinated to a rational criterion. As such, he ignores the real world reality that economic elements actually operate subordinately to social elements. By doing so, he effectively substitutes an arbitrary model for that of reality (Jenkins, 1992:73) and therefore the analysis only encapsulates part of process of exchange (Zafirovski, 1999:307).

Coleman, Granovetter and other notable Economic Sociologists and New Economic Institutional Economists are key figures in the debate, research and theorising about social capital. Given the nature of this increasingly broad support, it is unsurprising that the notion has also penetrated the development literature.

Development and Social Capital

The emergence of the notion of social capital has provided new opportunities for researchers and essayists interested in better understanding how development happens or, as the case maybe, doesn't happen. Endowments of natural and physical assets, human and financial capital partly explain why some communities do well and others don't. They are deficient in providing an accurate description of the mechanics of development (Grootaert, 2001:9). Many authors have expounded the virtues of social capital in a diverse array of field, and some have gone as far as claiming it is the "glue that binds" (Cox, 1995:15) or as Christiaan Grootaert, Lead Economist in the Social Development Department at the World Bank, puts it "the missing link [to development] is social capital" (Grootaert 2001:9).

Most people regularly experience examples of how social capital can generate small returns of advantage. Examples may include a whānau member offering to feed the family dog while other whānau members are on vacation, meaning that the more expensive option of utilising pet care facilities is avoided; a neighbour lending their water blaster so the other neighbour can clean down the outside of the house, rather than paying to hire one; or members of a new-parent coffee group, not only sharing information and adult companionship, but also taking turns at looking after each other's children so one parent is freed up to undertake tasks that are more difficult when also caring for children. These and many other examples occur regularly, in one form or another, in everyday-life and they perform a vital role in providing a small advantage to those with the requisite social capital. Their value is intrinsic and it becomes clearer when a person doesn't have a network, with the requisite characteristics, available to them—a person does not have a functional relationship with the neighbour with the water blaster and the only other option is to pay to hire one.

In other situations the return to the social capitalist can be far greater. Examples might include a person using their contacts in, or associated with, the new-parent coffee group to help to continue their paid-work career advancement or to re-enter the employment market after a period of absence. Another feasible example might be in a work place, two colleagues teaming up to pursue a new business opportunity together outside work. Other examples might include a kinship-based interest-free loan to support a business, consolidated debt and to reduce interest payments, or to buy a first-home so to take advantage of a raising residential property market. The

advantaged gained from being able to leverage on social relationships identified in these and similar examples are likely to be substantial.

While there is a reasonable amount of research suggesting social capital does provide advantages at the individual-level, the more difficult task has been to show that stocks of social capital at the community-level can be clearly identified. To date, evidence-based work at this level has been limited to surveys that employ a small number of measures purporting to be indicative of social capital or research dripping in generalisations. An example of the former is the Ministry of Social Development's measurement of social connectedness where they utilise the four indicators:

. . . access to the internet, unpaid work outside the home, participation in family/whānau activities and regular contact with family and friends, and membership and involvement in groups” (Ministry of Social Development, 2003:109).

Grootaert, citing a number of well-known examples including Stiglitz's review of the East Asian 'miracle' economies and Putnam's study of northern and southern Italy, places social capital as the key factor complementing other resources to foster economic growth.¹ There is a growing body of more specific evidence identifying the role of social capital in foster development (Grootaert, 2001:9-11). The

¹ Grootaert closely aligns social capital, economic growth, and development (defined as “growth, equity, and poverty alleviation” (Grootaert, 2001:11)). However, he contextualises this association by suggesting that economists writing about social capital do not do so in contradiction to the views of political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists. Grootaert suggests that economists have an additional focus on the role on how social capital affects economic growth (Grootaert, 2001:10). While the author considers this analytical approach to be less than rigorous, it is accepted that economic growth has a role in a broader view of the meaning and purpose of development, and that social capital seems likely to fulfil a role in adding to economic growth.

Grameen Bank in Bangladesh provides a good example of an institution operating at a local-level that extensively uses the components most closely associated with social capital, social norms and trust to help local people develop new sources of sustainable income (Bardhan, 1995, cited in Grootaert, 2001:11).

Summary

This chapter has attempted to develop a more meaningful understanding of the purpose and operation of development. The historical deconstruction showed that both orthodox and alternative approaches are subservient to, and enfeebled by, the notions of trusteeship. Moreover, it was shown that trusteeship, rather than presenting opportunity, can represent a form of symbolic violence through the illusion of advancement. However, trusteeship is only part of an all-pervasive hegemony and associated mechanisms of dominance which must be recognised and countered.

If, as Bourdieusians claim, hegemony is situated in *habitus*, for a counter-hegemony to be realised, it must be produced out of a remodelled *habitus*. The objective nature of this pursuit locates the site of the struggle within social fields and in relation to the methods that support mis-representations. In particular, as the final section of this chapter sought to address, this pertains to the ascendant field of economics. The under-socialised nature of its current flavours—neo-liberalism and New Institutional Economics—needs to be addressed by revealing its misrepresented authenticity. New sociological approaches combined with a rigorously conceptualised and tested Bourdieusian-style social capital, offers a potential opportunity to advance this

endeavour. The next chapter, Chapter Three, will attempt to construct a social capital framework for this purpose.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL CAPITAL

This chapter will discuss the current understanding of social capital and will seek to reconceptualise the concept of social capital more rigorously. This will enable the construction of a practical measurement framework that can be applied and tested in the field. To begin with, the origins of the concept of social capital and the validity of its varying meanings will be debated. From this discussion, and calling on sociological understandings, a more meticulous and consistent framework, substantially aligned to Bourdieu's intent and, based on Michael Woolcock's work (1998), will be constructed. In partnership with this intended precision and in line with the Bourdieusian synthesis of theory and practice, the focus will be on constructing a framework that enables the empirical measurement of social capital in its different forms.

History of a Metaphor

Although the notion of social capital is implicit in a great deal of sociology (Wall et al., 1998:303), the term can be traced back to Lyda Hanifan who, in 1920, identified it as the characteristics of social relations that make up a social unit. Alvin Gouldner used it in the 1960s and Jane Jacobs used it in a more contemporary sense, commenting that "[N]etworks are a city's irreplaceable social capital". However, as mentioned in Chapter One, it was Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron who, in *Reproduction In Education, Society and Culture* (1990[1970]), first framed social capital in its contemporary sense (Woolcock, 1998:192).

Bourdieu's intention when distinguishing social capital as a resource available to actors, unique from physical and human capital, is very specific. For Bourdieu, social capital is a well thought-out tool which is embedded in an extensive thematic programme. However, to understand the injustices and misunderstandings that have emerged in the subsequent use of the term, an understanding of Bourdieu's intent is first required. Perhaps most significantly, the concept of social capital emerged in response to a clear rejection of *homo economicus* and the hegemonic order that it is used to legitimise. Bourdieu's antidote is the reintroduction of the social world into analysis through the inclusion of all forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, and symbolic). Bourdieu, therefore, seeks to analyse 'reality' through empirical descriptions of the social world and the actions that take place in that world (Bourdieu, 1986a:241). Bourdieu defined social capital as

. . . 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 (Bourdieu, 1986a:248-249).

Over the period of twenty one years since Bourdieu first wrote about social capital, it has been defined, researched, and applied to development theory and practice, and public policy in a variety of ways. This is despite inadequate theoretical development (Wall et al., 1998:302; Paxton, 1999:90) and little or no understanding of the original programmatic intent. This under-conceptualisation has occurred across a variety of theoretical fields and has created inconsistent understanding and the positing of conclusions based on limited empirical evidence. This has, in turn, led to a position where social capital represents different, and often contradictory,

things to different disciplines. For example, as Michael Woolcock (1998:155) points out, rational action theorists consider social capital to be a product of the interaction between rational actors. This is a view that directly contrasts with that of network theorists who associate social capital with non-rational social ties. Thus, in very similar contexts, social capital is claimed as rational, non-rational, and self-persuasive.

One of the clearest misconceptions of social capital is the preoccupation utilitarian theorists have with linking the concept to economic growth.¹ This approach shows little understanding of the fact that people use sociability for a variety of very complex and inter-related reasons. Some of these reasons are observable in action, but a great many are characterised simply by their potential for collective action. Economic variables such as growth, wealth, and personal income cannot be causally associated with potential collective action. Similarly, actual or potential action is primarily social and only economic in a secondary sense. Therefore, if a model is constructed to abstract a causal relationship between a social structure and economic growth, the model becomes the social scientist's abstraction, and not a representation, of the real, implicitly social, world (Zafirovski, 1999:311; Jenkins, 1992:73). Finally, social capital is accumulated as a product of a struggle between actors for social position in a particular field (Anheier et al., 1995:859, Wetterberg, 2007), not for the purpose of increasing economic productivity. While the 'winner' of the struggle will obtain social capital and, therefore, obtain advantaged access to resources in the field, it is not implicit that they will be more economically productive as a result. This is because the nature and quantity of resource at stake is

¹ For example, Bazan and Schmitz (1997).

field specific and may not be related to economically productive variables. Justino (2007:1261), in her empirical examination of development in Kerala, India, shows that collective action, in the form of union activity, industry action, and group dissent, can negatively impact on development over a period of time. Moreover, context appears to impact on social capital production in different networks of relations, including, as Wetterberg (2007) shows, in different household structures and with people with varying social ties.

Ironically, given Bourdieu's emphasis on a synthesis between theory and practice, this weak theoretical development has also produced an impotent relationship between theory and measurement. This is highlighted by the questionable use of some indicators used to measure stocks of social capital. For example, the relationship between a variable such as voter turnout and social capital (see Putnam, 1993) is highly questionable. The act of voting is not social capital *per se*. A vote is a resource that is made available through the exercising of power availed by the production of social capital (see Paxton, 1999:90, 101). The use of newspaper readership as an indicator of social capital (see Putnam 1993a:5) is even more abstract. Justino (2006) utilising a broader range of measurement, however, still abstractly narrows the meaning of social capital by assigning its existence to riot and strike events, and the existence of trade unions. Besides the obvious assumptions needed to give any sort of credence to this measurement, information is a resource that actors seek to gain access to through social capital. Access to information is, therefore, the result of social capital and not an indicator of social capital.

Since the contemporary appearance of the concept of social capital, weak theoretical development has created disparities and contradictions in its meaning and application. And, to a significant degree, these problems have emerged as a result of widespread disagreement as to whether social capital is an infrastructure, the components of social relations, or both. Imprecise theoretical consideration has made it difficult to distinguish between the source of social capital and what social capital produces. A clear distinction between structure, the components of social capital and the resources made available by social capital is required before these disparities and contradictions can be transversed (Woolcock, 1998:154; Wall et al. 1998:300). The following section will take the first step in this reconceptualisation by discussing Bourdieu's overall thesis, his notion of social capital, and his meticulously constructed research programme.

Conceptualisation of Social Capital

Bourdieu's Theory and Practice

As was discussed in Chapter Two, Hegemonic Production and Reproduction, Bourdieu's overall thesis is the construction of a counter-hegemony in the form of a 'reasoned utopia' (Bourdieu, 1998a[1997]:125-130). The purpose in Bourdieu's thematic approach was to establish a mediating framework between the dichotomy of structure and agency, therefore, synthesising aspects of objectivity and subjectivity (Jenkins, 1992:25). Bourdieu's highly original programme has been formed around his reaction to both the existentialist phenomenology of Sartre and the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss. Bourdieu rejected Sartre's premise of an all-encompassing subjective consciousness, maintaining that there is an "objective

social reality beyond the immediate inter-actional sphere and the self-conscious awareness of individuals” (Jenkins, 1992:17). However, he also (eventually) rejected the Straussian structuralist notion of the absences of independent actions. Jenkins notes that

He was motivated to move beyond this by a realisation that the behaviour, the practice, of the people about whom structuralist models were constructed was at variance with the rules of conduct which those models formulated (Jenkins, 1992:17-18).

Bourdieu reached the position that structuralist models had little capacity to explain or predict outcomes and he set about bringing individual action back into the context of structure (Jenkins, 1992:17). For Bourdieu,

. . . social agents . . . are not particles subject to mechanical forces and acting under the constraint of cause; nor are they conscious and knowing subjects acting with full knowledge of the facts, as the champions of *rational action theory* believe. . . . In fact, “subjects” are active and knowing agents endowed with a *practical sense*, that is, an acquired system of preferences, of principles of vision and division (what is usually called taste), and also a system of durable cognitive structures (which are essentially the product of the internalization of objective structures) and of schemes of action which orient the perception of the situation and the appropriate response” (Bourdieu, 1998[1994]:25).

Bourdieu’s observations of the fallacies of both Sartre’s Existentialism and Strauss’s Structuralism can be seen as a rejection of the dichotomy of the “opposition between

subjectivism and *objectivism*” (Jenkins, 1992:18). Thus, Bourdieu’s research programme can be seen as attempting to

. . . understand how ‘objective’, supra-individual social reality (cultural and institutional social structure) and the internalised ‘subjective’ mental worlds of individuals as cultural beings and social actors are inextricably bound up together, each being a contributor to—and, indeed, an aspect of—the other (Jenkins, 1992:17-18).

Bourdieu’s approach contradicts one of the main criticisms levelled at him, that is, that his work is deterministic, which is a view that has arisen mainly in reaction to his global organising concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu describes *habitus* as a “system of durable, transposable disposition, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (Bourdieu in Schaffer, 1995:36). The *habitus* is a ‘transposable’ inclination to ‘structure’ and ‘structures’; rather than maintaining deterministic rules, it guides future ways of being (Schaffer, 1995:36; Jenkins, 1992:12). The *habitus* disposes actors to behave in particular ways and is, therefore, the foundation of practice. The transposable nature of dispositions is seen in the way that behaviour changes, because of field specific stakes and resources, to meet the unique requirements of each ‘field of practice’ (Jenkins, 1992:78).

An understanding of Bourdieu’s use of ‘fields of practice’ as a basis for analysis is important in determining the meaning of his work. His use of ‘fields’ is particularly insightful when interpreting his work in relation to economic theory. Like many of his concepts, Bourdieu uses ‘fields’ in a metaphorical sense to mean a “social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes

and access to them” (Jenkins, 1992:84). By using the term ‘field’ Bourdieu establishes social relations as the pivotal point of analysis (Jenkins, 1992:84-85).

Bourdieu’s use of the term ‘field’ can be interpreted as meaning “a structured system of social positions” (Jenkins, 1992:85), where positions are located by power struggles defined by access to the ‘capital’ pertaining to each field. What is important here, however, is what Bourdieu means by the term ‘capital’. Through identifying the different forms of ‘capital’ and their interactive relations within fields of practice, Bourdieu seeks to reconceptualise social theory. Rather than thinking of ‘capital’ in narrow economic terms, Bourdieu, in the tradition of Marx, defines it as the “energy of social physics” (Wall et al., 1998:303). Although Bourdieu steers away from explicit definitions of ‘capital’, it can be thought of as “anything that can be used to influence the behaviors of others or to aid in achieving desired goals” (Smart, 1993:390).

Throughout his work, Bourdieu identifies different forms of ‘capital’; however, there are four heterogeneous forms that take significant preference in his work: economic capital; social capital; cultural capital; and, symbolic capital (Jenkins, 1992:85; Smart, 1993:391). A study of a field of practice would, therefore, involve examining the dioristic logic of each form of capital, as well as the fungible relationships between different forms (Smart, 1993:389). By treating economic capital in a similar way to Marx, who defined it as “money, commodities, means of material production, and other material assets” (Smart, 1993:391), Bourdieu establishes consistency with the use of the terms ‘field’ and ‘capital’. That is, they

become dependent on both the actor and the structural system, thus bringing social relations into a pivotal position in the analysis of the economy as a field of practice.

The Bourdieusian Notion of Social Capital

Bourdieu's first contemporary analysis of social capital, "The Forms of Capital", appeared in John Richardson's *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (1986).¹ In this work, which builds from Marx's part three of *Capital* (Wilson, 2006:347), Bourdieu introduced the idea that individuals accumulate advantage by gaining access to the resources available in a field of practice by participating in social relations that are either bounded or organic. The construction and maintenance of these networks of social relations are seen as a strategy for gaining access to resources, which, in combination with other forms of capital, enable the entrenchment or alleviation of an individual's social position. If the construction and maintenance of these networks are neglected or disrupted, individuals will have increasing difficulty in maintaining social position due to diminishing access to social capital and the other inter-related forms of capital. For this reason, social capital is critical as it is the grease that enables the machine of opportunity to operate (Bourdieu, 1986a:248-255).

Bourdieu's use of the term social capital complements his construct of capital in general as well as his overall approach to social theory. It is his use of metaphors such as 'field', 'capital', 'stakes' or 'resources', that enables him to clearly differentiate between what Portes (1986:6) calls 'possessors' and 'sources' of social

¹ Portes (1998:3) notes that Bourdieu first wrote of social capital in a 1980 article in *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*.

capital, and ‘field differentiated resources’. Bourdieu’s work was very specific in avoiding this pitfall and he clearly differentiated social capital from the stakes obtained through social capital. However, other influential researchers who have found a place for social capital in their work have not maintained this distinction (Portes, 1998:5-6; Wall et al., 1998:316).

Bourdieu identified social capital as being a resource residing with the individual and not generalised within a community or a web of social relations (Wetterberg, 2007:589). Only an individual can access, maintain, or damage the relations this resource is based on. Viewing social capital as only definable in relation to the individual has important implications for assessing stocks of social capital, and emphasises the need for the individual to be central unit of analysis.

The Americanisation of Social Capital

One of the most influential figures in the scholarly interest in social capital, American sociologist, James Coleman (Wall et al., 1998:302) employs and defines social capital not only differently than Bourdieu, but also much less precisely. Coleman defines social capital by its function, that is, as

. . . a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure (Coleman in Portes, 1998:5).

Coleman’s definition is not demanding and opens the way for social capital to encapsulate a wide variety of ideas. It allows for mechanisms that produce social

capital, like trust and enforcement of norms, and the stakes accrued from social capital, like privileges, to be included under the same term (Portes, 1998:5). For this reason, the distinction between the sources of social capital and the resources it produces is lost (Woolcock, 1998:156, Wetterberg, 2007:587). Coleman's use of the term social capital is contextualised by the constraints of his model of Rational Action Theory. As noted in Chapter Two, Coleman uses social capital as a unique variable to capture the non- or pre-rational actions of actors: actions which are seen as merely residual to the rational action measured by other variables. Coleman's work has been highly influential in the revival of social capital, and it is his imprecision that has become the Americanising legacy for social capital (Portes, 1998:6, Wetterberg, 2007:587).

Coleman's influence can be seen in Robert Putnam's attempt to explain why mutually beneficial collective action takes place. Putnam's position is that dilemmas of collective action cannot explain all instances of collective action or the rarity of uncooperative action (Putnam et al., 1993:165). Like Coleman, Putnam also concludes that the missing link is social capital. Putnam considers that a broad range of 'dense' (Putnam, 1993a:7; 1995:4) and 'weak' ties facilitates collective action and community cohesion (Putnam et al., 1993:175). In coming to this conclusion, he draws heavily on Coleman's (1990) work without discussing its obvious differences. Putnam is concerned with voluntary action and community stocks of social capital, whereas Coleman is concerned with the nature of individual action. This difference would not be a problem except that it relies on the assumption that individual stocks of social capital can be aggregated to identify stocks at the community-level (Bazan and Schmitz, 1997:10). This problem is also

prominent in the way Putnam approaches social norms. Without question, he accepts Coleman's later approach of only considering norms of reciprocity to be important. With a hint of contradiction, he then talks about social norms in general, without acknowledging that he is reducing social norms to that of generalised reciprocity (Putnam et al., 1993:170-172).

One of the least precise and most unsatisfactory conceptualisations of social capital is that of Francis Fukuyama (Wall et al., 1998:309). Like Putnam, Fukuyama's writing has gained a lot of popular attention. Attention that has been symptomatic of his inclination to generalise, which can be observed in statements like

The essential meaning to the end of history is . . . there are no serious systematic institutional alternatives to liberal democracy and market-based capitalism for the world's most advanced countries (Fukuyama, 1995:103).

In his book, *Trust: the Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (1995), Fukuyama seeks to explain why countries have gained economic prosperity. Through reasoning and deduction, Fukuyama concludes that societies are prosperous because their economies are driven by the compliance and devotion of their workers. For Fukuyama, it is this work ethic that is representative of high levels of social capital. This approach is arguably tautological (Portes, 1998:5), that is, economically prosperous countries have the right work ethic, therefore, they have high levels of social capital; by definition, social capital must equate to anything that makes a country economically prosperous. Fukuyama does not try to define or conceptualise social capital, but simply states that it is the "ability of people to work

together” (Fukuyama, 1995:10), and uses it to stereotype and ignore the complexities that are characteristics of all societies (Wall et al., 1998:310). His approach is not structured to offer empirical validation or to be tested under different conditions. His imprecision adds to the confusion of the nature and content of social capital.

The discussion of the imprecision in the work of Coleman, Putnam, and Fukuyama has been kept at a general level so as to enable a positional overview. In the two following sections, ‘Components of Social Capital’ (see below) and ‘Forms of Social Capital’ (see page 88), the inadequacies of these approaches will be discussed in more detail and will be offset by the conceptual reconstruction of a clearer and better-founded framework. The intention is to create a clear and practical framework that differentiates between the resources made available by social capital (capital and social position) and the components (trust and social norms) and structure (forms) of social capital.

Components of Social Capital

There have been considerable written attempts to establish the conditions that contribute to the production of social capital. Although many differences have been expressed, there has been sufficient consensus to generalise that the production of social capital is contingent on various components, and the combination of those components, as they exist in a social relationships. It is these components that enable actors to obtain access to the stakes or resources of a field and they are, therefore, the source of social capital (Portes, 1998:6, Wetterberg, 2007). When these components are absent or weak, actors will be unable or unwilling to act

together in a collaborative pursuit. The two most important components can be categorised as trust and social norms.

Trust

There is widespread agreement of the importance of trust in the production of social capital (Putnam, 1993, 1993a, 1995, 2000; Woolcock, 1998; Fukuyama, 1992, 1995, 1995a, 1995b, 1996; Good, 1998; Portes, 1998; Coleman, 1987, 1988, 1990; Evans, 1995, 1996; Bastelaer and Leathers, 2006). As David Good (1998:32) puts it: “without trust, the everyday social life which we take for granted is simply not possible”. This emphasises that it is trust as an actual or potential source of collective action, and not the production of trust, that is important in facilitating the formation of social capital. Nor is it the existence of a network without the mediating component of trust that facilitates collective action. As Bastelaer and Leathers (2006:1798) show, networks with strong social ties but limited evidence of trusting relationships may be less efficient at producing collective action than networks marked by weak ties but higher levels of trust.

While trust is widely accepted as being important, what constitutes trust, and how that encourages co-operation, is not as clearly understood (Gambetta, 1988:214). Diego Gambetta’s definition of trust provides a useful starting point in devising a clearer understanding. Gambetta states:

Trust (or, symmetrically, distrust) is a particular level of the subjective probability with which an agent assesses that another agent or group of agents will perform a particular action, both *before* he can monitor such

action (or independently of his capacity ever to be able to monitor it) *and* in a context in which it affects *his own* action (Gambetta, 1988:217).

This definition highlights one of the most important features of trust, that is, being trusted is based on a person's probability assessment that another person's behaviour will be agreeable; however, this probability must be higher than the negative consequences of non-engagement. Trust is a threshold point where an actor can trust or be trusted. At one extreme this would include blind trust where, irrespective of evidence mitigating trust, an actor has an extremely high threshold of trust in another actor. At the other end of the probability scale, an actor exhibits a very low or zero threshold probability level of trusting another actor, once again irrespective of evidence that the other actor will perform in an agreeable way (Gambetta, 1988:217-218).

The situation-dependent optimal threshold probability level where trust will enable co-operation between actors will be determined by the subjective assessment of one or both of the actors. The assessment is subjective because each actor's predisposition and interest in trusting will be context dependent, that is, it will change depending on the objective circumstances. If the cost of trusting and having that trust disregarded is very high, as for example, a situation where the actor's life is threatened, then it is likely that these circumstances will require a higher optimal threshold than a situation where the cost of trusting is much lower.

The definition further highlights that trust is important because the consequences of trusting, the action associated with the decision to trust, will happen in the future and

the outcome is uncertain. Also, as the definition indicates, trust occurs between actors or groups of actors and is, therefore, bound into social relations (Gambetta, 1988:128). Because the outcome is unknown and it is socially bound, trust is an axiom on which co-operation can take place. This brings into question the assumption (predominant in neo-classical economic theory) that being trusted is a wholly rational arrangement, and highlights the involvement of non-rational processes (Gambetta, 1988:216-217; Good, 1988:38-42; Dasgupta, 1988:71; Lorenz, 1988:194; Fukuyama, 1995:26). As David Good states

While it may be true that any assumption other than that of limitless rationality is extremely difficult for the theoretician to handle, this should not blind us to the fact that such departures exist, and . . . they can play a significant role in the maintenance of trust (Good, 1988:38).

Although trust and the production of social capital is not concerned with how or why one actor trusts another, reputation as a founding component of trust provides a direct challenge to the assumption of rationality (Good, 1988; Dasgupta, 1988). Decisions to trust another actor are based, in part, on reputation. An actor's perception of reputation is gained through information, in part, not controlled by the reputation holder, leading to both the reputation holder and the actor, who seek to identify their reputation, interpreting the information in different ways. David Good (1988:38), quoting a wide range of psychological studies, notes that once a reputation is established, it is similarly not maintained through rational decision making. The conclusion Good (1988:38) draws from this work is that the life expectancy of a theory or view is closely associated with the target of the view, as well as with the activity of the person holding the belief. He notes that actors

seldom attempt to invalidate the held belief, and often use strategies to actively avoid having to do so. This process is sometimes called ‘cognitive inertia’ and shows that often the act of trusting another actor is non-rational. Critical to the production of social capital, actors adopt strategies that are based around these non-rational processes.

Social capital is a form of capital because it gives actors access to the stakes or resources in a field. If trust is a component of social capital, by definition, it must also be associated with actual or potential access to resources. Social capital exists when an actor is trusted by a second actor, not when the first actor is trusting. This is because if trust is productive, an actor must be able to transform it into access to the stakes of a particular field. As Portes (1998:9) points out: “For recipients, it obviously facilitates access to resources; for donors, it yields approval and expedites transactions because it ensures against malfeasance”. For this reason, trusting another actor may act as a pre-commitment to the further formation of trust, however, it is not implicit. For example, if actor A trusts B, then B has the capacity to use the trust of A to gain access to stakes or resources without trusting actor A. However, the trust actor A is placing in actor B can work as a pre-commitment to foster actor B to trust actor A (Gambetta, 1988:221). This view is also supported by David Good (1988:32) who, quoting research by Rotter, suggests that

... they have found that those who are more willing to trust other people are likely to be equally trustworthy in that they are less likely to lie, cheat, or steal. They are also less likely to be unhappy or maladjusted, and are typically more liked by their friends and colleagues (Good, 1988:32).

While support for the role of trust in the production of social capital is widespread, it also has a downside which is often ignored. The trust an actor places in the actions of another actor places restrictions on how that actor will react. The actor may not feel free to choose an action that will damage her or his perceived reputation, even though he or she may have a lot to gain from doing so. While this social control may have obvious benefits, it may also hinder the adoption of strategies that are unique and unfamiliar, but are, nevertheless, a precursor to valuable forms of social capital (Gambetta, 1988:214; Woolcock, 1998:165).

Social Norms

The literature on social capital is far more ambiguous in its treatment of social norms than trust. While social norms are often central to devising sociological understandings, it is this close association with the discipline that discourages social scientists from other disciplines, with the exception of Social Psychology, from working with social norms. James Coleman (1987:133) notes that non-sociologists working in the “social sciences are either uneasy with the concept . . . or ignore it all together”. This is particularly true for classical and neo-classical economists who, in their fundamentalist adherence to the assumption that actors are self-interested and ‘free’, negate the role social norms have in influencing behaviour. Irrespective of the approach of these groups of economists and other social scientists influenced by rational choice theory, it is clear that social norms are important in determining behaviour, including collective action (Coleman, 1987:133-134).

While most researchers working with social capital consider social norms play a role in the production of social capital, there is little consistency as to how this concept is

incorporated into research models. Robert Putnam, relying heavily on Coleman's definition of social capital in *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990), incorporates social norms solely as reciprocity of exchange, stating: "The most important of these norms is reciprocity" (Putnam et al., 1993:172). Influenced by the work of Coleman and Putnam, many other researchers have taken the same or similar approach of aligning social capital to social structure and, therefore, negating, in an operational sense, the role of social norms. This includes the work of Flap and De Graaf, (1986), Fox (1996), Brown and Ashman (1996), Holland (1998), Buckland (1998), and Wilson (1997) who defines the role as 'generalised reciprocity'.

This approach is problematic for several key reasons, namely that it is built on the notion of efficiency. It transposes social norms into individual norms, and its reductionist nature excludes many influential elements. The central notion behind this position is that repeated reciprocated action will lead to equilibrium in behaviour that would be impossible in other circumstances (Cole et al., 1998:6). The link between the production of social capital and reciprocity is, therefore, that mutual exchange produces an outcome that functions as the basis for an actor to engage in collective action. This position assumes that reciprocated action, including the last exchange, supports this propensity and that although reciprocity may be bound to a particular context, it can be transferred outside this context to ensure advantageous access to the resources defined by the nature of that field. While it is clear that reciprocity influences the production of social capital, the assumptions required to make this relationship explicit are too generalised and, amongst other elements, ignore Bourdieu's *habitus*. The value in reciprocity can be better expressed in terms of the densification of the social relationship explicit to the

action. The process of repeated mutual exchange helps, not only to support, but also to produce social norms that, under the right conditions, are instrumental in collective action (Elster, 1989:114, 143). This approach, which is distinctly more motivational than outcome based, helps separate sources of social capital, social capital *per se*, and the resources that social capital enables access to.

Other researchers and essayists have simply sought to avoid social norms altogether by associating them with the formation of trust (Frank, 1998; Fukuyama, 1995, 1995b; Nahapiet, 1998; Molinas, 1998; Robinson, 1999; Paxton, 1999). Francis Fukuyama (1995, 1995b) considers that norms and values are what enable people to trust one another. Norms and values are important only in so far as the way they facilitate the subjective assessment of the action of the other actor. This position assumes that trust alone is a sufficient premise for the production of social capital. For Fukuyama, trust equates to social capital. This assumption is contradicted by the fact that collective action does take place in situations of low trust, where actors share minimal reputable information about actions of other actors. For example, although members of a religion may not know each other well, and therefore, do not know the reputation of other members, shared social norms, consisting of shared beliefs, may provide the requisite basis for generating social capital. Social capital can be produced in social structures with low trust and high levels of shared social norms.

James Coleman's work on social capital has been highly influential in its overall conceptualisation. Early on in his work on social capital, Coleman strongly associated social capital with social norms (Coleman, 1987; 1988). This can be seen

in his “Norms as Social Capital” (1987) where he unequivocally states “social norms constitute social capital” (Coleman, 1987:153). In “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital” (1988), Coleman modified his position and defined social norms as a form of social capital. However, in *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990), Coleman, while still acknowledging the role of social norms, relegated it to an implicit position where “social organisation constitutes social capital” (Coleman, 1990:304) and social norms help to construct and maintain social organisation. By adopting this detracted position, Coleman aligns himself with the very social scientists that, in “Norms as Social Capital” (1987), he criticised for ignoring the role of norms in constituting behaviour (Coleman, 1987:133). It is this position that has provided the space for other social capital researchers to relegate the role of social norms in the production of social capital.

Researchers who have attempted to incorporate social norms into their analysis include Jennifer Widner and Alexander Mundt who conducted a study (Widner and Mundt, 1998) into social capital in Africa. In this study Widner and Mundt enquired

. . . into the attitudes and norms that constitute social capital . . . [asking] which attitudes, beliefs, or norms are components of a generalised willingness to accept returns, compensations, or other reciprocity that takes place over time (Widner and Mundt, 1998:5).

However, Widner and Mundt’s investigation was operationalised in a narrower way than their stated objective, that is, by resorting to measuring the level of different forms of trust and governance rather than using indicators of attitudes, beliefs or norms. As suggested earlier, this is a recurring problem with research into the

mechanisms of social capital production. In assessing the role of social norms, researchers, and in particular those using network analysis, have been heavily influenced by the founding assumption of classical economic theory of egocentric rationalism. By adhering to the notion of constructing economic models based on rational behaviour, rather than a model of actual human behaviour, social capital theorists have negated an important component of social capital (Muthoo, 1996; van Zetten, 1997:339-340). This tendency is unfamiliar to theorists and researchers who originate from the field of social psychology who, as a consequence, can offer a valuable insight into the role of social norms as a component that generates collective action. Although there is not a consensus as to how to define social norms, the pragmatic definition offered by Miller and Prentice (1996) is rigorous and adept. Miller and Prentice constitute social norms as

. . . attribute[s] of a group that [are] considered to be both descriptive of and prescriptive for its members. Some groups have norms for personal appearance . . . some have norms for opinions . . . some have norms for personal characteristics . . . and most have norms for behaviour. Social norms are sometimes formally codified . . . but more often their communication and enforcement are less explicit. They serve as prescriptive standards for the group and, by extension, for all members of the group (Miller and Prentice, 1996:800).

This definition conveys one of the most problematic elements of social norms, that is, that their nature and content vary considerably. This variability is based on the dependence on context, which is defined, at least in part, by the social structure to which the norms adhere. The interaction, based on real and perceived comparisons, of the actors within this structure, therefore, determines the nature and content of the

set of social norms. The contextualised nature of social norms makes it very difficult to generalise about their nature and their effect in producing collective action. Nevertheless, most social capital theorists support the idea that social norms influence collective action.

Miller and Prentice's definition also highlights the idea that social norms are produced by objective influences that are mediated by subjective action. This position is situated between the under-socialised position of *homo economicus*, more specifically *homo ludens* (game theory version), and the over-socialised position of *homo sociologicus*. Actors bring a set of internalised norms, conditioned and learned, to every social situation. These norms are then contextualised within the specific social relationship in which the actor is involved. The interaction either produces or reproduces a context-unique set of shared norms. These shared norms are formed through another actor or group of actors approving or disapproving and sanctioning through rational and, importantly, non-rational processes, another actor's behaviour. This subjective and objective process, under the right circumstances, can operate to enable actors to engage in co-operative action (Elster, 1989:97-105).

The task of identifying the conditions under which social norms are instrumental in invoking actual and potential collective action is also problematic. The nature and content of social norms are wide ranging and they operate in union rather than individually, thus making it seemingly impossible to identify their relevance. Nevertheless, Jon Elster's (1989) ten categories of social norms helps to provide more substance to the social norms that are likely to affect co-operation. Elster,

noting the dangers in trying to establish an exhaustive list, suggests that social norms can be categorised into the following: consumption, sanctions against behaviour 'contrary to nature', codes of honour, work, distribution, retribution, regulating the use of money, reciprocity, medical ethics, and co-operation (Elster, 1989:107-125). A unique and context specific combination of social norms captured within these categories will need to be present before actors engage in collective action.

Rather than identifying the unique context-dependent social norms, a more pragmatic approach can be employed to encapsulate the social norms identified in Elster's ten categories. By identifying the motivationally-based perspective of an actor towards other actors, the propensity towards co-agency can be determined. Feelings of closeness, of having things in common and, of sharing the same ideas and goals as other structurally-defined actors can be used as a good indicator as to whether they share a set of social norms. This more general indicator of social norms enables rational/non-rational and subjective/objective dichotomies to be transversed.

Forms of Social Capital

Social capital is produced through the establishment of social relationships and the actuality of a combination of trust and social norms between the actors. Social relationships are constituted by any relationship between actors or groups of actors. An actor's social relationships encompass every relationship the actor has with another actor or group of actors. This collective set of relationships implicitly includes relationships at the micro-level and the macro-level. The productive nature

of social capital, therefore, orientates the discussion towards the identification of the most productive social structures at the micro and macro-levels.

In recent years, spurred by concern over the impact of neo-liberal political agendas, there has been increased debate and research on the importance of social relations at the community-level. An interesting strain of this debate has centred on what has become known as 'social exclusion'. Broadly defined social exclusion is "the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live" (European Foundation, in de Haan and Maxwell, 1998:2). The notion originated in France and is rooted in the French perception of national integration and social solidarity. In particular, the concept has been associated with Republican thought and the idea of the 'social disqualification' of people through the desolation of the relationship between people and society (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997:414). The concept of social exclusion gained considerable influence in France during the late 1980s and 1990s, principally because of its association with the under-class and poverty. Rooted in the context of the Republican notion of the value of state intervention, the struggle was seized upon by the French Government, which established a Ministry of Social Exclusion (Martin, 1996:382).

The notion of social exclusion has been picked up by the European Union and Tony Blair's 'New Labour' Government in the United Kingdom, which in 1997 established a Social Exclusion Unit. Unlike their French counterpart, New Labour perceived social exclusion from a 'New Right' perspective associating it with rights to basic standards of living and contractual relations (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997:415;

Lister, 1998:221). This perspective disengages the emphasis placed on people's social relations, whereas the French construct highlights the importance of Durkheim's concept of social integration. The French construct is, therefore, more compatible with a Bourdieusian-based, rigorously conceived perspective of micro-level social capital. Taking this approach allows micro-level social capital to be constituted into two unique forms, that is, integration and linkages (Woolcock, 1998:168).

There has been a considerable amount of research into, and debate about, social capital at a distinctly macro-level. Robert Putnam's writings, particularly *Making Democracy Work* (1993) and "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" (1995), sparked considerable interest in the role of the state and good governance. As Jonathan Fox (1996:1089) notes, social capital is a cause of good governance, however, and more importantly, good governance is also a source of social capital, that is, social capital-good governance co-production. Putnam's work, and the work of other researchers, such as Peter Evans (1996) and Anna Wetterberg (2007), make it clear that social capital plays a role at not only the micro-level but also the macro-level, and that several unique forms can be distinguished. The work of Peter Evans (1996) highlights the idea that the effective provision of the 'right' mix of state services form the basis of, what Woolcock (1998) calls synergistic social capital. The co-partner of this operational form is the distinctly more political aspect of what Woolcock (1998) calls 'organisational integrity'. The two forms of social relationships that constitute significant advantage in enabling access to resources can be identified as 'synergy' and 'integrity' (Woolcock, 1998).

Although many authors have identified different forms of social capital¹ there has been little agreement and research into what these forms might entail. James Coleman (1988:S101-S105; 1987:133-155), for example, identifies obligations, expectations, trust and norms as distinct forms of social capital. Putnam et al. (1993:167; in Anonymous, 1996:5), despite not being clear as to what he considers to constitute different forms of social capital², takes a similar approach, generally identifying norms of reciprocity, trust and networks of engagement as unique formations. Other essayists and researchers, such as Widner and Mundt (1998:3), Stanton-Salazar (1995:119), and Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998:251), also take a similar approach of combining structural elements and components of social capital (trust and social norms). This approach distorts the conceptualisation of social capital by combining two distinctly separate dimensions.

Francis Fukuyama (1995:91, 1996:13-14) takes a different and useful approach by identifying forms of social capital along structural lines. Fukuyama points out that

The most obvious and natural [form of social capital] is the family Beyond the family, there are kinship ties The most important form . . . is the ability of strangers (that is, non-kin) to trust one another and work together in new and flexible forms of organisation (Fukuyama, 1996:13-14).

This structural division is useful because it provides a clear separation between trust and social norms, and the different types of social relationship. Pamela Paxton

¹ Putnam (et al., 1993:167; in Anonymous, 1996:5), Coleman (1988:S101-S105; 1994:170), Fukuyama (1995:91, 1996:13), Woolcock (1998), Widner and Mundt (1998:3), Wetterberg (2007).

² In *Making Democracy Work* (1993), Putnam is not consistent in what he considers to be different forms of social capital. On page 167, he identifies norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement and then, on page 170, he identifies trust, social norms, and network as constituting the different forms.

(1999:95-104) makes this distinction even clearer by formulating Putnam's diamond market example into a two dimensional model. Paxton (1999) conceptualises social capital as being constructed of several components, including trust, reciprocity, and positive emotions, which vary across associational arrangements. That is, within each social relationship there will be different levels and combinations of social capital components (see Figure 1 below). Anna Wetterberg (2007) also demonstrates how social capital components interact with different forms of social arrangements and lead to varying access to resources.

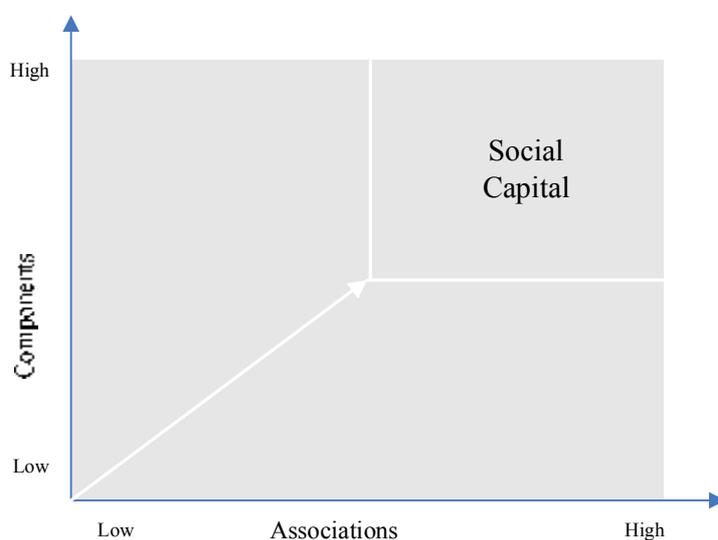


Figure 1: Social capital quadrant analysis

Source: Paxton, 1999:95

Aligning forms of social capital with different social relations is an approach that has also been used by Michael Woolcock (1998), who adeptly argues that an effective framework for identifying and measuring social capital can be devised by using this approach. Woolcock's intention is to clearly differentiate between sources and outcomes of social capital, therefore, side stepping the tautological

problems inherent in the work of Coleman and Putnam (Portes, 1998:19-20). Also, Woolcock recognises the context-dependent nature of social capital and, by structural differentiation; he is able to group relationships by the structure that gives it value (Lareau and McNamara Horvat, 1999:39). Although other forms of social capital exist, Woolcock's framework differentiates between four of the most structurally significant forms, that is, at the micro-level (integration and linkage) and at the macro-level (synergy and integrity) (Woolcock, 1998:161-183).¹ The rest of this chapter will be dedicated to explaining and, in places, extending Woolcock's four forms of social capital. This will allow for a much clearer conceptualisation of social capital, which is necessary before an adequate measurement framework can be identified and tested.

Social Capital as 'Integration'

At the micro-level, collective action operates in, and through, a series of social relationships which are motivated by everyday needs and interests and are based around family ties, neighbourhoods, and community networks. These endowments of social integration enable people to provide and receive access to resources such as neighbourhood security, the lending of household or personal items, childcare, the sharing of transportation, job referrals, information distribution, and many other advantages. Social integration, as expressed through trust and social norms, provides the founding relationships that enable people to access and share resources on a frequent basis. If the level of social integration is high, the stock of social capital will also be high (Woolcock, 1998:171).

¹ Christiaan Grootaert (2001:11-12) also supports the broader definition used by Woolcock. Grootaert suggests that the definitions proposed by Putnam (1993), Coleman (1988), and North (1990) and Olson (1982) are "not really alternative views, but complementary dimensions of the same process" (Grootaert 2001:11).

The origins of Woolcock's notion of social integration can be located within the French Sociological tradition, in particular, the work of Durkheim. In *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), Durkheim asserted that labour plays a critical role in effecting cohesion and solidarity in society. Durkheim argued that the interdependent nature of society, that is, *organic solidarity*, is the foundation of individual well-being, and that this interdependency creates cohesion within society. According to Durkheim, when these interdependencies fail, and when individuals are not sufficiently integrated in a community and are disassociated from sources of guidance, support, and identity, *anomie* eventuates (Martinussen, 1997:26). Woolcock (1998:173) points out that *anomie* "results in not only heightened cognitive dissonance for individuals but also increased rates of disaffection, suicide, and violent crime across society". These are phenomena which are increasingly being observed in some rapidly changing societies, including countries in Central and Eastern Europe which have recently experienced significant political changes (Woolcock, 1998:173).

This conceptualisation of what happens when *organic solidarity* fails has been taken into a contemporary research frame by William Wilson in *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (1997), and in "The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in the Inner City" (Wacquant and Wilson, 1989). In these works, Wilson (1997, 1989) examined the impact of poverty on people living in ghettos in Chicago and concluded that disintegrating processes are leading a condition that is comparable to *anomie*. Wilson concludes that

Among the resources that individuals can draw upon to implement strategies of social mobility are those potentially provided by their lovers, kin, and friends and by the contacts they develop within the formal associations to which they belong—in sum, the resources they have access to by virtue of being socially integrated into solidarity groups, networks, or organizations, what Bourdieu calls “social capital.” Our data indicate that not only do residents of extreme—poverty areas have fewer social ties but also that they tend to have ties of lesser social worth, as measured by the social position of their partners, parents, siblings, and best friends, for instance. In short, they possess lower volumes of social capital (Wacquant and Wilson, 1989:22-23).

Social integration provides a vital social resource for actors, but not in isolation from other forms of social capital. While some social capital theorists consider levels of social integration that are too high lead to insular collective action, it is the absence or low levels of other forms of social capital which constitute the real problem. When components of social capital are only present in family, neighbourhood, and community groups, then ‘amoral familism’ may be the result due to institutional loyalties dissuading actors from forming linkages outside of these institutions. Similarly, when linkages are weak, actors have limited opportunity to access resources outside their immediate social groups (Woolcock, 1998:171). William Wilson notes that

Segregated ghettos are less conducive to employment and employment preparation than are other areas of the city. Segregation in ghettos exacerbates employment problems because it leads to weak informal employment networks and contributes to the social isolation of individuals and families, thereby reducing their chances of acquiring the human capital

skills, including adequate educational training, that facilitate mobility in a society (Wilson, 1996: 24).

Social Capital as 'Linkage'

Wilson's insightful conclusion that the well-being of actors is based on the dual requirements of social integration and linkages extending to outside groups can be traced back to Georg Simmel. Simmel claimed that if actors are to improve their social position they need to form social relations that extend beyond their immediate level of integration (Woolcock, 1998:168). Mark Granovetter has examined Simmel's position by investigating the conditions under which entrepreneurship occurs. Granovetter, while studying immigrant communities in Java and the Philippines, found that both 'strong' and 'weak ties' played an important role as determinants of entrepreneurship activity. Granovetter demonstrated that entrepreneurship flourished under conditions where immigrants were able to exploit social capital in the form of strong ties, prior to increasing social capital in the form of autonomous relations (Granovetter, 1995:137).

Although Granovetter's categorisation of 'strong' and 'weak ties' does not correspond to Woolcock's integration and linkages, there is sufficient congruency to show that this division is similarly pertinent. Social capital in the form of linkages is less broadly defined by Woolcock (1998) than Granovetter's weak ties concept (1995) but is broader than Putnam's notion of civic engagement (1993, 1993a, 1995). This definition incorporates both formal and informal group interaction within, and outside of, an actor's immediate community. However, it deviates from Putnam in that it encompasses informal groups, including networks of friendship

and interest based groups. This is because informal linkages encapsulate the plethora of group relations actors experience outside of the formal linkages of civic engagement. Both types of linkage are important and need to be included in any analysis of social capital, as they provide the autonomy actors require in order to expand their access to resources in different fields. In more recent social structure and social capital literature 'social ties', both 'strong' and 'weak', have also become known as 'bridging social capital' (see Taylor, Jones and Boles, 2004).

Like Granovetter (1995) and Woolcock (1998), Wetterberg (2007) also affirms the view that the context in which the social ties operates is critical to the production of social capital. Wetterberg's (2007) empirical research shows that 'strong' local ties are more important at times of economic shock when compared with 'weak' formal ties. Cognisance of the diversity of the resources at stake is also advisable. For example, recent literature also highlights the link between linkages and health outcomes (see Miller et al, 2006), and happiness and life satisfaction (Haller and Hadler, 2006).

Putman (1993, 1993a, 1995) highlighted, albeit as a champion, the importance of civic engagement in developing (1993, 1995) and maintaining societies (1995). Civic participation has also been shown to impact on citizens' consideration of their quality of life (Baker and Palmer, 2006:411). Like informal structures, formal organisation appear to have an important role in facilitating access to structures through which social capital forms and resources are claimed.

These arguments highlight the need to disaggregate types of networks to identify and understand the accumulation of social capital whether in the form of ‘linkage’ or, as the next section discusses, government organisations and service delivery.

Social Capital as ‘Synergy’

Similar to Putnam’s (1993) assertion that good governance influences the production of social capital because of its impact on ‘civicness’, Peter Evans’s (1995, 1996) argues that the relationship between micro and macro-level social capital is implicitly linked. Evans, who defines embeddedness as being a type of synergy that is “based on ties that cross the public-private divide” (Evans, 1996:1119), considers that micro-level social capital is important in forming state-society synergy. Evans comments that

Ties among friends and neighbors based on trust and rooted in everyday interactions are essential foundations [for the construction of synergy]. Without them there would be nothing to build on. The key point is that such ties seem to be a resource that is at least latently available to most Third World communities. . . . [rather] if synergy fails to occur, it is probably not because the relevant neighborhoods and communities were too fissionary and mistrusting but because some other crucial ingredient was lacking (Evans, 1994:1125).

Witterberg (2007) shows that citizens view public institutions as distinct from other social structures, meaning that the dynamics of social ties and resource allocation are distinct, and situation dependent, from other social ties. Evans suggests that the most likely “other crucial ingredient” is a “competent, engaged set of public institutions” (Evans, 1994:1125). Evans believes that public institutions can actively

foster synergy and that doing so is dependent on governments purposefully aiding the development of effective civic organisations (Evans, 1994:1125). Evans remarks that

Governments are suited to delivering certain kinds of collective goods which complement inputs more efficiently delivered by private actors. Putting the two kinds of inputs together results in greater output than either public or private sectors could deliver on their own (Evans, 1996:1120).

While this position statement is valuable, it fails to recognise that synergy can also be fostered between the state and actors outside civic organisations. It also creates confusion by overlapping different structural relations in explaining the sources of social capital production. If actors value public institutions, that is, they view them as competent and effective in providing access to resources, this social relationship can be seen as a form of social capital in itself. Evans's suggestion of the co-production between what has been called in this chapter 'integration', 'linkage' and 'synergy' is insightful, however, it does not follow that social capital can be reduced to one form.

The approach of Evans and other comparative institutionalists is based on the underlying assumption that the chosen organisational form is the most efficient. This abstract assumption is not indicative of objective reality, and, as Charles Perrow (1986:219-257) suggests, organisations look the way they do because some actors have power over others, a pivotal idea in understanding what Bourdieu means by social capital. While this assumption, and other conceptual constraints, such as the treatment of social norms, limit the scope of Evans's work, his approach is

valuable because it brings good governance in the form of public institutional competence and effectiveness into deliberation. The comparative institutionalists' work has extended the Weberian notion that development and formal bureaucracies are synonymous. Bureaucracies facilitate a safe and expected foundation where actors' activities are able to be directed towards collective interests. Weber concluded that as these bureaucracies become larger and more inflexible, they are increasingly unable to meet their purpose. It is this notion of institutional competence that is the focal point of the institutionalists' expansion of Weber's work. In particular, they argue that, when considering what factors cause ineffective public institutions to emerge and why are some states weak and others strong, analysis should focus on the factors which contribute to capacity, credibility, and the proficiency of client-organisational networks (Woolcock, 1998:169-170).

If the interaction between actors and public organisations (including the people who represent these organisations) are epitomised by levels of service delivery which meet the needs of the actors while simultaneously enhancing organisational credibility, then synergistic social capital will be produced. Synergistic social capital will, therefore, enable actors to gain access to resources and stakes defined by their field of practice. This form of social capital is particularly important to actors who are bound to the state and whose future is confined to the strategies offered by the state. Similarly, Evans (1996:1120) notes that one of the overlooked benefits of 'synergy' is that this relationship between actors and public institutions complements the collective action of less privileged groups. This includes the significance of such basic action as public assembly and the freedom of association in making civic engagement possible. However, as O'Donnell (in Evans,

1996:1120) points out, the “destruction of the state as law” in parts of Latin America has led to an “angry atomization of society” that has crowded out bottom-up initiatives. Wetterberg (2007) also shows how the Suharto regime in Indonesia has impacted on peoples the social networks employed by people, with an increased tendency of people to use local networks rather than government defined despite the goods from the later being clearly ‘marketed’. Like all actors, the ability of people in society to influence the range of strategies offered by the state is facilitated, not only by ‘synergy’, but also by the integrity of the political process.

Social Capital as ‘Integrity’

Like ‘synergy’, the notion of political ‘integrity’ is founded on the work of Max Weber. According to Weber, effective development is based both on the emanation of formal bureaucracies and on legitimate government. For Weber, legitimacy is a vital component in the durability of the state and excess intimidation will induce interest groups to transform into powerful social movements, and can lead to revolution. For this reason, Weber suggested that states should seek a form of legitimacy that engenders citizens to cooperate with the state. Thus, legitimacy enables the state to direct the activities of actors away from egocentric interest and towards collective interests (Weber, 1968:212-301). Weber notes that as *charismatic organisations* become progressively rational, they become the basis for democratic legitimacy. This means that through popular support, states and state leaders are mandated to “enact, recognize, or appeal laws, according to [their] own free will” (Weber, 1968: 266-267).

In formulating his concept of ‘synergy’ broadly, Peter Evans (1996) encapsulates the two Weberian notions of *bureaucratic administration* and *democratic legitimacy* of the state. Woolcock (1998) seeks to clarify Evans’s concept and to make it more operable by differentiating between ‘synergy’ and organisational ‘integrity’. However, his distinction does not provide a clear division as can be seen in the following comment

. . . organizational integrity can be used as short-hand for the Weberian thesis, the idea of synergy—defined as the “ties that connect citizens and public officials across the public-private divide”—is expanded to refer more generally to the social relations between representative of formal organizations (Woolcock, 1998:170).

The distinction between *bureaucratic administration* and the “ties that connect citizens and public officials across the public-private divide” (Evans cited in Woolcock, 1998:170) is not clear. Justino (2006:1254) notes that there is minimal literature asking what type or level of participation is desirable, and little empirical work examining the impact of public participation development.

The distinction between administration and ties across the public-private divide can be made unambiguous by differentiating between types of social relations at the macro-level. The relationships that actors have with the state, and its various mechanisms, can be separated into those with public organisations and those with the political representatives of the state. This dissertation takes a small step toward empirically examining this distinction, and the types and density of public-private relations by employing and examining the notion of ‘synergy’.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to produce an effective and workable framework for analysing social capital through extension of Woolcock's (1998) work. The resulting conceptualisation identifies the components of trust and social norms as existing in varying degrees within every form of social capital. As is consistent, in the most part, with Woolcock's original work, four main groupings of social structure have been identified and categorised as distinct forms of social capital. These are 'integration', 'linkage', 'synergy', and 'integrity'. Through the interaction of the two components, as well as the different forms of social capital, indicators of the level of the stock of social capital can be identified. For 'integration', these indicators are relationship density, commonality, the sharing of ideas and goals, and expecting trust at the family, neighbourhood, and community-level. The frequency and variety of contact with formal and informal groups are indicative of 'linkage'. The range, composition, and effectiveness of services provided by public organisations, as well as commonality, idea and goal sharing, and the trustworthiness of staff working for public organisations, are applied to indicate 'synergistic' social capital. Finally, the level of public participation, sharing ideas, and goals, and the trustworthiness of public politicians are indicators of the fourth form of social capital: 'integrity'. Table 1 (see page 104) provides matrix summarising elements of the Framework.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, will expand of the social capital framework developed in this chapter by identifying a robust set of indicators that measure the various dimensions. This framework is then synthesised with a set of empirical

methods suitable to identifying varying stocks of social capital in two communities, and answering the central question of this dissertation. These methods and the research at large are then located in relation to the researcher's character and life experience.

Table 1: Summary of Social Capital Framework

Social capital forms/sub-forms	Components of social capital	
	Social norms	Trust
	Attributes of social norms	Attributes of trust
Form: integration. Sub-forms: family, neighbourhood, and community	Contact, density of relations, commonality, shared ideas and goals	Seeking trust and expecting trust
Form: linkage. Sub-forms: local and national association and engagement	Coverage and density of local and national engagement (formal and informal)	
Form: synergy. Sub-forms: local and national	Range and provisioning of services, shared ideas and goals with officers	Officers trusted
Form: integrity. Sub-forms: local and national	Participation encouraged, shared ideas and goals with polity	Polity trusted

CHAPTER FOUR

KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE

The previous two chapters positioned social capital in relation to various themes in the literature and, from a deliberate theoretical foundation, suggested a robust framework that could be used to measure stocks of different forms of social capital. The relevance of the Framework, for identifying the different forms and levels of social capital, and association between different attributes of social capital and variables indicative of structure and advantage, was then discussed. This chapter will elaborate on how the measurement framework was administered in addressing the objectives of the research, the role of the researcher in administering the research, and the limitations of the research method. In particular, rigorous attention is given to the validity and reliability of the research. The chapter begins with a discussion of the epistemological foundation of the production of knowledge, how this guided the research methodology, and how it contextualises the interpretation of the research results.

A Position on Knowing

One of the underlying issues in social science research is the lack of theoretical and practical attention given to epistemology. The positioning of research in relation to epistemological understanding is important if the inescapable assumptions of knowledge are to be addressed in the research method and the interpretation of the results. A lack of epistemological rigour often reduces knowledge to the theoretical and leads to practices that produce and reproduce mechanisms where dominant

groups are able to manufacture distinction from dominated groups, distinction that reproduces a *habitus* that is supportive of social positioning associated with varying levels of cultural and, ultimately, symbolic capital. Addressing the relationship between research respondents' *habitus* and the nature of knowledge is, therefore, pivotal to producing meaningful research. For this reason, the next two sections will attend to the epistemological assumptions required in the construction and application of the framework used to measure stocks of social capital in this research.

Epistemological Approaches

Social science research has been dominated by two opposing theories of knowledge: positivism and interpretivism (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992:6). Positivism emerged from the work of the Saint-Simonians and was established in its contemporary form by Auguste Comte in the early 19th Century (Schlick, 1991:37). Positivism is defined as

The view, originally advanced by Comte, that 'positive facts' concerning observable phenomena and their relations are all that can be known, and that inquiry into causes, origins, and purposes should be abandoned (Boyd et al., 1991:779).

Positivists consider knowledge to be limited to sensory experience and empirical design, as opposed to innatism. For this reason, positivists, particularly empiricists, hold that Enlightenment-based rationalism cannot represent reality because it does not relate to sensory experience and events that are observable. The aim of positivism is to use

. . . sensory evidence as the only secure basis for knowledge and even meaning, thus rendering illicit and even meaningless the (metaphysical) reference to a mind-independent reality (Moser et al., 1998:109).

This statement is founded upon the assumption that reality is objective and mind independent and, therefore, can and should be exposed to principals of verification. The vulnerability of empiricism is that not all meaningful experiences are sensory experiences. Some experiences are not observable, such as beliefs, while our sensory evidence (Moser et al., 1998:109) misrepresents others, for example, when one sees a mirage in the desert or believes they heard a person say something other than what they actually said. This problem is magnified by the lack of critical rigidity regarding the reliability of indicators of reality and the criteria used for justification. Empiricism simply takes the position that, because some aspects are observable, they meet the arbitrary criteria for justification and, therefore, knowledge of reality is obtainable and certain, a position which has been challenged rigorously from a metaphysical perspective (Schlick, 1991:38-39).

In the 19th Century, a countermovement emerged that was dedicated to critiquing positivism and the principles upon which it claimed to be ‘scientific’, specifically, its tendency of subsumption under general laws (Miller, 1991:751). This movement was built on William Dilthey’s interpretivist notion that approaches to ‘natural’ and ‘human’ sciences needed to be separated (Miller, 1991:752). The main supposition of this form of interpretivism was that ‘human’ sciences needed to be based on meaning, and ‘natural’ sciences on the rules governing physical phenomena.

Interpretivism holds that this separation is necessary because, unlike the 'natural' world, the 'human' world is socially constructed and can only be understood from within this context. Rather than being governed by rules, human behaviour is intuitively subjective, and this, not the application of rules, provides knowledge of reality (Creswell, 1994:4).

Interpretivists, in particular those prescribing to feminist epistemology, contend that the empiricist notion of objectification is invalid because the researcher can never be objective. Similarly, institutions, which configure attempts to obtain knowledge, are social constructions (Fricker, 1994:95). This makes institutions unrepresentative; therefore, categories, meanings, and interpretations are also biased and create false knowledge (Creswell, 1994:4; Moser et al., 1998:119). This observation is even more relevant when regarding the tendency of empiricists to extend their descriptions of social phenomenon to causal explanations. According to Interpretivists and a scattering of other social scientists, this extension renders knowledge meaningless (Miller, 1991:751). This is because, as Giddens (1971:140) notes, the degree of correlation between two variables is founded on assumptions as to the validity of the relationship under different social conditions.

Epistemological scepticism and anti-sceptic responses to these challenges have framed the homology between empiricism and interpretivism, and produced a foundation for the polemic position-taking (Haslanger, 1999:461). Before discussing this relationship more explicitly, including how it affects the construction and maintenance of this false dichotomy in practical terms, it is important to note that these two approaches share certain theoretical commonalities (Miller, 1991:752).

Importantly, neither is sceptical about the attainment of some knowledge, in fact, they both assert that it is possible to know in precise terms some form of reality. In this regard there are differences between each position, with the interpretivist approach being considered more limited in scope than the empiricist (Moser et al., 1998:149). Specifically, Interpretivists are more sceptical about the independence of the researcher; the effect structural elements have on the attainment of knowledge; and, the meaning elucidated by the corresponding statements about reality. Whereas empiricists are sceptical about knowledge gained from subjective first-person views and their collective relevance. Importantly, however, they both share the epistemological position that reality is certain and can be gained from cognitive sources (Moser et al., 1998:149-164).

The claim that knowledge can be gained through cognitive sources, is reliant on the assumption that these so-called cognitive sources, such as, perception, memory and introspection are reliable (Honderich, 1988:361-362; Moser et al., 1998:154). This assumption is, however, highly problematic as it is unconvincing to argue that cognitive sources are reliable using a cognitive source that has not been shown to be reliable (Meynell, 1998:6). Moser comments that

Since all such sources are now being questioned by skeptics, with regard to reliability, our use of them cannot deliver the kind of evidence of reliability sought by skeptics. Unfortunately, we cannot assume a position independent of our own cognitive sources to deliver a test of their reliability of the sort demanded by skeptics. This for better or worse, is the human cognitive predicament, and no one has yet shown how we can escape it (Moser et al., 1998:156).

This scepticism is a consideration against what in epistemology is termed 'The Extreme Transparency Thesis', that is, all mental conditions are instantaneously introspective (Moser et al., 1998:49). The main arguments questioning immediate introspection and the reliability of knowledge are that "some intentional states needed to explain important psychological behaviour are not immediately accessible to the subject" and that "intentional states important in psychological processing cannot be accessed at will" (Moser et al., 1998:48-49). Moser et al. (1998:48-49) also points out that most of the time people are not aware of psychological processing, that is, they are subdoxastic, meaning that some states are dispositional rather than action-based and cannot be immediately introspective to the subject, for example, beliefs.

The argument that knowledge and reality are significantly influenced, but not ruled, by subdoxa and dispositions is primary to the research undertaken for this dissertation. However, while these qualifications do not mitigate the ability to gain some form of knowledge about reality, they do guide what could be considered an 'authentic' set of methods for its collection. The next section will develop a case for; firstly, the transgression of the false empiricist-interpretivist dichotomy; and, then for an epistemological approach that can, without resorting to excessive abstractions and unreliable assumptions, provide socially founded knowledge of the real world. This epistemological construction will set the foundation for the method used to research stocks of social capital as is explained in the last section of this chapter.

Beyond Epistemological Dichotomy

The approach used for this research was founded on an epistemological position that attempts to incorporate the influence of subdoxa and disposition on mental states while moving beyond the false objectivity-subjectivity dichotomy. This dichotomy stems from Enlightenment-based rationalism and provides the validation for claiming the possibility of abstraction from the social world. The creation and ongoing support of this dichotomous relationship between objectivism and subjectivism enforces the view that there are two ways of approaching investigation with each providing certain knowledge of reality. This leads, however, to the situation where one approach is considered to be more authoritative because it is objective and, therefore, 'scientific'. The dichotomy creates a false choice that culminates in the ascendancy of empiricism and the near-total exclusion of opportunities offered by the interpretivist approach (Jenkins, 1992:48-49). For Bourdieu this means that

Social science must not only, as objectivism would have it, break with native experience and the native representation of that experience, but also, by a second break, call into question the presupposition inherent in the position of the 'objective' observer who, seeking to interpret practices, tends to bring into the object the principles of his relation to the object, as is shown for example by the privileged status he gives to communicative and epistemic functions, which inclines him to reduce exchanges to pure symbolic exchanges (Bourdieu in Jenkins, 1992:48).

Any claim to objectivism distorts knowledge by treating ideals, norms, and values as if they have concrete existence. Moreover, when considered out of the context and

devoid of social behaviour, they are transformed into rules that determine social action and negate the occurrence of subjective strategies (Jenkins, 1992:48). The approach used in this research attempts to reincorporate social context, the recognition of the propensity for strategic action, the investigation of opportunity and access to field specific resources.

However, this does not mean replacing under-socialised empiricism with over-socialised interpretivism. In fact, Bourdieu goes so far as to claim that the interpretivist approach is more likely to generate 'official' accounts than the empiricist. As Jenkins suggests, these accounts become 'official' because they "tend to describe the state of affairs which *ought* to happen because the nature of the occasion inspires them to explain (or justify) their behaviour, in addition to (or instead of) describing it" (Jenkins, 1992:53). This normative behaviour, as well as the tendency of subjectivists "to make the mundane into the exotic" (Bourdieu in Jenkins, 1992:47), renders interpretivism unsuitable for answering important questions about reality.

The revised approach used in this research is designed to investigate a social situation from an analytical perspective and to "scrutinise both the 'scientific' stance *vis-à-vis* that situation and the effect of adopting such a stance" (Jenkins, 1992:47) has on the tentative knowledge produced. This approach, described by Bourdieu as the "objectification of the act of objectification" (Bourdieu in Jenkins, 1992:47), requires the researcher to step back from the situation being investigated and then, secondly, to step back from the act of observing. This two-step process allows phenomenon to be investigated from within their social context without abstracting

the researcher from the frame of reference. By adopting this approach, reflexivity becomes the pivotal element in obtaining accurate knowledge about social reality.

'Reflexivity' generally means, "subjecting the practice of the researcher to the same critical and sceptical eye as the practice of the researched" (Jenkins, 1992:61). In a sociological sense, this requires that all research and analysis is interpreted in the context in which it is constituted: that is, meaning must be depicted in the theoretical and social context of the event (Jenkins, 1992:60). This ensures the logic of practice over theoretical logic by the imposition of a systematic process where the researcher's presuppositions and work is open to full and critical examination (Jenkins, 1992:61). Whenever we fail to systematically critique the "presuppositions inscribed in the fact of thinking the world, of retiring from the world and from action in the world in order to think that action" (Bourdieu, 1990:27), we risk disintegrating practical logic into theoretical logic. It is from this perspective, that is, the preservation of rationality, that reflexivity is incorporated in this research.

The epistemological position adopted for this research makes the departure from the traditional polemic construction necessary. The reason for this transgression is to elucidate social reality by addressing the underlying realism of subdoxa and dispositional influences. In avoiding the trap of producing theoretical logic, this approach attempts to construct a meaningful practice that can offer solutions to problems that reduce the choices available to dominated groups. The following section expands on this approach and the actual methods used to research social capital.

Measuring Social Capital

Measurements approaches vary with the nature of the networks being studied and the content of the social network. For the purposes of this thesis, this has included family (family integration), neighbourhood (neighbourhood integration), community (community integration), civic (linkage), organisation (synergy) and political (integrity).

Networks

The family has received little focus in social capital research. Studies that focus on family social capital tend to investigate the impact of social capital on family interaction, including child development or wellbeing. Coleman (1988), Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) and Amato (1998) are the most cited studies of family interaction. Coleman (1988) made an important contribution in identifying that family social capital exists as with other networks. In his analysis of human capital creation, Coleman used parent-child relations and measures of physical adult attendance and adult-child attention as indicators of network relations. Family relation 'strength' is measured using a parent-children factor. However, the parent-children factor exclusive from the nature of the relationship appears weak. Limitations aside, Coleman's family social capital conceptualisation has been used in other research. Runyan et al (1998), for example, measured social capital using a similar technique. Marjoribanks and Kwok (1998) researched parent-child exchanges.

Building on Coleman's (1988) definition, Amato (1998), by including parent-parent relationships in addition to that of parent-child, introduced a 'marital discord' factor. Though adding value by expanding the breadth of analysis, Amato's analysis is still limited by acknowledging child to child and other family relationships, and questions about the relationship between marital discord does and social capital remain. Furstenberg (1995) has questioned the role of non-resident parents, presenting a case to further expand the family network. Furstenberg (1996) argued that the parent-constructed household culture needed to be understood before family social capital could be examined.

The measurement of family social capital remains limited, with narrow definitions used in research. Utilisation of an inclusive, rather than limiting measurement approach is required to understanding the content of family networks.

Putnam's (1995) study of American life drew a distinction between the different types of social networks likely to support social capital. Putnam identified neighbourhood networks as promoting social capital. In contrast, the leisure activity of bowling alone, or 'solo', rather than in an organised club activity, is presented by Putnam as evidence of 'social disengagement'.

Since Putnam's (1995) analysis, a number of studies have measured networks of friends, neighbours and acquaintances somewhat more precisely. Baum et al (2000), who ask about a wide range of networks a person or household is engaged in, use a broad range of items, for example, to measure networks of friends and neighbours. Networks are identified via questions about 'informal', 'public space' and 'group'

activities. Baum's items provide more precise information than that used by Putnam, including – importantly – information about the number of types of networks respondents had been involved with in the last year, and the variation of activities they have engaged in. However, what these particular items do not tell us is whether some of these 'networks' involve social relations at all. In particular, items included in this set of questions which ask about 'activities in public spaces' such as going to a café, cinema or theatre, or 'group activities' such as going to an exercise class or involvement in a hobby tell us more about the ways in which people spend their leisure time than providing specific information about the social networks they are part of. As well, these items identify networks by relying upon measures of participation and exchange as indicators of social capital. Whether norms of trust and reciprocity operate within these networks must also be determined.

More precise measurement of social capital within neighbourhood networks may be made by first identifying the existence of such networks, and linking this information to information about network culture and characteristics. For example, the Australian Living Standards Study (1991) and the United Kingdom's National Survey of Voluntary Activity (1991) used a broad range of items.

As well as identifiable networks of friends, family and neighbours, a number of social capital studies included measures of non-group based social relations, for example, Baum et al (2000). While these items relate to political proactivity, measures of non-group based relations need not be political to inform our understanding of social capital, and may be tailored to the aims of specific studies.

While asking a question about a series of actions or deeds may identify the networks a person is engaged in as well as something about the nature of network participation, these items may nonetheless tell us little about social capital unless they are used in conjunction with measures of trust and reciprocity.

Information about association-based networks has been collected via questions about a person's membership or engagement in a formally constituted group, of one kind or another. Putnam made famous this approach in his 1995 study of American civic life. Using secondary analysis, Putnam used membership rates in a range of types of organisations as indicators of levels of social capital. These associations included: parent-teacher organisations; women's groups; scouts; Red Cross, Lions clubs; service on a committee of a local organisation; work for a political party; and membership of a support group. Putnam also reported the growth of another form of network – associational membership, often involving little or no face-to-face contact, which he concluded was indicative of depleting stocks of social capital.

Putnam's analysis has been widely criticised, however, for failing to take account of changing patterns of civic engagement, and for perceiving new ways of engagement (for example the growth of associational memberships) through a nostalgic lens, and attaching negative judgements to them (see Pollitt, 1999; Skocpol, 1999). Despite these criticisms, measuring the extent to which people are attached to formally constituted social groups of one kind or another is a method frequently employed for the measure of group based relations in social capital research. Baum et al (2000) use association/group based relations measure. Although less extensive than that

that of by Krishna and Shrader, it also provides information about the frequency of engagement in such networks.

Apart from studies concerned with the role of social capital within the workplace, the work environment has also sometimes been singled out in social capital studies as a place in which friendship and other types of relations may form. These studies recognise the significance of the work environment in modern life, and attempt to measure friendship, group and non-group based associations which flow from the work environment but which are not specifically labour-job oriented. In their study of five communities, Onyx and Bullen (2000), for example, suggest a range of items for providing reliable information about the workplace as a network rich in social capital. Other studies which have focused upon employment and social capital, ask about the role of social capital in help with job seeking, for example, Rose (1998).

The extent of engagement individuals or families have with institutions, such as arms of government, the police and so on, are typically asked about in relation to trust. Again, in order to properly measure levels social capital aspects of participation with formal institutions must also take account of the norms and trust.

The Nature of Networks

The literature suggests certain network characteristics have direct implications for the promotion and nature of social capital. Recent research has distinguished between ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ and ‘linking’ social capital (for discussion see Putnam 1998; Narayan 1999; Woolcock 2000). Bonding social capital involves trust and reciprocity in closed networks, and helps the process of ‘getting by’ in life on a daily

basis. 'Getting ahead' in contrast, is facilitated through bridging social capital involving multiplex networks which may make accessible the resources and opportunities which exist in one network to a member of another. Linking social capital involves social relations with those in authority, which might be used to garner resources or power.

Thus different types of social capital relate to the range of network characteristics. The first of these is the size and capacity of a given network. Networks can be anything from limited to extensive in size and capacity, and may involve relations within the household, at the neighbourhood or local community scale, to global and virtual relations which operate at vast distance. The size and capacity of social networks may affect overall stocks of social capital. Individuals and families with large numbers of social ties *may* have access to a large stock of social capital, depending on the nature of those ties. Those with few social ties may thus have little access or opportunity to invest in social capital.

In the network analysis tradition, Mitchell (1969) recognised that it is always necessary to limit the volume of data collected by selecting 'partial networks', which could be selected in one of two ways. First, a selected network around an individual, so as to generate 'ego-centred' networks of social relations of many kinds. Second, an abstraction of the 'global' features of networks in relation to a particular aspect of social life, for example kinship obligations, work relations, or political ties. Scott (1991) observes that network analyses in the social sciences typically draw upon both of these methods, and are concerned with partial, ego-centred networks focused around particular types of social relations. This is also

true of social capital research, in which measures typically either map networks of significant others around an individual or family, or are concerned with particular types of exchanges.

The approach of Onyx and Bullen's (1997, 2000) community studies are an example of the first approach. Their measures identified a person's network of 'significant others' via questions about social integration. Similarly, questions which ask about the physical proximity of family and friends also measure the degree to which a person is socially integrated, or availability of social support networks, for example, those used by Baum et al (1998). The strength of this first approach is the information gathered about proximity to friends and family. However, it is important to recognise that this information, on its own, tells us little about which of these social relations, if any, are characterised by norms and trust.

The second approach to measuring the size of a social network focuses upon the substance of social relations. Rather than asking whether interaction takes place with a series of named individuals, the approach asks about the qualitative nature of social capital. For example, Stewart-Weeks and Richardson (1998:132), used questions like "how would you go about looking for work if you need a job?" And "where would you go if you were upset or 'in trouble' and needed personal help and support?".

While leaving a network list open-ended in this way is likely to avoid problems of leaving persons out of social network analysis, the questions tend to be imprecise. For example, they tell little about the regularity or intensity of relationships, nor

about the motivations for seeking help from particular sources, and whether such behaviour forms part of an ongoing, trusting relationship of reciprocal exchange.

Combining the first and second approaches to the study of network size, is another approach which attempts to map expressly a person's network and then add into this map relations which involve reciprocal exchange. This combined approach appears useful where a comprehensive understanding of all close relations in a network is required. This approach has been used by Cochran et al (1990), who first used a series of questions about exchanges, and then examined the content of these networks.

Social Relations Norms

Coleman (1988) is helpful in explaining the link between the 'structural' and 'relational' aspects of social capital. He describes the norms governing social relations within networks as exchange with the presence of trust for mutual exchange determines expectations and obligations on the primary recipient party. This explanation by Coleman shows that close conceptual and therefore empirical relationship between trust and reciprocity. This relationship between norms of reciprocity is extended by Misztal (1996) who argues that norms created by generalised reciprocity and networks of civic engagement foster trust and co-operation due to their ability to increase constraints on defecting, increase certainty, and demonstrate cooperation.

The social capital literature has given considerable attention to the norms affecting social relations; however, there has been minimal empirical research to date.

Studies often focus on measuring the affect on behaviour of these norms, rather than norms *per se*.

Social Relations Trust

Trust is a key component of social capital, and trust is considered critical in social capital theory to a functioning society and for generating, amongst other things, civic engagement and democracy (Putnam, 1993a, 1995; Uslaner, 2004).

There are generally three main forms of trust discussed in the literature that shape the way trust is researched and measured: personalised trust (see Hughes et al, 2000; Uslaner, 2004; Cox and Caldwell, 2000) lies within time-honoured relationships and social networks; generalised trust (Putnam, 2000; Dasgupta, 1988; Uslaner, 2004) encapsulates when trust is extended to outsiders; civic or institutional trust (Uslaner, 2004; Cox and Caldwell, 2000) involves trust in the formal institutions of governance. Personalised trust has primarily been measured through hypothetical behavioural questions, for example, ‘would you trust X to do z for you?’. However, the measurement of generalised and civic-institutional trust has been more comprehensive.

The measure of generalised trust gained prominence through Putnam (1995) who, using the World Values Survey data, identified a decline in the level of trust in American society from 1960-1993. The question used asked “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?” (World Values Survey, 1991). This basic indicator has been regularly included in social capital studies since, most often as a single concept

indicator (Knack and Keefer, 1997). Knack and Keefer (1997) comment on the limitations of the World Values Survey indicator noting that it is difficult to know what respondents have in mind when answering this question. It is possible that this indicator for generalised trust is influenced by perceptions of both personalised and civic trust.

The Australian Community Survey (1998) included more defined indicators. While providing context and distinguishing between relationships, this survey also fell short of ensure consistency in perception when answering the question. Cox and Caldwell (2000) also note that measures like those used in the World Values Survey and its counter-parts helpful but require linking with other measures to bring meaning to how social capital is created. Using at least two indicators to represent multi-directional exchange and norms is necessary to represent trust when studying social capital.

Praxis

The research process involved a carefully planned, very rigorous, and reflexive approach. The intent behind adopting a highly rigid and critical process was to address the weaknesses often inherent in research as outlined in the previous section. Most importantly, this involved practising extensive reflexivity to address the three types of biases identified by Bourdieu: social, academic, and intellectual (Wacquant, 1992:39). This was coupled with a methodical process that, stage by stage, examined the reliability and validity of the survey.

Questionnaire and Response Sheet

The questionnaire (see Appendix Two, page 307) was designed to collect information in a way that would be meaningful and would meet the requirements of the measurement framework discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter Three. Although some indicators were based on past research into social capital, many were constructed from work in other areas of the social sciences and modified specifically for this research. A comprehensive analysis of the literature was undertaken to ensure that these indicators held sufficient validity and reliability.

The purpose of using a measurement framework was to enable the differentiation of different forms and varying levels of social capital. To facilitate a valid comparison, the questionnaire, questions, and responses were structured to be as consistent as practicable. This involved structuring the questionnaire to enable each component of social capital to be measured consistently for each form of social capital. As can be seen in Table 2 (see below), the questionnaire was, therefore, divided into four sections.

Table 2: Questionnaire Classifications: Social Capital Forms

Social Capital Form	Question Number	Components
Integration	Question 1 - 18	Social norms/trust
Linkage	Question 19	Groups/contacts
Synergy	Question 20 - 28	Provision/social norms/trust
Integrity	Question 29 - 35	Participation/norms/trust

The introduction of new indicators necessitated, as de Vaus (1995:57) notes, extended consideration of indicator, question, and questionnaire validity. For this

reason, the remainder of this section will address these considerations by attempting to validate each indicator and the construction of each question by positioning them in relation to their theoretical foundations.

The component, 'social norms', was tested through the application of two separate questions. The first measured the research respondent's commonality with people from various institutional relationships and the second question compared the respondent's ideas and goals with people from these same institutions. Both of these questions were constructed on the basis of William Wilson's (1997) research into conditions and institutional arrangements in the ghettos of Chicago. Wilson (1997:51-86) showed that both a sense of commonality and shared ideas and goals were practical indicators of structural conditions that are equivalent to social norms and are important in the generation of collective action.

The discussion of trust in Chapter Three highlighted several of the difficulties in measuring trust between actors, including the direction of trust in generating collective action. The research sought to transverse this problem by applying the work of Alejandro Portes (1998:9) who outlined that an actor's social capital is based on the trust other actors place in them, not the trust other actors reciprocate. The level of trust for 'integrational' social capital was measured by asking respondents to what degree did other actors place trust in them.¹ As a safeguard against the common problem of abstraction inherent in attitudinal questions (de Vaus, 1995:90), a vignette was provided so that respondents would contextualise their response in a similar way. The vignette was of a problem situation where a

¹ Gambetta (1998:221) and Good (1988:32) also support this approach.

monetary partnership was required; the respondents were asked to what degree they expected the other actor to offer help. Money was used as an example because of its less ambiguous valuation compared with other problem scenarios, for example, baby-sitting.

For other forms of social capital ('synergy' and 'integrity') the direction of trust was reversed. The institutional relationships captured by these two forms are mandated through legislation. The legislation, and its associated operational policy, specifies the nature of the relationship between institutions, including employees, and actors. The component that has the most significant impact at generating collective action is not public institutions trusting actors, which is only likely to have a small affect; what is important is that actors trust the institution, including its employees, to carry out their functions as they are regulated. The question is, therefore, turned around so that the respondent's trust in the institution becomes the appropriate measure of social capital.

The questions constructed for each of the four forms of social capital were also founded in past research. Like social norms, the questions on 'integration' were based on the work of William Wilson (1997:51-86), and Wacquant and Wilson (1989). Their work identified the unique role of different social relationships in the creation of different forms of collective action.¹ In an extrapolation of their work, social capital as 'integration' was categorised into the institutional divisions of

¹ For a network approach, which is also supportive of this outcome, refer to Granovetter (1992). Granovetter (1992) showed the need for a multi-levelled approach by empirically proving that 'strong ties' were more important for initial employment and 'weak ties' for access to subsequent opportunities.

family, neighbourhood, and community. This section in the questionnaire was separated into these three subsections with the same questions being asked for each of the institutional frames.

The indicator used to identify social capital as 'linkage' was extrapolated from Robert Putnam's (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. Whereas Putnam's approach was restricted to clubs and other formal and semi-formal associations, the approach taken in this research was broadened to include all group affiliations beyond the integrating institutions of the family and community. The inclusion of a wider range of informal institutions helped to encapsulate contemporary arrangements, for example the inclusion of regular events such as non-membership sports, political events, and even 'underground' networks, for example, full-moon drumming rituals. Based on Jonathan Fox's (1996:1091) criticism of Putnam's approach, this research sought to extend beyond Putnam's work by assessing the value of the institutional relationship. The respondents were prompted as to the nature and intent of each group and the 'linkage's were then classified into broad categories for more in-depth analysis.

The questions used to measure social capital in the form of 'synergy' and 'integrity' were, in part, deduced from the work of Peter Evans (1996). While the founding assumption behind Evans's (1996) approach is rejected, that is, that the structure of organisations is dictated by organisational efficiency, the structural differentiation implicit in his approach and the inclusion of organisational competencies are recognised as important components of social capital. For this reason, these two

features of Evans's work were incorporated into the approach taken in this research when measuring social capital in the forms of 'synergy' and 'integrity'.

Evans's (1996: 1125) approach of identifying organisational competencies was used to distinguish a set of institutional relationships across which the components of social capital could be measured. This involved differentiating between local and national organisations and then separating the performance of the organisation from its employees. Organisational performance was measured as the provisioning of an appropriate range of services and the effective provisioning of those services. The same components used for 'integration', social norms and trust, were used to assess the performance of the people working for the organisation.

As for 'synergy', separate indicators were used to measure the 'integrity' of local and national organisations. This involved linking actors and politicians through the components of social norms and trust. Whereas, the indicator 'provisioning' was used to ascertain organisational competency for 'synergy', the level of public participation in local and national political decision-making was used in measuring 'integrity'. The inclusion of this measure is based on Peter Larmour's (1998:2) approach of linking good governance and public participation.

The respondents recorded all responses to survey questions on four-point scales, with the exception of demographic and information about social capital in the form of 'linkage'. This scale was chosen to allow respondents to select, from a range of attitudinal options, the view that best represented their own. Using this approach helps to mitigate the common problem, inherent in agree-disagree statements, of

respondents agreeing with a question regardless of its content (de Vaus, 1995:89). The use of the four-point scale therefore, encouraged respondents to answer questions in a considered way. It was also anticipated that a four-point scale would allow sufficient response variation to enable broad structural differences to be identified, with a better data distribution than would have been gained from using a scale with more options.

Validity and Reliability

The validity and reliability of the questionnaire and response sheet was tested at three stages during their development: during the construction of each question, after the completion of the first draft of the questionnaire, and in the piloting of the final questionnaire. The pre-test group included five persons; two of which were men and three women. Also, given the significant percentage of Māori people living in Whakatane, two people of Māori ethnicity were included in the pre-test group.¹ In the first stage of pre-testing, that is, the construction of each question, reliability was tested by establishing that the pre-test respondents had an opinion to offer as a response and that they had sufficient information to respond in the way they wanted. Over a period of time, pre-test respondents were repeatedly tested on the same question to ensure that their responses were consistent.² The second stage, pre-testing of the draft questionnaire, was administered to the same pre-test group and their feedback helped to assess and adjust the flow, logical organisation, and consistency of the questionnaire before piloting the survey with an independent group.

¹ This person provided very good feedback on the suitability of the survey and research procedures for Māori subjects.

² De Vaus (1995:54-55) comments that over a period of time this pre-test process highlights when respondents use different contextual considerations to answer questions.

The pilot group comprised eight respondents representing a diverse demographic cross-section of society. The group consisted of four men and four women, of whom two between the ages of 18-25, two between the ages of 25-35, two people between 35-45, and two over 45 years of age. Moreover, two of the group members were Māori, two were of non-Aotearoa/New Zealand ethnicities, and four were Pākehā. The piloting of the questionnaire was modelled on the process intended for the actual fieldwork, with respondents being sent introductory letters, contacted to arrange appointment times and the piloting of the questionnaire at a time and place suitable to the respondents. During the administration of the pilot questionnaire, the researcher made extensive notes on the performance of the survey and after the survey was completed the respondents were solicited for feedback on various parts of the survey. This assessment and feedback was then used to modify the questionnaire and to produce a final version ready for fieldwork application.

Assessing question and questionnaire validity, that is, ensuring that an indicator measures what it is intended to measure (de Vaus, 1995:55), was problematic. Substantial problems of validity have been identified with the conceptualisation and choice of indicators in past work in this area. The questionable validity of this work means that any comparison used to test criterion validity would not provide useful information as to the performance of a new selection of indicators. A second and very pertinent problem is that because the theoretical development of social capital is not well established, there are few expectations about how indicators should perform, making it impossible to test construct validity. De Vaus (1995:57) notes that, when these two problems are present, there is no ideal way of determining the

validity of measures. As such, the researcher has to present the construct as a reasonable approach. De Vaus's (1995:57) suggestion is consistent with the objectives of this research, which were to present a more rigorous conceptual treatment of social capital and to further its application by developing a measurement framework that can be tested and critiqued. From a theoretical perspective, the last two chapters and the first two sections of this chapter have provided a base from which to do this. The remainder of this chapter will further this endeavour from a more practical perspective.

Sample Size and Selection

For this research, two separate populations of people were selected who were all over the age of eighteen and were living in either Wellington City or Whakatane Township. Two sample frames that were representative of each population were selected. For Wellington City this included all persons enrolled on the Local Authority Electoral Role (LAER)¹ for the suburbs of Kelburn, Lambton, Mount Victoria, Mount Cook, Te Aro, Thorndon and Wadestown.² For the second population, Whakatane township, the sample frame constituted the electoral ward of Whakatane. Given the parameters of the research, these sample frames offered several key advantages, including being able to select, with equal probability, each member of a household. Another advantage was that it enabled letters introducing the research to be personalised and sent to each potential respondents, thus helping

¹ LAERs are extracted from the Parliamentary Electoral Roll produced by the Electoral Enrolment Centre. The LAERs used for this research were published on 10 October 1998 for Wellington and 14 September 1998 for Whakatane.

² These seven suburbs were selected because they are located around the central business district. Limiting the sample frame to these suburbs also helped to work with a more similar population size. This helped ensure the validity required for comparative assessment.

to improve the survey response rate.¹ While the limitations of this method are further discussed in Chapter Five under the heading ‘Research Transparency’, it should be noted that sampling error, people’s propensity not to enrol for the local body elections and out of date enrolment information all had an impact on the validity of the sample. Irrespective of these mitigating factors, it is asserted that the sample frames selected for this research meet the criteria of being reasonably representative of the population, and enable estimates (qualified by standard errors) to be made about the two populations.

The size of the two samples was selected to allow the delineation of attitudinal differences and valid comparative assertions to be made regarding the two populations. Seventy respondents were selected for each population. When comparing two populations, a sample size of this nature corresponds to a sampling error of 16.6 percent or less.² Although high, this sampling error provides the opportunity for statistically significant differences to be identified between the two populations. However, it does prohibit the opportunity for more in-depth analysis, including normalising the sample.

A simple random sampling technique was used to select a representative group of potential respondents from the two sample frames. This was done by issuing a unique number to each member of the sample frame and then randomly selecting

¹ De Vaus (1995:114) explains that this helps to maximise response rates in face-to-face interviewing.

² The sampling error was calculated using estimates of 50 percent and a 95 percent confidence interval. The following formula was used to derive the sampling error:

$$1.96 \sqrt{\frac{(S_1(1-S_1)) + (S_2(1-S_2))}{(S_1n + S_2n) / 2}}$$

from this pool of numbers using Microsoft Excel 97 SR-2's, (Windows NT) RAND Function.¹ Two hundred and fifty samples² were selected from each of the sample frames and the names and addresses of each potential respondent were recorded. The samples were recorded in their original chronological order to ensure that contact procedures were applied sequentially. To help improve the response rate³, the names and addresses of each sample were then cross-matched with telephone number records.⁴ Cross-matching was successful for half the samples⁵ and enabled telephone numbers to be used to make contact with potential respondents.⁶ The validity of this procedure is discussed more extensively in the next chapter (refer 'Evaluation of the Sample').

Interview

A strict procedure for contacting potential respondents was utilised to ensure that each potential respondent had equal probability of being included in the survey. The first stage involved the sequential distribution of personally addressed introductory letters to each person sampled. The introductory letters were intended to help improve the response rate (de Vaus, 1995:114) by providing advanced warning of being contacted by the researcher, to explain how they were selected, to explain the objectives of the survey, to emphasise that participation was voluntary, and to provide contact information for further validation of the authenticity of the research (see Appendix Four, page 321, for a copy of the letter).

¹ Samples were selected without replacement.

² Unused samples were discarded.

³ For a full analysis of the response rate, see chapter 5 and the section titled Frame of Reference.

⁴ These were obtained from the Telecom Directories Ltd, White Pages™, on-line Internet database.

⁵ 50.4 percent for Wellington and 50 percent for Whakatane.

⁶ This procedure was used for logistical reasons. It presents a more effective way of contacting people and allowed the attainment of a reasonable sample size within the time parameters available.

The introductory letters were posted twenty at a time to ensure that each potential respondent would be contacted, either by telephone or personal visit, within three days of receiving the letter. Where the researcher had obtained a telephone number, potential respondents were called a maximum of five times and visited once before they were omitted from the sample. Where only an address was available, potential respondents were visited up to five times before being omitted. After each contact attempt, the time was noted and a different contact time was scheduled for further contact attempts. Also, after each visit a card was personally addressed and left for the person. After the last scheduled visit, if no contact had been made, a card asking the person to contact the researcher if they still wished to take part and stating that no further attempt would be made to contact them, was left at the address. These people were then omitted from the sample.

Potential respondents that asked to be excluded from the survey were omitted from the sample and no further contact was made. If potential respondents demonstrated reluctance or hesitation when asked to take part, they were again reminded that their participation was voluntary and that the survey was confidential. Potential respondents that had moved to an address outside the geographically defined area for the survey were also omitted from the sample. They were still included in the sample if they had moved to another address within the same area and the researcher was able to obtain their contact information. Where the introductory letter had not been forwarded to a person who had changed addresses but still lived in the same area, another personalised letter was sent to the recipient before they were contacted. When respondents were first contacted person-to-person, either in person or over the

telephone, they were immediately reminded of the conditions of the survey and then either an interview was completed or an alternate time and place, at the respondent's convenience, was agreed upon. At this time of first contact, respondents were also offered a letter from the researcher's supervisor endorsing the research, shown the researcher's Massey University identity card, and offered the opportunity to have a third party be present during the interview (no respondents considered this necessary).

Each interview began with the respondents being reminded that the survey results were confidential and that they had the right to stop the interview and to have their responses discarded, at any stage; however, no respondents withdrew from an interview. They were then informed of the process, the structure of the questionnaire and encouraged to ask for clarification of questions and the meaning of phrases if required. When a person asked for clarification the question was repeated and then the same qualifications and question contexts were provided for each person. All articles and mannerisms associated with authority or 'expertise' were avoided, including the use of clipboards and other 'official' looking items where it was possible to do so (at least cognisantly). To aid in this, respondents were offered an exercise book to place under the response sheet to make writing easier¹ and both the question and response sheets were printed on simple white A4 size paper and not bound.

¹ The presentation of the interviewer was tidy, but not formal, and was standardised for each interview.

The researcher read the questions aloud and invited the respondent to select the option that best matched their viewpoint¹ from the response sheet. Each question was read word for word, at the same pace, in the same tones (as much as possible), for each interview. For the second part of the survey, designed to collect demographic information, the respondents read the questions and marked the responses for themselves. This variation helped to minimise the length of the interviews and, as de Vaus (1995:113) notes, can sometimes help respondents to feel more comfortable while answering more sensitive questions, for example, questions about income.

Each interview was concluded with the respondent being asked if they had any further comments or questions and being offered a summarised copy of the preliminary results; requests for the summaries were noted on the contact list and a copy distributed to each person in March 1999.² The respondents were given information on how to contact the researcher in the future and thanked for their co-operation. At the completion of each twenty to thirty minutes³ interview, the researcher noted potentially relevant information or insight regarding the quality of the respondent's answers, ideas on the functioning of the questionnaire and any reflective insights that became apparent during the interview (refer to the section 'Research Transparency' in Chapter Five for a full discussion of these and influences).

¹ For two respondents that were blind, the interviewer also read aloud the response options and marked the respondents' selections.

² Fifty five percent of people interviewed request a copy.

³ The time taken was consistent with the estimate offered when the respondent was first contacted.

To ensure confidentiality, all information was kept in secure storage at all times, and when information became redundant it was quickly destroyed. This included the list of actual and potential respondents and the completed response sheets being stored in a locked cabinet when they were not in use. Furthermore, after the summarised results were distributed and all the data from the response sheets entered into a computer database and audited, all paper based information was destroyed. Identifying information was excluded from the database and all computer base files were password protected and stored under secure conditions.

Coding and Data Entry

To protect the reliability of the survey, the researcher did all the coding, data entry and analysis work himself. This involved the coding of each response given for each survey question and later entering these codes into a Microsoft Excel 97 SR-2 (Windows NT) database. Each question was treated as a separate attribute or variable (including recoded variables) and each set of responses was entered as a database record. The 'integrity' of the database was ensured through the systematic auditing of ten percent of the data.¹ This involved using the RAND Function in Microsoft Excel 97 SR-2 (Windows NT) to randomly select ten percent of the data units and then cross-checking each unit against the original response sheet. Where an error was found², the entire set of inputs for that record was rechecked. While it was not necessary to invalidate any responses, one entire interview was omitted.

¹ While the researcher's involvement in data entry assisted survey reliability, in a situation with fewer constraints, it would have been more ideal for the audit to be completed by an independent party.

² Five errors were found.

This had to be done because the respondent was very intoxicated and the researcher considered that the respondent's responses were unreliable.¹

Ethical Issues and the Practice of Reflexivity

Often in social science research there can be a power imbalance between the researcher and the respondent of the study. This is implicit in any situation where one party subordinates another party to a process that they did not design. In this research the tension between minimising the dominance of the researcher and collecting representative descriptive information was addressed through two means. Firstly, each respondent being given as much information about the process and their rights as was possible; secondly, the inclusion of a comprehensive reflective process was included in the procedure.

Providing extensive information enabled the respondents to exert more control over their involvement in the research in several ways. Firstly, because the introductory letters were distributed in advance they were able to validate information, seek more information if they required and to assess their participation from an un-pressured position. They were also very well informed as to the questions, and the purpose, process, and future application of the research before the interviews began, meaning that their knowledge was comprehensive when choosing to participate. Moreover, the respondents were consistently, throughout the entire research process, reminded of the anonymity and confidentiality of the survey and that their involvement was completely voluntary. The extensive pre-testing of the questionnaire and response

¹ The interview was not stopped in mid-process because the interviewer was concerned that the respondent might become violent.

sheet helped to ensure the quality of the research and the time and efforts of respondents were used in a meaningful way. The distribution of summaries of the results to all respondents provided them with important feedback and allowed them the opportunity to refute the validity of the research.

Reflexivity is an important ethical issue, which, like the biases disguised by its absence, is often over looked in social science research. The form of reflexivity adopted for this research, although originally introduced by Bachelard, was modelled on Bourdieu's conception of reflexivity. Bourdieu's approach is intended to make academic, intellectual, and social bias as clear as possible by disclosing the researcher's membership and social position, or propensity to position, in different fields (Wacquant, 1992:39). In a practical sense, this involves critiquing and debating all aspect of the researcher's work, including traces of their *habitus*; acknowledgement of the research as a struggle for position; positioning the work in relation to other theory and practice; independent observation of the research process; and, open access to field data, analysis and associated interpretations. The remainder of this section will apply these reflexive components to the research undertaken for this dissertation.

While it is impossible for a person to recognise their own *habitus*, it is possible for a person to recognise traces of their *habitus* through other people making them cognisant of their dispositions and predispositions via the application of terms of reference (Cooney, 1999:1). The following descriptions represent an attempt to recognise traces of the researcher's *habitus*. Each description can be thought of as a

socially constructed classification that acts as a term of reference for potentially¹ identifying the researcher's dispositions and predispositions. The descriptions that are provided throughout the remainder of this section are an attempt to provide the reader with the necessary information to enable them to identify the dispositions and predispositions of the person doing the research for this dissertation.

The male researcher was born to farming parents in Central Hawkes Bay, Aotearoa/New Zealand, in 1966. Both parents are of Scottish decent, one a second and the other a third generation Aotearoa/New Zealander. The researcher's parents left the farm when he was only two years old and, after moving to Napier, they both entered professional careers, one as a staff nurse and the other as a land valuer for the government. The researcher has one other close family member, a brother who is one year older than the researcher and he manages his own telecommunication business in Auckland City.

The researcher's early education was in private schooling, where the researcher performed to an above average academic level and gained higher school certificate. After leaving high school the researcher entered undergraduate study, from a more social than academic perspective, at Massey University. His level of achievement during his undergraduate study reflected his application and was consistently mediocre. After the protracted completion of a Bachelor of Agricultural and Horticultural Economics, the researcher was employed as an analyst with the state-owned telecommunication provider, Telecom Corporation of New Zealand. After

¹ Because reality is always social and knowledge is bound by out-of-mind phenomenon, *habitus* is always uncertain. Traces of a person's *habitus* merely represent an abstract attempt to categorise its various reflections.

three years of employment, marked by growing dissatisfaction with the construction, practice and application of private and public empirical research, the researcher took voluntary redundancy and embarked on an extensive overseas trip.

The researcher's touring, involving many countries in all continents and several periods of voluntary humanitarian work, raised his awareness of the application of different forms of violence¹, and their underlying mechanics, against vulnerable people. This concern, coupled with a deep distaste for intellectual games (theoretical applications that detract from informing real problem solving) culminated in the researcher returning to Aotearoa/New Zealand to enrol in a Master of Philosophy (in Development Studies) at Massey University. The researcher's intent in making this move can be summarised as, firstly, to gain a qualification that would help him obtain work in the public sector, and secondly (and most importantly), to look for practical answers to some of the underlying problems that create injustices against vulnerable peoples.

This problem-solving intent is reflected in the researcher's choice of dissertation topic. The purpose of the dissertation was, through the reframing of social capital in terms of its original and more rigorous conceptualisation, to (re)liberate its potential in relation to analysis and, ultimately, in forming a counter-hegemony. As a claim to the stakes of the field of public policy analysis, as such, an expression of positional struggle, the researcher's choice of topic deviates from accepted approaches in this field, which are extensively utilitarian dominated, and offer less

¹ Violence, in the sense it is being used here, means the practising of self-rewarding power over another entity.

opportunity for enhancing his status. Having said this, the objective of attaining a professional position in public policy should be considered while reading the researcher's work.

Massey University *academia* has had a minimal influence on the researcher's ideas, values, and beliefs. This is ostensibly because there has been little trading of ideas between the researcher, supervisors (their unwavering encouragement has always been appreciated), and other academics in both the School of Global Studies and at Massey University. Intellectual influences have been more substantive, especially: Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996); Raff Carmen's, *Autonomous Development: Humanizing the Landscape: An Excursion into Radical Thinking and Practice* (1996); John Friedmann's, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992); Jane Kelsey's, *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment* (1997) and *Reclaiming the Future: New Zealand and the Global Economy* (1993); Pierre Bourdieu's, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1986[1979]), "A reasoned Utopia and Economic Fatalism" (1998a[1997]), and *The Logic of Practice* (1990); and, Richard Swedberg's, "Economic Sociology: Past and Present" (1987). The researcher's ideas relative to these and other theorists have been extensively discussed in Chapters Two and Three. As such, the reading of these chapters will elucidate the reader as to the researcher's point-of-view. That said, it should be noted that the researcher is currently an open vessel trying to 'think with' (Jenkins, 1992:98) Bourdieu and remains, in both academic and intellectual sense, the dominated in a dominant class (Bourdieu, 1998b:44).

The final reflexive component utilised in this research was/is the researcher making his work thoroughly available for critique. The only limitations to this endeavour are the protection of confidentiality and the incapacity to use an independent observer. For reasons explained previously, not all aspects of the research process can be opened to assessment because of the need to protect the anonymity of respondents. In retrospect, the researcher did not need to promise the respondents that the results would be presented in an aggregated form. Selected data could have been presented in the appendices while maintaining confidentiality. The presentation of selected data would have engineered further reflexivity into the process by allowing more critical validation of the analysis and interpretations. Nevertheless, the researcher will make all non-confidential information available in the hope of furthering the understanding of this work. Funding constraints also had an impact on the degree of research validation. If the research had been better funded the researcher would have been able to use an independent observer to scrutinise the fieldwork, data input, analysis, and to report on the validity and reliability of the findings.¹ Regrettably this was not possible.

Summary

Considerable precautions were taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the information obtained from the research. This included carefully locating each concept and question within, and sometimes in relation to, past research; extensive pre-testing of questions and piloting of the questionnaire; the application of credible sample frames; the methodical and transparent selection of a sample quota;

¹ This procedure would have been equivalent to 'triangulation', which is used, and represents one of the major claims to uniqueness, in interpretivist research.

protection of the rights of respondents; consistent and transparent application of the questionnaire; careful consideration of the interviewers influence; and, extensive reflection on the quality of the information obtained. The final sections of the chapter noted aspects that the researcher has tried to, and that the reader should also, be cognisant of when interpreting the results of the research. These included reflexive consideration of traces of the researcher's *habitus*, his intellectual influences, and his struggle for position in various fields.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFLICT AND RESEARCH TRANSPARENCY

The previous chapter positioned the research in respect to theoretical understanding of knowledge and explained the epistemological position underlying the research; the practical methods used in the research; and outlined the traces of the researcher's own *habitus*. As a sort of extended double reflexivity, this chapter will seek to further expose the research and the researcher's [pre]disposition to critical review by explaining the researcher's view on critical events that have shaped Aotearoa/New Zealand society. This will be accompanied by further examination of the quality of the sample as well as a discussion of the likely impact of the inevitable biases, in the second part to the chapter, 'Research Transparency'. The researcher's particular perspective of history will then be presented alongside a summary of the key discrepancies in the sample and other traces of the researcher's biases in the form of a 'Terms of Reference'. The 'Terms of Reference' is intended to assist the reader in interpreting the results and to challenge them to critique the research.

Sites of Struggle

Aotearoa/New Zealand is, by international terms, a country with a short history. Since the arrival of Māori—the recognised indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand¹—about one thousand years ago, many events have contributed to the construction of social relations and, therefore, by default, engineered perspectives that have legitimised or invalidated collective action in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While these events are too numerous and complex to cover fully, this section will

¹ As is recognised under the Treaty of Waitangi (1840).

examine the events that have most profoundly contributed to the structuring of society and collective action.

Special mention is made of two particularly significant events: the Declaration of Independence of Nu Tireni (1835) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840). While contextualised by strong and often polarised opinions, these two events have been and continue to be important to the structuring of Aotearoa/New Zealand society. The advance of the New Right and subsequent state sector reforms will also be discussed with special attention to the way they have impacted on the propensity for collective endeavour. In examining these changes, attention will be given to the consequences of the Labour's 1984-1990 programme of structural adjustment, the Employment Contracts Act (1991), and the welfare entitlement cuts introduced in 1991.

The Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is often cited as the 'founding document'¹ of Aotearoa/New Zealand and is considered by many (Durie, 1996; Fleras and Spoonley, 1999; Orange, 1987), including central government, to be the axiom behind the relations between Māori and non-Māori. While this position is politically expedient, it ignores the importance of the Declaration of Independence (1835) to Māori perspectives of tino rangatiratanga and the actual process of negotiation behind the signing of Te Tiriti in 1840. A salient understanding of these points is

¹ For example, the National Party during their 1989 Annual Conference used this phrase (Orange, 1987:20).

necessary because they form the foundation of important divisions between and within Māori and Non-Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Thirty-five North Island Māori chiefs and the British Resident in New Zealand, James Busby (Orange, 1987:21), signed The Declaration of Independence of Nu Tirenī in 1835. The inception of the Declaration was fostered not by Māori interests but by Governor Bourke of New South Wales, through the British Resident, James Busby. The British were interested in creating “a settled form of Government” (Orange, 1987:19) so as to establish more ordered conditions for British migration and to mitigate increasing foreign interest in the South Pacific. Central to the Declaration, and to subsequent Māori claims of *tino rangatiratanga*, is that the agreement pronounced Aotearoa/New Zealand an independent and sovereign state under the custody of the United Tribes of New Zealand. This independence was formally recognised and certified by King William IV, as was the king’s role as the protector of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s autonomy (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:7-8). Moreover, preceding the signing, and leading up to the instigation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand amassed more Māori support and signatories for the Declaration with the objective of extending its legitimacy within Māoridom. Leading up to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, an additional 17 chiefs signed the Declaration of Independence (Orange, 1987:19-22).

Irrespective of the increased support for the Declaration amongst Māoridom, Māori continued to lose control over their affairs as British settlement increased and inter-tribal and inter-hapū conflict made a single Māori voice impossible. These conditions enabled William Hobson, on his arrival as Governor in 1839, to initiate

proceedings imposing British sovereignty over Aotearoa/New Zealand. The British government ratified Hobson's intention through the Colonial Office, which no longer considered that Māori were able to govern. The British intention was to secure sovereignty over Aotearoa/New Zealand through treaty with Māori. Subsequently, by this treaty, in defiance of the Declaration of Independence, Nu Tirenī was annexed in May 1840 (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:9) excluding Māori from all involvement in administration and forms of governance in exchange for British protection and the right to citizenship (Orange, 1987:27-31).

Te Tiriti, from its inception to the present day, remains a highly controversial agreement. One of its most contentious aspects relates to the initial drafting of two divergent versions of Te Tiriti, one in Māori, and one in English. The original version was written in English and consists of a preamble written by Governor Hobson and three articles constructed by Busby from notes prepared by the Chief Clerk, James Freeman. In the late afternoon of 4 February (1840), at the personal request of Hobson, Henry and Edward Williams translated Te Tiriti into Māori. The translation, whether accidental or delusive, was clearly erroneous and resulted in two versions with important difference in content and, ultimately, meaning (Orange, 1987:37-40). These discrepancies were not noted until well after the British representatives had signed the English version and over 500 Māori chiefs from throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand had signed the Māori version (Orange, 1987:39). This contention has led to continual debate as to the meaning of Te Tiriti and its place in Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

The preamble signified the British intention to reduce the tide of conflict and lawlessness, which had increased with greater contact between Māori and Pākehā. Claudia Orange (1987:32) suggests that the preamble, beyond the intention of strengthening the legal system, was also intended to locate Māori well-being as an important objective of Te Tiriti (Durie, 1989:280-281). The basis for Te Tiriti was, therefore, to form a legally and morally binding agreement between the two Te Tiriti partners, the British crown and Māori, for the delivery of these objectives.

The first of the three Articles, in the English version, states that Māori agree to relinquish sovereignty (rangatiratanga) to the British Crown, whereas the Māori version states that Māori agree to relinquish government, kāwanatanga, to the British. Tino rangatiratanga insinuates a degree of mana that kāwanatanga does not and therefore, for Māori, the Māori language versions of Te Tiriti clearly do not mitigate rangatiratanga. In the second Article of the Māori version, the term 'rangatiratanga' was used to provide assurances of full authority for Māori over property rights, including cultural and material assets. Herein lays a critical contradiction: Article Two promised Māori rangatiratanga over property rights; however, this clearly contradicts the British notion of uncompromising sovereignty where land rights can only be procured from the Crown (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:11).

It is clear that the Māori version signified respect for Māori authority and ownership of taonga and provided a framework that would enable both partners to exist in a mutually beneficial way (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:10). Although the perspective of Māori at the time of the signing can only be speculated, it seems that their

intention was to establish, without relinquishing supreme authority, a “power-sharing arrangement . . . in partnership with the Crown” (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:12). If Māori had been aware of this idiosyncrasy between the two versions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and, in particular, the use of the word rangatiratanga in the English language version, they would not have ratified the agreement (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:11; Walker, 1996:53; 1996a:264-265). This mistake resulted in a process of colonisation and post-colonisation where Aotearoa/New Zealand society changed from being “a Māori society in which a place had to be found for Pākehā settlement . . . [to] a settler New Zealand in which a place had to be found for Māori” (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:13).

The contradiction inherent in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its disparate versions provide the historical contextualisation for various interpretations that have profoundly influenced Māori-Crown and non-Māori relations. The meaning of Te Tiriti and its place in society have varied from, at one extreme, people seeing Te Tiriti as a basis for assertions of rangatiratanga and, at the opposite extreme, viewing Te Tiriti as a nullity. Irrespective of these extremes, the place of Te Tiriti in Aotearoa/New Zealand society has shifted from one of ‘historical curiosity’ (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:14) to constituting a basis for the development of a bi-cultural society that incorporates differences. This shift has been formed on the mediated position that Te Tiriti

. . . is neither good nor bad, but it exists, regardless of whether people approve or disapprove. Its centrality to society makes it doubly important that we understand the Treaty’s role as a moral authority in shaping the

dynamics of New Zealand's social, cultural, and political life . . . (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:17).

Fleras and Spoonley (1999:17) go on to suggest that

Crown sovereignty is not absolute but is qualified by Māori rangatiratanga rights; conversely, tino rangatiratanga is circumscribed by the realities of kāwanatanga and kotahitanga (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:17).

Fleras and Spoonley (1999:17) suggest that the most constructive approach is to transverse extreme positions between kāwanatanga-rangatiratanga and to find creative inclusive solutions that widely recognise all 'people's' rights under Te Tiriti.

Debates over the meaning of Te Tiriti are spirited on two fronts: its meaning in terms of Crown-Māori relations, and the kāwanatanga-rangatiratanga debate. As the Royal Commission on Social Policy stated: (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988:[2.3]151)

The Treaty is always speaking. It has relevance to all economic and social policies. Not only must the past be reviewed in the light of its principles, but the Treaty's promise must also be seen as fundamental to those principles, which underlie well being in years to come.

Māori perspectives of history have changed and, importantly, this has been marked by a substitution of resignation with resistance. In particular, this is encapsulated by

the purpose of Ranginui Walker's book *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without an End* in which he revises history as

. . . the endless struggle of the Maori for social justice, equality, and self-determination, whereby two people can live as co-equals in the postcolonial era of the nation state in the twenty-first century (Walker, 1990:10).

The Impact of Colonisation and Post-Colonisation

In the years following the signing of Te Tiriti, the Crown instituted the English language version and paved the way for increased migration from Britain to Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Pākehā population continued to increase through the 1940s and by the end of the 1850s the Māori and Pākehā populations were equal in size. Over the subsequent 15 years the Māori population became “outnumbered by six to one, a trend which continued apace throughout the remainder of the century” (Mikaere, 2000:10). Initially, Māori-Pākehā relations were generally positive and both Māori and Pākehā enjoyed mutually advantageous trading. However, as the Pākehā settlement swelled, and the commercial advantages of owning land became clearer to the settlers, Pākehā pressure for land title also increased. This resulted in increased Māori opposition to land sales and, as Ani Mikaere (2000:10) comments this “resistance culminated in the formation of a Māori King movement”; a movement that was “an attempt by Māori to organise politically on a national scale to prevent the sale of any further Māori land for settlements” (Mikaere, 2000:10).

The Crown repelled Māori opposition through three pieces of legislation: the passing of the Suppression of Rebellion Act in 1863, the New Zealand Settlement Act

(1863), and the Native Lands Acts of 1865 and 1867. Suppression of Rebellion Act (1863) enabled the Crown to classify anyone “fighting in defence of their lands . . . as being in rebellion against the Crown” (Mikaere, 2000:10). By classifying people defending the ownership of their land as being in rebellion, the land could be confiscated under the New Zealand Settlement Act (1863). Mikaere (2000:10) notes that “vast tracts of land in the most fertile areas of the country were confiscated” through this mechanism, however, the impact of the Native Lands Acts (1865 and 1867) was even greater.

The Māori way of life was based around habitating in communities forged through bonds of kinship. Although iwi were the largest recognisable social structure, the most important social aggregation was the hapū. The hapū, comprising of many different whānau with common ancestry, was the main site of Māori social, political, and economic interaction. The hapū formed the nucleus of the spiritual world of the Māori, and was central to how they collectively managed their resources (Mikaere, 2000:8). The relationship between the Māori and the land was a unique synthesis of their spiritual link with Papatūānuku, hapū management, and hapū or iwi protection and, therefore, title of the land. Māori collective land title was a fundamental barrier to the Crown making land available to settlers. In 1865 the Crown instituted the Native Lands Act to facilitate the Anglocentric individualising of Māori land title (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:113). The impact of this piece of legislation and the subsequent Act of 1867 was that the “overwhelming majority of Māori land [passed] out of Māori ownership by the end of the century” (Mikaere, 2000:8). The impact of the Native Land Act was recognised in a report by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1987, where they commented that the pivotal damage in regard to the Orakei claim, and as

can be inferred to Māori in general, was caused by the “Native Lands Acts of 1865 and 1867 and an 1867 Order of the Native Land Court” (Sorrenson, 1989:172) through

. . . vesting the whole of the land then in communal ownership in thirteen members only of the tribes as legal and beneficial owners, to the complete exclusion of the great majority. This necessarily destroyed the mana or authority of the tribe in and over their land. Subsequent breaches of the Treaty built upon and reinforced these critically destructive violations (Waitangi Tribunal in Sorrenson, 1989:172).

Legislative changes and the constant breaching of Te Tiriti by the Crown (Kelsey, 1997:23), were compounded by the extreme impact of disease and illness introduced by settlers for which Māori had little or no immunity. The introduction of small pox, tuberculosis and other viruses ravaged the once vibrant Māori population. With holocaust-like affect, the population dropped from between 70,000 and 90,000 (Mikaere, 2000:9) to just 43,000 in 1896 (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:114). This three-pronged attack on Māori society, that is, the introduction of the Suppression of Rebellion Act (1863), the New Zealand Settlement Act (1863), and the Native Lands Act (1865 and 1867); coupled with continual breaches of Te Tiriti by the Crown and the onslaught of disease and illness changed the structure of Māori society. The changes forced on Māori during the first thirty years of Pākehā settlement were very successful in enabling the settlers to achieve their objective assimilating; Māori into a European designed system (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:113-114).

The main mechanism used to complete the assimilation of Māori into a Eurocentric settler society was delivered through education and schooling. Although many Māori were initially willing participants in education, the system was design to assimilate them as “farmers and farmers’ wives” (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:113-114). Education services were designed to support a Eurocentric world-view, with all elements of Māori cosmology and culture being excluded, including the speaking of te reo Māori with less than five percent of Māori schoolchildren were able to speak te reo by 1975 (Mikaere, 2000:12). Walker, calling on the work of Bourdieu, presents a very useful diagrammatic (see Figure 2 below) depiction of the role of the education in the assimilation process (Walker, 1989:44). The diagram illustrates how domination is reproduced through an education system that reconfirms the values and tastes of dominant groups, and rejects that of the dominated. The only way that dominated groups can gain affirmation is to adopt the tastes and values of the dominant group, meaning that they are assimilated into the culture of the dominant group.

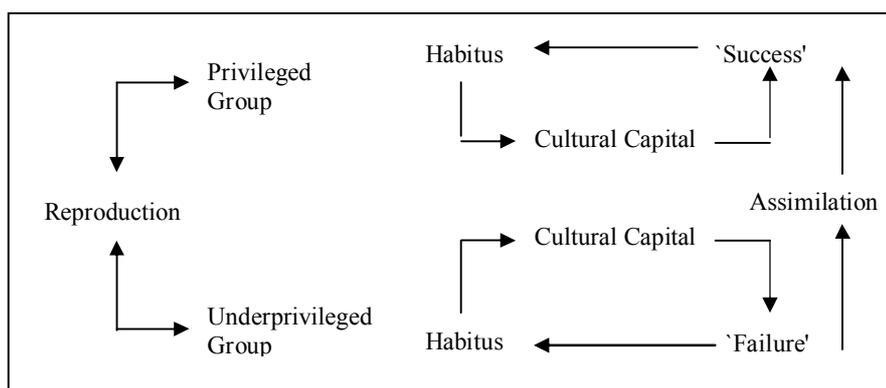


Figure 2: The Cycle of Reproduction

Source: Walker (1987:45)

Māori peoples were active in trying to resist the onslaught of assimilation and its inevitable downward spiral (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:114). The memories of the Māori Wars of the 1860s never faded and many Māori sought to resist by either interacting with Pākehā institutions but retaining elements Māori identity, or more directly, by excising their “autonomy and control over land, identity, and political voice” (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:114), for example, through collectives like the King Movement and Rua Kenana (Fleras and Spoonley, 1999:114). This resistance was insufficient to stop Māori from being assimilated to a position at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

Britain's Entry into the European Economic Community

Aotearoa/New Zealand Pākehā identity during the 19th century and first half of the 20th century reflected a strong desire by those of British and European descent to forge an identity that contrasted with that of Māori (Kelsey, 1997:19), and the rejections of, and tastes that they shared in common with, ‘mother’ Britain. Nigel Haworth suggests that these included

. . . language, literature, song, popular culture, educational processes, sporting ties, familial contact, military service, religious observance, gardening habits, and a host of other ties (Nigel Haworth in Kelsey, 1997:19-20).

Pākehā settlers all shared one important aspect that greatly influenced the shaping of their identity: they all reject life in Britain. Emigration to Aotearoa/New Zealand was a risky decision to make, but a decision that settlers felt they had to make (Steven, 1989:25).

The British Crown wanted Aotearoa/New Zealand to become a society capable of producing and exporting products to meet the needs of Britain. For the British Crown, this required British settler emigration. With the settlers they would bring British agricultural products and methods and, with sufficient emigration, settler governance and order with which to control an indigenous low-skilled labour force (Steven, 1989:24-27). The first requirement, therefore, was to attract settlers to emigrate. Rob Steven (1989:25) suggests that Aotearoa/New Zealand would have had to offer the prospect of a better life than in highly industrialised Britain (Steven, 1989:26). Structural barriers that limited the opportunity for social and economic advancement pushed settlers away from Britain, and pulled them towards the new prospects and opportunities in “a glorious country for a labouring man” (Millen quoted in Steven, 1989:28). There were opportunities of wealth and ownership that would not have otherwise been possible for unemployed and low-skilled Britons. It was these motivations and the subsequent enactment of these motivations that provided the foundation for a developing Pākehā Aotearoa/New Zealand cultural identity.

Pākehā settler identity, built on pioneering opportunities of wealth and ownership not available to the working class in Britain, coupled with cultural inheritance from Britain, and a desire to be identified through a rejection of Māori culture, provided a foundation for Pākehā cultural identity that was to change only slowly over the years. This slow change emerged from the redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the State. At the beginning of the twentieth century the State sought to provide what Britain had not, that is, a classless society of equal

opportunity for all Pākehā citizens. The protection of labour and welfare were two important facets of this programme and in 1894 the Government instituted the cornerstone legislation, Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (Kelsey, 1997:20-21). This legislation, and the industrial relations legislation that followed, was designed to encourage

. . . the formation of employer and employee unions, given them monopoly rights in industrial organisation and bargaining, imposed what was in effect compulsory unionism, and incorporated them into a state-controlled conciliation and arbitration process (Kelsey, 1997:21)

The strength and growth of the labour movement forged the way for the establishment of the Labour Party in 1916 and their eventual rise to government in the first election after the 1935 Depression (Kelsey, 1997:21). The first Labour Government was committed to building a more robust society that protected the working class, as such, like many post-Depression liberal democracies, the Labour Government prescribed to an orthodox Keynesian economic model. The relationship with Britain, and the instability caused by the First World War, ensured guaranteed export markets for all primary production. Guaranteed export markets meant real wealth for many Pākehā Aotearoa/New Zealanders, and between 1925 and 1935 the country registered the third highest per capita income in the world. Moreover, along with Australia, the distribution of wealth was the most equitable with only a small wage gap between skilled and unskilled labour (Jones, 1997:40).

The guaranteed export markets allowed the first Labour Government to look towards the long-term economic and social needs of the country. The Labour Government's

key strategies once elected were to nationalise key industries, expand social policies, and strengthen industrial relations. The Government invested in infrastructure like rail, telecommunications, and banking, and introduced import controls to protect emerging industries (Kelsey, 1997:23). The Labour Government's social reforms were also far reaching and heralded a move towards 'universal' provisioning of social services, such as, housing, health, and income security (Jones, 1997:71). This was a marked change from the ad hoc means-tested welfare benefit introduced between 1898 and 1926, including the Old Age Pension in 1898, Widow's and Māori War Pensions in 1911, Miner's Pension in 1915, Blind Pension in 1924, and the Family Allowance in 1926. Once in power, the Labour Prime Minister, Michael Savage, quickly set about introducing an expanded range of welfare benefits and grouped them under the Social Security Act 1938 (Jones, 1997:20). Savage introduced a range of new benefits for the sick and unemployed, and extended the age-tested benefits (Jones, 1997:38). Savage's motivation came from two clear policy positions: that there was no trade-off between higher levels of social welfare spending and economic growth (Jones, 1997:65); and that the poor deserved to share in all fundamental services (Jones, 1997:38). This is evident in Savage's comment

The luxuries of today were the necessities of tomorrow and there was nothing too good for the people of New Zealand . . . The best music, the best means of travel, the best education, the best of everything . . . that is our objective . . . I want to know why people should not have decent wages, why they should not have decent pensions in the evening of their days or when they are invalided. What is there more valuable in our Christianity than to be our brother's keepers in reality? I want to see that people have security . . . I want to see humanity secure against poverty, secure in illness in old age (Savage quoted in Jones, 1997:39).

The welfare system introduced by Labour remained through the 1940s and by 1949 Aotearoa/New Zealand had one of the highest levels of social security expenditure *per capita* in the world (Jones, 1997:41). The level of expenditure was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain and over the next fifteen years the rate of spending was stabilised (Jones, 1997:41). The 1970s and 1980s saw expenditure on welfare rising to a level not previously imagined¹, in part, due to the introduction of a Domestic Purposes Benefit and the old age pension scheme being extended (Jones, 1997:42-44). However, the main cause was the poor performance of the economy and subsequent job growth. Not only were commodity prices variable throughout this time, but Aotearoa/New Zealand also saw its guaranteed British export market disappear. Exports to Britain reached a peak in 1960 with them taking 53 percent of Aotearoa/New Zealand's total exports. By 1970 exports had decreased to 36 percent, and by 1985 still further to just nine percent (Jesson, 1987:56). Britain started to abandon Aotearoa/New Zealand exports in the 1960s in favour of more lucrative European markets, and in 1973 they finally joined the European Economic Community, thus heralding the end of a prolonged golden era for the country (Kelsey, 1997:24).

Robert Muldoon's National Government attempted to mediate Aotearoa/New Zealand's economic slide between 1975 and 1984 with a policy mix designed to absorb the shock of economic transformation. National invested heavily in energy self-sufficiency; introduced price, rent, and interest freezes; and retained tax write-

¹ In 1964, the Social Security Act was amended. However, apart from becoming funded from general taxation, its coverage did not significantly change.

offs and subsidies, including guaranteed supplementary minimum pricing for farmers. Although, it can be argued that these measures enabled some transformation of the economy's capital base and fostered some entrepreneurial investment in forestry, construction, insurance, and finance sector (see Kelsey, 1997:24), the economic crises deepened substantially. Between 1975 and 1984, unemployment increased from less than 5,000 to 50,000 (Kelsey, 1997:24) and national debt increased from \$500 million to \$16 billion (Shirley, 1990:358).

The Restructuring of Society: Public Policy 1984-1999

National's failure to manage the economic downturn experienced between 1975 and 1984 laid the foundation for a period of economic, social, and political change. In 1984, the National Government misinterpreted public opinion and called a snap-election in which Labour swept to power. Labour's Finance Minister, Roger Douglas, promoted a programme of economic liberalisation that dramatically changed the face of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Douglas had signalled his vision in a paper to the Labour Party in 1979, through the delivery of an alternative budget in 1980, and the development of an 'Economic Policy Package'. Once elected, either by predetermination or the successful lobbying of Cabinet¹, Douglas's broad plan was adopted as Labour's policy (Kelsey, 1997:30-31).

Economic Management, Treasury's *Kaitohutohu Kaupapa Rawa* briefing papers for the incoming fourth Labour Government, helped to prepare the ground for Douglas's liberalisation programme. Treasury reported that the current state of the

¹ Kelsey (1997:31-32) notes that there are conflicting reports as to when Labour became committed to Douglas's package.

Aotearoa/New Zealand economy was “beset with serious structural difficulties” (Treasury *Kaitohutohu Kaupapa Rawa*, quoted in Kelsey, 1997:55), it had not been effective in taking advantage of opportunities open to it, it had been one of the poorest performing economies in the ‘developed world’, and they commented that past governments had failed to address the underlying problems. The paper recommended the freeing of resources restrained by unproductive investments through high taxes and government spending. Treasury claimed there was no alternative to deregulating the economy, introducing more stringent money supply restraints, targeting benefits, introducing market delivery of social services, creating more flexible labour markets, commercialising of some state assets, and introducing management incentives for others (Kelsey, 1997:55-56).

When Labour came to power in 1984 they quickly move to implement a far-reaching structural adjustment programme. Labour quickly set about removing import licensing, exchange regulations, price controls, production and distribution controls, economic stabilisation legislation, deregulating finance markets, reducing tariffs, amending the Commerce Act to focus on efficient competition, and transferring responsibility for some regulatory controls to the judiciary (Kelsey, 1997:85-86). Deregulation, or as Treasury referred to it in *Economic Management*, “shifting Government Intervention” (Treasury *Kaitohutohu Kaupapa Rawa*, quoted in Kelsey, 1997:86), was designed to allow market-forces to guide investment, through which more competition should in turn have led to more flexible use of capital, and have led to lower administrative and compliance costs (Kelsey, 1997:86). Treasury’s intention was to reframe the economy

. . . as an aggregate of individual contracts which allocated scarce resources efficiently and was co-ordinated through freely operating markets. The society comprised [sic] individuals making these contractual decisions about different aspects of their daily lives (Kelsey, 1997:56)

When Labour returned for a second term in 1987 Treasury's briefing paper, *Government Management*, applied the ideological position that had been outlined in *Economic Management* to that of the state. Treasury reasserted the position they had taken in *Economic Management* in explaining their view that the most efficient arrangements in society were that of "decentralised voluntary contracting based on the price mechanism and competition" (Treasury, quoted in Kelsey, 1997:56). A system of this nature would enable enforceable, tradable property rights to guide the allocation of resources in the most efficient way possible. Contracts are efficient because they reinforce the productive value of information and they encourage individuals to co-ordination in the most productive way, and market pricing enable a system of relative value measurement; thus, enabling resources to be allocated in the most productive way. Opportunism would be minimised through, according to Treasury, the threat of competition or government regulation (Kelsey, 1997:56).

Government Management reframed the State's role as applying these principles to policy governing state expenditure, taxation, and managing the money supply. The goal of all government policy should be to reinforce individual property rights through legislative and regulatory mechanisms. Furthermore, these decisions should be devolved to locally funded volunteer associations or local bodies where possible. A system of this nature would expand consumer choice and when combined with effective targeting, would lead to greater efficiency in the areas of social spending,

for example, housing and education. Targeted funding would enhance the capacity of providers and consumers by encouraging flexibility and dynamism (Kelsey, 1997:60).

The position Treasury outlined in both *Economic Management* and *Government Management* was founded on the notion that society is a collection of interdependent individuals motivated to some degree by rational self-interest and opportunism. In accordance with this liberal line of thinking, the pivotal trade-off was, therefore, to structure society so as to maximise the freedom of individuals in a way that did allow them to inhibit the rights of other individuals. Effective public policy established ‘synergy’ between individual self-interest and the interests of society as a whole. Increased individual freedom would encourage risk taking that would lead to innovation and higher productivity, which for Treasury, constituted increased equity, efficiency, and freedom. Moreover, this framework and the primacy of the market would direct social policy as well, that is, social policy should

. . . maximise the social well-being and minimise the threat to those individual rights . . . which derive their authority from a social consensus . . . Those rights must reflect New Zealand society as it is currently structured . . . The rights need not be the same as those we might have defined 50 years ago [at the birth of the welfare state]. Similarly, the rights are not some absolute right which the individual takes but are instead social agreed rights which are offered for the individual (Treasury, quoted in Kelsey, 1997:61).

Treasury did acknowledge the policy changes would have equity implications, these were dismissed as being “. . . subservient to other considerations such as efficiency”

(Treasury, quoted in Kelsey, 1997:86). Instead Treasury emphasised that, in the long run, the market would deliver to both social needs and private incentives, or ironed out through taxation (Kelsey, 1997:86).

Labour introduced most of the policy changes outlined by Treasury in the *Economic Management* and *Government Management* (Kelsey, 1997:25; Jesson, 1987:125) and without substantive consultation. The speed of change and the delivery mechanism was carefully crafted to nullify public concerns and minimise the voice of special interest groups that were calling for less ideology and more argument founded in empirical evidence (Kelsey, 1997:28-45). Public opinion did, however, start to turn against Labour early in their second term and they had to leave their substantive attack on the welfare state to the incoming 1990 National Government.

After six years under a maverick Labour Government, the public voted for change and the National Party took power under Jim Bolger. Although a vocal opposition, overall National was in agreement with the market-oriented direction of public policy under Labour. Labour's six years of reform paved the way for a National Government that was prepared to go where Labour had not, that is, reforming industrial relations, and social policy. Over the succeeding five years National introduced the Employment Contracts Act (1991), reduced the level of income assistance to beneficiaries, abolished Housing Corporation income related rents, and privatised Housing Corporation mortgages.

The introduction of the Employment Contracts (ECA) Act on 15 May 1991 marked the final stage in moving away from the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act

of 1894. The original Act had three equally important, but to some degree, competing goals: industrial stability, social equity, and economic efficiency. As commented on by Brosnan and Rea in Walsh (1992:63), National had adopted a view that economic growth was being restrained, not by wider economic policies, rather by the structure and operation of the labour market itself. The policy solution was, therefore, to introduce more flexibility into the labour market by reducing the goal of industrial relations to solely that of promoting an efficient labour market. National considered that the most effective way of achieving efficiency was to replace the previous collectivist oriented approach of national awards towards individual and collective contracting. The end of the sole bargaining status of unions in favour of individual contracts, either negotiated by the individual or an appointed agent, cemented the isolation and vulnerability of individuals (Walsh, 1992:59).

Kelsey notes (1997:182) that the ECA had a dramatic effect on the structure and operation of the labour market. There was a significant decrease in union membership¹ and collective coverage, new contracts provided less job security, conditions of employment denigrated, and the work place relations became more antagonistic. Kelsey (1997:182) quotes Walsh who suggests that, under the ECA, “a more legalistic approach emerged” with both employers and employees attempting to assert the rights to gain advantage.² The ECA gave more power to employers.

¹ Total union membership decreased from 45 percent in 1989 to just 23 percent in 1994 (Kelsey, 1997:184).

² In November 2000, the Fifth Labour Government repealed the ECA and passed the Employment Relations Act (ERA). The ERA seeks to reconstruct employment relations based on a dispute resolution model similar to that used by Tenancy Services. Early indications are that grievances are being settled more co-operatively with more employees returning to their previous place of work with significantly lower financial settlements than would have been ordered under the ECA.

Over the next few years most employers presented employees with individual contracts containing reduced penal rates and allowances. Sometimes compensation, in the form of lump sum payments or small wage or salary increases, were offered, however, this was not always the case and new employees were not offered these benefits. In just one quarter in 1992, average weekly earnings decreased by \$15 per week, mainly due to the loss of penal rates (Kelsey, 1997:182). The intention of the ECA was to deliver economic efficiency via labour flexibility. It provided sufficient flexibility to allow employers to drive down wages and salary, general working conditions, and remove job security. It did not achieve economic efficiency and it increased the isolation and vulnerability of employees, especially those that were low paid.

During Labour's two terms in government, they paid special attention to emphasising the cost of social security, abuse of the benefit system, and the value of targeted assistance (O'Brien and Wilkes, 1993:172). Labour's careful management of how the public perceived the welfare system established a foundation where National was able to announce (December 1990) and implement (April 1991) a broad range of benefit cuts upon becoming the Government (Dalziel, 1997:ii). At the first annual review of benefit rates National selectively reduced benefit levels for the Unemployment, Sickness, and Domestic Purposes Benefits (see Table 3 page 168). As Kelsey (1997:276) shows, this involved significant overnight decreases depending on the personal circumstances of beneficiaries.

The rationale for the benefit cuts was "to assist, strengthen and empower low and middle income families" (National Government, quoted in Dalziel, 1997:iii). There

was very little national and international evidence to suggest that cutting benefit rates would assist in meeting this objective. A 1989 review of the empirical literature on the impact of the wage-benefit gap in encouraging people into the labour market showed that, in general, there is either an insignificant or non-substantial impact (Brosnan, Wilson and Wong, 1989:17). These previous findings were again mirrored in the results of Aotearoa/New Zealand's experience, with few beneficiaries returning to the labour market (Dalziel, 1993:14; 1997:17).

Table 3: Welfare Benefit Cuts

Benefit Type	31 Mar 1991	1 Apr 1991	Percent Change
Unemployed			
Single, 18-19yrs	\$114.86	\$108.17	-5.8%
Single, 20-24yrs	\$143.57	\$108.17	-24.7%
Single, >25yrs	\$143.57	\$129.81	-9.6%
Single, 2 children	\$292.87	\$266.83	-8.9%
Married Couple	\$223.22	\$216.34	-3.1%
Sickness			
Single, 18-19yrs	\$162.26	\$129.81	-20.0%
Single, 2 children	\$292.87	\$266.83	-8.9%
Married Couple	\$270.44	\$245.86	-9.1%
Domestic Purposes			
Single, 1 child	\$162.26	\$135.22	-16.7%
Single, 2 children	\$292.87	\$266.83	-8.9%

Source: Kelsey (1997:276)

Kelsey (1997:279) points out that the number of people on benefits (excluding Superannuation) had doubled to 318,651 by the end of 1990. This increasing trend continued between 1990 and 1993 with benefit payments, as a percentage of GDP, increasing from 20.2 to 23.9 percent despite the fiscal benefits of the National's 1991 benefit cuts. The 1991 benefit cuts did not encourage beneficiaries into the work force because there were limited job opportunities available at the time and, on

the whole, the labour market was not expanding. Instead, the cuts encouraged beneficiaries to change their benefit category¹, to apply for additional welfare assistance under hardship provisions, or to rely on voluntary agencies for assistance (Kelsey, 1997:279). Between 1991 and 1995 the number of people receiving entitlements under the Government's Special Benefits programme increased substantially. The Special Benefit Ministerial Directive (Department Social of Social Welfare) requires government to pay additional financial assistance to applicants who are able to prove financial hardship that caused by a deficit in essential and not reasonably avoided living costs when compared to total income. The number of Special Benefits granted continued to increase until 1995 at which time the National Government, concerned by the potential for a "fiscal blow out", issued new policy instructions to departmental staff, to use more strident measures in assessing hardship for the granting of Special Benefits. As a consequence of this administrative change, and irrespective that the Ministerial Directive did not change at this time, the number of people receiving Special Benefits declined by 70 percent over the next few years (Wellington Peoples' Centre, 2000:15). The benefit cuts were extreme and caused extensive poverty amongst beneficiaries; furthermore, they did not reduce dependency and assist economic efficiency (O'Brien and Wilkes, 1993:130).

The economic and social changes between 1984 and 1999 were often misguided, based on weak evidence, and not well considered. Rather than creating the prosperous society that had been envisaged by Treasury officials, and Labour and

¹ Kelsey (1997:279) notes that in 1992-1993 only 17 percent of people moving off the DPB entered the labour force.

National politicians, the changes delivered a sluggish economy and a fractured society with an increasing income gap between the top 10 percent of income earners and the lower 50 percent. Instead of lowering poverty levels, the changes delivered increased poverty (Dalziel, 1999:67) and greater uncertainty and insecurity for low-income people and families (Kelsey, 1997:295). The burden of the unsuccessful search for increased economic growth was placed on lower income people, especially Māori and women, and has resulted in greater social and economic exclusion.

The first part of this chapter has represented Aotearoa/New Zealand history as moving through a series of changes resulting in the atomisation of a society that had previously, in different ways and at different times, been based on strong social relationships within the community, iwi, neighbourhood, hapū, and whānau. This interpretation and the researcher's understanding of the events that have influenced the changes are presented here as product of the researcher's *habitus*. This historical representation provides a set of markers with which to both identify the researcher's *habitus* and to use a more in-depth critique of the rationale underlying the research, its specific design features, the different forms of analysis used, and the researcher's interpretation of the results.

The researcher's representation of history can be viewed as an extension of the reflexive tool used in the section, 'Ethical Issues and the Practice of Reflexivity', presented in the previous chapter. The penultimate step in presenting the reader with the tools with which to critique the research and the researcher's place in the research is carried out in the next section, 'Research Transparency'. The quality of

the sample is critically examined and the areas of possible weakness are discussed. The final section, 'Frame of Reference' (see page 181), merges the reflexive markers from each of these sections to provide a framework for critically assessing the research and interpreting the results.

Research Transparency

The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to clarifying and discussing both the anticipated and non-anticipated biases in the research and their impact on the results. Close attention will be given to how they affect the validity and reliability of the research and, where applicable, alternative and more effective procedures will be suggested.

Survey validity was, in the first place, assessed through comparing sample frame and survey information with national census information. The census information was extracted from tabulations contained in Statistics New Zealand's database product, Supermap3 (Statistics New Zealand, 1997).¹ While the comparison of this information is not entirely valid, given that different processes are used to collect each information set², it does provide a useful indication of possible biases that may have affected the representativeness of the sample. The most important consideration in this regard was to ensure that the two sample frames were representative of their corresponding populations. This was evaluated by comparing, firstly, the size of the sample frame with the population, and then

¹ All calculations were based on the Usually Resident population, over the age of 17 years, in the Wards of Lambton (Wellington) and Whakatane.

² For example, because questions are differently worded respondents may in fact, cognoscently or incognoscently, be answering different questions. This is partly pertinent for information prone to social construction.

secondly, the demographics of the people interviewed with the demographics of the overall population.

The size of the sample frame and population were compared by equating the number of people registered on the LAERs with the size of each target population specified in the census information. As Table 4 shows (see below), the comparison revealed a discrepancy of 10 percent for Wellington and 17 percent for Whakatane. While the margin for Wellington is small, the 17 percent discrepancy for Whakatane is more concerning and requires more consideration. There are several possible reasons as to why some people were not registered on the LAERs and were, therefore, automatically excluded from the sample frames including not wanting to take part in elections. Unfortunately there is very little information available analysing why people do not want to be on the electoral rolls. However, the Electoral Enrolment Office targets their pre-election registration campaigns at young people between the ages of 18 and 25 years, and Māori and Pacific Island peoples. It is assumed that the tendency for Māori people not to enrol for the election is the reason for the higher discrepancy for Whakatane compared to Wellington. While the true impact of this problem can only be speculated, the researcher considers that the sample frame is valid, and that these imperfections are reflective of operational constraints and need to be considered when interpreting the survey results.

Table 4: Population and Sample Frame Comparison

	Population	LAER	Variance
Wellington	24,468	21,937	10.3%
Whakatane	11,967	9,963	16.7%

^a Source: the number of entries in the LAERs

The second comparative method used to further assess the validity of the research was the comparison of the demographic profiles for the actual sample and the population. This comparison, a summary of which is presented in Appendix Five (see Table 73, page 322, to Table 80, page 325), highlighted several important possible discrepancies that may impact on the research. These will be discussed over the remainder of this chapter including comparisons of gender, ethnicity, age, income, employment status, and occupation and education information.

The previous comment regarding the potential impact of lower electoral enrolment rates for Māori are borne-out by the ethnic comparison presented in Table 74 (see page 322). This shows that potentially Māori were under represented in both samples and European/Pākehā were over represented. This possible bias is likely to have had a greater impact on the validity of the Whakatane sample because of the higher Māori population in Whakatane compared to Wellington (Statistics New Zealand *Te Tari Tatau*, 1997). The propensity to enrol for voting is only one of several possible causes of this imbalance. The research was not introduced through a recognised Māori entity (for example, iwi) and, therefore, may not have been seen by some Māori to be as legitimate. Several people from the Whakatane sample commented that they did not want to take part because government agencies were always surveying Māori and it never made any difference. Other factors, which are likely to have impact on Māori inclusion, will be mentioned later in this section. However, larger households and residences not owned by the tenants may have lowered Māori participation in the sample.

The comparison of census and sample information for men and women indicates that men may have been under represented in the Whakatane sample (see Table 73, page 322). While the census information shows that 49 percent of the Whakatane population, over 17 years of age, are men, the survey sample only included between 22 and 45 percent men. A possible explanation for this anomaly is that men in Whakatane were generally more reluctant than women to take part in the research. Interestingly, Table 78 (see page 324) shows that people in Whakatane with an occupation as agricultural worker, trade-certified worker, machinery operator, or in other elementary work were also under represented. These two anomalies indicate that either these groups were more difficult to contact, or that they were more reluctant to take part, perhaps because of their attitude towards ‘civiness’. Nonetheless, this influence should be considered when interpreting the results.

A breakdown of the age of people in the sample also indicated certain methodological biases. Table 75 (see page 323) shows that for Wellington, people between the ages of 18 and 24 years may have been under represented, as were persons between the ages of 25 and 34 years for Whakatane. The reason for the under representation of 25 to 34 year olds in Whakatane can be deduced from the corresponding over representation of people over the age of 60 years. A high number of retired people, especially in Whakatane, took part in the survey (see Table 5¹, page 175). This was for two possible reasons: first, they were more likely to be at home and were, therefore, easier to contact; and second, that they seemed inclined to civic behaviour, including taking part in surveys. Irrespective of the reason, the high number of retired people detracted from the representativeness of

¹ This information was extracted from the Census.

the Whakatane sample and must be considered as a qualification to the survey results. Although the supposition regarding civicness can not be deduced from demographic comparisons, the researcher gained the impression that people with a predisposition to civic behaviour were more likely to volunteer for the survey, including community workers, retired people, and public servants, whereas people of a younger age, especially men, were disinclined to co-operate.

Table 5: Retired/National Super Comparison¹

	Census	Survey	Valid
Wellington	7%	2% - 15%	Yes
Whakatane	11%	15% - 36%	No

The breakdown of income levels in Table 76 (see page 323) shows that the survey may have under represented Wellington people with an income between zero and \$20,000 per year. While this may provide some indication of validity in the previous supposition, that is, that younger people may have been less disposed to take part in the survey, it is equally likely that people of this income level were more difficult to contact because of their tendency towards particular habitation patterns, a influence which is discussed in more detail later in this section. The antithesis to this information and stated assumptions is shown (also see Table 76, page 323) by the over representation, for both Wellington and Whakatane, of people with an annual income between \$40,001 and \$70,000. It is postulated that this indicates this group was easier to contact and/or more civic in disposition. Once again, these biases should be considered along with the results.

¹ This comparison was formulated by contrasting survey data, where people classified their employment status as 'retired', with Census data on income source.

An unanticipated concern, as demonstrated in Table 79 (see page 325) and Table 80 (see page 325), was the high number of students; people involved in academic, educational work or with a university qualification that agreed to take part in the survey. Although conjecture, it appears that people with an interest, either past or present, in education were more willing to co-operate. On several occasions during the interview, respondents commented that they knew from experience that it was difficult to get people to participate and for this reason they were willing to assist with the research. Importantly, and in amplification of this concern, this was not the case for the Whakatane sample where no over representation was evident. This anomaly depreciates the validity, not only of the representativeness of the Wellington sample, but of making direct comparisons between the two samples and must be considered when interpreting the results.

The comparative anomalies commented on in this section may have resulted from methodological factors outside the disposition of respondents to take part in the survey. It is to these functional influences that the discussion now turns. During the fieldwork it became clear that, despite the LAERs being reasonably up-to-date¹, some potential respondents had changed residences before being contacted by the researcher. If every person exhibited the same propensity to change residence at the time of year the fieldwork was conducted then the sample would be unaffected. However, it is likely that people who own, or are part of a family who own, a place of residence will move residences less frequently than people who do not own a place of residence. A clear example of this would be university students flatting in Wellington who regularly move residence at the end of the academic year. This

¹ For Wellington, as at 10 October 1998; and, Whakatane, as at 14 September 1998.

example is particularly pertinent since the Wellington sited fieldwork coincided with the end of the academic year. Given these comments, the supposition made for this research was that, because the information held on the LAERs was more accurate for people who own, or are part of a family who own, their place of residence, these people had a greater chance of being included in the research.

While this effect may mean that all people who do not own their residence will be under represented in the sample, to what degree it affected each sample frame was also considered. As Table 6 (see below) indicates, a lower proportion of people living in Wellington than Whakatane own their own residence. Therefore, since it has been argued that non-ownership decreases a person’s propensity to be contacted, it is likely that Wellington people who do not own their residence were less likely to be included. The extrapolated supposition made for this research was that young people (as indicated in Table 75, page 323) and lower socio-economic groups of people (as indicated in Table 74, page 322, to Table 80, page 325) were less likely to own their residence and were represented less by the sample frame. Moreover, this impact would have been more substantial in the Wellington sample because of the higher rate of non-ownership in this population. This inherent bias should be considered when interpreting the research results.¹

Table 6: Property Ownership Comparison

	Owned	Not Owned
Wellington	44%	47%
Whakatane	66%	26%

¹ Distributional implications of property ownership are especially important given that notably Karl Marx and Max Weber (Stacey et al., 1975:41) have often used them as an indicator of class formation and political action.

Time and resource constraints necessitated the cross matching of samples with telephone numbers. While this made it easier to contact people and to arrange appointments, it also influenced the representativeness of the sample. Cross-matching was only successful for fifty percent¹ of the samples, with the result of either not having a telephone, having moved from the address, having an unlisted number, or having a number listed under another name. It is expected that this effect will have had a bearing on the representativeness of the sample. It is assumed that people living in larger households and rented residence are more likely not to have an available telephone number, thus reducing their propensity for a successful contact and interview. Also, although speculative, it is probable that the telephone would be listed in the name of the head of the household who is more likely to be a man, than a woman or a child. Therefore, the supposition is that people who are living in large households, rented residence or not heading the household are likely to be under represented in the sample. This habitational influence may have had a bearing on the inclusion of people of Māori ethnicity, who were younger in age, with a low income and/or with lower levels of education.

The use of telephone numbers also introduced another bias related to the practicality of telephoning rather than visiting potential respondents. The most convenient interview appointment time, especially in Wellington, was between six and nine in the evenings, from Monday to Thursday. Similarly, this was also the most likely time, either by telephone or visit, to make contact with potential respondents to arrange appointments. The speed and flexibility of the telephone meant that it was

¹ Wellington, 50.4 percent; and Whakatane, 50 percent.

much easier to telephone potential respondents between interviews, than it was to make a personal visit, during this peak time. This meant that persons without a telephone were less likely to be contacted at a peak time of the day, meaning that people with a telephone had a higher chance of being contacted and included in the survey.¹

As was discussed in the section 'Questionnaire and Response Sheet' (see Chapter Four, page 124), the reliability of the questionnaire was extensively tested through pre-testing and piloting. Nevertheless, while administering the survey several tendencies eventuated that may have impacted on its validity or reliability. While the questions needed to be fairly general to encapsulate different scenarios, this also introduced the opportunity for respondents to answer questions while thinking of different contexts. De Vaus notes (1995:84) that this can lead to respondents answering, in effect, different questions. This was mitigated to a certain extent by respondents being prompted with identical qualifications or scenarios when they asked for more information before answering a question. However, it is still likely to reduce, to a small extent, the reliability of the results.

The number of repetitive questions and response options in the survey may have invited respondents to choose a response before fully thinking through the question being asked. The inclusion of questions designed to test whether respondents were choosing their answers with due consideration would have helped to identify this phenomenon and assist in the interpretation of the survey results. Also, although no

¹ The probability of being able to talk with the potential object, and once contacted, their probability of agreeing to take part were almost the same under both practices (telephone 70 percent, and visit 73 percent).

respondents complained about the length of the survey, keeping the length to a maximum of twenty minutes rather than twenty five to thirty minutes (de Vaus, 1995:102-103), would have helped respondents concentrate more intently and improved the reliability of their responses. While the impact of these influences is very difficult to test, the researcher considers that they detracted from the validity of the research and must, therefore, be considered when interpreting the results.

Finally, as de Vaus (1995:110) notes, when answering sensitive or controversial questions in face-to-face interviews, respondents may give “acceptable rather than true opinions”. While the impact of socially desirable answers was considered when assessing the survey, because none of the questions in the research were particularly sensitive or controversial, it is unlikely to have had a significant effect on the responses obtained and is not considered a potential source of bias.

Although many factors were identified that may have, and probably did, biased the results of this survey, it should be noted that these factors are often present in social science research work and are not given due consideration. The approach taken here has been to state the biases, and their potential impacts, as clearly as possible so that the reader can assess the validity and reliability of the survey. Furthermore, the researcher considers that having a stated assessment of these factors allows the results to be interpreted with more meaning and will in the future assist in producing better research within this field. To assist in this endeavour, these biases are summarised into the following frame of reference.

Frame of Reference

For clarity and meaning it is important that the survey results are interpreted relative to the conditions in which they were collected. The following three tables (see Table 7, below; Table 8, page 182; and Table 9, page 182) which were abbreviated from the biases and problems identified in the previous chapter, are presented as a frame of reference from which to assess the claims of knowledge suggested in the next section.

Table 7: Frame of Reference: Reflexive Components

Description Category	Condition
Gender / age	Man / 33 years old
Ethnicity	Pākehā (2 nd / 3 rd generation)
Secondary schooling	Private School in Hawkes Bay
Highest achievement	Higher School Certificate
University	Massey University
Undergraduate achievement	Bachelor of Hort/Agricultural Economics
Postgraduate achievement	Postgraduate Dip in Dvpt Studies (Distinction)
Dissertation research	Towards a Doctorate in Philosophy (Dvpt Studies)
Purpose one	Employment in development practice
Purpose two	Elevate the importance of social relations research
Academic markers	Guidance through the research process
Intellectual markers	Bourdieu, Friere, Kelsey, Carmen, Swedberg
Other influences	Touring overseas (36 countries)
Ideological project	To end the production of disadvantage

Table 8: Frame of Reference: Deduced Biases

Description Category	Condition
Registered to vote	Over-represented
Not registered to vote	Under-represented
Telephoned	Over-represented
Visited	Under-represented
Residing in small house	Over-represented
Residing in large house	Under-represented
Residence owned	Over-represented
Residence not owned	Under-represented
General questions	Responses tending normative

Table 9: Frame of Reference: Indicated Biases

Description Category	Population	Condition
Māori	Wellington, Whakatane	Under-represented
European	Wellington, Whakatane	Over-represented
Women	Whakatane	Over-represented
Men	Whakatane	Under-represented
Age: 18-24 years	Wellington	Under-represented
Age: 25-34 years	Whakatane	Under-represented
Age: > 60 years	Whakatane	Over-represented
Income: > \$20,000 p.a.	Wellington	Under-represented
Income: \$40,000-70,000 p.a.	Wellington, Whakatane	Over-represented
Status: employed	Whakatane	Over-represented
Occupation: Technical +	Wellington, Whakatane	Under-represented
Occupation: Trade etc.	Whakatane	Over-represented
Industry: Health +	Whakatane	Under-represented
Industry: Utility +	Wellington, Whakatane	Under-represented
Education: University	Wellington	Over-represented
Education: Trade / Diploma	Whakatane	Over-represented
Education: School Certificate	Wellington	Under-represented
Education: no qualification	Wellington, Whakatane	Under-represented

Another important component of the frame of reference is an assessment of the response rate of the survey. The response rate is influenced by several key and interrelated factors, including the nature of the topic, characteristics of the sample frame, questionnaire length, and the way the survey is implemented (Vaus, 1995:107). The response rate provides an important indication of the quality of the survey and, therefore, reflects the integrity of the results. Table 10 (see below) shows that from a sample of 360 people, 143 agreed to take part, thus yielding a response rate of 40 percent.

Table 10: Response Rate

Result	Number	Percent
Respondents who agreed	143	40%
Potential respondents who refused	60	17%
Potential respondents who were unavailable	157	44%

De Vaus (1995:107), quoting Dillman, suggests that a typical response rate for face-to-face interviews would range between 60 and 75 percent. The response rate for this survey was below that suggested range, which indicates that certain elements may have detracted from the potential representativeness of the sample. The researcher does not consider that the 17 percent refusal rate was high. Again, using de Vaus's (1995:107) guide, an 85 percent response rate for telephone interviews is considered typical. The refusal rates for these surveys would be around 15 percent because they have very small unavailability proportions. For this reason, the refusal rate of 17 percent for this survey is reasonable, comparative to the typical situation suggested by de Vaus (1995:107).

The reasons for the low response rate are: 44 percent of the sample could not be contacted, had moved addresses, were away during the time of the survey, or were sick during the time the fieldwork was being conducted. Given the number of interviews being conducted, the fieldwork was completed over a short period of time. This meant that when people were out of the region, there was often not enough time to wait for them to return for an interview. This point is particularly salient for the Wellington sample, as 12 percent of the potential respondents were away during the time of the fieldwork. Another factor that significantly contributed to the unavailability rate was the high proportion of people who had changed addresses and not notified the Electoral Office. This was the reason why at least 15 percent of the sample was unavailable for inclusion. This was less of a problem for the Whakatane (6 percent) than for the Wellington sample (21 percent). As was suggested in the previous chapter, the fieldwork coincided with the end of the university year, and since many students living in the suburbs constitute the sample frame, a high number were unavailable to take part. This figure may have been significantly higher, however, because, if people could not be contacted, they were categorised as being 'not contacted' instead. This, 'not contacted' category represented 14 percent of the overall sample.

The low response rate, while impacting on the representativeness of the sample, is offset against gaining enough samples to show statistically meaningful information and the constraints associated with this endeavour. If more time had been set aside for the fieldwork then the response rate would have been higher. However, this was not possible, given the time constraints of the research. The researcher considers that although the methodological exclusion of people with a tendency to travel out of

the survey area and to move residence more frequently impacted on the representativeness of the sample, overall it is still sufficiently legitimate to be considered valid and the results meaningful. Nevertheless, when interpreting the results, the reader should consider the low response rate and, in particular, the impact under representation is likely to have on the results.

SUMMARY

This chapter sought to present the research with regard to a reflexive approach by firstly, encompassing the researcher's interpretation of Aotearoa/New Zealand history and its impact on the structuring of society; and, secondly, to include an open examination of the quality of the research sample. The results were then merged with the earlier application of double reflexivity where markers of the researcher's own personal history were examined (Chapter Five, 'Research Transparency', see page 171). A 'Frame of Reference' (see page 181) was formed to provide the reader with a wide range of information with which to critically examine research and the researcher's [pre]dispositions. This challenge to the reader provides a foundation with which the results, and the researcher's interpretation of the results, can be assessed as a contribution to knowledge and not just the researcher's ambitions.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS

The previous chapter, Chapter Five, framed the research within both the historical context of Aotearoa/New Zealand society and the author's own experiences. This frame of reference, in conjunction with the purpose of the research (see Chapter One, page 20), will form the bedrock from which the results are presented in this chapter, before being discussed in the subsequent chapter, Chapter Seven.

The primary purpose of this research was to identify forms of social capital and, in a meaningful way, to develop a measurement framework that can be used to compare varying levels of those forms for each community. The second purpose was to explore the structural variables underlying social capital production and the final prospect involved identifying the advantageous nature of the different forms of social capital. The results, along with their derivative means, will be presented in this chapter for these key purposes.

Scoring Social Capital

The actual stocks of social capital for the two communities are identified in this section by applying a 'scorecard' method for each attribute and sub-form of social capital for each community. The scoring framework was developed from several hypothesised positions, including that each form of social capital is mutually independent, the attributes selected were the only key attributes, higher levels of

social capital are always preferable¹, each attribute is of equal worth, it is preferable to have all citizens with a medium-high level of social capital and to have as many citizens as possible with high levels of social capital.

These last two assumptions are aligned to the French interpretation of ‘social exclusion’ discussed in Chapter Three. The intent of including a minimum or ‘base-level’ of social capital is to extrapolate Bhalla and Lapeyres’ notion of designing state interventions to mitigate the ‘social disqualification’ of people through the dissolution of the relationship between people and society (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997:414). To encapsulate this concept, the scorecard was designed with two tiers; one measuring the ‘base-level’ stock of social capital, and the second the stock of ‘premier-level’ of social capital.

‘Base-level’ stocks of social capital were aligned to the highest two categories used in the survey instrument, and were derived from the percentage of respondents choosing the highest category. This measure represents the percentage of the population with medium and high stocks of a particular attribute of social capital. ‘Premier-level’ stocks were derived from the percentage of residents who selected the highest of the categories. The percentages for both ‘base-level’ and ‘premier-level’ social capital were then expressed as a numeric between one and ten. Multi-attribute forms and sub-forms of social capital were averaged to derive a score for each.²

¹ While it is recognised that this assumption does not always hold, any further analysis of this aspect of social capital is beyond the scope of this research.

² No weightings were required because the samples sizes for each attribute of social capital were similar.

Aligned to the intent of using a scorecard approach, that is, the straightforward and clear communication of strategic information, the categories, ‘high’, ‘good’, ‘moderate’ and ‘low’, were then assigned to each result depending on its association with preset bands. The bands were derived, in part, through representing the desired stock of social capital within a community and, secondly, by informing the bands with the results of statistical significance testing. The bands and their associated labels are presented in Table 11 (see below).

Table 11: Scorecard Category Bands

Sub/forms of social capital	High	Good	Moderate	Low
Integration, Synergy and Integrity				
Premier-level	≥ 8.0	7.9 – 5.1	5.0 – 2.1	≤ 2.0
Base-level	≥ 9.6	9.5 – 8.1	8.0 – 5.9	≤ 5.8
Linkage-coverage of engagement				
Premier-level	≥ 6.0	5.9 – 4.1	4.0 – 2.1	≤ 2.0
Base-level	≥ 9.6	9.5 – 8.1	8.0 – 5.9	≤ 5.8
Linkage-density of engagement				
Premier-level	≥ 6.0	5.9 – 4.1	4.0 – 2.1	≤ 2.0
Base-level	≥ 8.0	7.9 – 5.1	5.0 – 3.1	≤ 3.0

Different stocks of social capital and the application of varying scales informed by the unique nature of different stocks of social capital mean that the preset bands cannot be faultlessly aligned to the stocks within each population and statistical difference between them. While the bands selected were informed by applying the settings that represented the best alignment to the statistically informed population

comparisons¹, not all comparisons could be represented within the settings. Where a variation in band categorisation was not statistically supported (false-positive), or no variation is denoted where there was a statistical probability of a difference (false-negative), the results are denoted ☒ and ⊗, respectively. The use of these two symbols in Table 12 (see page 190) to Table 18 (see page 195) ensured that the authenticity of the results was reflected in the presentation of the scorecard results for each form (or in the case of ‘integration’, sub-form) of social capital. The formula used (see below) to test for statistical significance was constructed on 95 percent confidence, as follows:

$$1.96 \sqrt{\frac{(S_1(1-S_1)) + (S_2(1-S_2))}{(S_1n + S_2n) / 2}}$$

The scorecard for social capital in the sub-form of ‘family integration’ shows a number of differences across the attributes and when comparing the two populations (see Table 12, page 190). Higher levels were observed for ‘density of relations’ and ‘expecting trust’ with both populations showing high-levels of ‘base-level’ ‘expecting trust’ and Whakatane recording high ‘base-levels’ of ‘density of relations’. Both populations had moderate ‘base-level’ stocks for ‘sharing ideas and goals’ and stocks were notably low at the ‘premier-level’. This latter result impacted on the overall average for ‘family integration’ at the ‘premier-level’ for both communities. Overall, across the five attributes, higher ‘base-level’ stocks of

¹ Within the confines of representing desirable stocks of social capital, different band combinations were tried until the optimum settings were identified.

‘family integration’ for Whakatane was the only difference in stocks between Wellington and Whakatane.

Table 12: ‘Family Integration’ Scorecard

Family integration	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Density of relations	Good (9.5)	Good (5.5) [ⓐ]	High (10.0)	Good (7.2) [ⓐ]
Commonality	Mod. (7.8) [ⓑ]	Mod. [Ⓒ] (2.7)	Good (8.6) [ⓑ]	Mod. (3.6)
Shared ideas/goals	Mod. (6.2)	Low (1.4)	Mod. (6.7)	Low (1.3)
Seeking trust	Mod. (6.8)	Good (5.6)	Mod. (7.8)	Good (5.2)
Expecting trust	High (9.6)	Good (6.6)	High (9.7)	Good (5.4)
Average	Mod. (8.0)	Mod. (4.4)	Good (8.6)	Mod. (4.6)

^a Denoted when a difference in band categorisation was identified that was not statistically supported (false-positive) and applied to Table 12 (page190) to Table 18 (see page 195).

^b Denoted when no difference in band categorisation was identified when a significant difference was present (false-negative) and applied to Table 12 (page190) to Table 18 (see page 195).

^c ‘Mod’ is shortened for ‘moderate’ in Table 12 (page190) to Table 18 (see page 195).

The results for ‘neighbourhood integration’ showed low stocks of almost all attributes for both Wellington and Whakatane (see Table 13, page 191). Standout differences included Wellington having moderate stocks of ‘shared ideas and goals’ at the ‘base-level’, and Whakatane moderate stocks for both tiers of ‘contacts’ and, at the ‘base-level’, for ‘density of relations’.

Table 13: ‘Neighbourhood Integration’ Scorecard

Neighbourhood integration	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Contacts	Low (4.9)	Low (1.0)	Mod. (7.2)	Mod. (3.6)
Density of relations	Low (5.3)	Low (0.1)	Mod. (7.1)	Low (0.4)
Commonality	Low (3.6)	Low (0.1)	Low (2.2)	Low (0.3)
Shared ideas/goals	Mod. (5.9)	Low (0.4)	Low (3.4)	Low (0.7)
Seeking trust	Low (1.7)	Low (0.6)	Low (1.7)	Low (0.1)
Expecting trust	Low (5.1)	Low (0.7)	Low (5.5)	Low (0.9)
Average	Low (4.4)	Low (0.5)	Low (4.5)	Low (1.0)

The third sub-form of ‘integration’, ‘community integration’, showed a mix of results (see Table 14 below). Good stocks of ‘contacts’ were observed for both ‘base’ and ‘premier’ level tiers. However, there were low stocks for other attributes, particularly at the ‘premier-level’, including ‘density of relations’, ‘shared ideas and goals’, and ‘seeking’ and ‘expecting’ trust. A notable difference between the populations was a lower ‘base-level’ result for Whakatane, which showed a low stock of this social capital indicator. In contrast, Whakatane recorded a higher level of ‘density of relations’. Overall, and across all six attributes, both communities showed moderate stocks of social capital in the sub-form of ‘community integration’ with the only exception being Whakatane having low stocks at the ‘premier-level’.

Table 14: ‘Community Integration’ Scorecard

Community integration	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Contacts	Good (8.2)	Good (5.6)	Good (8.3)	Good (5.4)
Density of relations	Mod. (7.9)	Low (1.6)	Good (9.1)	Low (1.2)
Commonality	Mod. (6.9)	Mod. (2.2) [□]	Mod. (7.1)	Low (1.3) [□]
Shared ideas/goals	Mod. (6.6)	Low (1.1)	Mod. (6.9)	Low (1.2)
Seeking trust	Mod. (6.2)	Low (1.8)	Low (3.8)	Low (1.0)
Expecting trust	Mod. (7.7)	Low (2.0)	Mod. (6.9)	Low (1.0)
Average	Mod. (7.3)	Mod. (2.4)	Mod. (7.0)	Low (1.8)

The key attributes for ‘linkage’ were ‘coverage of engagement’, and ‘density of engagement’ including four of its disaggregations (see Table 15 below). Overall, there was a consistent pattern across most attributes with Whakatane recording higher stocks for both ‘base’ and ‘premier’ level tiers of social capital, compared to Wellington. The two exceptions were ‘density of informal engagement’, for which all results showed low stocks, and ‘density of national engagement’ where both communities had the same level for each tier. ‘Base-level’ results were moderate and ‘premier-level’ tier results showed low stocks. These results culminated in Whakatane recording good stocks of ‘base-level’ social capital in the form of ‘linkage’, whereas, Wellington recorded only moderate levels. ‘Premier-level’ results were low in Wellington, compared to moderate stocks in Whakatane.

Table 15: ‘Linkage’ Scorecard

Linkage	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Coverage of eng.^a	Mod. (7.4)	Mod. (3.2)	Good (9.0)	Good (5.2)
Density of eng.	Mod. (3.2)	Low (0.5)	Good (5.7)	Mod. (2.0)
Local engagement	Good (6.6)	Mod. (2.5)	High (8.1)	Good (4.8)
National engagement	Mod. (3.4)	Low (0.4)	Mod. (4.8)	Low (0.6)
Formal engagement	Mod. (3.2)	Low (1.1)	Good (5.2)	Mod. (2.5)
Informal engagement	Low (1.2)	Low (0.8) [®]	Low (2.8)	Low (1.2) [®]
Average	Mod. (4.2)	Low (1.4)	Good (5.9)	Mod. (2.7)

^a ‘Eng.’ is shortened from ‘engagement’.

The predominant theme for social capital in the form of ‘synergy’ was the low stocks of most attributes in both communities and across the two tiers, particularly for ‘premier-level’ stocks. In relation to ‘premier-level’ stocks, only one attribute,

‘range of local services’, showed moderate stocks (see Table 16 below). Higher stocks were observed for ‘local synergy’ at the ‘base-level’ (moderate), compared to ‘national synergy’ (low). The only attribute dimension where a comparative difference was noted was with moderate ‘base-level’ ‘shared local ideas and goals’ in Whakatane.

Table 16: ‘Synergy’ Scorecard

Synergy	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Local				
Range of services	Good (8.9)	Mod. (2.9)	Good (8.6)	Mod. (2.5)
Provision of service	Good (8.2)	Low (1.8)	Good (8.7)	Low (0.9)
Shared ideas/goals	Low (5.4) [ⓧ]	Low (0.7)	Mod. (6.1) [ⓧ]	Low (0.6)
Officers trusted	Good (8.4)	Low (2.0)	Good (8.8)	Low (1.3)
Local average	Mod. (7.7)	Low (1.9)	Mod. (8.0)	Low (1.3)
National				
Range of services	Low (5.8)	Low (0.4)	Low (4.2)	Low (0.4)
Provision of service	Low (4.0)	Low (0.0)	Low (2.8)	Low (0.1)
Shared ideas/goals	Low (3.9)	Low (0.1)	Low (5.0)	Low (0.6)
Officers trusted	Mod. (7.5)	Low (1.0)	Mod. (6.5)	Low (0.9)
National average	Low (5.3)	Low (0.4)	Low (4.6)	Low (0.5)
Overall average	Mod. (6.5)	Low (1.1)	Mod. (6.3)	Low (0.9)

The scorecard for the fourth form of social capital, ‘integrity’, showed low stocks across both tiers for all attributes, with the exception of ‘local polity trusted’ where moderate stocks were observed at the ‘base-level’ (see Table 17, page 194). Accordingly, the aggregated results across the attributes showed low stocks of both ‘base’ and ‘premier’ level social capital in the form of ‘integrity’.

Table 17: ‘Integrity’ Scorecard

Integrity	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Local integrity				
Participation	Low (3.3)	Low (0.3)	Low (3.5)	Low (0.4)
Shared ideas & goals	Low (4.2)	Low (0.1)	Low (5.1)	Low (0.3)
Polity trusted	Mod. (6.2)	Low (0.4)	Mod. (7.2)	Low (0.6)
Local average	Low (4.6)	Low (0.3)	Low (5.3)	Low (0.4)
National integrity				
Participation	Low (1.0)	Low (0.1)	Low (2.0)	Low (0.0)
Shared ideas & goals	Low (2.2)	Low (0.0)	Low (2.0)	Low (0.0)
Polity trusted	Low (2.6)	Low (0.0)	Low (2.9)	Low (0.0)
National average	Low (1.9)	Low (0.0)	Low (2.3)	Low (0.0)
Overall average	Low (3.2)	Low (0.2)	Low (3.8)	Low (0.2)

While a significant number of variations in the distribution of different attributes of ‘base’ and ‘premier’ level social capital are registered on the scorecard for each form or sub-form, differences at the overview-level, the main sub-forms of the four social capital forms, were not considerable. As can be seen in Table 18 (see page 195), the Whakatane population scored higher results than Wellington for ‘premier-level’ ‘community integration’; both ‘base’ and ‘premier’ level for each ‘linkage’ sub-form (‘coverage of engagement’ and ‘density of engagement’); and higher ‘base-level’ categorisation for ‘local synergy’.

Table 18: Social Capital Scorecard

Social capital sub-forms	Wellington		Whakatane	
	Base	Premier	Base	Premier
Family integration	Good (8.0)	Mod. (4.4)	Good (8.6)	Mod. (4.6)
N/hood^a integration	Low (4.4)	Low (0.5)	Low (4.5)	Low (1.0)
C/ty^b integration	Mod. (7.3)	Mod. (2.4)	Mod. (7.0)	Low (1.8)
Coverage of	Mod. (7.4)	Mod. (3.2)	Good (9.0)	Good (2.5)
Density of	Mod. (3.2)	Low (0.5)	Good (5.7)	Mod. (2.0)
Local synergy	Mod. (7.7)	Low (1.9)	Good (8.0)	Low (1.3)
National synergy	Low (5.3)	Low (0.4)	Low (4.6)	Low (0.5)
Local integrity	Low (4.6)	Low (0.3)	Low (5.3)	Low (0.4)
National integrity	Low (1.9)	Low (0.0)	Low (2.3)	Low (0.0)

^a 'N/hood' is abbreviated for 'neighbourhood'.

^b 'C/ty' is abbreviated for 'community'.

Forms of Social Capital: Methodology

The different forms of social capital, the stocks held by each community, and the differences between the two communities were analysed by deriving descriptive estimates from two-way contingency tables from the SPSS For Windows (Version 7.0) computer programme. Each attribute¹ belonging to one of the four forms of social capital was cross-tabulated with the variable that differentiates between the two communities of Wellington and Whakatane (two categories). A set of descriptive and non-parametric test statistics were generated for each two-way (two-by-three or two-by-four) contingency table, including the number of observation in each cell, the product of each row (social capital attribute), the chi-squared statistic (Pearson's *P Value*) for the table, expected counts for each cell, and the minimum

¹ The indicators of social capital are referred to as 'attributes' (see Figure 3.2) and the indicators of structure and advantage are referred to as 'variables'.

expect count for the table. The chi-squared statistics were derived using the following formula from Rose and Sullivan (1996:187):

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(\text{Observed Count} - \text{Expected Count})^2}{\text{Expected Count}}$$

The test statistics were then examined in two separate ways. Firstly, the aim was to determine which attributes exhibited divergent levels of social capital, and to determine the nature of the monotonic association.¹ Secondly, the goal was to develop a 'scorecard' system to clearly show, in a laconic form, how stocks of social capital are distributed in the two communities. The first of these two approaches, and its three-step procedure, will be discussed first.

The three-step procedure used in analysing divergent levels of social capital included analysing the chi-squared statistic, observing the expected counts, and examining the residuals. The chi-squared statistic was chosen as the first level of analysis because of its analytical rigidity. As George Argyrous (1997: 186-187) notes the chi-square statistic uses a chi-squared distribution to test the null hypothesis—that there is no association between the two variables being tested. The chi-squared distribution is distinguished by, in part, the degrees of freedom associated with the discrete nature of the aggregated data ranging between one and twenty. As the chi-squared distribution tends to one degree of freedom the distributional model moves from a comparatively normal distribution to a tighter distribution that is skewed to the right (Agresti, 1996:28-29; Agresti and Finlay,

¹ With ordinal data the nature of association is monotonic rather than linear in form (Rose and Sullivan, 1996:134).

1997:256).¹ It is this distributional flexibility and the absence of assumptions concerning the underlying probability distribution (Rose and Sullivan, 1996:192) used in establishing the basic parameters of the null hypothesis that makes the chi-squared statistic applicable in analysing the data for this survey.

The degrees of freedom are a direct product of the number of cells in the contingency table.² All the contingency tables generated in determining the stock of social capital were either two-by-three or two-by-four tables. Consequently there is a range of between two and three degrees of freedom³ for each estimate. The corresponding chi-squared distribution, therefore, tends to be tightly distributed and significantly skewed to the right. This model is used to establish the expected distribution of the data if the null hypothesis is true. An expected count is assigned to each cell and then compared to the corresponding actual observed count. As the aggregated difference between the expected and observed counts, or residuals⁴, increases so does the evidence against the null hypothesis, that is, the approximated *P value* tends to zero (Agresti, 1996:31; Cramer, 2003:225-226). Although not treated as a ‘hard and fast rule’, a 95 percent level of confidence that the null hypothesis is false was used as the appropriate benchmark in analysing the data used in this survey (i.e. the chi-squared statistic, the *P value*, is equal to or smaller than 0.05 ∴ $P \leq 0.05$). The expected counts were derived using the following formula (Rose and Sullivan, 1996:186):

¹ This assumes a static sample size.

² Degrees of freedom: $(r-1)(c-1)$, where “r” represents the number of rows and “c” the number of column in the contingency table (Rose and Sullivan, 188-189).

³ i.e. $(2-1)(3-1) = 2df$, $(2-1)(4-1) = 3df$.

⁴ Unstandardised residuals were calculated for each cell as follows: Unstandardised Residual = Observed Count minus Expected Count.

$$\text{Expected Count} = \frac{\text{Row Total} \times \text{Column Total}}{\text{Overall Total}}$$

There are several important limitations inherent in the use of the chi-squared test. One limitation is that it requires a reasonably large sample size for a result to be registered for each cell in the contingency table. However, there seems to be a degree of controversy over a suitable minimum expected count. In fact, Agesti and Finlay (1997: 260) note that using the chi-squared test when the expected count is less than five is the greatest misuse of the chi-squared analytical tool. Agesti (1996:34) considers that the chi-squared statistic may provide spuriously large approximations below this minimum level because the chi-squared distribution will not be a good approximation of the binomial distribution (also see Kennedy, 1992:31, 48; Rose and Sullivan, 1996:189-190). Marija Norušis (1993:208) in the *SPSS Base System User's Guide* points out that a number of surveys testing the reliability of chi-squared analysis with expected counts less than five, show that they are reasonably reliable and that the five or larger rule is “probably too stringent and can be relaxed” (Norušis, 1993:208).¹ In taking the range of views into account, three criteria were utilised in the second step of the analysis:

1. each sample size needed to contain at least 60 samples;
2. each contingency table needed to contain an expect count of five or more in at least 75 percent of its cells^{2 3}; and

¹ Kennedy (1993:48) also comments that this rule can be relaxed in larger contingency tables (greater than two-by-two).

² This criteria concurs with Agesti's (1996:194) suggestion that the rule can be relaxed when, for a two-by-two table, with 80 percent or more residuals exceed one. Given that the contingency tables used in this analysis are all two-by-four (and therefore more robust), the combination of criteria were established at a more relaxed level.

³ For several variables, additional results are presented by combining two categories (observed results). Where this has been practiced, the extra contingency table cells have been excluded from calculations of chi-squared statistic, minimum expected counts, and cell proportions of 5 or greater.

3. the minimum expected count needed to be two or greater.

One of the most important limitations, as is the case with all inquiries into knowledge, is that the results of the chi-square tests are only approximations and do not necessarily represent reality. They should be treated as possible traces of reality and considered within the context of their collection and within the wider context of 'known' aspects of society. A further assumption underlying the chi-squared test is that of representations. The chi-squared test is constructed to provide information about a randomly selected sample (Rose and Sullivan, 1996:191). As was noted in the previous chapter, a simple random sampling technique was used for this survey; meaning that the requirements of representation were met. However, the results should be considered along with the representation issues illustrated in the Research Transparency section contained in Chapter Five, which noted that non-Māori peoples, women, and people over the age of 60 years were over-represented in this survey.

Another significant limitation of the chi-squared test is that the vestige of association indicated by the chi-squared statistic attests nothing about the nature of the relationship being examined. The nature of the association can only be gleaned from studying the pattern inherent in the contingency table (Agresti, 1996:33-34). This was addressed in step-three of the analysis by examining, firstly, the adjusted residual for each cell and secondly the associated frequencies¹ for each cell. Again there is a lack of consensus as to the size of the residual needed to provide evidence against the null hypothesis. Agesti and Finlay (1997: 262) show that an adjusted

¹ Frequencies were calculated for each cell as follows: Frequency = Observed Count divided by Total Row Count.

residual that is two or greater will occur by chance about five percent of the time. Moreover, the assumption that a residual equal two or greater disproves the null hypothesis will be correct, on average nineteen out of twenty times. An adjusted residual of two was applied, therefore, as the minimum adjusted residual to show a departure from the null hypothesis in this survey.

Forms of social capital: results

All attributes aligned to social capital were analysed to determine if they met the conditions of the null hypothesis of being statistically independent in terms of the location variable signified by people residing in Wellington or Whakatane. In total, six attributes provide evidence against the null hypotheses (see Table 19, page 202; to Table 24, page 207), meaning that there was a high probability of different levels of these attributes in each of the locations.¹ Three of these attributes were disaggregated parts of 'integration' ('neighbourhood contact', 'density of neighbourhood relations', and 'seeking community trust') and another three that of 'linkage' ('coverage of engagement', 'density of engagement', and 'density of local engagement'). None of the attributes connected with 'synergy' and 'integrity' registered different levels when the two communities were compared. The results for the six attributes meeting the conditions of the alternative hypothesis are presented in this section.

Consideration was given to including two other attributes due to them almost meeting all of the conditions required for inclusion. As noted in the previous

¹ Strength of relationship with the family (question 1) almost reached the criteria with a chi-squared statistic of 0.03 and a minimum expected count of 1.9. However, it was excluded due to only 50 percent of the tabulation's cells having 5 or more expected counts.

chapter, the chi-squared test, when applied to contingency tables over two-by-two, performs conservatively providing a case for discretionary inclusion (see Norušis, 1993:208). The attribute disaggregated from the social capital sub-form of ‘family integration’, that is, ‘density of family relations’ (question 1), was considered on this basis. The test statistics showed expected count of five or greater in 66 percent of the cells in the contingency table, which was below the required 75 percent. As a result of the decisive difference, this attribute was considered to support the null hypothesis of independence and was not included. The other attribute considered, ‘integration’ as indicated by ‘density of community relations’ (question 13), registered a *P value* of 0.06 and a minimum expected count of 1.47, therefore, narrowly failing the criteria on both accounts. Discretion to include this attribute was also not applied due it failing on two of three required conditions.

The six results pertaining to the statistical criterion supporting the alternative hypothesis are presented below, along with the frequency distribution and the adjusted residual¹ for each attitudinal response. The pattern associated with the frequency distributions and adjusted residual statistics provides a clear indication of the nature of the social capital attributes for these two communities.

Table 19 presents (see page 202) the first of the attributes, ‘neighbourhood contact’. The spread of responses provides a clear pattern with people in Whakatane proving more likely to identify that they ‘talk often’ with their neighbours, whereas people in

¹ The adjusted residual for each cell was calculated using the following formula (Agresti and Finlay, 1997: 261):

$$\frac{\text{Observed Count minus Expected Count}}{\sqrt{\text{Expected Count} (1 - \text{row proportion})(1 - \text{column proportion})}}$$

Wellington were more likely to identify that they talked ‘infrequently’ or that they ‘don’t talk at all’. An analysis of ‘neighbourhood contact’ shows that it is strongly influenced by location with a chi-squared statistic of 0.001. The minimum expected count was well above the required level of 2.0 or greater, meaning the observed counts were sufficiently distributed across the analytical dimensions.

Table 19: Variation in ‘Neighbourhood Contact’

Integration-neighbourhood contact	Wellington	Whakatane
Talk often	10% (-5.5) ^a	36% (5.5)
Talk sometimes	39% (0.0)	36% (0.0)
Sub-total-often or sometimes	49% (-1.7)	72% (1.7)
Talk infrequently	44% (2.0)	25% (-2.0)
Don’t talk	7% (0.6)	3% (-0.6)
Number of observations	72	69
Minimum expected count	3.4	3.4
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.001 and 75% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

^a Bracketed values in Table 19 (page 202) to Table 24 (page 207) are the expected counts.

The second neighbourhood-level social capital attribute with a distinct difference in resources for the two locations was ‘density of neighbourhood relations’. While expected counts for each response category for the attribute were not strong, overall the minimum expected counts reached 2.0 (with rounding). When combined with expected count results, there was sufficient supporting evidence to suggest an observable difference between the two populations. Higher levels of the social capital attribute of ‘density of neighbourhood relations’ were also observable in Whakatane. This is primarily due to respondents being more inclined to evaluate their relationships with people in their immediate neighbourhood as ‘good’, whereas

people in Wellington tended to assess the relationships as ‘fair’ (see Table 20 below).

Table 20: Variation in the ‘Density of Neighbourhood Relations’

Integration-density of n/hood^a relations	Wellington	Whakatane
Close relationships	1% (-0.5)	4% (0.5)
Good relationships	51% (-0.7)	67% (0.7)
Sub-total-close or good relationships	53% (-1.0)	71% (1.0)
Fair relationships	36% (0.4)	28% (-0.4)
Poor relationships	11% (2.6)	1% (-2.6)
Number of observations	72	69
Minimum expected count	2.0	2.0
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.038 and 63% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

^a ‘N/hood’ is shortened for ‘neighbourhood’.

One attribute of ‘integration’ at the community-level also identified higher levels of social capital. In contradiction to the previous two attributes for social capital in the form of ‘integration’ (see Table 19, page 202; and Table 20, above), for ‘seeking community trust’, levels were distinctly higher for people in Wellington compared to Whakatane (see Table 21, page 204). This is perhaps best exemplified by 62 percent of Wellington residents saying they would be either happy or willing to trust others in their community, with only 38 percent stating the same in Whakatane. The distribution of the results across each of the categories provided strong support for the results for this attribute. The minimum expected counts were 9.7 and all cells had expected counts of five or more (see Table 21, page 204). The chi-squared statistics showed that the result was significant at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table 21: Variation in ‘Seeking Community Trust’

Integration-seeking community trust	Wellington	Whakatane
Happy to trust	18% (0.8)	10% (-0.8)
Willing to trust	44% (1.4)	28% (-1.4)
Sub-total - happy or willing to trust	62% (2.1)	38% (-2.1)
Reluctant to trust	25% (-1.0)	38% (1.0)
Would not	14% (1.2)	25% (-1.2)
Number of observations	73	69
Minimum expected count	9.7	9.7
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.04 and 100% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

‘Linkage’ as a form of social capital was analysed across several dimensions, including the number of memberships with groups (‘coverage of engagement’) and the regularity of the associated engagements (‘density of engagement’). Both these attributes registered divergent levels when the two communities were compared.

For ‘coverage of engagement’, the difference was derived from a higher proportion of Whakatane residents having three or more memberships, and Wellington residents being more likely to have no memberships (see Table 22, page 205). In fact, a surprising 26 percent of Wellington residents had no memberships, compared to only 10 percent for Whakatane.

Table 22: Variation in ‘Coverage of Engagement’

Linkage-coverage of engagement	Wellington	Whakatane
Greater than four	8% (-0.5)	13% (0.5)
Between three and four	23% (-1.5)	39% (1.5)
Sub-total-at least three	32% (-1.9)	52% (1.9)
Between one and two	42% (0.1)	38% (-0.1)
None	26% (2.5)	10% (-2.5)
Number of observations	73	69
Minimum expected count	7.3	7.3
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.033 and 100% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

A similar pattern also emerges for the ‘density of engagement’. People in Whakatane appeared to have a greater level of engagement activity than their counter-parts in Wellington. In particular, striking is the observation that 20 percent of Whakatane respondents had, on average, three or more engagements per week, in contrast with just 5 percent for Wellington residents (see Table 23, page 206). While this similarity in the data between ‘coverage of engagement’ and ‘density of engagement’ may suggest across-attribute reliance, this is not the case. Engagement is not necessarily influenced by the number of groups with which a person is linked. An individual with just one membership may be highly active and have significantly more engagements than a person with three or more memberships. The chi-squared statistic was significant at over the 99 percent level confidence. The minimum expected count was well in excess of the required value of five, and the distribution of the expected counts was consistent across the contingency table dimensions.

Table 23: Variation in the ‘Density of Engagement’

Linkage-density of engagement	Wellington	Whakatane
Greater than two per week	5% (-3.2)	20% (3.2)
Between one and two per week	26% (-0.6)	36% (0.6)
Sub-total-at least one per week	32% (-2.6)	57% (2.6)
Between zero and one per week	42% (0.6)	32% (-0.6)
None per week	26% (2.0)	12% (-2.0)
Number of observations	73	69
Minimum expected count	8.8	8.8
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.006 and 100% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

There are different dimensions to social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ depending on the nature of the group and the ensuing engagement. A desirable characteristic of this form of social capital is that residents have a broad range of engagements, including with groups with not only a local but also a national reach. Differences in the ‘density of local engagement’ were identified when the results for Wellington and Whakatane were compared. As Table 24 (see page 207) makes evident, residents in Whakatane generally have a higher density of local engagement than those in Wellington. Strong test statistic results were observed with a chi squared result of 97.8 percent, a minimum expected count of 7.2, and 100 percent of cells in the table having an expect count of two or more.

Table 24: Variation in the ‘Density of Local Engagement’

Linkage-density of local engagement	Wellington	Whakatane
Greater than two per week	6% (-1.9)	16% (1.9)
Between one and two per week	19% (-1.2)	32% (1.2)
Sub-total-at least one per week	25% (-2.7)	48% (2.7)
Between zero and one per week	41% (0.3)	33% (-0.3)
None per week	34% (1.6)	19% (-1.6)
Number of observations	73	73
Minimum expected count	7.2	7.2
The Chi-squared Statistic was 0.022 and 100% cells had a frequency of 5 or more		

The analysis of the attributes aligned to social capital determined that the null hypothesis was rejected for the six attributes of social capital presented in this section. For these six attributes, differences were demonstrated concerning the location of residents. The following section will translate the analysis of the key statistics to show the actual stock of different forms of social capital for the two communities.

Linking Social Capital to Structure: Methodology

The primary purpose of this research was to identify stocks of different forms of social capital and, in a meaningful way, to develop a measurement framework that can be used to compare varying levels for separate communities. This involved examining the inferential statistics to accept or reject the null hypothesis of independence between residential location and the attributes of social capital. While appropriate for less intensive analysis providing a population over-view (typically two-way associations), this approach becomes more tenuous when working with a broad range of attributes and variables, some of which are likely to arbitrate

associations between other attributes and variables. For this reason, a similar but more robust approach was employed to handle the multi-way associations inherent in the second key purpose of the research, namely, to explore the structural variables underlying the production of social capital.

The multi-way associations between structural variables and the attributes of social capital were analysed using log-linear modelling to test an array of associations.¹ Log-linear modelling developed in unison with Weighted Least-Squares (WLS) to analyse qualitative data. One of the main advantages of log-linear modelling over WLS analysis is that it is sufficiently robust to allow log-linear investigation of symmetrical or asymmetrical associations. WLS analysis is reliant on the assumption of normally distributed data for each community meaning that variables can be tested only for asymmetrical and not for symmetrical relationships (Kennedy, 1992:2). In contrast with WLS, it is not necessary with log-linear modelling to assume that one variable is dependent on another variable. As a technique of enquiry for quantitative data log-linear modelling, log-linear analysis is much more robust at null hypothesis testing because it does not rely on such broad assumptions about the nature of the association.² Moreover, this does not limit the potential for inferential directional testing (asymmetrical) after the log-linear model has been identified (Kennedy, 1992:7-8).

¹ This was done using the Loglinear, Model Selection function in SPSS For Windows (Version 7.0). All procedures used the “backward elimination” approach with a “probability of removal” of 0.05, that is, at 95 percent level of confidence.

² The same condition applied to logistic regression.

One of the principal procedural differences between log-linear modelling and WLS is that the parameters of the log-linear model are derived from maximum likelihood indicators and not ordinary least-squares. John Kennedy (1992:16) comments that maximum likelihood

. . . is not only the most statistically efficient method for the estimation of proportional response (hence, frequency of response), it is also most compatible with sampling distributions that govern dichotomous (binomial) and polytomous (multinomial) outcomes (Kennedy, 1992:16).

The maximum likelihood indicator is used to determine if a sample is not representative of the community specified under the null hypothesis. When the maximum likelihood indicator shows that the sample does not represent the community there are grounds to reject the null hypothesis; that is, the set of variables are independent. The sampling distribution and, therefore, the community, of categorical data was shown by James Bernoulli in the early nineteenth century to be best represented by binomial (for dichotomous variables) and, through extension, multinomial (for polytomous variables) distributions (Kennedy, 1992:20-21). The sampling distribution for a contingency table of dichotomous variables are determined by the binomial law, that is,

$$P(f_1/n) = \frac{n!}{f_1! (n-f_1)!} P_1^{f_1} P_2^{n-f_1}$$

where f_1 represents the number of successful events, n the number of events, P_1 the probability of success, and P_2 the probability of failure (Stevens, 1996:521).

Multinomial law extends the binomial law by expressing a more generalised distribution that encapsulates polytomous variables and can be stated as

$$P(f_1, f_2, \dots, f_k / n) = \frac{n!}{f_1! f_2! \dots f_k!} P_1^{f_1} P_2^{f_2} \dots P_k^{f_k}$$

where k refers to the number of possible outcomes, P_1 the probability the outcome will be in category 1, P_2 the probability the outcome will be in category 2, etc. The formula, therefore, reveals the probability of f_1 events in category 1, the probability of f_2 events in category 2, etc. (Stevens, 1996:521-522).

It is this multinomial sampling distribution that provides the foundation of independence testing for log-linear modelling. Although the multinomial equation provides the sampling distribution required for log-linear modelling, it can be substituted by the more straightforward chi-squared distribution without any significant loss of integrity when working with large samples. Where the sample size is sufficiently large to enable a high proportion of cells in the contingency table to contain an expected count of five or more then the chi-squared distribution can be considered to provide an accurate approximation (Kennedy, 1992:34).

Log-linear modelling constructs a multi-way contingency table to the set of polytomous variables and then uses a set of linear models to explain the cell frequencies in the table. The set of factors affiliated with the contingency table are transformed into natural logarithms (log) and the log estimates are then placed in linear order and aggregated. A simple log-linear model representing a two-way contingency table would, therefore, be expressed as

$\log \epsilon_{ij} = \lambda$	(most restricted)
$\log \epsilon_{ij} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I$	[A]
$\log \epsilon_{ij} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j$	[A] [B]
$\log \epsilon_{ij} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^{ab}_{ij}$	[A] [B] [AB]

where ϵ_{ij} refers to the expected cell frequencies, λ 's the community values (parameters), λ^a_I the estimated main effect for row I for factor A, λ^b_j the estimated main effect for row j for factor B, and A B are variables (Stevens, 1996:529).

This two-way model is then expanded to encapsulate the array of possible associations pertaining to three variables and a three-way contingency table, hence

$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda$	(most restricted)
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I$	[A]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j$	[A] [B]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k$	[A] [B] [C]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k + \lambda^{ab}_{ij}$	[A] [B] [C] [AB]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k + \lambda^{ab}_{ij} + \lambda^{ac}_{ik}$	[A] [B] [C] [AB] [AC]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k + \lambda^{ab}_{ij} + \lambda^{ac}_{ik} + \lambda^{bc}_{jk}$	[A] [B] [C] [AB] [AC] [BC]
$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_I + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k + \lambda^{ab}_{ij} + \lambda^{ac}_{ik} + \lambda^{bc}_{jk} + \lambda^{abc}_{ijk}$	[A] [B] [C] [AB] [AC] [BC] [ABC]

where ϵ_{ijk} refers to the expected cell frequencies, λ 's the community values (parameters), λ^a_I the estimated main effect for row I for factor A, λ^b_j the estimated main effect for row j for factor B, λ^c_k the estimated main effect for row k for factor C, and A B C are variables (Stevens, 1996:529, Agresti, 1984:39).

Log-linear modelling seeks to identify the nature of the association between the variables by fitting a model that represents the sample when it is compared to the sampling distribution. The most generalised form is when all variables and all combinations are fitted in the one model.¹ This model is then tested by contrasting the sample with the chi-squared distribution through the application of the maximum-likelihood-ratio chi-squared (L^2) which compares the “. . . natural log of squared ratio comparisons of the likelihood of observed to expected frequencies” (Kennedy, 1992:60).² L^2 is in essence the difference between the likelihood estimate for the sample and the likelihood estimate for the chi-squared distribution. As the cell frequencies specified under the null hypothesis, the expected frequencies, tend to the observed frequencies, the L^2 is reduced (Kennedy, 1992:62). Hence, the higher the L^2 statistic the more evidence there is to reject the null hypothesis and accept a generalised model.

There are various stepwise procedures that can be used to find the best fitting log-linear model, of which the backward elimination approach is the most reliable method as it avoids the elimination of variables that, in various combinations, may prove associative (Christensen, 1990:136). Under the backward elimination approach the best model is selected by ordering from the most general models to the most restricted models. Each model is then compared to determine how the elimination of a variable affects L^2 . The significance of the difference between the

¹

$$\log \epsilon_{ijk} = \lambda + \lambda^a_i + \lambda^b_j + \lambda^c_k + \lambda^{ab}_{ij} + \lambda^{ac}_{ik} + \lambda^{bc}_{jk} + \lambda^{abc}_{ijk}$$

² This can be represented by the following formula (Kennedy, 1992:60):

$$L^2 = \ln \left[\left(\frac{L_{OBS}}{L_{EXP}} \right)^2 \right]$$

current model and the reduced model is determined by their respective test statistics i.e. *P values*. The backward elimination approach expels variables that do not significantly improve the fit of the model to the chi-squared distribution. Progressively restricted models are tested until removing any of the variables of the log-linear model would significantly detract from its fit, that is, when all variables have a *P value* below a pre-set value, for example, <0.05. Once the backward elimination process has identified the combination of variables that most closely fit the chi-squared distribution, then the remaining associations are used as the final model (Christensen, 1990:115-118; 134-137).

Once the best fitting log-linear model is determined, the expected counts of the multi-way contingency table are examined to uncover patterns associated with the distribution of the expected counts. The expected cell frequencies, which are determined in the same way as was described for purpose one¹, were expressed in tabular form for each 'logical' variable of the model, and observed both visually and with respect to cross-products to highlight any patterns in the frequencies. The reliability of these patterns was then confirmed by ensuring that only a few cells contain an expected cell frequency below the minimal count of 1.5. As was noted in the discussion about reliability for purpose one, when too many cell frequencies fall below two, the performance of *P value* to test the sampling distribution against the chi-squared distribution declines and becomes unreliable. Kennedy (1993:48) notes that for multi-way contingency tables the stringent rule that no cell can have a

¹ Expected counts were derived from the following formula (Rose and Sullivan, 1996:186):

$$\text{Expected Count} = \frac{\text{Row Total} \times \text{Column Total}}{\text{Overall Total}}$$

minimum expected frequency less than 1.5, can be relaxed without the *P value* losing significant integrity.¹ In considering these views a guideline of a minimum expected count of two or greater in at least 75 percent of the cells in the contingency table was instituted.

Where cell counts were consistently low for one category of an attribute, and it was intrinsically obvious that it could be combined with another category without losing meaning, categories were merged to ensure expected cell frequencies were adequate (Agresti, 1996: 194). The merging of categories, where appropriate, was considered a preferable option to using Fisher's exact test. This was due to the natural synergy between categories and the intention to gain a broad overview of associations between structural variables and expressions of social capital. Further analysis using exact tests would be a useful follow up step when investigating attributes in more detail. However, it is beyond the immediate purpose, and resources, of this research.

The procedure used to identify associations between structural elements and attributes of social capital involved five steps. The first step involved selection of three structural variables to be included along with each attribute in the log-linear model. These were the age, ethnicity, and gender of the respondents. These variables were then combined with each separate attribute of social capital to form a saturated log-linear model. A log-linear analysis was then run using the Log-linear, 'select model' function, in the SPSS For Windows (Version 7.0) computer

¹ This criterion concurs with Agesti's (1996:194) suggestion that the rule can be relaxed when working with higher dimension contingency tables.

programme. The operation was run using a backward elimination at a *P value* >0.05 for each saturated model and a final model generated for each log-linear operation. The second step involved reviewing each step in the backward elimination operation to identify any high performing models, with marginal *P values*, that were excluded before establishing the final model. Where a suitable model could be identified which had only one combination of variables with *P values* greater than 0.05 and less than 0.06, the operation was re-run with the backward elimination set for a *P value* <0.06. The application of this flexibility is in recognition of the marginal difference and, therefore, minimal risk of making an error, between 6/100 compared to 5/100. The re-run log-linear operation collimated in a revised final model for each operation.

The third step in the log-linear procedure involved reviewing the reliability of each final model. The contingency table produced for the final model was scrutinised to ensure that more than 75 percent of the cells had expected cell counts of 1.5 or higher. If the table failed to meet this condition, then the final model was considered unreliable, as the probability of an error in the estimation of the fit of the sampling distribution was ambiguous. For the fourth step of the log-linear operation, all final models that satisfied the required criteria were visually examined to highlight patterns in the distribution of expected cell frequencies. The final step in the operation was to visually check the distribution of the expected frequencies against the standardised residuals by running a Hiloglinear Model plot using SPSS. If the plots were not reasonably evenly distributed, or where there was obvious clustering, a warning accompanied the interpretation of the results. Once these five sequential steps had been instituted broad conclusions were then formulated for those attributes

that were not obviously a product of the demography of the sample. The results of this extensive process will be discussed in the following section.

Linking Social Capital to Structure: Results

A log-linear model was built for each attribute of social capital and a backward elimination log-linear analysis was used to find the final model. A statistical association standard of a Pearson's Chi-squared value of *P value* <0.05 was used to select a final model. If a good fitting model was eliminated because either the attribute or only one variable recorded a *P values* of between 0.05 and 0.06, the log-linear analysis was re-run using a *P value* of 0.06. Once the final model was found for all the attributes of social capital, the contingency tables were scrutinised so that unreliable associations could be excluded. The standard used to assess reliability was that at least 75 percent of the cells in the contingency table had expected cell counts of 1.5 or greater. Associations that did not meet this standard were eliminated. Finally, the distributions of the expected frequencies, as compared to standardised residuals, were visually checked to ensure that the data was evenly distributed.

With log-linear analysis there is often a trade-off between the strength of associations and the number of categories retained for the analysis. As categories are collapsed (where it is appropriate), the number of cells is reduced, correspondingly, the expected cell counts and their distribution often increase. However, this benefit can be countered by the reduction in dimensions with which to establish significant associations using log-linear analysis. Accordingly, all

categories were retained when first analysing the attributes and variables, with the categories only being collapsed for further analysis.

The remainder of this section will present the results showing the structural variables statistically linked to the attributes of social capital for the combined samples for the two communities. Where all of the statistical conditions were met, the null hypothesis was rejected, that is, there is no association between the structural variables, and the social capital attributes. A number of additional structural variables and attributes registered significant associations but, due to the poor distributions of expected cell counts, they were not considered reliable and were eliminated.

The structural variables were, overall, quite evenly distributed across the 30 attributes of social capital for which a log-linear model could be robustly applied (see Table 25, page 218, to Table 56, page 238). Thirty two robust models were identified with gender being in-built for 20 of these, age for 19, and 10 models featuring ethnicity. All three structural variables featured in the two three-way log-linear models; and gender was prominent in the two-way models (8), followed by ethnicity (6), and age (5). Gender was also the leading variable in the one-way models, featuring in 10 of these models, and age (8) featured more than ethnicity (1).

Three models linking 'family integration' to structural effects were identified, two of which included both age and ethnicity in three-way models and one linking gender with 'shared family ideas and goals' (two-way model). Table 25 (see page 218) shows the first of the three-way models with a strong association ($p = 0.000$)

identified between ‘family commonality’, age and ethnicity. The general pattern identified by the model shows a tendency towards higher stocks of this social capital attribute for older residents whether Pākehā or non-Pākehā, as indicated by the rating scale categories of either ‘great’ or a combination of ‘great’ and ‘significant’. The pattern is also borne-out by the lesser tendency towards lower rating for the older two age groupings. There are, however, variations between the two ethnic groupings with a high proportion (44 percent) of non-Pākehā people between the ages of 36 and 60 rating ‘family commonality’ as ‘great’, compared to just 25 percent of those over 60 years of age.

Table 25: ‘Family Commonality’

Structural characteristics	Fair	Significant	Great
Pākehā, under 35 years	19%	45%	35%
Pākehā, 35-60 years	22%	61%	17%
Pākehā, over 60 years	8%	47%	44%
Non-Pākehā, under 35 years	36%	64%	0%
Non-Pākehā, 35-60 years	12%	29%	59%
Non-Pākehā, over 60 years	0%	75%	25%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	83 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 4)		

The second three-way model for ‘family integration’ demonstrated again a strong association ($p = 0.000$) between ethnicity and age, and this time, ‘seeking family trust’. The distribution of responses for this social capital attribute did not provide as clear a pattern as for ‘family commonality’. For non-Pākehā, older respondents were less inclined to identify that they would ‘not’ or would be ‘reluctant’ to ‘seek family trust’ (see Table 26, page 219). For respondents identifying themselves as

Pākehā, those under the age of 35 were more likely to seek trust than respondents 35 or older.

Table 26: 'Seeking Family Trust'

Structural characteristics	Not/reluct.^a	Willing	Happy
Pākehā, under 35 years	9%	28%	63%
Pākehā, 35-60 years	32%	22%	46%
Pākehā, over 60 years	34%	20%	46%
Non-Pākehā, under 35 years	45%	27%	27%
Non-Pākehā, 35-60 years	11%	17%	72%
Non-Pākehā, over 60 years	0%	100%	0%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	81 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 4)		

a 'Reluct.' is an abbreviation for 'reluctant'.

The third 'family integration' model linked 'shared family ideas and goals' with gender. As can be seen in Table 27 (see below), a higher proportion of women respondents considered that they shared both the 'same' or 'similar' family ideas and goals than men. Moreover, men were more likely to identify that they had 'different' or 'fairly similar' ideas and goals (see Table 27 below).

Table 27: 'Shared Family Ideas and Goals'

Structural characteristic	Different	Fairly	Similar	Same
Men	18%	72%	42%	5%
Women	9%	18%	54%	19%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	68 percent			
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.016 (df: 3)			

Two log-linear models proved to be reliable for describing the relationship between age and the attributes 'neighbourhood contact' and 'density of neighbourhood

relations'. As Table 28 shows (see below), older age groups show a marked tendency for increased contact in the neighbourhood. Correspondingly, respondents under the age of 35 tended to have the lowest, as defined by not or infrequently talking with their neighbours (65 percent), stock of this attribute.

Table 28: 'Neighbourhood Contact'

Structural characteristic	Not/infreq.^a	Sometimes	Often
Under 35 years of age	65%	30%	5%
Between 35-60 years of age	29%	43%	28%
Over 60 years of age	27%	38%	35%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	76 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 4)		

^a 'Not/infreq' is an abbreviation for 'not at all' and 'infrequently'.

A similar pattern was observed when examining the 'density of neighbourhood relations' once the upper and lower two categories were combined. Table 29 shows (see below) a clear association between increasing age and the closeness of neighbourhood relations.

Table 29: 'Density of Neighbourhood Relations'

Structural characteristic	Poor/fair	Good/excellent
Under 35 years of age	72%	28%
Between 35-60 years of age	34%	66%
Over 60 years of age	7%	93%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	86 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 8)	

Six log-linear models, including one three-way model, proved useful for linking social capital in the form of 'community integration' with structural variables. Interestingly, five of the six models included the variable gender, with age and

ethnicity being factors in separate models also. The impact of gender can be seen in the three-way model represented in Table 30 (see below), which shows this structural variable impacting different for men compared to women. Men under the age of 35 showed higher ratings of ‘shared community ideas and goals’ with 63 percent identifying they had the ‘same’ or ‘similar’ shared ideas and gaols with people they saw regularly in their community. This compared to only 27 percent of women under the age of 35 stating the same. Women in between the ages of 35 and 60 were much more likely to have high stocks of this attribute.

Table 30: ‘Shared Community Ideas and Gaols’

Structural characteristics	Different	Fair	Similar/same
Men under 35 years of age	9%	28%	63%
Men between 35-60 years	32%	22%	46%
Men over 60 years of age	34%	20%	46%
Women under 35 years of age	45%	27%	27%
Women between 35-60 years	11%	17%	72%
Women over 60 years of age	0%	100%	0%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	70 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.02 (df: 4)		

Gender was again a factor when ‘community contact’ was considered. As can be seen in Table 31 (see page 222), a higher proportion of women indicated that they often had contact with people in their community. Comparatively, fewer men considered that they often had contact, and a higher proportion than women, said they saw people infrequently.

Table 31: ‘Community Contact’

Structural characteristic	Infrequently	Sometimes	Often
Men	25%	35%	40%
Women	11%	24%	65%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	84 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.001 (df: 2)		

Consistent with the finding for ‘community contact’, women were more likely to have close relationships with people in their community than men. Twenty six percent of men identified with only having ‘fair’ relationships with people in their community; whereas only five percent of respondents described their relationship as ‘fair’ (see Table 32 below).

Table 32: ‘Density of Community Relations’

Structural characteristic	Fair	Good	Close
Men	26%	69%	5%
Women	5%	75%	20%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	65 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 2)		

This pattern was also borne out for the attribute ‘community commonality’, which again showed a strong relationship with the structural variable gender ($p = 0.003$). Twenty four percent of women respondents had high level of commonality with people in their community, with 18 percent having only ‘fair’ or lower levels (see Table 33, page 223). This compared to 43 percent of men having ‘fair’ or lower levels and just nine percent having the highest level.

Table 33: ‘Community Commonality’

Structural characteristic	Fair	Significant	Great
Men	43%	48%	9%
Women	18%	58%	24%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	69 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.003 (df: 2)		

‘Expecting community trust’ was associated with two structural variables; ethnicity and gender. As for the ‘community commonality’, ‘density of community relations’, and ‘community contact’, women respondents showed higher levels of ‘expecting community trust’ (see Table 34 below).

Table 34: ‘Expecting Community Trust’

Structural characteristic	Not/relatively	Willing	Happy
Men	36%	59%	5%
Women	19%	59%	22%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	74 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.006 (df: 2)		

Ethnicity was the weaker of the two associations linked to ‘expecting community trust’ with a Pearson’s Chi-squared result of 0.045. While Pākehā and non-Pākehā recorded similar levels of community members being ‘not’ or being ‘reluctant’ to help out (25 percent and 30 percent, respectively), a higher proportion of non-Pākehā, than Pākehā, considered that people in their community would be happy to help them (see Table 35, page 224).

Table 35: ‘Expecting Community Trust’

Structural characteristic	Not/relatively	Willing	Happy
Pākehā	25%	64%	11%
Non-Pākehā	30%	43%	27%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	74 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.045 (df: 2)		

Nine log-linear models were constructed connecting social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ to structural variables. Age featured in all the models with the exception of ‘density of cultural engagement’, which was the only model to include ethnicity, and gender was a factor in all three two-way models. ‘Density of engagement’ proved to have a strong association ($p = 0.002$) with age. As can be seen in Table 36 (see below), notable differences can be seen across the three age groups analysed. A significant proportion (37 percent) of people under the age of 35 had no engagement each week, and only seven percent had three or more engagements. Progressively smaller proportions of people between the ages of 35 and 60 (15 percent), and then over 60 (5 percent), had no engagements each week. The overall pattern of increasing engagement with increasing age was highlighted by 25 percent of people over 60 years of age having three or more engagements each week.

Table 36: ‘Density of Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	<1 per wk	1-3 per	≥ 3 per wk
Under 35 years of age	37%	28%	28%	7%
Between 35-60 years of age	15%	39%	37%	9%
Over 60 years of age	5%	45%	25%	25%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	68 percent			
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.002 (df: 6)			

A similar pattern as was seen for ‘density of engagement’ was also observed when ‘formal engagements’ were analysed separately. The one-way log-linear model showed a strong association ($p = 0.001$) between ‘density of formal engagement’ and age. Older age groups were coupled with higher population proportions with an increased number of formal engagements each week. A significant proportion of residents under the age of 35 had no, or a low number of, formal engagements, compared to those between the ages of 35 and 60, and those over 60. It is notable that only seven percent of the latter group had no engagements each week, and 40 percent had one or more engagements (see Table 37 below).

Table 37: ‘Density of Formal Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	0-1 per wk	≥1 per wk
Under 35 years of age	49%	30%	21%
Between 35-60 years of age	24%	41%	36%
Over 60 years of age	7%	53%	40%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	80 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.001 (df: 4)		

‘Density of local engagements’ proved to be associated with not only age but also gender. While the pattern for men was similar to previously described derivatives of engagement (with the exception of men between 35 and 60 who had ≥ 1 engagement each week), that is, levels of social capital increasing with age, a similar but slightly different pattern was observed for women. While the instances of no local engagements decreased with age, women under 35 years old actually had a higher density of one or more local engagements each week. As such, a high proportion of women under 35 and over 60 years of age had a high number of local engagements (see Table 38, page 226).

Table 38: ‘Density of Local Engagement’

Structural characteristics	None	0-1 per wk	≥1 per wk
Men under 35 years of age	47%	37%	16%
Men between 35-60 years	36%	27%	36%
Men over 60 years of age	12%	69%	19%
Women under 35 years of age	46%	12%	42%
Women between 35-60 years	19%	49%	32%
Women over 60 years of age	4%	33%	63%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	83 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.028 (df: 4)		

The pattern previously identified for ‘density of engagement’ was also prevalent for ‘density of national engagement’. Age again partnered the attribute linked with social capital, with the degree of engagement with national groups increasing along with age. The high proportion of people under the age of 35 with no national engagements had decreased by 44 percent for those over 60 years of age (see Table 39 below). The robustness of this one-way log-linear model was supported by the strong Pearson’s Chi-squared Statistic of 0.000.

Table 39: ‘Density of National Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	Some
Under 35 years of age	81%	19%
Between 35-60 years of age	58%	42%
Over 60 years of age	37%	63%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	83 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 2)	

There was little difference for the two age groups under 60 years of age for ‘density of social engagement’. However, residents over the age of 60 showed a marked tendency to engage with groups with a primarily social purpose. Over 50 percent

had at least some engagement each week, whereas 84 percent of those 60 years old or less had no engagement (see Table 40 below).

Table 40: ‘Density of Social Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	Some
Under 35 years of age	84%	16%
Between 35-60 years of age	83%	17%
Over 60 years of age	48%	52%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	81 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.000 (df: 2)	

‘Density of sporting engagement’ provided some surprising results. Sporting involvement is often associated with younger people. However, an analysis of the one-way log-linear model for ‘density of sporting engagement’ shows that a higher proportion of residents under the age of 35 tended to have no sporting engagements, compared those aged 35 or older (see Table 41 below). There was no identifiable difference between the three age groups for those having one or more sporting engagement each week.

Table 41: ‘Density of Sporting Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	0-1 per wk	≥ 1 per wk
Under 35 years	72%	9%	19%
Between 35-60 years of age	53%	31%	17%
Over 60 years of age	48%	33%	20%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	100 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.047 (df: 1)		

Ethnicity was a factor in the two-way log-linear model linking this variable and gender with ‘density of cultural engagement’. A high proportion of Pākehā and non-

Pākehā, men and women, all had no engagement with cultural groups. Only 15 percent of Pākehā men had some form of engagement, with Pākehā women having the highest instance of cultural engagement with groups. Surprisingly, only 24 percent of non-Pākehā women had some level of engagement (see Table 42 below).

Table 42: ‘Density of Cultural Engagement’

Structural characteristic	None	Some
Men, Pākehā	85%	15%
Men, non-Pākehā	69%	31%
Women, Pākehā	54%	46%
Women, non-Pākehā	76%	24%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	89 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.033 (df: 1)	

The last of the three two-way log-linear models linked to social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ showed a relationship between ‘density of religious engagement’ and the structural variables of gender and age. As can be seen in Table 43 (see page 229), for women in particular, as age increases, so does the proportion of respondents who reported having some form of engagement with a religious groups. There was a notable difference between men and women with 42 percent of women over the age of 60 had some form of engagement, compared to only six percent of men of the same age. Interestingly, 23 percent of men between the ages of 35 and 60 had some affiliation with a religious organisation.

Table 43: ‘Density of Religious Engagement’

Structural characteristics	None	Some
Men under 35 years of age	100%	0%
Men between 35-60 years	77%	23%
Men over 60 years of age	94%	6%
Women under 35 years of age	92%	5%
Women between 35-60 years	84%	16%
Women over 60 years of age	58%	42%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	75 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.029 (df: 2)	

The last of the nine models constructed for social capital in the form of ‘linkage’, ‘density of community engagement’, showed that again age was a key structural modifier. A low proportion of people under the age of 35 had involvement with a community organisation (see Table 44 below). Thirty six percent of people over 35 had some form of engagement.

Table 44: ‘Density of Community Engagement’

Structural characteristics	None	Some
Under 35 years of age	93%	7%
Over 35 years of age	64%	36%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	78 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.047 (df: 2)	

Eight models linking attributes of social capital in the form of ‘synergy’ to structural variables were identified. Gender featured in all but one of the models; age and ethnicity in three models each. For the attribute ‘range of local services’, two models proved useful for describing the relationship with the structural variables of gender and age. All the other attributes contributing to ‘synergy’ featured in one

model each, with the exception of ‘range of national service’ which showed no link with any of the three structural variables.

‘Range of local services’ was independently linked to gender and age in two one-way models. As Table 45 (see below) demonstrates, this attribute was reasonably strongly ($p = 0.005$) linked to gender with a higher proportion of women (37 percent) stating that local authorities¹ provide all the local services required in their community. Only 12 percent of men stated the same, with 88 percent concluding that they provided ‘some’ or ‘most’ of the local services required.

Table 45: ‘Range of Local Services’

Structural characteristic	Some	Most	All
Men	15%	73%	12%
Women	8%	55%	37%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	78 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.005 (df: 2)		

Age also proved a determinant for how respondents rated the range of services provided by their local authorities. As age increased, so did the proportion of respondents considering the range of local services required by their community as being provided (see Table 46, page 231). Only 14 percent of respondents under the age of 35 considered this to be the case, compared to 40 percent of people over the age of 60.

¹ Including regional and city/district councils.

Table 46: ‘Range of Local Services’

Structural characteristic	Some	Most	All
Under 35 years of age	12%	74%	14%
Between 35-60 years of age	7%	64%	29%
Over 60 years of age	15%	45%	40%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	78 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.04 (df: 4)		

Along with a lower proportion of men considering that all the local services required by their community were being provided, a lower proportion also considered that the services were provided very effectively: 7 percent, compared to 18 percent of women (see Table 47 below). A significantly high proportion of men considered that the services were provided only fairly effectively.

Table 47: ‘Provisioning of Local Services’

Structural characteristic	Fairly	Reasonably	Very
Men	23%	70%	7%
Women	8%	74%	18%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	70 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.016 (df: 2)		

Both ethnicity and gender were linked by way of a two-way model with ‘shared ideas and goals with local officers’. The pattern of results (see Table 48, page 232) shows notable difference concerning the shared social norms of both men and women, and particularly, Pākehā and non-Pākehā. A significantly lower proportion of non-Pākehā men (31 percent) considered that local officers shared similar or the same ideas and goals. This was in prominent contrast to the 88 percent of non-Pākehā women, 57 percent of Pākehā women, and 48 percent of Pākehā men. Thirty

eight percent of non-Pākehā men considered the ideas and goals to be different from these officers, whereas, no non-Pākehā women stated this.

Table 48: ‘Shared Ideas and Goals with Local Officers’

Structural characteristic	Different	Fairly	Similar/same
Pākehā, men	8%	44%	48%
Pākehā, women	7%	36%	57%
Non-Pākehā, men	38%	31%	31%
Non-Pākehā, women	0%	12%	88%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	70 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.016 (df: 2)		

Ethnicity was not a factor when considering the structural variables linked with ‘local officers trusted’, but again gender was. Gender, when combined with age, showed a strong association with this attribute of ‘synergy’ ($p = 0.008$). The pattern supporting this relationship was characterised by a significant proportion of men aged 60 or less showing very low levels of trust for local officers (39 percent and 36 percent). Correspondingly, a low proportion consider them very trustworthy (0 percent and 9 percent), whereas, a higher proportion, and fairly consistent) proportion of men over the age of 60, and women across the three age groupings, said they were very trustworthy (see Table 49, page 233). Notably, 9 percent of women over the age of 60 considered them to be not or only fairly trustworthy.

Table 49: 'Local Officers Trusted'

Structural characteristics	Not/fairly	Reasonably	Very
Men under 35 years of age	39%	61%	0%
Men between 35-60 years	36%	55%	9%
Men over 60 years of age	0%	80%	20%
Women under 35 years of age	0%	75%	25%
Women between 35-60 years	6%	75%	19%
Women over 60 years of age	9%	70%	22%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	70 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.008 (df: 4)		

The attribute, 'provisioning of national service', was connected with the combined effect of both ethnicity and gender. While no one in any of the four tabular groupings considered that the Government provided national services very effectively, a similar proportion of Pākehā men and non-Pākehā women, 43 percent, and 41 percent, respectively, considered that these services were provided reasonably effectively. Only 6 percent of Pākehā women provided the same viewpoint (see Table 50 below).

Table 50: 'Provisioning of National Services'

Structural characteristic	Not	Fairly	Reasonably
Pākehā, men	7%	50%	43%
Pākehā, women	6%	89%	6%
Non-Pākehā, men	9%	37%	34%
Non-Pākehā, women	12%	48%	41%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	70 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.024 (df: 2)		

All three structural variables showed an integrated relationship with the 'ideas and goals' of the people providing services at a national level ($p = 0.007$). Two-way

models are complex and patterns less distinguishable. The wide-ranging responses for this attribute include the proportion of Pākehā women who consider the ideas and goals of officers to be similar or the same as their own increasing with age, 88 percent of non-Pākehā women aged between 35 and 60 providing the same response, and only 10 percent of non-Pākehā men (see Table 51 below). Seventy five percent of non-Pākehā men younger than 35 years of age considered their ideas and goals to be different to that of these officers. Non-Pākehā men between the ages of 35 and 60 consider this to also be the case.

Table 51: ‘Shared Ideas and Goals with National Officers’

Structural characteristic	Different	Fair	Similar/same
Men < 35 years of age, Pākehā	7%	50%	43%
Men < 35 years of age, non-Pākehā	75%	0%	25%
Men 35-60 years, Pākehā	17%	50%	33%
Men 35-60 years, non-Pākehā	30%	60%	10%
Men > 60 years of age, Pākehā	0%	64%	36%
Men > 60 years of age, non-Pākehā	0%	0%	100%
Women < 35 years of age, Pākehā	19%	50%	31%
Women < 35 years of age, non-Pākehā	14%	43%	43%
Women 35-60 years, Pākehā	7%	44%	48%
Women 35-60 years, non-Pākehā	13%	0%	88%
Women > 60 years of age, Pākehā	14%	24%	62%
Women > 60 years of age, non-Pākehā	0%	50%	50%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	74 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.007 (df: 4)		

The log-linear relationship between the gender of respondents and the level of trust officers providing national services was not as strong ($p = 0.057$) as for ‘shared ideas and goals with national officers’ ($p = 0.007$). Moreover, men and women showed the same level of trust for these officials (see Table 52, page 235).

Table 52: ‘National Officers Trusted’

Structural characteristics	None/fair	Reasonable
Men	30%	70%
Women	30%	70%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	89 percent	
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.057 (df: 1)	

When analysed, structural variables showed a relationship with three of the five attributes linked to social capital in the form of ‘integrity’. The nature of these relationships can be expressed through four log-linear models, where gender featured three times, and age and ethnicity twice each.

The first of these attributes, ‘shared ideas and goals with local polity’, showed a relationship with all three variables. Table 53 shows (see page 236) the complicated interaction between the three structural variables for this attribute. While similar results were recorded for all three age groupings for Pākehā men, it is notable that, as with other attributes, as age progressed, the proportion of people rating the attribute higher did not. This correlation is identifiable for non-Pākehā men with 100 percent of those over the age of 60 rating that they had the same or similar ‘ideas and goals’ as the local polity. The results for previously discussed attributes show that women often rate attributes higher than men, and this can also be seen in the results for this attribute. However, one notable difference is that for non-Pākehā women as age increased so did the rating for ‘shared ideas and goals with local polity’. Almost 80 percent of non-Pākehā women under the age of 35 rated the attribute ‘the same’ or ‘similar’, and this decreased to 63 percent, and finally 50 percent as age increased.

Table 53: ‘Shared Ideas and Goals with Local Polity’

Structural characteristic	Different/fair	Similar/same
Men, Pākehā, < 35 years of age	60%	40%
Men, Pākehā, 35-60 years	58%	42%
Men, Pākehā, > 60 years of age	64%	36%
Men, non-Pākehā, < 35 years of age	100%	0%
Men, non-Pākehā, 35-60 years	80%	20%
Men, non-Pākehā, > 60 years of age	0%	100%
Women, Pākehā, < 35 years of age	53%	47%
Women, Pākehā, 35-60 years	59%	41%
Women, Pākehā, > 60 years of age	32%	68%
Women, non-Pākehā, < 35 years of age	21%	79%
Women, non-Pākehā, 35-60 years	38%	63%
Women, non-Pākehā, > 60 years of age	50%	50%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5		89 percent
Chi-squared Statistic		P= 0.023 (df: 2)

The analysis showed that two structural variables helped shape the results for the attribute ‘local polity trusted’. However, rather than having a three way impact of the results, these two variables impacted independently on people’s trust of the local polity. Two separate models are therefore presented to describe their relationship with this attribute (see Table 53, above, and Table 54, page 237). The first (see Table 53 above), shows the relationship, though weak ($p = 0.057$), between gender when the level of trust with the local polity. The pattern of results is the same for both men and women, with 70 percent of respondents stating that the local polity was either reasonably or very trustworthy (see Table 54, page 237).

Table 54: ‘Local Polity Trusted’

Structural characteristics	Not/Fair	Reasonably/Very
Men	30%	70%
Women	30%	70%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5		89 percent
Chi-squared Statistic		P= 0.057 (df: 1)

The second model (see Table 55 below), shows that age also has an impact and that this relationship is stronger ($p = 0.011$, compared to $p = 0.057$). The pattern of results shows a dichotomy between respondents over 60 years of age and those under, with those over 60 providing a higher trust rating for the local polity.

Table 55: ‘Local Polity Trusted’

Structural characteristics	Not/Fair	Reasonably/Very
Under 35 years of age	40%	60%
Between 35-60 years	41%	59%
Over 60 years of age	15%	85%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5		92 percent
Chi-squared Statistic		P= 0.011 (df: 2)

The final attribute linked with social capital in the form of ‘integrity’, ‘shared ideas and goals with national polity’, proved to be interrelated with both ethnicity and gender. The configuration of results show (see Table 56, page 238) that, while a higher proportion of women considered they had the same ideas and goals as the national polity (15 and 12 percent, compared to 25 and 24 percent), more non-Pākehā than Pākehā men (50, compared to 17 percent), and more Pākehā than non-Pākehā women (25, compared to 5 percent), considered them to be different.

Table 56: ‘Shared Ideas and Gaols with National Polity’

Structural characteristic	Different	Fairly	Similar
Men, Pākehā	17%	68%	15%
Men, non-Pākehā	50%	37%	12%
Women, Pākehā	25%	50%	25%
Women, non-Pākehā	5%	71%	24%
Minimum expected count ≥ 1.5	81 percent		
Chi-squared Statistic	P= 0.006 (df: 2)		

Linking Social Capital to Advantage: Methodology and Results

The advantages and disadvantages of social capital were investigated using a similar approach described in the previous section. An array of variables thought to be indicative of potential and actual access to the resources and stakes of fields and, therefore, social capital¹, were selected after an extensive review of the social capital literature. These variables were chosen owing to the degree of triangulated support from creditable authors. The variables used to indicate advantage and disadvantage were education (Coleman, 1987; 1988; 1994; Portes, 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; Wall et al, 1998; Woolcock, 1998), income (Coleman, 1988; Fox, 1996; Granovetter, 1992; Klitgaard and Fedderke, 1995; Portes, 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994; Putnam, 1993a; 1995; Putnam et al, 1993; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; Wall et al, 1998; Woolcock, 1998), employment and occupational status (Coleman, 1991a; 1992; 1994; DiMaggio and Louch, 1998; Portes, 1998; 1999; Völker and Flap, 1999; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; Wall et al, 1998; Woolcock,

¹ While it is accepted that it is the unique combination of suitable levels of different attributes and forms of social capital that enable access to the stakes of a field, it was not possible to generate a single measure of social capital, therefore, traces of association were examined through the array of attributes instead.

1998), and quality of life (Evans, 1996; Fox, 1996; Granovetter, 1992; Klitgaard and Fedderke, 1995; Putnam, 1993a; 1995; Putnam et al, 1993; Stewart, 2005; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; Wall et al., 1998).¹

The variables indicative of advantage and disadvantage were then tested to identify multi-way associations with each attribute linked to the four forms of social capital. This procedure involved deriving a set of multi-dimensional contingency tables and using log-linear modelling to test the array of associations.² This approach is particularly pertinent for the third purpose of this research as it mitigates the necessity inherent in WLS to specify a dependent variable (Kennedy, 1992:2). Moreover, the abatement of a directional assumption does not prevent inferential directional testing (asymmetrical) *ex-post* log-linear analysis (Kennedy, 1992:7-8). While this statistical approach is rather conservative, it ensures the integrity of the results by avoiding the violation of assuming the directional nature of the association and it does not rely on the WLS assumption that the data is normally distributed.

The data was examined to determine if any social capital attributes were associated with variables linked to discernible advantage. A log-linear model was build for each attribute of social capital and a backward elimination log-linear analysis was used to find a final model. The model parameter of *P value* <0.06 was used to identify the final model. Once the final model was found for all the attributes of

¹ A large number of other authors also recognise these variables as being indicative. However, only the main authors have been included for reasons of practicality.

² This was done using the Loglinear, Model Selection function in SPSS For Windows (Version 7.0). The first step this procedure utilised the “backward elimination” approach combined with a “probability of removal” of 0.05, that is, at 95 percent confidence level. However, where the “generalised model” was collapsed owing to a contributing model less than 0.06, discretion was applied and the “backward elimination” procedure was suspended in favour of accepting the intermediate step as the final model.

social capital, the contingency tables were scrutinised so that unreliable associations could be excluded. The standard used to assess reliability was that at least 75 percent of the cells in the contingency table had expected cell counts 1.5 or greater. Associations that did not meet this standard were eliminated. The results of the statistical modelling will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Out of the 41 log-linear models, 95 statistically significant associations were identified linking variables of advantage with social capital attributes. Unfortunately, not one of these models had a contingency table where the number of cell with expected cell counts of 1.5 or greater was high enough to be considered reliable. Almost all the tables had between 20 and 50 percent of the cells greater or equal to two. The low expected counts results meant that all 97 associations were eliminated from the results.

With log-linear analysis there is always trade-off between the size of the sample, the number of variables included in the model, the number of categories included for each variable, and the number of cells in the contingency table. For the attributes that return statistically significant associations and low percentage of cells with expected cell counts of 1.5 or higher, the log-linear models could have been rebuilt with fewer variables and, where appropriate, categories. The re-run log-linear models would have returned different results, including different variable combinations, strength of association indicators (*P values*), and increased percentage of cells with expected counts of two and above. This work is beyond the exploratory scope of this dissertation, but would of value for other research. Although not guaranteed, the combination of attributes and variables with the

greatest propensity to return useful and reliable associations would be those models returning associations with *P values* of 99 percent or greater when first analysed. The associations that met these conditions are presented in Table 57 (see below) to Table 61 (see page 245).

Table 57: Associative Models for ‘Family Integration’

Associative model	P value	Cells > 1.5
Shared family ideas and goals occupation ↔ qualification ↔ quality of life	0.002	21 percent
Shared family ideas and goals ↔ income ↔ quality of life	0.004	21 percent
Expecting family trust ↔ employed ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.003	41 percent
Expecting family trust ↔ employed ↔ quality of life	0.000	41 percent

Two attributes and four models of ‘family integration’ showed promise for linking with variables of advantage. The two models for ‘shared family ideas and goals’ (see Table 57 above) that show promise were a four-way interaction with occupation, qualifications, and quality of life ($p = 0.002$), and a three-way interaction with income and quality of life ($p = 0.004$). ‘Expecting family trust’ showed (see Table 57 above) that it too may also be linked through two models, one combining with employed, income, and qualification ($p = 0.003$), and the other employed and quality of life ($p = 0.000$). One model, linking ‘neighbourhood integration’ with qualification and quality of life, showed potential with a *p value* of 0.004 and 29 percent of cells in the contingency table having expected counts greater than 1.5.

Five of the six attributes used to distinguish ‘community integration’ showed significant associations with variables signalling advantages (see Table 58 below). ‘Community contact’ was linked with employment status and income level; ‘density of community relationships’ could be linked through two models, one with occupation and qualifications, and the other with quality of life; and ‘community commonality’ with qualification and quality of life in one two-way model, and income and qualification in the other. Three two-way models showed potential for associating ‘shared community ideas and goals’ with key variables (see Table 58 below). All included qualifications which was linked with occupation ($p = 0.012$), income ($p = 0.011$), and quality of life ($p = 0.014$).

Table 58: Associative Models for ‘Neighbourhood Integration’

Associative model	P value	Cells > 1.5
Community contact ↔ employed ↔ income	0.014	32 percent
Density of community relationship ↔ occupation ↔ qualification	0.013	26 percent
Density of community relationship ↔ quality of life	0.014	26 percent
Community commonality ↔ qualification ↔ quality of life	0.010	31 percent
Community commonality ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.005	31 percent
Shared community ideas and goals ↔ occupation ↔ qualification	0.012	30 percent
Shared community ideas and goals ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.011	30 percent
Shared community ideas and goals ↔ qualification ↔ quality of life	0.014	30 percent
Expecting community trust ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.012	30 percent

Seven models showed promise for associating attributes and derivatives of ‘linkage’ with advantage. The strongest of these models ($p = 0.000$) suggested a relationship between the ‘density of social engagement’ and employment, income, and qualification (see Table 59 below). ‘Density of religious engagement’ also formed part of a strong association ($p = 0.001$) with employment and occupation, and to a lesser degree ($p = 0.010$) occupation and quality of life. The log-linear modelling showed that further analysis of the potential link between ‘coverage of engagement’ and employment might be valuable. ‘Density of sporting engagements’ and ‘density of informal engagement’ showed two-way interactions with occupation and qualifications, respectively. The final attribute for ‘linkage’ affected by advantage was ‘density of cultural engagement’ which showed a relationship with income and qualifications (see Table 59 below).

Table 59: Associative Models for ‘Linkage’

Associative model	P value	Cells > 1.5
Coverage of engagements ↔ employed	0.006	20 percent
Density of informal engagements ↔ qualification	0.009	42 percent
Density of social engagements ↔ employed ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.000	38 percent
Density of cultural engagements ↔ income ↔ qualifications	0.011	39 percent
Density of sporting engagements ↔ occupation	0.009	29 percent
Density of religious engagements ↔ employed ↔ occupation	0.001	41 percent
Density of religious engagements ↔ occupation ↔ qualify of life	0.010	41 percent

Five of the eight attributes for ‘synergy’ showed significant log-linear associations with advantage-linked variables, with ‘quality of life’ being linked with each attribute (see Table 60 below). Two separate models showed utility for identifying the variables associated with ‘range of local services’: one showing a three-way interaction that included income and qualification, the other two-way relationship between the attribute and quality of life. The same two-way association, but with ‘local officers trusted’, was also identified. Both attributes for provisioning of services were included in four-way associations, with both models featuring qualifications and quality of life. The key difference between the two attributes being the inclusion of income for the locally-focused attribute, which was replaced with employment for the ‘provisioning of national services’. The same three advantage-linked variables featured in the model for ‘provisioning of national services’ ($p = 0.009$).

Table 60: Associative Models for ‘Synergy’

Associative model	P value	Cells > 1.5
Range of local services ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.012	29 percent
Range of local services ↔ quality of life	0.001	29 percent
Provisioning of local services ↔ income ↔ qualification ↔ quality of life	0.001	25 percent
Local officers trusted ↔ quality of life	0.008	28 percent
Provisioning of national services ↔ employed ↔ qualification ↔ quality of life	0.011	42 percent
National officers trusted ↔ employed ↔ income ↔ quality of life	0.009	44 percent

Six models showed promise for associating two attributes for ‘integrity’ with advantage. Both employed and qualification featured in at least one of the models for each of the attributes (see Table 61 below). The strongest of the models ($p = 0.000$), linked both these variables with ‘national participation encouraged’. This same model, except with a local focus, also showed promise for further analysis, as did a second model for ‘local participation encouraged’ that included these same two variables, as well as income. The other three models for ‘national participation encouraged’ pair the variables employed with occupation ($p = 0.001$), income and qualification ($p = 0.003$), and occupation and qualification ($p = 0.013$).

Table 61: Associative Models for ‘Integrity’

Associative model	P value	Cells > 1.5
Local participation encouraged ↔ employed ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.015	41 percent
Local participation encouraged ↔ employed ↔ qualification	0.010	41 percent
National participation encouraged ↔ employed ↔ qualification	0.000	24 percent
National participation encouraged ↔ occupation ↔ qualification	0.013	24 percent
National participation encouraged ↔ income ↔ qualification	0.003	24 percent
National participation encouraged ↔ employed ↔ occupation	0.001	24 percent

SUMMARY

This chapter presented the methods for analysing the research information and presenting the results for the three key purposes of the research. The results for the first of these—identifying forms of social capital and developing a measurement framework for comparing levels with each community—showed that statistically

significant differences could be identified for six attributes: ‘neighbourhood contact’, ‘density of neighbourhood relations’, ‘seeking community trust’, ‘coverage of engagement’, ‘density of engagement’, and ‘density of local engagement’. The results were then presented in a ‘scorecard’ portrait.

The second purpose—identifying the structural variables underlying social capital production—showed social capital accumulating with different structural features. Both gender and age featured strongly with different variables, less so ethnicity. The final purpose of the research was to link advantages associated with attributes with forms of social capital. While further analysis would be required to refer the results to the combined populations, the results showed that 41 models linking factors of advantage with social capital attributes provided promising results. The results are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS DISCUSSED

Chapter Three detailed the development of the Social Capital Framework used in this research, with the method for trialling its utility being described in Chapters Four and Five. The results were detailed in the preceding chapter. The meaning of the results, and the functionality and nuisances of the Framework are discussed in this chapter.

Scoring Social Capital

The dimensions of social capital are complex. The Framework developed for this dissertation included dimensions that included four different forms, 11 different sub-forms, 44 attributes, and two tiers of social capital. The purpose in using a scorecard approach was to clearly communicate this complex array of information and to distinguish differences to aid strategic understanding. The results for the two communities were presented in a scorecard form in Chapter Six. This section, with references to graphic presentation of the results, discusses the efficacy of the scorecard approach as a presentation method.

The numerical scorecard results for each of the four forms of social capital were presented in Table 12 (see page 190) to Table 18 (see page 195) in Chapter Six. The results for each population for ‘integration’ are summarised graphically in Figure 3 (see page 248). The key messages highlighted from the graphical presentation, and therefore the scorecard, are that stocks of social capital in the form of ‘integration’ varied considerably across the three identified sub-forms of ‘integration’. While

stocks of family and community ‘integration’ generally appeared moderate, stocks of ‘neighbourhood integration’ were much lower. The exceptions to this were notably low stocks of premier ‘integration’ for Whakatane (see Figure 3 Map B below) and Wellington (see Figure 3 Map A below), excluding ‘community contact’, and additionally for Wellington ‘community commonality’. As Bourdieu suggested (1986a:248-255), the non-maintenance of particular social structures is likely to impact on these respondents and to lead increased denial of resource access.

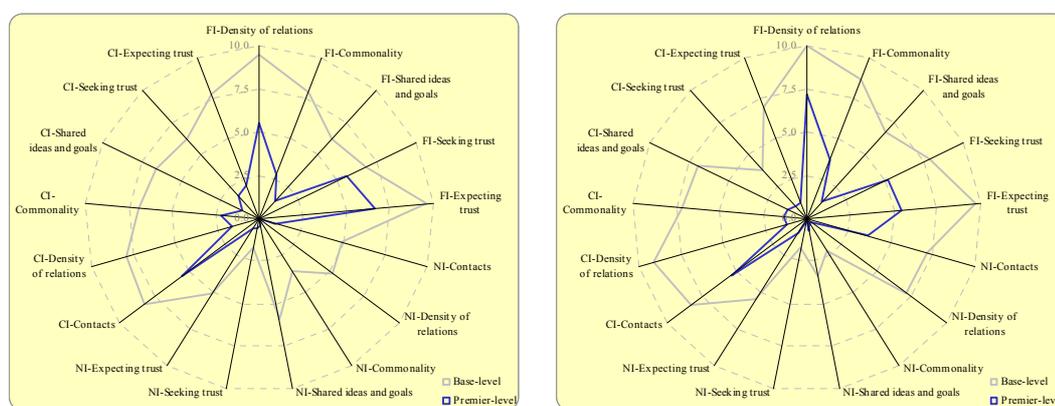


Figure 3: Wellington (Map A) and Whakatane (Map B) ‘integration’ maps¹

Exceptions to the general pattern with particularly high levels of social capital were base-level ‘density of family relations’ in Whakatane and ‘expecting family trust’ in both communities. Contrary to the predominant pattern, moderate levels of base and premier-level ‘community contacts’ for Whakatane and base-level ‘density of neighbourhood relations’ and ‘shared neighbourhood ideas and goals’ of Whakatane and Wellington, respectively, were also observed. Overall, both base and premier-level social capital showed a similar pattern when comparing the stocks of each for

¹ FI = ‘family integration’; NI = ‘neighbourhood integration’; and CI = ‘community integration’.

the Wellington community. In fact, across all attributes of ‘integration’ the data groups showed a 93 percent correlation.

The graphical presentation of the scorecards showed the level of each attribute and presented the summaries for the two communities side-by-side. Another important aspect of presenting the information in a scorecard form is to present the differences between two populations. To enable this graphically, alternate radar graphs derived from the magnitude of the difference of the results for each community were used. The difference was calculated by standardising the results for Wellington to zero for each attribute. This is represented by the outer rim of the shaded area in the radar graphs (for example, see Figure 4 page 250). In addition, the difference was also factored by the average level of ‘integration’ for each variable, so to reduce the impact of disproportionate differences for results closer to zero. The formula used to calculate the difference was:

$$\text{Disparity} = \left(\frac{a + b}{2} * \frac{a - b}{a} \right) * 10 \text{ percent}$$

a = score for the Wellington population
b = score for the Whakatane population

When this method is applied to social capital in the form of ‘integration’, the graphical analysis highlights the key differences that were discussed in relation to Table 12 (see page 190) to Table 18 (see page 195) in the previous chapter. As Figure 4 shows (see page 250), the most predominant differences in the level of premier ‘integration’ (see Figure 4 Map A page 250) when the communities were compared were higher levels of ‘density of family relations’, ‘family commonality’, and ‘neighbourhood contacts’ for Whakatane and higher levels of ‘expecting family

trust’, ‘seeking neighbourhood trust’, ‘density of community relations’, and ‘community commonality’ for Wellington . For base-level ‘integration’ (see Figure 4 Map B below), Whakatane showed higher levels for most attributes, with the exception of ‘neighbourhood commonality’, ‘shared neighbourhood ideas and goals’, ‘seeking community trust’, and ‘expecting community trust’.

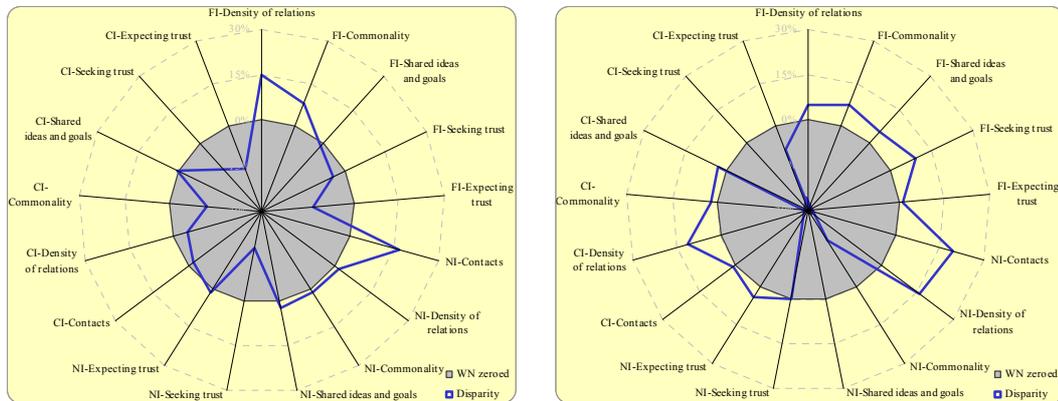


Figure 4: Premier (Map A) and base (Map B) ‘integration’ disparity¹

The tables summarising the results for ‘integration’ in Chapter Six, Table 12 (see page 190) to Table 18 (see page 195), denote where a significant statistical difference between the two populations exists and where it does not. The two statistically significant differences for premier-level ‘integration’ were ‘density of family relations’ and ‘neighbourhood contacts’ with the former being a false-negative result. Moreover, ‘community commonality’ was labelled as different where there was no statistical difference (false-positive).

¹ FI = ‘family integration’; NI = ‘neighbourhood integration’; and CI = ‘community integration’.

An increased sample size would have removed the false-positive result error; however, the false-negative error (‘density of family relations’) would remain as it is a factor of forcing the sample-based results in defined categories. The problem of type A and B errors can be avoided by presenting just the numerical results in the scorecard, noting the absence of sampling error analysis, and without the category labels.

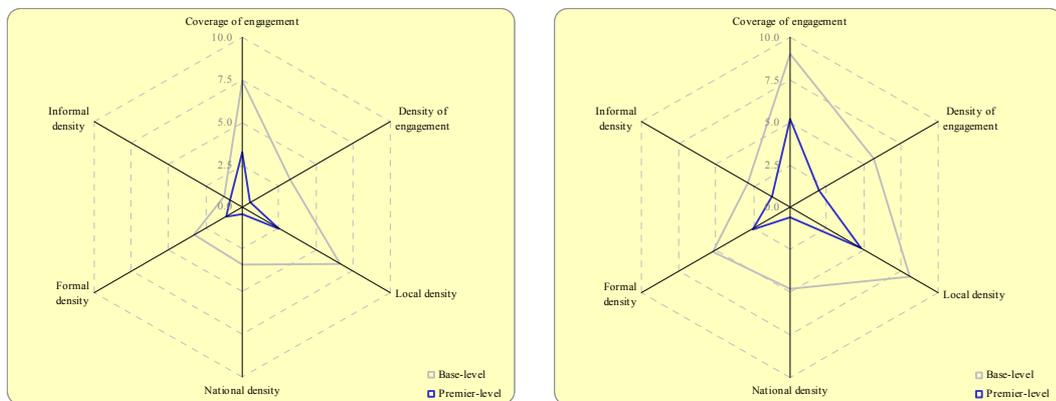


Figure 5: Wellington (Map A) and Whakatane (Map B) ‘linkage’ maps

The results for both populations for social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ were presented in Chapter Six in Table 15 (see page 192) and summarised graphically in this chapter in Figure 5 (see above). The results for Wellington (see Figure 5 Map A, above) showed moderate stocks of most attributes at a base-level, with higher levels of ‘density of local engagement’ and, as with premier-level stocks and both tiers for Whakatane (see Figure 5 Map B, above), lower levels of ‘density of informal engagement’. Premier-level stocks for Wellington were generally low with the exception of ‘coverage of engagement’ and ‘density of local engagement’. As with Wellington, Whakatane’s results showed particularly high stocks of ‘density of

national engagement’ at the base-level and higher than average ‘coverage of engagement’ and ‘density of local engagement’ at the premier-level.

When the two results of the communities are compared, the scores for Whakatane are clearly higher than Wellington for virtually all attributes. The difference is less for ‘density of national engagement’ and ‘density of informal engagement at the premier-level (see Figure 6 Map A, below), but is consistent across all the attributes at the base-level (see Figure 6 Map B, below). The patterns between the results for Wellington and Whakatane were also quite consistent for both tiers with a 97 percent correlation. Only one attribute provided a result that was not valid given statistical testing. The low result for both Wellington and Whakatane meant that both were classified as having low stocks for ‘Density of informal engagement’ at the premier-level (see Table 15, page 192). However, partly as a result of the estimates tending to the lower extreme, Whakatane actually had a significantly higher result.

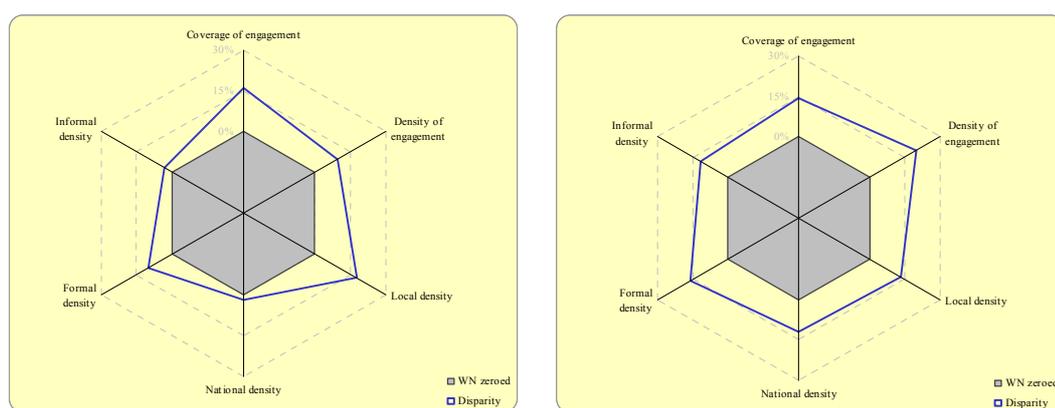


Figure 6: Premier (Map A) and base (Map B) ‘linkage’ disparity

Table 16 (see page 193) in Chapter Six presents the scorecard of results for social capital in the form of ‘synergy’ and these results are presented graphically in Figure 7 (see below), Wellington (see Figure 7 Map A, page 253) and Whakatane (see Figure 7 Map B, page 253) ‘synergy’, maps. The overall pattern for Wellington showed higher results for base-level ‘local synergy’ attributes and lower results for ‘national synergy’. Very low results were observed for all premier-level attributes for both communities, with ‘range of local services’ providing the highest rating. Whakatane showed similar base-level results as Wellington except with slightly higher ‘shared local ideas and goals’.

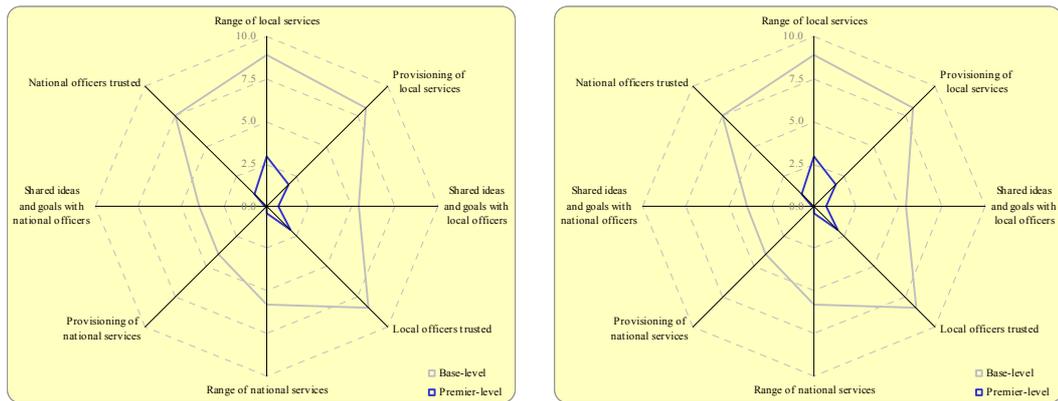


Figure 7: Wellington (Map A) and Whakatane (Map B) ‘synergy’ maps

The relationship between the two communities for both premier and base-level ‘synergy’ was strongly correlated at 97 percent. When premier-level results are compared for each community (see Figure 8, page 254), the scorecard shows similar results for most attributes with the exception of Wellington scoring notably higher for ‘provision of local services’ and ‘local officers trusted’. While small differences were observed for base-level attributes linked to ‘local synergy’ with Whakatane possibly scoring slightly higher results for all attributes except ‘range of local

services’, Wellington scored higher for all ‘national synergy’ attributes apart from ‘shared ideas and goals for national officers’. While these differences premier and base-level ‘synergy’ were numerically accurate, statistically there were no differences for the attributes, as can be observed in the scorecard for ‘synergy’ present in Chapter Six (see Table 16, page 193).

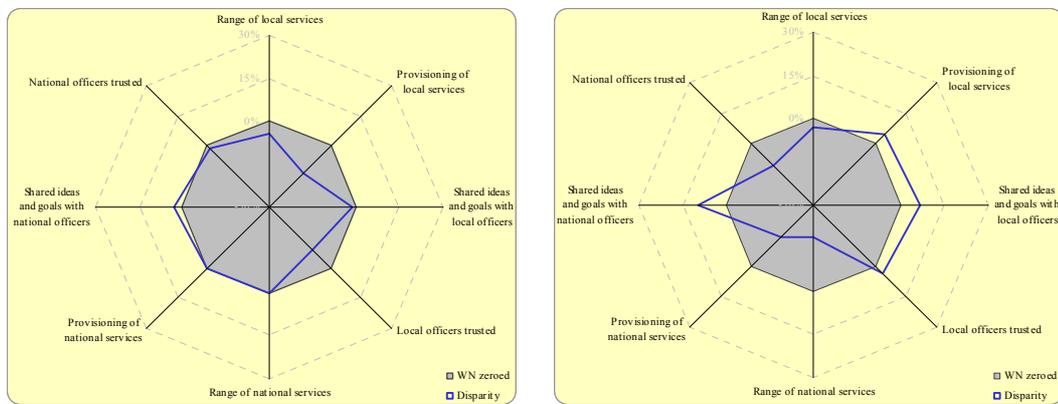


Figure 8: Premier (Map A) and base (Map B) ‘synergy’ disparity

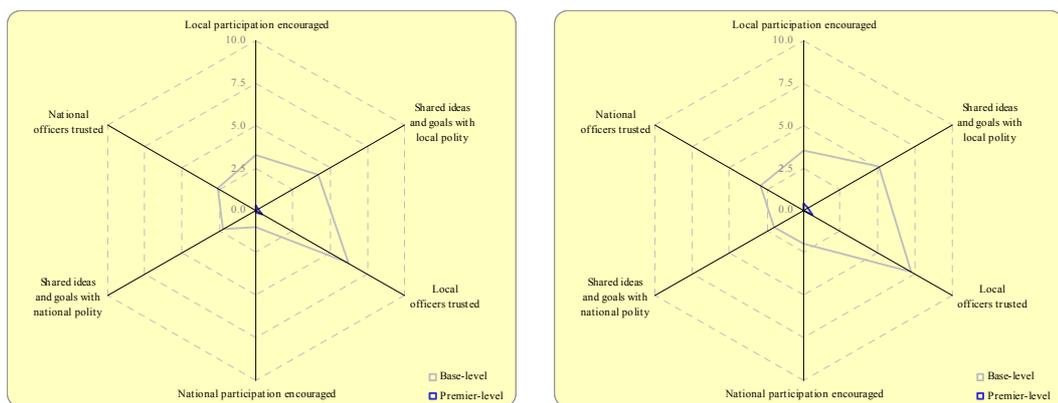


Figure 9: Wellington (Map A) and Whakatane (Map B) ‘integrity’ maps

The scorecard for the last of the four forms of social capital, ‘integrity’, was presented in Table 17 (see page 194). Almost all attributes, for both communities, recorded very low results (see Figure 9, page 254). The only exceptions were base-level ‘local offices trusted’ (see Figure 9 Map B, page 254) which showed higher levels of social capital.

There was distinguishable difference between Wellington and Whakatane for ‘integrity’ at the premier-level (see Figure 10 below). Whakatane scored slightly higher results at the base-level for two attributes for ‘local integrity’, ‘shared local ideas and goals’ and ‘local officers trusted’, and for the ‘national integrity’, the attribute ‘national participation encouraged’ (see Figure 10 Map B below). As with the other forms of social capital, the datasets for each community for ‘integrity’ were closely related with a correlation coefficient of 99 percent. As with ‘synergy’, none of the attributes for ‘integrity’ showed statistically significant differences when comparing the two communities (see Table 17, page 194).

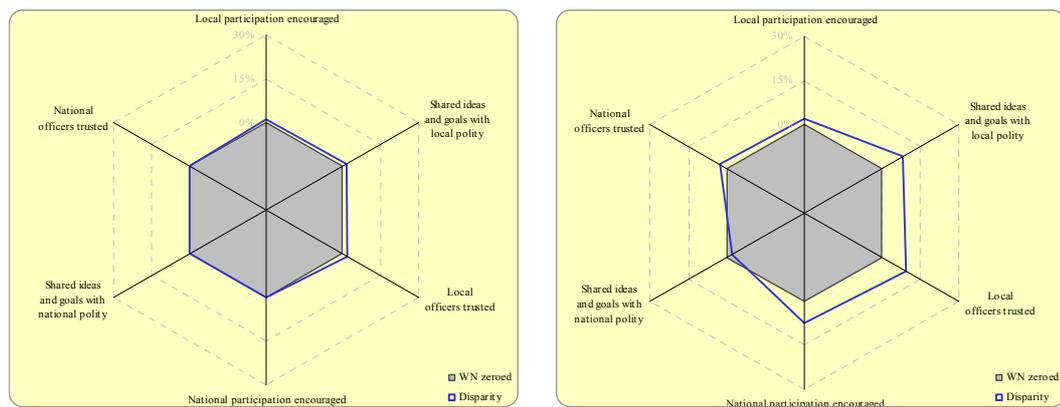


Figure 10: Premier (Map A) and base (Map B) ‘integrity’ disparity

Table 62 (see page 267) presented the hypothesised impact of increasing the sample size. This analysis showed that increasing the sample size would reduce the degree of statistical error, meaning that, if the results for the communities remained the same, more attributes with a numerical difference identified on the scorecard, particularly those linked with ‘integration’ and ‘synergy’, would be classified as statistically significant. In total 31 more numerical differences in the radar graphs were statistically significant as a result of increasing the sample size.

Overall, the scorecard provided a clear and easy to read presentation of the results across the complex dimensions of social capital. The categorising of results into ‘high’, ‘good’, ‘moderate’, and ‘low’, while aligning to statistical requirements for 92 percent of the dimensions analysed, proved difficult and, on-balance, the minimal advantage of using labels for added clarity was outweighed by misalignment with statistical authenticity. A numerical scorecard provides the clarity and simplicity required to convey the key messages about actual and comparative stocks of different forms, sub-forms, and attributes of social capital.

Forms of Social Capital: Discussion

One of the key purposes of this dissertation was to develop a measurement framework for comparing varying levels of the forms of social capital resident in different communities. The results showed that the Framework could be used for measuring the strengths and weaknesses of attributes linked to different forms of social capital. Three attributes were aligned to the social capital in the form of ‘integration’: two of which were part of the cluster of attributes identified in Chapter Three as social norms. Three attributes were connected with the component of

‘linkage’, and no attributes connected with ‘synergy’ or ‘integrity’ registered different levels when the two communities were compared.

The first attribute examined, ‘neighbourhood contact’ (question 6), shows two differences between the communities (see Figure 11 below). The response ‘often’ (‘talk often’) has a positive adjusted residual of 5.5 for Whakatane and the response ‘infreq’ (‘talk infrequently’) has a positive adjusted residual of 2.0 for Wellington (refer to Table 19, page 202). This provides evidence that people living in Whakatane consider that they have increased contact with their neighbours compared to people living in Wellington.

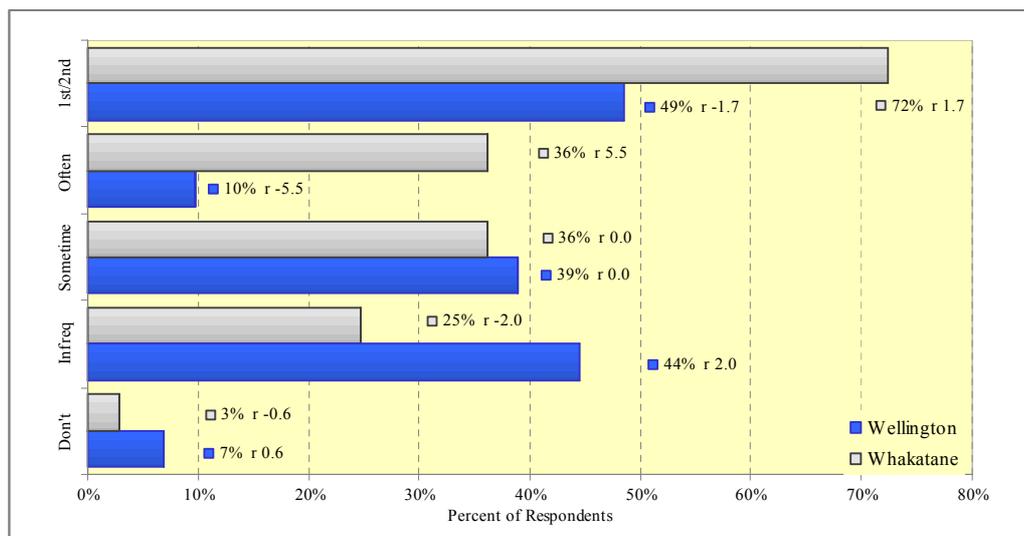


Figure 11: Variation in ‘neighbourhood contact’

The level of contact within any network forms the foundation with which social capital is generated. The higher levels linked to neighbourhood networks that were recorded in Whakatane compared to Wellington suggests higher stocks of this

attribute linked with social capital in the sub-form ‘neighbourhood integration’. By definition, higher stocks in Whakatane indicate that the associated network will be more productive.¹ In fact, the results of the analysis of associated advantages, though limited by sample size², suggested that a positive relationship existed between ‘neighbourhood integration’ and employment status and income (see Table 58, page 242).

The second attribute linked with the neighbourhood-level sub-form of social capital with a distinguishable difference under the two-community comparison was ‘density of neighbourhood relations’. As with the previous attribute, the overall pattern showed higher responses for people resident in Whakatane (see Figure 12, page 259). This result was generated from Whakatane scoring higher across the top two categories (‘close’ and ‘good’), and Wellington recording higher instances of ‘fair’ and ‘poor’. Differences at the category level were problematic to identify with only one category ‘poor’ reaching the required condition of having an adjusted residual of 2.0 or greater (2.6, compared to -2.6 for Wellington). While expected counts for each response category for the attribute were not strong, overall the minimum expected counts reached 2.0 (with rounding). When combined with expected count results, there was sufficient supporting evidence to suggest an observable difference between the two populations.

¹ The definition of ‘capital’ requires an item or condition to be an ‘asset or advantage’, therefore, productive.

² The sample size was too small for the estimates to be reliable.

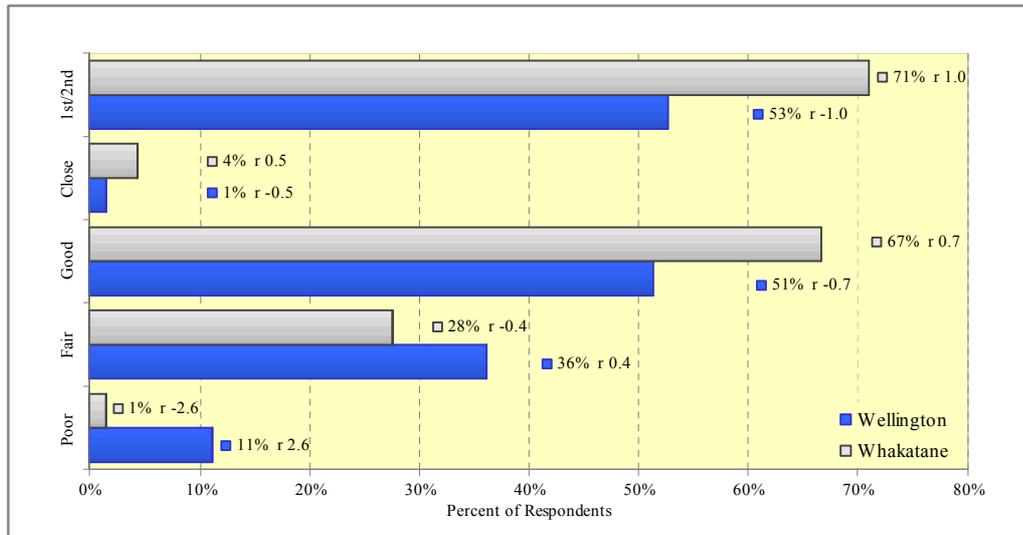


Figure 12: Variation in the ‘density of neighbourhood relations’

The identification of a second attribute linked with social norms within neighbourhoods provides strengthened evidence that higher levels of this form of social capital reside in Whakatane’s neighbourhood networks. However, it is worth noting that different networks may fulfil different role in distinct communities and may be reciprocated across a variety of networks. As Granovetter’s (1995:137) points out, it is access to social capital across different social structures, what Granovetter terms ‘weak ties’, which enables individuals to extend production from ‘dense ties’. Accordingly, the lack of social capital in ‘neighbourhood integration’ in Wellington may limit access to specific resources. While not meeting the required conditions for evidence, it is interesting to note that the analysis of association presented in Chapter Six, suggests that this attribute could be linked with quality of life, and independently with occupational characteristics and qualification-level (see Table 58, page 242).

The third attribute linked with ‘integration’ social capital that showed a locational difference between the two communities was ‘seeking community trust’ (question 16). The propensity to ask people in the community for help, and therefore to have reflexive trust, was higher in Wellington (see Figure 13 below). The distribution of the results across each of the categories produced strong support for the results for this attribute, including a chi-squared statistic that was significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The results show a higher proportion of people residing in Wellington identifying that they are either ‘willing’ or ‘happy’ to ask people in their community for help. This result leads to Wellington registering a positive adjusted residual of 2.1 when the responses of ‘happy’ and ‘willing’ were combined.¹ Correspondingly, a higher proportion of people in Whakatane were more likely to respond that they were ‘reluctant’ and ‘would not’ ‘seek community trust’.

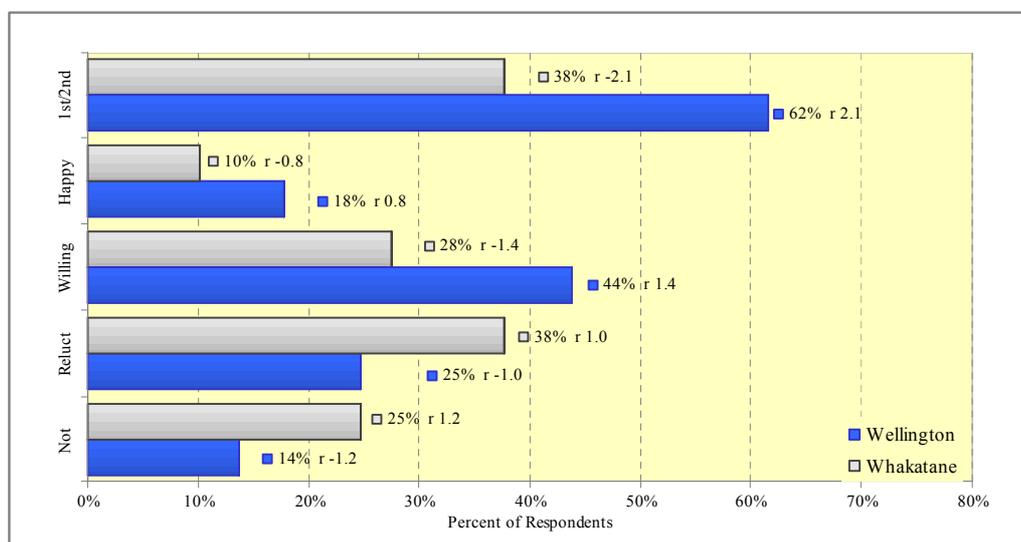


Figure 13: Variation in ‘seeking community trust’

¹ Although it is important to ensure that the combining of categories ‘makes sense’, it is a legitimate way to source additional information to investigate a previous supposition.

Only one attribute associated with the social capital component, trust, demonstrated variation between the two communities, with little or no differences for the sub-forms of ‘family integration’ and ‘neighbourhood integration’. Trust is an essential foundation in all social networks across society (Evans, 1994:1125); including across all three sub-forms of ‘integration’. The lower stock of trust in the ‘community integration’ network for Whakatane indicates efficiency-limiting network fragility. With a weaker network, residents will be less likely to capitalise on the resources made available specific to the network or indirectly from other associated networks. Moreover, where resources are retrieved, the capitalisation requirements are likely to be more arduous.

Academic writing about active civic engagement, including that of Putnam (1993a) and Coleman (in Portes, 1998), has tended to focus on the actual level of engagement without also encompassing an analysis of the nature of different forms of engagement. The Social Capital Framework constructed for this dissertation has sought, given the limitations of resources, to also examine not only the level of engagement (‘density of engagement’), but also their coverage across different groups, whether the organisation had a local or national reach, and the primary purpose of the organisation. The nature of their operation, whether formal or informal, was also considered.

The two-community comparison provided informative results. Differences were identified for attributes of social capital in the form of ‘linkage’¹, including the ‘coverage of engagement’, ‘density of engagement’, and the ‘density in local

¹ All three attributes were derived from different classifications of question 19.

engagement’. The small sample size combined with the low levels of engagement with cultural, political, community, or religious groups determined that no clear differences were observed when the two communities were compared. The three attributes linked to social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ with varying population results are discussed in the remainder of this section.

The first attribute that demonstrated a difference when examined was the ‘coverage of the civil engagement’ within the communities. There was a clear indication that people in Whakatane were active members of more groups than people in Wellington (see Figure 14 below). Over half of the respondents reported having active involvement with at least three groups and a positive adjusted residual of 2.0 showed that this was clearly higher than people living in Wellington. Notably people living in Wellington were more likely to have no active involvement with groups (adjusted residual, -2.5).

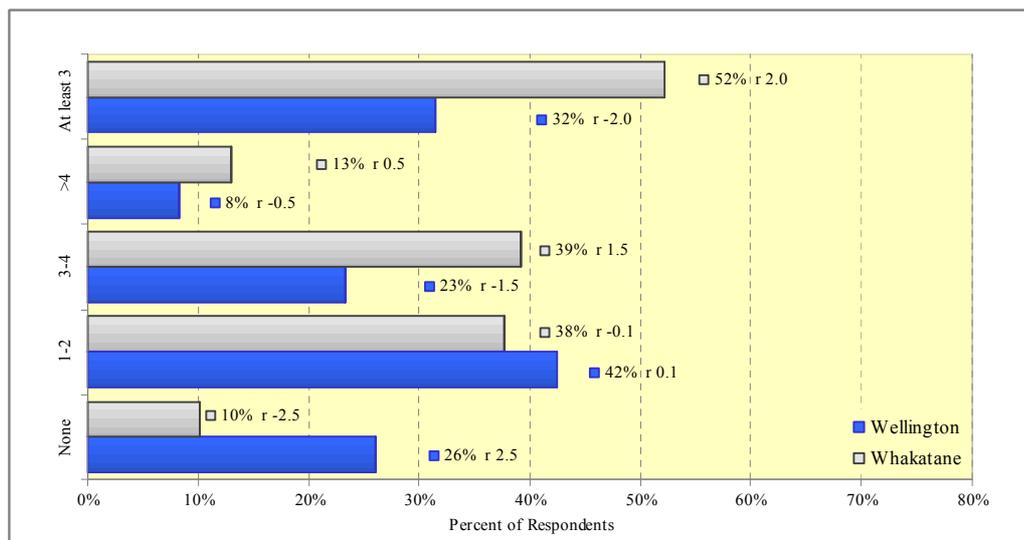


Figure 14: ‘Coverage of engagement’

The same result as for ‘coverage of engagement’ was also observed for the attribute ‘density of engagements’ (see Figure 15 below). A higher proportion of residents in Whakatane, compared to Wellington, had more engagements, whereas people in Wellington were more likely to have none as denoted by a negative adjusted residual of -2.0. This result indicates that people in Whakatane were more likely to have at least one, and in some cases, more than two engagements each week.

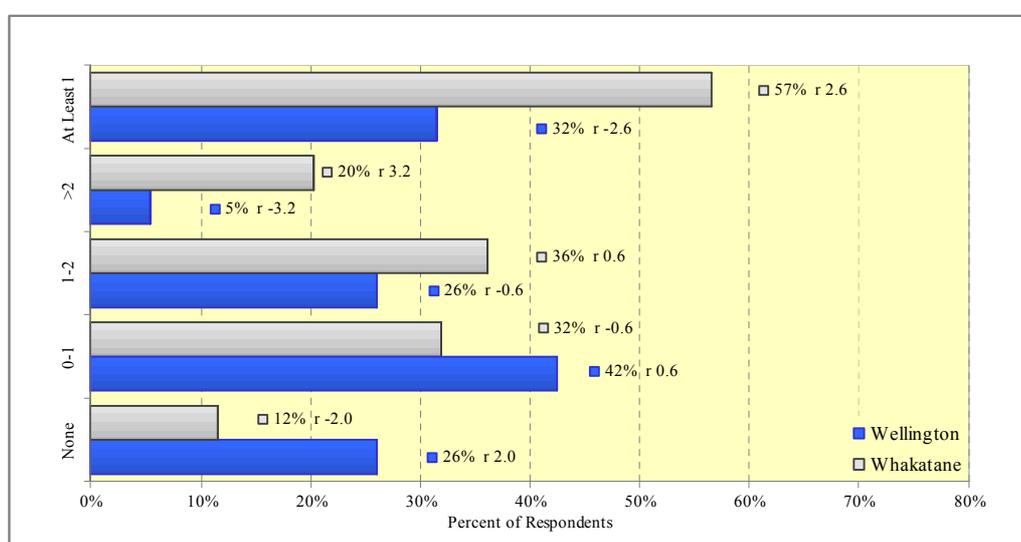


Figure 15: ‘Density of engagements’

As Putnam has proffered (1993, 1993a, 1995, 2000; Cox, 1995), engagement with groups is important and forms a type of ‘glue that binds’ society. If this holds true, then dimensions of both coverage and density are important in the development of strong and weak relationships. The research for this dissertation suggests that both coverage and density is stronger in Whakatane and provides for better actual or potential collective action. Moreover, the analysis of associations indicates that age may have been a key factor influencing ‘density of engagement’ (see Table 39, page

226), with older people having a higher number of engagements. The analysis also suggested that the relationship between the 'density of engagement' and employment status (see Table 59, page 243) may be a fruitful area for further research, even though this analysis of the association fall short of proving a relationship between these variables.

When the results of the 'density of engagements' were re-categorised to determine whether they included a local or national reach, again people living in Wellington were less likely to have any engagements and people in Whakatane were more likely to have at least one local engagement each week (see Figure 16 below), as is evidenced by adjusted residual of 2.7.

The finding for this attribute remains consistent if the data is analysed for people who had engagements, thus excluding those who did not. That is, of people who had a local engagement (*P value*, 0.67; minimum expected count, 6.9), those living in Wellington were more likely to have less than one per week (adjusted residual, 2.20) than people living in Whakatane (see Figure 16, page 265). This extension of the analysis provides further support for the notion that people living in Whakatane are likely to undertake these forms of engagement more often. Moreover, in applying Granovetter's interpretation of 'strong-weak-ties', and the rationalised (see Granovetter, 1983) and social-structure specific evidence-based formulated by Wacquant and Wilson (1989), under particular circumstances, the extremes of being denied access to resources may mediated in Whakatane as a result of denser localised engagement. A predominance of local engagements also meant that the density of these engagements proved to be influenced by age for the two

communities that formed the population for this dissertation (see Table 38, page 226).

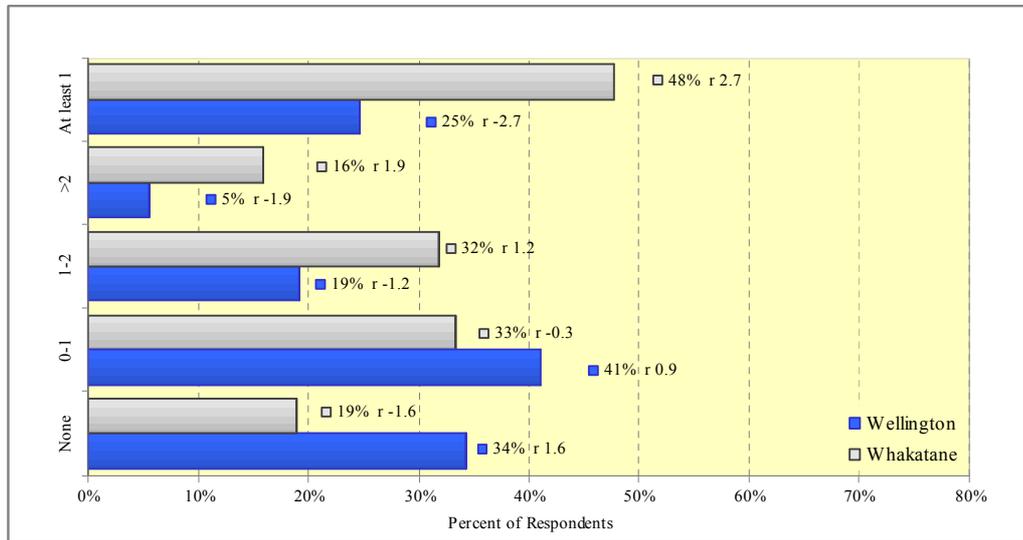


Figure 16: ‘Density of local engagements’

The Social Capital Framework developed for this dissertation was intended to distinguish different stocks of different forms of social capital. The application of the Framework demonstrated, in part, a propensity to differentiate how social capital is composed in the two communities surveyed in this research. Discernible differences were identified for six attributes linked to two forms of social capital: ‘integration’ and ‘linkage’, and no variations were observed for the other two forms: ‘synergy’ and integrity’. In part, this shows the potential of using a Framework of this nature to determine baseline stocks of social capital, the outcome sought from applied interventions and to monitor changes over time.

However, only one in six attributes registered different levels of social capital for the two populations. This low propensity to distinguish between the populations can be associated with two causes: research limitations caused by the sample size and sub-optimum framework design. The impact of the sample size can be assessed by testing the impact doubling the sampling size would have on the test statistics if all other factors remained constant, including the research estimates for the two samples. The affect of this hypothesis testing is to reduce the sampling error incorporated in the statistical tests. Increasing the sample size will increase the denominator in the statistical test of significance that was introduced in Chapter Six, therefore, contracting its influence on the right-hand-side of the formula, leading to a smaller estimate of the error.

Doubling the sample size would, holding all other factors constant, decrease the sampling error and increase the instances of statistically significant results. As Table 62 demonstrates (see page 267), the sampling errors for the forms of social capital would decrease on average by 3.5 percent, and an additional 31 statistically significant attributes would result. Saliently, all of the 31 additional attributes demonstrate higher stocks of social capital in Whakatane compared to Wellington. This suggests that the utility of the Framework could be substantially enhanced by increasing the sample size.

The sensitivity analysis also identifies that the impact of doubling the sample size is unlikely to be evenly distributed across the different forms of social capital. Table 62 (see page 267) identifies that an additional 10 statistically significant

relationships may be identified for social capital in the form of ‘integration’; only four for ‘linkage’; 14 for ‘synergy’; and only three additional differences between Wellington and Whakatane for ‘integrity’. The reasons for the differences across the forms of social capital are two-fold: that the dissertation research identified similar stocks for the two communities for particular forms of social capital; and two, some of the four-point scales used in defining respondents’ views were more valid than others.

Table 62: Hypothesised Impact of an Increased Sample

Social capital	Thesis sample		Doubled sample		Difference	
	Average error	Significant results	Average error	Significant results	Average error	Significant results
Integration	12.2%	23	8.6%	33	-3.6%	+10
Linkage	11.1%	20	7.7%	24	-3.3%	+4
Synergy	12.1%	1	8.4%	15	-3.7%	+14
Integrity	11.2%	2	7.9%	5	-3.3%	+3
Total	11.8%	46	8.3%	77	-3.5%	+31

‘Linkage’ employed a numerical recall approach, and therefore there was considerable propensity to distribute responses across consistent categories. Measurement of the other three forms of social capital relied on attitudinal responses across preset categories. Design optimisation therefore required that the question was as valid as possible, including each question’s four-point scale. The more effective the categories associated with the four-point scale, the more evenly the distribution of the responses. This distributional affect will magnify the influence of the sample size. As such, the hypothesised impact of the doubled sample size also highlights that the improvement in the granularity of results would be worthwhile for ‘integration’ and ‘synergy’, but not to the same degree for ‘integrity’, meaning

that the dimensions of the four-point scale need to be enhanced to ensure that responses are distributed across the scale. This would also increase the reliability of the results by helping to ensure that all expected counts were above five and that there were higher minimum expected counts for associated tables.

Survey validity was derived through comprehensive analysis of previous social capital and the wider social science literature, the selection of a tested (see De Vaus, 1995:89) four-point scale for categorising the responses, and the pre-testing and piloting of the questionnaire. In the first stage of pre-testing this included verifying that respondents were able to reply in the way they wanted. During the second pre-testing stage the draft questionnaire was administered to the same pre-test group and their feedback helped to assess and adjust the flow, logical organisation, and consistency of the questionnaire before the survey was piloted with an independent group.

There was little further scope for more rigorous validity testing due to the developmental nature of the field and the limited testing of key conceptual elements of the Framework and the survey instrument, including potential indicators. Moreover, the developmental nature of social capital meant there were few comparative studies with which to consider performance of both the Framework and survey instruments. As noted in Chapter Four, these problems mean that there was no practical way for determining the validity of the indicators or the Framework.

Accordingly, the Framework and survey were presented as a reasonable approach to expanding knowledge.¹

The limitations of the Framework to establish greater variety in social capital resources in the two populations, combined with the sample size impact assessment presented in Table 62 (page 267), suggest that a number of the dimensions of the Framework would benefit from further testing and enhancing to increase robustness. Particular attention should be given to the elements associated with ‘integrity’. However, the analysis has demonstrated that a more empirical and evidence-based approach to identifying levels of social capital and the dynamics of accumulation and further production, can overcome the limitations of past research and positing regarding levels of social capital, including those evident in the Putnam’s *Making Democracy Work* (1993) and ‘The Prosperous Community, Social Capital and Economic Growth’ (1993a). The evidence from the testing of the Framework used in this dissertation suggests that investigation and testing, and synthesis of the Framework’s components could be profitable.

Linking Social Capital to Structure: Discussion

A secondary purpose of the dissertation was to explore the structural variables underlying social capital production. The results that were presented in Chapter Six analysing the link between the structural variables of age, ethnicity, and gender are examined in this section. The results showed that, under specific circumstances, different structural variables, and combinations thereof, were linked with a variety of social capital attributes.

¹ This approach is consistent with that suggested by De Vaus (1995:57).

The results presented in Chapter Six showed that 30 attributes of different forms could be linked to age, ethnicity, and gender: ten attributes for 'integration', nine for 'linkage', seven for 'synergy', and 'integrity' were linked through four attributes. The variables of gender and age featured both independently and in unison in 20 and 19 of the relational models, respectively, with ethnicity featuring in nine models. The prominence of different structural variables is best discussed in relation to each form of social capital due to form-by-form variations.

While age and gender shared similar eminence with social capital in the form of 'integration', and ethnicity featured rarely, social capital seemed to cluster around different variables depending on the sub-form of 'integration' (see Table 63 below). Both age and ethnicity, operating in unison, featured in relation to 'family commonality' and 'seeking family trust', and gender regarding 'shared family ideas and goals'.

Age featured in all the models for 'neighbourhood integration', joining with gender for just one-two-way model. The strong presentation of age within neighbourhood networks was driven by respondents having higher stocks of social capital as age increases, for example, 35 percent of people over 60 years of age had 'neighbourhood contact' often, compare to just five percent of people under 35 years of age (see Table 31, page 222).

'Community integration', while featuring age and ethnicity in one model each, was significantly driven by gender which featured in relation to all but one attribute (see

Table 63 below). The emergent pattern shows that women were significantly more likely than men to rate the attributes for ‘neighbourhood integration’ highly. An example of this is just five percent of men, compared to 22 percent of women, identified that they were ‘happy to ask for help’ when rating ‘expecting community trust’ (see Table 34, page 223).

Table 63: Structural Variables and ‘Integration’

Attributes	Age	Ethnicity	Gender
Family integration			
Density of family relationship			
Family commonality	✓✓ ^a	✓✓	
Shared family ideas and goals			✓
Seeking family trust	✓✓	✓✓	
Expecting family trust			
Neighbourhood integration			
Neighbourhood contact	✓		
Density of neighbourhood relationship	✓		
Neighbourhood commonality			
Shared neighbourhood ideas and goals	✓✓		✓✓
Seeking neighbourhood trust			
Expecting neighbourhood trust			
Community integration			
Community contact			✓
Density of community relationship			✓
Community commonality			✓
Shared community ideas and goals	✓✓		✓✓
Seeking community trust			
Expecting community trust		✓	✓

Stocks of social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ were cogently aligned with age rating levels for all but two attributes or variants of engagement forming in relation to this structural variable (see Table 64, page 272). Gender mitigated or operated in

unison for three of these models, and ethnicity in relation to the ‘density of cultural engagement’. Age was a dominant variable because the level of engagement increased with age, for example, 37 percent of people under 35 years of age, and just five percent of people over 60, had no engagement (see Table 36, page 224).

Table 64: Structural Variables and ‘Linkage’

Attributes	Age	Ethnicity	Gender
Coverage of engagements			
Density of engagements	✓		
Density of local engagements	✓✓		✓✓
Density of national engagements	✓		
Density of formal engagements	✓		
Density of informal engagements			
Density of social engagements	✓		
Density of cultural engagements		✓✓	✓✓
Density of sporting engagements	✓		
Density of religious engagements	✓✓		✓✓
Density of community engagements	✓		

Prior to undertaking the research, it was expected that people in Whakatane would be more involved with groups, but that the groups would tend to be more localised, ‘informal’, and social. The results, in part, support this supposition with people in Whakatane under-taking more engagements and with a greater number of groups (see Table 82, page 327). However, these results may also be partly misleading. The log-linear analysis showed that the number of engagements is very strongly associated with (P -value = 0.002) the age of respondents. The analysis showed (Table 94, page 330) that people under 35 years of age were likely to have less engagements than people over 65 years old. It was noted in Chapter Five (see page 175) that both younger people who were participating in tertiary education and

retired people seemed more disposed to taking-part in the research (see ‘Research Transparency’ section, page 171 to page 181). It was, therefore, suggested that younger people in Wellington and retired people in Whakatane were over-represented in the sample. This is undoubtedly the case, meaning that the high propensity for engagement noted for the Whakatane population may be an artefact of over-representation of people aged 65 years and over for Whakatane and the over-representation of people under 35 years from Wellington.

The pivotal question is whether the higher result for Whakatane reflects greater levels of social capital or is simply a feature of more people aged 60 or over being included in the sample. It is likely that the Whakatane population has a higher propensity for engagement than the Wellington population. For a start, the 1996 Census indicated that there is a higher proportion of people between 18 and 24 years of age living in Wellington (26 percent compared to 12 percent in Whakatane), and that there is a higher proportion of people aged 60 years or over living in Whakatane (26 percent compared to 11 percent in Wellington). This means that, although there may be higher levels in Whakatane, as long as the sample is representative, this reflects a higher level of capital that people have to use productively.

The two samples were also analysed independently to gain a better idea as to whether there was evidence of differences in associational shaping, and expected patterns, for each sample. The normative orientation that guided the analysis was that if only one sample of the two pointed to an association between the indicator and the structural variable of ‘age’, and there was a pattern in expected counts where

the propensity of engagement increased with age, this would support the hypothesis that there was a difference between the two populations.

The log-linear analysis of each sample produced very different results. The Whakatane sample produced a very strong Chi-squared association ($P\text{-value} = 0.002^1$) between engagement and age. The analysis showed that people under 35 years of age were more likely to have no engagements, and people over 60 were more likely to have three or more engagements per week. For Whakatane, people 60 and over (20 percent) who were residing in Wellington were no more likely to have one or more engagement per week than for people under 35 (26 percent). These results did not support the original hypothesis. The analysis of each sample seems to support the original result, meaning that there is sufficient evidence to note a difference between the two populations, with people in Whakatane being more inclined to engagement than people in Wellington.

Technology is advancing and mediums like the internet have facilitated the development of social structures, for example, discussion sites like 'Bebo'. In particular, this is creating the opportunity for developing wide-reaching 'weak ties' and therefore building the base-level of social capital within communities. A key question will be whether these new social structures will lead to a deterioration of traditional structures like sports clubs and other civic societies, and whether the new social structures can facilitate access to resources more, less or as efficiently. Initial research into the internet suggests synergies and compatibilities with these new

¹ Note that, although the other conditions required to ensure validity were violated (50 percent of cells had expected counts less than five and the minimum expected count was less than two), since only a general indication was required, this was not considered as invalid.

structures rather the replication or substitution. Moreover, as Uslaner (2004) found in his study into the internet's impact on engagement and trust, high usage internet people are not socially isolated and their trust in weak ties developed through the internet mirror their levels of trust in other social structures. If Uslaner's (2004) findings prove applicable to other contexts like for Whakatane and Wellington, this suggests that there is little to fear from the internet and further research into how the internet-based social structures afford new ways of accessing resources depending on the purpose of the actor would of value.

Gender had a significant impact on all the attributes for social capital in the form of 'synergy', with the exception of 'range of services' (see Table 65, page 276). Nevertheless, as Table 65 shows (see page 276), both age and ethnicity were influential in determining values for three attributes each, including joining with gender for the formation of a four-way log-linear model for 'shared ideas and goals with national officers'. The pattern for the key influencing variable of gender was denoted by higher stocks of each attribute for women (see Table 45, page 230, to Table 52, page 235).

The contribution of the different structural variables in helping to establish the stock of social capital in the form of 'integrity' was quite evenly spread across the three variables. Table 66 shows (see page 276) that all three variables had a significant affect on the stock of the 'shared ideas and goals with local polity', age and ethnicity contributed to one other attribute a-piece, and gender to two further attributes. Distillation of the influencing patterns shows that, in general, higher stocks of most

attributes can be associated with women, compared to men, and with older age groups (particularly over 60 years of age), and on most occasions Pākehā exhibited higher stocks than non-Pākehā, though this was mediated by age in some situations (see Table 56, page 238, for these results).

Table 65: Structural Variables and ‘Synergy’

Attributes	Age	Ethnicity	Gender
Local synergy			
Range of local services	✓		✓
Provisioning of local services			✓
Shared ideas and goals with local officers		✓✓	✓✓
Local officers trusted	✓✓		✓✓
National synergy			
Range of national services			
Provisioning of national services		✓✓	✓✓
Shared ideas and goals with national officers	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
National officers trusted			✓

Table 66: Structural Variables and ‘Integrity’

Attributes	Age	Ethnicity	Gender
Local integrity			
Local participation encouraged			
Shared ideas and goals with local polity	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
Local polity trusted	✓		✓
National integrity			
National participation encouraged			
Shared ideas and goals with national polity		✓✓	✓✓
National polity trusted			

The purpose of the structural analysis was to explore the variables underlying social capital production. The limitations of this research, including the scarcity of

research-validated causal indicators and their directionality used in the Framework and the resources available for increasing the survey responses, required the adoption of a conservative analytical approach. The size of the survey sample clearly impacted on the propensity of the Framework to identify relationships between different attributes and variables. An increased sample size would have improved the expected cell counts and have propelled the efficacy of the proposed Framework, provided averages and distribution remains the same.

Log-linear analysis provided a well-matched tool for investigating the relationship between the elements of the Framework. This form of analysis proved useful for identifying the variables for which social capital, in its various forms, components, and attributes, crystallise. This is encouraging given the contextual limitations of the numerical categorisation of qualitative variables. While falling short of validating the Social Capital Framework developed for this dissertation, the empirical relationships identified between attributes and structural variables creates new information about the potential of the Framework for further social capital understandings, including for identifying capital rich and poor geographical areas and groups in society.

Previous authorship on social capital at the community-level has not provided empirical understanding of the way age, gender, and ethnicity mediate the production of social capital. The results discussed in this chapter raise key questions about how all three, but in particular people's age and gender influence their capital accumulation in social networks. The results showed that with an increase in age, people become more civically active across a broad-range of networks. Along with

activity, a sense of shared social norms also appears to develop. This raises key questions about the strategic nature of these associations. The nature of the associations, for example membership of Aged Concern, appears at least based on the information gained from this research, unlikely to afford access to significant material resource accumulation. Within this context, the object of capital accumulation may be more based around developing associations that can provide low-level, but nonetheless important, access to micro resources. Examples, may include prepare meals from friends when they are not well or having someone who will call once a week to check on the recipients.

The intersection of gender with the social capital accumulation contradicts many of the rational choice theorists' (see Coleman, 1988) notions that high levels of social capital lead to economic and human capital accumulation due to profit-maximising behaviour. If this was true, then women in Wellington and Whakatane would have obtained more economic wealth, education, training, and skills than men. Women are, comparatively, deprived of access to these resources, but have higher social capital stocks than men. Again, as with age, this raises key questions about the nature of the advantages that are sought through accumulating social capital.

Linking Social Capital to Advantage: Discussion

The final purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the advantageous nature of the different forms of social capital. Much of the past social capital literature (for example, Coleman 1998) assumes that people's motivations are profit-maximising and their research explored casual relations between variables assumed to be related to profit maximisation. This dissertation, and the Framework developed for field

assessment, employed a broader view of 'advantage' allowing for a greater range of variables to be examined in relation to the attributes associated with different social capital forms. As with the investigation of structural variables, log-linear analysis, due to its conservative distributional comparison and non-reliance on relational directionality, proved an appropriate tool for investigating which variables notionally associated with advantages were associated with the attributes of social capital. However, it should be noted that the statistical test applied as part of the log-linear analysis, chi-square analysis, is also conservative and not very powerful for identifying associations (Agesti, 1997:260-261).

While appreciably hindered by sample size and its impact of the expected cell counts in the contingency tables, the investigation of variables and advantage provided some valuable new knowledge about the variety of social capital outcomes. People's highest education qualification featured more often than the other variables in the log-linear models constructed for the four forms of social capital, presented in 14 models. Interestingly, quality of life and income followed with 11 appearances each, and employment and occupation with seven appearances. The relationship of these variables and each form of social capital is discussed through the remainder of the sections.

The analysis presented in this dissertation shows that variables often associated with a rationalist's perspective of income maximisation, for example income, are factors in the clustering of social capital. However, this is clearly not the only, nor even the primary, goal: respondents' highest level of qualification was the most common variable associated with advantages. This was followed by respondents' ratings of

their quality of life and their self-reported level of income, with these advantages both featuring in 11 models linking them with social capital attributes. These results are consistent with those of Stewart (2005) who also established a causal relationship between quality of life and employment, but not income. The research findings from this dissertation support the notion that ‘capital’ becomes an abstraction when measured without a social context; therefore, adding weight to work, such as, Anheier et al. (1995), which suggests that social capital is a product of the struggle for social position.

A key motivation behind this research, stemming from Woolcock (1998:154) and Wall’s (1998:300) call for distinction, was to explore different forms of social capital to provide a precursor for identifying the sources and products, and therefore, advantages, of social capital, in its different forms. As will be discussed through the remainder of this section, the research suggests that different advantages may pertain to different social capital forms.

Two attributes for ‘family integration’, one related to social norms and the other trust, were linked to all five of the variables associated with advantages. While non-predictive, the log-linear analysis suggested that aspects of social norms may cluster along with quality of life, educational attainment, and income (see Table 67, page 282). As with ‘family integration’, a range of ‘community integration’ attributes were aligned with social norms also demonstrated an indicative link with variables signifying advantage, included quality of life, educational attainment, income, and occupation. Trust also featured along with income and qualifications (see Table 67,

page 282). These results are consistent with those of Bjornskov (2006) who showed a similar relationship with both educational attainment and income.

If these indicative results hold, this suggests that maintenance of social structures may enable access to products of the relationship that benefit people's quality of life, education achievement, and, whether as a product or a factor, income. This is consistent with Bourdieu's notion of constructing and maintaining social relations (Bourdieu, 1986s:248-255). A number of other authors, including Granovetter (1983, 1995:137), Powell and Smith-Doerr (1994:393), Paxton (1999), and Bazan (1997), have suggested that if family social ties are too strong, capitalism will be restricted: a type of *Gemeinschaft*. However, though restricted through measuring social capital levels across different social structures at the same time, this was not born out in the research, and raises the following question: if high density in a particular network restricts 'cashing in' by developing and accessing social capital in other networks, under what conditions, or with regard to what products, does this occur?

A key question about the relationship between trust in different social structures and educational attainment, employment status, and income, are symmetrical or asymmetrical? Bjornskov claims that trust must develop as a pre-cursor to education, law and order, and democracy (2006:16). No assumptions were made about symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships between the variables included in the research for this dissertation. Nor were directional analytical techniques applied, mainly due to sample size limitations. However, future research into the causal factors behind these relationships would be worthwhile.

Table 67: ‘Integration’ and Advantage

Attributes	Quality of Life	Income	Employment	Occupation	Qualification
Family integration					
Shared family ideas and goals	✓	✓		✓	✓
Expecting family trust	✓	✓	✓		✓
Community integration					
Community contact		✓		✓	
Density of community relationship	✓			✓	✓
Community commonality	✓	✓			✓
Shared community ideas and goals	✓			✓	✓
Expecting community trust		✓			✓

An analysis of the relationship between social capital in the form of ‘linkage’ and variables aligned with advantage provided an interesting set of indicative results. Unlike for other forms of social capital, social positioning—a concept aligned with Bourdieu’s thesis of social positioning (see Bourdieu, 1998)—appears to be expressed differently with quality of life being less of a factor, and other variables like respondents’ employment status and occupation being more influential than with ‘integration’. However, it is notable that educational attainment again featured strongly.

Only employment status indicatively appeared linked with ‘coverage of engagement’. Different expressions of ‘linkage’ suggested a relationship with a range of variables. The density of ‘informal’, ‘social’, and ‘cultural’ engagement all appeared to show promise with their relationship with the level of qualification of residents. The density of ‘social’ and ‘cultural’ engagement also appeared linked with people’s income-level. The only attribute linked with quality of life was

‘density of religious engagement’ (see Table 68 below), as result that is consistent with those of Barnes (2003) who showed that religious activity actually provided for accessing resources.

Table 68: ‘Linkage’ and Advantage

Attributes	Quality of Life	Income	Employment	Occupation	Qualification
Coverage of engagement			✓		
Density of informal engagement					✓
Density of social engagement		✓	✓		✓
Density of cultural engagement		✓			✓
Density of sporting engagement				✓	
Density of religious engagement	✓			✓	

While the quality of life did not appear to be factor in social capital in the form of ‘linkage’, it was for ‘synergy’ and featured in relation to all five attributes for which relational models were potentially identified. Residents’ rating of ‘local synergy’, that is, their view on the range of services, the way they are provided, and the values of the officers who provided them, were predominately influenced, at least indicatively, by quality of life. Two attributes, ‘range of local services’ and ‘local officers trusted’ were most closely linked. The level of people’s income and qualifications also appeared to be impacting of the rating of the range and way the services were provided (see Table 69, page 284).

The relationship between quality of life and ‘synergy’ suggest that the institutions associated with this form of social capital may have a bearing impact on people’s overall quality of life perspective. This includes the way these institutions deliver services. If further research supports this position, then this may indicate that local

and national Government administration may have a stronger role in service and intervention design, implementation and delivery than rationalists, like Francis Fukuyama suggest (1995a). However, the results also suggested that people with low incomes did not consider local services to be administered as well. While many local government services are provided to the public generally, for example, waste disposal and civic amenities, a range of services are targeted towards those with fewer resources. It is important that people without alternative means feel comfortable in using these services to avail increased opportunities.

Apart from people’s rating of their quality of life, employment status also featured in the models for the two ‘national synergy’ attributes that appeared linked with variables associated with advantage. Each of the models also featured, in union with the quality of life and employment status, either residents’ level of qualifications or income (see Table 69 below).

Table 69: ‘Synergy’ and Advantage

Attributes	Quality of Life	Income	Employment	Occupation	Qualification
Range of local services	✓	✓			✓
Provisioning of local services	✓	✓			✓
Local officers trusted	✓				
Provisioning of national services	✓		✓		✓
National officers trusted	✓	✓	✓		

Only two attributes both associated with representatives encouraging participation in decision making showed an indicative relationship with variables aligned with advantage. The attribute ‘local participation encouraged’ appeared to form in

relation to three variables: people’s level of qualification, income, and their employment status (see Table 70 below). ‘National participation encouraged’ was also impacted by people’s level of qualification and their employment status, however, their occupation, rather than income-level, was the other variable potentially influencing the results of this attribute (see Table 70 below). This may suggest that people ‘without’ these advantages are not able to participate in polity to the same degree. Involvement in polity is important to ensure that disadvantages are removed and opportunities are provided to those in most need.

Table 70: ‘Integrity’ and Advantage

Attributes	Quality of Life	Income	Employment	Occupation	Qualification
Local participation encouraged		✓	✓		✓
National participation encouraged			✓	✓	✓

The results linking social capital with advantage were suggestive and not predictive, due to low statistical reliability because of the low expected cell counts of each analysis. Provided the ratings of residents remained consistent for each attribute, the analysis indicates considerable potential for linking variables representing capital accumulation with the attributes composing the different forms of social capital. However, the analysis also suggests that different forms of social capital may be associated with different advantages and this knowledge needs incorporating into further analysis to identify the determinants of social capital.

Previous research has shown the relationship between social capital and the resources they facilitate are complex. For example, Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2004) showed in their study of financial development and social capital that citizens with greater financial prosperity have lower social capital. While more limited in the set of proxy variables used in their research than those used for this dissertation, these results highlight that individuals' trajectories are broad and any research needs to reflect this in its design.

SUMMARY

The results from field-testing the Social Capital Framework presented in Chapter Five were discussed in this chapter. The discussion showed that the results that were obtained were meaningful and were consistent with the pre-testing assumptions and other research literature.

The section 'Scoring Social Capital' (see page 247) showed how the results were inclined towards observable differences between different attributes and forms of social capital. The next section, 'Forms of Social Capital: Discussion' (see page 256), showed that the Framework had the capacity to identify observed differences between communities for different forms of social capital, and showed that these differences were consistent with known characteristics of the community and previous research identifying similar communities had the same strengths and weaknesses in terms of social capital.

The next section in this chapter, 'Linking Social Capital to Structure: Discussion' (see page 269), showed that other research results were consistent with the results

showing that social capital accumulates in relation to some structural variables. Moreover, many of the results showing different relationships for some forms of social capital and structural variables were new within the social capital literature and provided interesting prospects for future enquiry. The final section ‘Linking Social Capital to Advantage: Discussion’ (see page 278) showed that the Framework provided some interesting opportunities for investigating the relationship between different forms of social capital and different advantages.

Each of the sections in this chapter discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the Social Capital Framework that emerged from the research, and in doing so identified areas for enhancement. One of the important themes to be discussed was that any research into social capital needs to consider the complexity of people’s trajectory of social capital when designing tools of enquiry.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will review the development of the Framework that has been the subject of this dissertation and comments on how it showed partial utility for measuring stocks of different forms of social capital and variations between the two communities surveyed, for examining how these stocks accumulate in association with structural variables, and on the limitations for identifying relationships with advantage accumulation. The dissertation's contribution to knowledge will be discussed through an examination of the opportunities, limitation, possible enhancement of the framework, and areas for future investigation.

Framework Development

The purpose of this dissertation, as outlined in Chapter One (see page 20) was to develop a robust framework for social capital that provides for measuring stocks of different forms of social capital and community to community variations. The dissertation also examined the relationship between identifiable structural variables and different forms and attributes of social capital, and to examine any discernable advantages obtained and the social capital attributes included in the Social Capital Framework developed for the dissertation.

The research was placed within the relationship between social relations, and the meaning of development and its historical application in the first two sections of Chapter Two, 'Developmentalism' (see page 26) and 'European Origins of Development Theory' (see page 35). The conclusion reached from the discussion in

Chapter Two was that development studies has traditionally been founded on the notion of ‘progress’ through trusteeship. The next two sections, ‘Hegemonic Production and Reproduction’ (see page 43) and ‘The Current Paradigm’ (see page 47), showed how this notion of development worked to support the self-interest of dominant groups and undermined the possibility of significant self-determined elevation of the social position of dominated groups. This mechanism of dominance was then explained within the context of how the paradigm that currently underpins both development practice and public policy establishes primacy through excluding social relations in modelling, policy development, practice, and evaluation.

The final two sections (with the exception of the ‘Summary’) of Chapter Two, ‘Sociology and Economics’ (see page 49) and ‘Development and Social Capital’ (see page 60), discussed the rising support for techniques that accept the necessity for broader development and policy outcomes, and seek to foster these outcomes through more sophisticated theory and practice by placing social relations in a central position. A tool that has become central to some of the key researchers working within this field, for example, Michael Woolcock, Mark Granovetter, Alejandro Portes, and Robert Putnam, is the notion of social capital.

With increased interest in social capital it has become clear, as Michael Woolcock suggests, that the term has come to mean different things for different people (1998). The similarities and differences in how social capital is interpreted by various key authors, together with its short lineage, are discussed in the first five sections of Chapter Three (see page 65 to page 77). With the strengths and limitations of previous authors’ writing on social capital in-mind, using Michael Woolcock’s

method of categorising aspects of social capital, the last six sections of Chapter Three (excluding the 'Summary') sought to develop a more rigorous conceptualisation from which a tentative framework with measurability could be extracted (see page 77 to page 103).

The Social Capital Framework emerging in the last five sections (see page 77 to page 103) in Chapter Three included a view of social capital with increased granularity for identifying social capital in different forms as pertain to various broad societal structures. Four different forms of social capital were identified and used in the Social Capital Framework: 'integration', 'linkage', 'synergy', and 'integrity' (see page 93 to page 103). With the intention of moving beyond the measurement of the products of social capital and instead to measure its constituent parts, further granularity was obtained by identifying and applying the content of the structure generating collective action for each type of social capital. For 'integration', and some aspects of 'synergy' and 'integrity', this included extorting the two key components of trust and social norms (see page 78 to page 88).

In addition to trust and social norms, the components of 'range of services' and 'effective provisioning' were identified for 'synergy' at both a local and national-level to capture aspects of network-delivery specific to this social structure, not only localised to the community, but also with an outward-looking projection (see page 98). This spatial dimension is also included for 'integrity', as was 'participation', thus capturing the level of involvement in local and national governance (see page 101).

The remaining form of social capital, 'linkage', was deconstructed to reflect the width and density of these networks through distinguishing the number and type of the group with which people had contact, and the frequency thereof, with that organisation. The natures of these networks were also captured through identifying the spatial dimensions, purpose of the network, and whether the networks had an informal and formal characteristic.

The research was placed in an epistemological context in the first two sections of Chapter Four, that is, 'Epistemological Approaches' (see page 106) 'Beyond Epistemological Dichotomy' (see page 111). These sections specifically sought to recognise the unthought-of and thought-of nature of social interaction, and the accumulation of social capital. In particular, the epistemological understanding emerging from this discussion placed the research beyond the limitations of epistemological dichotomy and identified the necessity to amalgamate the researcher's reflexivity at various stages throughout the research process.

The remaining six sections of Chapter Four built on the epistemological understanding developed in the first two sections of the chapter by interpreting the theory within the practice of the research. The first of two sections, 'Questionnaire and Response Sheet' (see page 124) and 'Validity and Reliability' (see page 129), explained the rationale underpinning the questionnaire and the response sheet that was used to administer the survey, and the indicators that were used to measure each component adhering to a specific form of social capital. This was an important part of the dissertation because it is linked with many of the areas where further enhancements would be beneficial and, for this reason, where more rigorous

conceptual development is required in the future. The methodology used to select the survey sample, conduct the interviews, and to enter the coded data were explained in the next three sections: ‘Sample Size and Selection’, ‘Interview’, and ‘Coding and Data Entry’.

The last section (with the exception of the summary) of Chapter Four (see page 138) explained how Bourdieu’s notion of ‘double reflexivity’ strengthen the research by mitigating some of the ethical issues and the problems inherent in empiricist research, and then applied ‘double reflexivity’ to the research through identifying the characteristics of the researcher that may influence how the research was positioned and interpreted.

Chapter Five positioned the research with respect to the New Zealand/Aotearoa community. The first four sections of the chapter (see page 146 to page 171) located the research within the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s administrative and political history, in particular, with regard to the structuring element of *Te Tiriti of Waitangi* (see ‘The Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi’, page 146) and post-colonial influences (see ‘The Impact of Colonisation and Post-Colonisation’, page 152). The final sections of Chapter Five, ‘Research Transparency’ (see page 171) and ‘Frame of Reference’ (see page 181), investigates the quality of the sample by comparing its various characteristics with information from the results of a past New Zealand Census.

While it is acknowledged that these information sets were collected under different methodologies and, therefore, the information has a different meaning for each

research project, the comparison provided a beneficial indication of the strengths and weaknesses of the survey samples for Wellington and Whakatane used in the research for this dissertation. While, on the whole, the samples used in the research can be said to be sufficiently indicative of their respective populations to allow tentative generalisations to be made, the comparison did highlight several areas where the sample under and over-represented the respective populations. These limitations were then combined with the outcomes from the ‘double reflexivity’ (see Chapter Four, page 138) and an analysis of the response rate, and summarised as a type of ‘frame of reference’ to assist the interpretation of the results of the research (see the ‘Frame of Reference’ section, page 181).

Chapter Six, ‘Results’ (see page 186), presented the statistical methods used to derive results that met the purpose of the research by answering the key research questions identified in Chapter One (see page 20). Chapter Seven, ‘Results Discussed’ (see page 247), discussed the results with regarding to the past research integral to the Framework’s development and for considering the robustness of the results. The table and figure numbers pertaining to these results are identified in Table 71 (see below).

Table 71: Tables and Figures Containing the Results

Groups of tables and figures	Tables	Figures
Stocks of different forms of social capital	12-13	3, 5, 7, 9
Community to community difference in social capital	19-24, 80-114	4, 6, 8, 10-16
Social capital and structural variables	25-56, 63-66	
Social capital and advantages	57-61, 67-70	

This chapter, 'Conclusions and Recommendations', reviews the development of the Framework for this dissertation and provides concluding comments on its utility for measuring forms of social capital and community-based variations, and examines the relationship between social capital and structural variables and aspects of advantage. The limitations, possible enhancement of the framework, and areas for future investigation for the Framework are discussed, and the dissertation's unique contribution to knowledge is recapped. A summary of the thematic development of this dissertation, including the synthesis of the literature and the research techniques can be found in Appendix Eight (page 336).

Levels of Social Capital in the Community

The Framework developed for this dissertation included four different forms, 44 different attributes, and two tiers of social capital. The research therefore produced 172 attribute results for the two communities. To clearly communicate this complex array of information and to distinguish community-to-community differences for forms of social capital, a scorecard approach was used in the analysis (see Chapter Six, page 186 to page 195).

The results for each attribute of social capital, as they pertained to different forms of social capital, were summarised using a scorecard method and reported in Table 12 (see page 190) to Table 18 (see page 195). The scorecards identified a decimal rating for each community given the proportion of people with higher levels (premier-level) and lower threshold-levels (base-levels) of each attribute. The scorecard approach allowed for the numerous results to be presented showing comparisons between different attributes and forms of social capital, and the two

communities. While proving to be effective for communicating information for ‘integration’ and ‘linkage’, the scorecard approach was less effective for providing insight into ‘synergy’ and ‘integrity’.

The scorecard showed some, but overall less, utility for representing the Framework as it pertains to social capital in the form of ‘synergy’ and ‘integrity’. In part, this was due to the results for ‘local’ social capital compensating for ‘national’ social capital. The low across-the-board ratings for premier-level social capital suggest that the Framework may not be as effective at distinguishing different respondents’ perspectives about ‘synergy’ and ‘integrity’. If the Framework was to provide a greater proportion of results in the mid-range of the decimal rating, that is, three-seven, the scorecard would have work more effectively. Future validity and reliability testing of survey questions to identify social capital in the form of ‘synergy’ and ‘integrity’ would be recommended.

Statistical verification was noted in the tables through the use of symbols as a safe-guide against the misinterpretation of false-positive or false-negative results. Categories of ‘high’, ‘good’, ‘moderate’, and ‘low’ were applied to be decimal ratings but these categories did not aligning with statistical verification for all of the category differences noted (only 92 percent). Given this, although providing a degree of added clarity, on-balance this was outweighed by misalignment with statistical authenticity. In summary, the numerical scorecard provided an appropriate level of clarity and simplicity enabling the key messages about actual and comparative stocks of different forms, sub-forms, and attributes of social capital to be convey effectively.

Social Capital-Poor and Rich Communities

A key purpose of this dissertation was to develop a measurement framework for comparing varying forms of social capital as they resided in different communities. The results of the research showed that the Framework did have utility for measuring the stocks of attributes linked to different forms of social capital. Three attributes associated with social capital in the form of ‘integration’, three attributes as ‘linkage’, and no attributes connected with ‘synergy’ and ‘integrity’ registered community-to-community variations.

In designing the research, the two populations were selected because they were considered likely to have different social structures. There were therefore a range of suppositions that one population would have higher stocks of social capital than the other for different forms and components of social capital. The results showed some differences (see Chapter Five) but not the range of differences expected. This low propensity to distinguish between the populations resulted from the size of the sample and the exploratory nature of the Framework. The impact of the sample size was hypothesised by examining the impact that doubling the sampling size would have on the test statistics, provided all other factors remaining constant. This analysis showed that the decreased sampling error would increase the number of community-to-community differences by an additional 31 attributes of social capital (see Table 62, page 267).

Importantly, the analysis identified that the impact of doubling the sample size would benefit attributes associated with ‘synergy’ the most with an additional 14

attributes, followed by ‘integration’ (10), ‘linkage’ (4), and ‘integrity’ (see Table 62, page 267). The reasons for the differences across the forms of social capital are two-fold: that the dissertation research identified similar stocks for the two communities for particular forms of social capital; and two, some of the four-point scales used in defining respondents’ views were more valid than others. This analysis, including consideration of the questionnaire design, showed that the increased sample size is likely to improve in the granularity of results and would benefit ‘integration’ and ‘synergy’, but would have a lesser impact on ‘integrity’ and ‘linkage’.

While the survey instrument’s validity was robustly derived from peer-reviewed social capital and the wider social science literature, pre-testing, and piloting, it would benefit, including the four-point scale, from additional validity testing. Attention should be given, in particular, to the elements associated with ‘integrity’. These points aside, the application of the Framework demonstrated, in part, a propensity to differentiate how social capital is composed in the two communities used in this research.

Social Capital’s Link to Structure

The research demonstrated that a number of population characteristics had a significant influence on different types or components of social capital (in particular, see Table 63, page 271, to Table 66, page 276). Research limitations, caused mainly by the sample size, meant that predictive analysis was not possible. Nevertheless, the application of associative techniques supported the *ex ante* research expectation that different forms of social capital accumulate in relation to different social

structures and characteristics of those structures. Gender and age and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity were identified as being linked to different levels of social capital within certain structures. For a number of indicators, the interplay between gender, age, and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity was significant.

The analysis of the results (see 'Linking Social Capital to Structure: Results', page 216; and 'Linking Social Capital to Structure: Discussion', page 269) showed that the Social Capital Framework used for this dissertation, and in conjunction with using log-linear analysis, was appropriate for identifying relationships between structural variables and attributes of social capital. This is encouraging and shows that the Framework has utility for creating new knowledge about social capital and the way it accumulates.

As mentioned previously, the size of the sample used for this research, while appropriate for the purpose of this research, appears to have limited the results about social capital and structural variables. Increasing the sample size, given the likely impact of the hypothesis testing summarised in Table 62 (see page 267), would have further enhanced the utility of the Framework for identify the relationship between structural elements and attributes of social capital.

It is also worth noting that the analysis showed that, given the prominence of age in the results, further research into how people's trajectory for social capital change during their life-time would be beneficial. In particular, research providing evidence about the capital-oriented purpose of social structures for young people would be particularly applicable. The first 25 years of a person's life can provide them with

access to resources that will service them during their life-time. If young people are denied access to the advantages of education and a support network around them, then the individual costs, including social, may be high.

Social Capital has Advantages

The final purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the advantageous nature of the different forms of social capital. The broad view of advantage employed for this dissertation enabled a range of variables to be examined in relation to the attributes associated with different social capital forms. This part of the investigation was appreciably hindered by sample size, meaning that all of the associative models identified with statistically significant associations had contingency tables with the proportion of expected cell counts below the level required for reliable results. The results presented in Chapter Five (see page 238 to page 245) and discussed in Chapter Six (see page 278 to page 286) should therefore be considered indicative and used to identify further research questions rather than to draw conclusions about the populations.

The indicative results suggested that people's highest education qualification featured more often than the other variables in the log-linear models constructed for the four forms of social capital. This was followed by quality of life and income, and then employment and occupation.

The directionality of the results linking social capital attributes and advantages suggested that respondents were providing answers on a consistent basis, meaning that the Framework developed for this dissertation showed some utility. The social

capital attributes with the lower ratings showed less statistically significant associations. Scales and questions providing similar and low ratings do not provide for community-to-community differences to be identified and associations with variables associated with structure and advantage to be revealed. Further enhancement of the survey tool to distinguish respondents' views, would help to build the Framework's utility.

Distinct Contribution to Knowledge

Although attracting a significant amount of interest in *academia*, the concept of social capital arguably has not been as readily accepted in the fields of development practice, community, and public policy development in New Zealand. Practitioners in these fields share an increasing concern for measuring the outcome of initiatives or interventions. For social capital to be included as a key dimension of public policy and development policy and practice, a robust and measurable Social Capital Framework needs to be developed. Past research has focused on measuring the resources assumed to be made available from social capital, use of generalised indicators, and actual outputs of collective action. However, such research appears to have fallen short of the requirements of policy-makers development interventionists.

The research underpinning this dissertation seeks to contribute to the development of a robust framework. The Framework that has been developed was composed of the components previously identified as forming social capital. The Framework was developed to assist in measuring actual and potential social capital, rather than a product thereof. The all-too-often narrow and self-edifyingly narrow approach of

presenting one form, or part, of social capital as representing the ‘whole’ was avoided through the development of a framework with sufficient granularity to provide insight into four main types of social capital: ‘integration’, ‘linkage’, ‘synergy’, and ‘integrity’.

The Social Capital Framework developed for this dissertation adds to the collective knowledge about social capital by developing a rigorous, thematically consistent, and holistic framework for analysing the stock of different forms of social capital. The comparative analysis applied to two distinct communities demonstrated that, although further enhancement of the framework would be of value, the framework has utility for identifying varying stock of different types of social capital.

Measurement frameworks for social capital often examine products of social capital in relation to markers notionally considered associated with collective action. This, at times, tautological approach is opaque regarding the conditions that are social capital, and lead to a basket of indeterminate variables that tell us little about the link between societal relationships and collective action. The resulting analysis demonstrated variation in the levels of different types of social capital in the two communities that were compared. This suggests that an enhanced framework has utility for identifying the social characteristics of communities and monitoring subsequent changes for informing evidenced-based policy-making.

Having identified different forms of social capital, the research examined these forms to establish if an associative relationship with particular structural variables and advantage were observable. The analysis demonstrated that the Framework was

able to provide information that could be used to identify associations between attributes of social capital and structural variables, for example, gender, age, and ethnicity.

The size of the survey sample mitigated the opportunity for more reliable conclusions to be drawn from the examination of the relationship between variables aligned to advantage and forms of social capital. However, the analysis suggested that the people's trajectories for their social may be broad and highlighted the methodological dangers in limiting the advantages for investigation.

Future Research Prospects

In the past, researchers and essayists have tended to consider social capital from within the narrow frame of their own discipline, and to mine census data to prove associations between social capital and resources. This has done very little in proving the value of a notion which is arguably central to the way in which people struggle to gain access to resources in every aspect of their lives. Instead, a more evidence-based approach is required.

The development of evidence positively identifying stocks of social capital and linking them to productive resources should be the focus of a comprehensive research programme. Such a programme, while working with a social capital framework at the macro-level, should endeavour to prove the nature of social capital at the micro-level. Currently, a lot of work in this field employs general indicators where there is little or no proof of their relationship to social capital. Examples include voter turnout, newspaper readership, or income-levels. While it often seems

reasonable to suggest a relationship exists between some of the indicators chosen by researchers, the role of the social relationship needs to be clearly extracted from the influence of other variables by the researcher. Doing so will provide indicators where the nature of the relationship with direct and indirect, actual and potential, benefits can be isolated and measured. In doing this, several key inter-related steps would be required, including

- Identifying an overall framework that encapsulates all the various forms and components of social capital;
- Identifying indicators that are as unique as possible for each component of each form of social capital; and,
- Taking each component of each form of social capital, investigating the relationship between direct and indirect, actual and potential benefits.

A weakness with the attitudinal approach used for this research is that different responses may either indicate different levels of social capital or alternatively an expression of the importance of social capital and a [dis]satisfaction with their current stock. A more sophisticated, micro-based research project is required where the analysis is based not only on general questions about the social network, but also examines specific relationships between individuals.

The research undertaken for this dissertation has attempted to contribute towards a more holistic and evidence-based research approach to social capital. However, a more in-depth and probing research programme would enable the logic-based

assumptions underlying the relationship between component elements of different types of social capital to be investigated with more precision.

Summary

Chapter Eight drew together the themes presented in this dissertation to inform a set of conclusions and recommendation. Chapter Eight first outlined how key themes emerged from the first five chapters. These themes included identifying the underlying development theory and practice paradigm of ‘trusteeship’ and the exclusion of a social context from influential enquiry. From this basis, a conceptual Social Capital Framework was developed for application into policy intervention. This Framework was then situated within a New Zealand/Aotearoa context for field-testing. The results from the application of the Framework in the field were presented in Chapter Six. The key themes to have emerged in the first five chapters were then discussed with regard to results of the enquiry in Chapter Seven.

This chapter concluded by discussing how the Framework that was developed demonstrated potential, after further enhancement, for application in identifying different stocks and levels of social capital across communities, and noted the activities that would enhance the Framework further and by suggesting key aspects of enquiry that future research could elucidate.

APPENDIX ONE

QUESTIONNAIRE STRUCTURE

Table 72: Questionnaire Structure

Components of social capital						
Social capital component: social norms			Social capital component: trust			
Form of social capital: integration						
	Frequency of contact	Density of relations	Commonality	Shared ideas and goals	Seeking trust	Expecting trust
Family	Not applicable	Q.1: Density of family relations	Q.2: Family commonality	Q.3: Shared family ideas and goals	Q.4: Seeking family trust	Q.5: Expecting family trust
Neighbourhood	Q.6: Neighbourhood contact	Q.7: Density of neighbourhood relations	Q.8: Family commonality	Q.9: Shared neighbourhood ideas and goals	Q.10: Seeking neighbourhood trust	Q.11: Expecting neighbourhood trust
Community	Q.12: Community contact	Q.13: Density of community relations	Q.14: Community commonality	Q.15: Shared community ideas and goals	Q.16: Seeking community trust	Q.17: Expecting community trust
Form of social capital: linkage						
Groups	Q.19: local, national and formal, informal memberships					
Engagements	Q.19: local, national and formal, informal engagement					

Continued on the next page ...

Continued from page 305 ...

Form of social capital: synergy				
	Range of services	Effectiveness	Shared ideas and goals	Trust of officers
Local	Q.20: Range of local services	Q.21: Provisioning of local services	Q.22: Shared ideas and goals with local officers	Q.23: Local officers trusted
National	Q.24: Range of national services	Q.25: Provisioning of national services	Q.26: Shared ideas and goals with national officers	Q.27: National officers trusted
Form of social capital: 'integrity'				
Public participation		Shared ideas and goals		
Local	Q.29: Local participation encouraged	Q.30: Shared ideas and goals with local polity		Q.31: Local polity trusted
National	Q.32: National participation encouraged	Q.33: Shared ideas and goals with national polity		Q.34: National polity trusted

APPENDIX TWO

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire (Version 3.1)

Please listen to each question as I read them out. If you'd like me to read the question again or you require clarifications, please ask. Once you understand the question, indicate which response best suits your point of view. As I mentioned earlier, everything you say and write-down will be treated as being confidential under the conditions of the Privacy Act (1993).

Before we begin, are there any further questions you'd like to ask me?

Private and Confidential

Q1: Firstly, thinking about the members of your wider family / whanua (including your immediate & extended family), and thinking about the family members you see reasonably regularly. So, thinking about this group of family members, would you describe your family and yourself as having ...

- a) a close relationship?
- b) a good relationship?
- c) an only fair relationship?
- d) a poor relationship?

Q2: How much do you consider you have in common with the members of your family?

- a) a great amount
- b) a significant amount
- c) only a fair amount

d) very little

Q3: Generally speaking, do you think the members of your family have ...

- a) the same ideas and goals as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals as you do?

Q4: If you had a problem, for example; you needed a hand to get a personal project finished, or you needed someone to partner you in a money-making project, or you need a small short term loan, how would you feel about asking your family members for help?

- a) I'd be happy to ask them for help
- b) I'd be willing to ask them for help
- c) I'd be reluctant to ask them for help
- d) I would not ask them for help

Q5: If you had a problem, similar to the examples I gave for the last question, and you approached your family members for help, would you expect them to...

- a) be happy to help you out?
- b) be willing to help you out?
- c) be reluctant to help you out?
- d) not help you out?

Q6: Now thinking about your local neighbourhood. How often do you talk with the people in your neighbourhood?

- a) we talk often
- b) we talk sometimes
- c) we talk infrequently
- d) we don't talk at all

Q7: Would you describe the people in your neighbourhood and yourself as having

- a) a close relationship?
- b) a good relationship?
- c) an only fair relationship?
- d) a poor relationship?

Q8: How much do you consider you have in common with the people in your neighbourhood?

- a) a great amount
- b) a significant amount
- c) only a fair amount
- d) very little

Q9: Generally speaking, do you think the people in your neighbourhood have ...

- a) the same ideas and goals as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals as you do?

Q10: If you had a problem, for example; you needed a hand to get a personal project finished, or you needed someone to partner you in a money-making project, or you need a small short term loan, how would you feel about asking the people in your neighbourhood for help?

- a) I'd be happy to ask them for help
- b) I'd be willing to ask them for help?
- c) I'd be reluctant to ask them for help?
- d) I would not ask them for help?

Q11: If you had a problem, similar to the examples I gave for the last question, and you approached the people in your neighbourhood for help, would you expect them to...

- a) be happy to help you out?
- b) be willing to help you out?
- c) be reluctant to help you out?
- d) not help you out?

Q12: Now thinking about your local community (people you see regularly including friends). How often do you talk with the people in your local community?

- a) we talk often
- b) we talk sometimes
- c) we talk infrequently
- d) we don't talk at all

Q13: Would you describe the people in your local community and yourself as having ...

- a) a close relationship?
- b) a good relationship?
- c) an only fair relationship?
- d) a poor relationship?

Q14: How much do you consider you have in common with the people in your local community?

- a) a great amount
- b) a significant amount
- c) only a fair amount
- d) very little

Q15: Generally speaking, do you think the people in your local community have ...

- a) the same ideas and goals as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals as you do?

Q16: If you had a problem, for example; you needed a hand to get a personal project finished, or you needed someone to partner you in a money-making project, or you needed a small short term loan, how would you feel about asking people your local community for help?

- a) I'd be happy to ask them for help
- b) I'd be willing to ask them for help?
- c) I'd be reluctant to ask them for help?
- d) I would not ask them for help?

Q17: If you had a problem, similar to the examples I gave for the last question, and you approached the people in your local community for help, would you expect them to...

- a) be happy to help you out?
- b) be willing to help you out?
- c) be reluctant to help you out?
- d) not help you out?

Q18: Now, thinking about your family, neighbourhood, and local community, how much you have in common with them, how similar their ideas and goals for your community are compared to yours, and their trustworthiness. Overall how would you rate them?

- a) excellent
- b) good
- c) only fair
- d) poor

Q19: What groups, clubs, association, or societies are you involved with?

Org. Name (Local/National)	Purpose of the group	Meetings attended (per yr)
----------------------------	----------------------	----------------------------

Q20: Now, thinking about the services provided in your local community by the city, regional and district councils, like for example, local roading, electricity and gas, waste pickup and disposal, library services, transport services and any other services you may think of. Do you think the city, regional and district councils provide ...

- a) all of the services your community requires?
- b) most of the services your community requires?
- c) only some of the services your community requires?
- d) few of the services your community requires?

Q21: Do you think the city, regional and district councils provide these services?

- a) very effectively?
- b) reasonably effectively?
- c) only fairly effectively?
- d) not at all effectively?

Q22: And, thinking specifically about the people who provide these local community services, who you regularly make contact with, do you think these people have

- a) the same ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals for your community as you do?

Q23: Still thinking specifically about the people who you regularly make contact with that provide these local community services, would you say that these people are ...

- a) very trustworthy?
- b) reasonably trustworthy?
- c) only fairly trustworthy?
- d) not trustworthy?

Q24: Now, thinking about the services provided by the Government of New Zealand, like for example, national roading, health, education, income support and employment services, policing and crime prevention etc .Do you think the Government provides ...

- a) all of the services your community requires?
- b) most of the services your community requires?
- c) only some of the services your community requires?
- d) few of the services your community requires?

Q25: Do you think the Government provides these services ...

- a) very effectively?
- b) reasonably effectively?
- c) only fairly effectively?
- d) not at all effectively?

Q26: And, thinking specifically about the people who provide these Government services, who you regularly make contact with, do you think these people have

- a) the same ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals for your community as you do?

Q27: Still thinking specifically about the people who you regularly make contact with that provide these Government services, would you say that these people are

- a) very trustworthy?
- b) reasonably trustworthy?
- c) only fairly trustworthy?
- d) not trustworthy?

Q28: Now, thinking about the services provided by the Government of New Zealand and your Local City, Regional and District Councils, including the people who provide these services. Overall how would you rate them?

- a) excellent
- b) good
- c) only fair
- d) poor

Q29: Thinking about your elected local city council members and their decision making, would you say that they ...

- a) always encourage the participation of the public?
- b) often encourage the participation of the public?
- c) only sometimes encourage the participation of the public?
- d) never encourage the participation of the public?

Q30: Still thinking about your elected local city council members, generally speaking, do you think these people have ...

- a) the same ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals for your community as you do?

Q31: Would you say elected local city council members are ...

- a) very trustworthy?
- b) reasonably trustworthy?
- c) only fairly trustworthy?
- d) not trustworthy?

Q32: Thinking about Government politicians and their decision making, would you say that they ...

- a) always encourage the participation of the public?
- b) often encourage the participation of the public?
- c) only sometimes encourage the participation of the public?
- d) never encourage the participation of the public?

Q33: Still thinking about Government politicians, generally speaking, do you think these people have ...

- a) the same ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- b) similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- c) only fairly similar ideas and goals for your community as you do?
- d) different ideas and goals for your community as you do?

Q34: Would you say Government politicians are...

- a) very trustworthy?
- b) reasonably trustworthy?
- c) only fairly trustworthy?
- d) not trustworthy?

Q35: Now, thinking about Government politicians and elected Local City Council members, their ideas and goals for your community, their encouragement of public participation in decision making, and their trustworthiness. Overall how would you rate them?

- a) excellent
- b) good
- c) only fair
- d) poor

Q36: A change in approach for Q36. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as-a-whole now?

- a) very satisfied
- b) satisfied
- c) only fairly satisfied
- d) not satisfied

General Comments:

APPENDIX THREE
RESPONSE SHEET

Private and Confidential

GENERAL RESPONSES

Q38: Are you a man or women? (please circle)

Man	Women	No Response
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Q39: Which year were you born?

Year:	
--------------	--

Q40: Which of the following ethnic groups do you belong?

(tick more than one if appropriate)	(tick)		(tick more than one if appropriate)	(tick)
NZ Māori			English	
NZ European or Pakeha			Australian	
Other European		→	Scottish	
Samoan			Irish	
Cook Island Māori			Other (pls specify):	
Tongan				
Chinese				
Indian				
Other (please specify):				

Q41: How long have you lived in Wellington?

Years	
--------------	--

Q42: Where were you living before you moved here?

Previously:	
--------------------	--

Q43: Do you have a secondary school qualification?

(circle) (circle)

Yes	No	If no, go to Q45
-----	----	------------------

Q44: What is your highest secondary school qualification?

(tick)

School Certificate in one or more subjects	
Sixth Form Certificate in one or more subjects	
University Entrance before 1986 in one or more subjects	
Higher School Certificate or Higher Leaving Certificate	
University Bursary, Entrance or Scholarship	
Other (please specify):	

Q45: Do you have any other qualifications, for example, a trade certificate, diploma or degree?

(circle) (circle)

Yes	No	If no, go to Q47
-----	----	------------------

Q46: Please provide the details of each qualification...

(Qualification 1)

Qualification:	
Main Subject:	
Institution:	
Year Received:	

(Qualification 2)

Qualification:	
Main Subject:	
Institution:	
Year Received:	

Q47: What will be your total income for the year ending 31 March?

(tick)

Loss	
\$1 - \$5,000	
\$5,001 - \$10,000	
\$10,001 - \$15,000	
\$15,001 - \$20,000	
\$20,001 - \$25,000	
\$25,001 - \$30,000	

(tick)

\$30,001 - \$40,000	
\$40,001 - \$50,000	
\$50,001 - \$70,000	
\$70,001 - \$100,000	
\$100,001 - \$150,000	
\$150,001 - \$200,000	
\$200,001 or more	

Q48: During the last month, which of the following activities were you involved in?

(tick one or more)

(tick)

Working full-time for income, profit, wages or salary	
Working part-time for income, profit, wages or salary	
Working full-time in a family business without pay	

Without work	
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Q49: In the job that you worked most hours last month, what was your occupation?
For example: Primary School Teacher, Builder's Labourer, Shop Assistant, Sales Manager etc.

General Comments:

Thank you for participating in the survey. If you have any further questions please contact me through the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, P.O Box 11-222, Palmerston North (06-350-5990).

For Further Information Contact: Andrew Kibblewhite 06-350-5990

APPENDIX FOUR

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Andrew Kibblewhite
Institute of Development Studies
Massey University, P.O Box 11-222
PALMERSTON NTH
Ph: 06-350-7939 (IDS)

1 November 1998

Dear

I am a Masters of Philosophy (in Development Studies) student at Massey University. As part of my course requirements, I'm currently undertaking a survey of community relations in New Zealand.

This research will, I hope, make a valuable contribution to both local and national public planning in New Zealand.

To ensure that the people I interview are representative of the community they live in, I have randomly selected a group of people from the Wellington Local Authority Electoral Role and your name was one of the names chosen for the survey. If you agree, we will undertake a short, person to person interview, at a time convenient to yourself. Interviews normally take less than 25 minutes and they are entirely confidential with the results being presented in a summarised form that protects the identity of the participants.

Within the next week I will telephone or visit your address to ask if you are willing to participate in the survey. At which time we can either agree not to proceed, complete the interview or, arrange a more convenient time. Interviews are usually scheduled for between 9am and 9pm weekdays and, between 10am and 8pm on Saturdays. Although I would greatly appreciate your involvement in the research, participation is entirely voluntary and should you choose not to take part, your decision will be respected.

I look forward to meeting you and hope that you are able to take part in this research.

Sincerely,

Andrew Kibblewhite

Contact: phone 04-476-5975 or 021-245-6823, or email awkibble@hotmail.com.

APPENDIX FIVE

POPULATION AND SAMPLE COMPARISON

Table 73: Gender Comparison

	Population	Sample ^a	Valid
Men			
Wellington	50%	35% - 58%	Yes
Whakatane	49%	22% - 45%	No
Women			
Wellington	50%	42% - 65%	Yes
Whakatane	51%	56% - 78%	No

^a Sample estimate plus and minus the sampling error.

Table 74: Ethnicity Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
European			
Wellington	81%	91% - 100%	No
Whakatane	68%	72% - 91%	No
Māori			
Wellington	7%	0% - 4%	No
Whakatane	30%	6% - 23%	No
Pacific Island			
Wellington	3%	0% - 4%	Yes
Whakatane	1%	0% - 4%	Yes
Asian			
Wellington	7%	0% - 0%	No
Whakatane	1%	0% - 4%	Yes

Table 75: Age Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
Aged 18-24 Years			
Wellington	26%	6%-22%	No
Whakatane	12%	3%-17%	Yes
Aged 25-34 Years			
Wellington	30%	18%-39%	Yes
Whakatane	19%	1%-13%	No
Aged 35-59 Years			
Wellington	33%	33%-55%	Yes
Whakatane	43%	28%-51%	Yes
Aged 60 or More			
Wellington	11%	6%-22%	Yes
Whakatane	26%	32%-55%	No

Table 76: Income Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
Zero - \$20,000			
Wellington	40%	12% - 31%	No
Whakatane	54%	40% - 64%	Yes
\$20,001 - \$40,000			
Wellington	26%	22% - 44%	Yes
Whakatane	22%	12% - 32%	Yes
\$40,001 - \$70,000			
Wellington	15%	17% - 38%	No
Whakatane	9%	11% - 30%	No
> \$70,001			
Wellington	9%	7% - 23%	Yes
Whakatane	2%	0% - 9%	Yes

Table 77: Employment Status Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
Employed			
Wellington	68%	62% - 83%	Yes
Whakatane	39%	45% - 68%	No
Unemployed			
Wellington	5%	1% - 13%	Yes
Whakatane	8%	1% - 13%	Yes
Not in the labour force			
Wellington	22%	11% - 30%	Yes
Whakatane	48%	25% - 48%	Yes

Table 78: Occupation (Social Position) Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
Legal, Administration and Professional			
Wellington	42%	22% - 44%	Yes
Whakatane	25%	17% - 38%	Yes
Technician, Clerk, Sales and Service			
Wellington	45%	20% - 41%	No
Whakatane	39%	6% - 23%	No
Trade, Agriculture, Machinery and Elementary			
Wellington	8%	7% - 23%	Yes
Whakatane	30%	8% - 26%	No

Table 79: Industry Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
Finance, Property and Government			
Wellington	42%	21% - 42%	Yes
Whakatane	15%	3% - 17%	Yes
Health, Accommodation, Communication, Education and Retailing			
Wellington	33%	29% - 51%	Yes
Whakatane	55%	24% - 46%	No
Utilities, Wholesale, Construction and Recreation			
Wellington	17%	3% - 16%	No
Whakatane	12%	1% - 9%	No
Primary			
Wellington	2%	1% - 11%	Yes
Whakatane	11%	2% - 15%	Yes

Table 80: Education Comparison

	Population	Sample	Valid
University			
Wellington	34%	41% - 64%	No
Whakatane	6%	1% - 13%	Yes
Trade/Diploma			
Wellington	20%	18% - 39%	Yes
Whakatane	27%	36% - 60%	No
Bursary, Higher School Certificate and University Entrance			
Wellington	20%	8% - 25%	Yes
Whakatane	10%	5% - 21%	Yes
School Certificate			
Wellington	10%	0% - 4%	No
Whakatane	17%	10% - 28%	Yes
No Qualifications			
Wellington	9%	0% - 4%	No
Whakatane	34%	5% - 21%	No

APPENDIX SIX

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT COMPONENTS

Table 81 : Significant 'Integration' Variables

Integ. - Neigh. - Talk with. (Q6)	N	Often	S/times^a	Infreq.^b	Don't	Chi-sq^c	Often/S/t.^d	Min.^e	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	72	7 (10%)	28 (39%)	32 (44%)	5 (7%)	0.001	35 (49%) ^f	3.6	75%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		-3.76	0.33	2.47	1.11		-2.89		
Whakatane - frequency	69	25 (36%)	25 (36%)	17 (25%)	2 (3%)	0.001	50 (72%)	3.4	75%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		3.76	-0.33	-2.47	-1.11		2.89		
Integ. - Comm. - Relationship (Q13)	N	Close	Good	Fair	Poor	Chi-sq	Close/good	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	12 (16%)	46 (63%)	14 (19%)	1 (1%)	0.060	58 (80%)	1.54	75%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		0.83	-2.19	2.40	-0.63		-2.00		
Whakatane - frequency	69	8 (12%)	55 (80%)	4 (6%)	2 (3%)	0.060	63 (91%)	1.47	75%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-0.83	2.19	-2.40	0.63		2.00		
Integ. - Comm. - Req. Trust (Q16)	N	Happy	Willing	Reluct.^f	Not	Chi-sq	Happy/will	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	13 (18%)	32 (44%)	18 (25%)	10 (14%)	0.041	45 (62%)	13.9	100%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		1.31	2.02	-1.68	-1.66		2.85		
Whakatane - frequency	69	7 (10%)	19 (28%)	26 (38%)	17 (25%)	0.041	26 (38%)	9.7	100%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-1.31	-2.02	1.68	1.66		-2.85		

^a Abbreviated for 'sometimes'. ^b Abbreviated for 'infrequently'. ^c Pearsons Chi-squared Statistic – note that the statistic was re-calculated for the combined attitudinal response. ^d Abbreviated for 'sometimes'. ^e Minimum expected count. ^f Minimum Expected Count. ^g Abbreviated for 'reluctant'.

Table 82: Significant 'Linkage' Variables

Link - No. of Groups (Q19)	N	None	1 - 2	3 - 4	> 4	Chi-Sq	Some	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	19 (26%)	31 (42%)	17 (23%)	6 (8%)	0.033	54 (74%)	7.7	100%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		2.45	0.58	-2.04	-0.93		-2.45		
Whakatane - frequency	69	7 (10%)	26 (38%)	27 (39%)	9 (13%)	0.033	62 (90%)	7.3	100%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-2.45	-0.58	2.04	0.93		2.45		
Link - No. of Engagements per wk (Q19)	N	None	< 1 p.w	1 - 2.99	> 2.99	Chi-Sq	Some	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	19 (26%)	31 (42%)	19 (26%)	4 (5%)	0.006	54 (74%)	9.3	100%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		2.19	1.30	-1.31	-2.65		-2.19		
Whakatane - frequency	69	8 (12%)	22 (32%)	25 (36%)	14 (20%)	0.006	61 (88%)	8.7	100%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-2.19	-1.30	1.31	2.65		2.19		
Link - Local Engagements per wk (Q19)	N	None	< 1 p.w	1 - 2.99	> 2.99	Chi-Sq	Some	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	25 (34%)	30 (41%)	14 (19%)	4 (5%)	0.022	48 (66%)	7.7	100%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		2.07	0.96	-1.74	-2.03		-2.07		
Whakatane - frequency	69	13 (19%)	23 (33%)	22 (32%)	11 (16%)	0.022	56 (81%)	7.3	100%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-2.07	-0.96	1.74	2.03		2.07		
Link - Formal Engagements per wk (Q19)	N	None	< 1 p.w	1 - 2.99	> 2.99	Chi-Sq	Some	Min.	Cells = 5
Wellington - frequency	73	25 (34%)	32 (44%)	16 (22%)	0 (0%)	0.047	48 (66%)	3.6	75%
Wellington - adjusted residuals		2.07	0.75	-1.52	-2.79		-2.07		
Whakatane - frequency	69	13 (19%)	26 (38%)	23 (33%)	7 (10%)	0.047	56 (81%)	3.4	75%
Whakatane - adjusted residuals		-2.07	-0.75	1.52	2.79		2.07		

APPENDIX SEVEN

STRUCTURAL VARIABLE ANALYSIS

Table 83: ‘Family Commonality’ - Age and Ethnicity

Expected counts = 79% ≥ 1.5^a	Fair	Sign.^b	Great	Chi-sq
Under 35yrs – Pākehā	19%	45%	35%	P=0.000
Under 35yrs – Non-Pākehā	36%	64%	0%	
Between 35-60 years – Pākehā	22%	61%	17%	
Between 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	12%	29%	59%	
Over 60yrs – Pākehā	8%	47%	44%	
Over 60yrs – Non-Pākehā	0%	75%	25%	

^a Proportion of contingency table cells with an expected count equal or greater than 1.5 in Table 83 to Table 115. ‘f_e’ is an abbreviation for expected frequency (or count).

^b ‘Sign.’ is abbreviated for ‘significant’ in Table 83 to Table 115.

Table 84: ‘Shared Family Ideas and Goals’ - Gender

f_e^a = 68% ≥ 1.5	Different	Fairly	Similar	Same	Chi-sq
Men	18%	72%	42%	5%	P=0.016
Women	9%	18%	54%	19%	

^a ‘f_e’ is an abbreviation for expected frequency (or count), also see Table 94, page 330.

Table 85: ‘Seeking Family Trust’ - Age and Ethnicity

Expected counts = 81% ≥ 1.5	Not/relat.	Willing	Happy	Chi-sq
Under 35yrs – Pākehā	9%	28%	63%	P=0.000
Under 35yrs – Non-Pākehā	45%	27%	27%	
Between 35-60 years – Pākehā	32%	22%	46%	
Between 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	11%	17%	72%	
Over 60yrs – Pākehā	34%	20%	46%	
Over 60yrs – Non-Pākehā	0%	100%	0%	

^a ‘Not/relat.’ is abbreviated for ‘not at all’ and ‘relatively’ in Table 85 to Table 115.

Table 86: 'Neighbourhood Contact' - Age

Expected counts = 76% ≥1.5	Not/inf.^a	Sometime	Often	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	65%	30%	5%	P=0.000
Between 35 and 60 years	29%	43%	28%	
Over 60 years of age	27%	38%	35%	

^a 'Not/inf.' is abbreviated for 'not at all' and 'infrequently'.

Table 87: 'Density of Neighbourhood Relations' - Age

Expected counts = 86% ≥1.5	Poor/fair	Good/excel	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	72%	28%	P=0.000
Between 35 and 60 years	34%	66%	
Over 60 years of age	7%	93%	

Table 88: 'Shared Community Ideas and Goals' - Age and Gender

Expected counts = 70% ≥1.5	Different	Fair	S/same^a	Chi-sq
Men - under 35 years of age	9%	28%	63%	P=0.020
Men - between 35-60years	32%	22%	46%	
Men - over 60 years of age	34%	20%	46%	
Women - under 35 years of age	45%	27%	27%	
Women - between 35-60years	11%	17%	72%	
Women - over 60 years of age	0%	100%	0%	

^a 'Sim/same' is abbreviated for 'Similar' and 'the same' in Table 88 to Table 115.

Table 89: 'Community Contact'

Expected counts = 84% ≥1.5	Infrequen	Sometime	Often	Chi-sq
Men	25%	35%	40%	P=0.001
Women	11%	24%	65%	

Table 90: 'Density of Community Relations' - Gender

Expected counts = 65% ≥1.5	Fair	Good	Close	Chi-sq
Men	26%	69%	5%	P=0.000
Women	5%	75%	20%	

Table 91: 'Community Commonality' - Gender

Expected counts = 69% ≥1.5	Fair	Sign.	Great	Chi-sq
Men	43%	48%	9%	P=0.003
Women	18%	58%	24%	

Table 92: 'Expecting Community Trust' - Gender

Expected counts = 74% ≥1.5	Not/relat.	Willing	Happy	Chi-sq
Men	36%	59%	5%	P=0.006
Women	19%	59%	22%	

Table 93: 'Expecting Community Trust' - Ethnicity

Expected counts = 74% ≥1.5	Not/relat.	Willing	Happy	Chi-sq
Pākehā	25%	64%	11%	P=0.045
Non- Pākehā	30%	43%	27%	

Table 94: 'Number of Engagements' - Age

f_e = 68% ≥1.5]	None	<1 p.w.	1-3 p.w.	≥3 p.w.	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	37%	28%	28%	7%	P=0.002
Between 35 and 60 years	15%	39%	37%	9%	
Over 60 years of age	5%	45%	25%	25%	

Table 95: 'Number of Formal Engagements' - Age

Expected counts = 80% ≥1.5	None	0-1 p.w.	≥1 p.w.	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	49%	30%	21%	P=0.001
Between 35 and 60 years	24%	41%	36%	
Over 60 years of age	7%	53%	40%	

Table 96: 'Number of Local Engagements' - Age and Gender

Expected counts = 83% ≥1.5	None	0-1 p.w.	≥1 p.w.	Chi-sq
Men - under 35 years of age	47%	37%	16%	P=0.028
Men - between 35-60 years	36%	27%	36%	
Men - over years of age	12%	69%	19%	
Women - under 35 years of age	46%	12%	42%	
Women - between 35-60 years	19%	49%	32%	
Women - over years of age	4%	33%	63%	

Table 97: 'Number of National Engagements' - Age

Expected counts = 83% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	81%	19%	P=0.000
Between 35 and 60 years	58%	42%	
Over 60 years of age	37%	63%	

Table 98: 'Number of Social Engagements' - Age

Expected counts = 81% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	84%	16%	P=0.000
Between 35 and 60 years	83%	17%	
Over 60 years of age	48%	52%	

Table 99: 'Number of Sporting Engagements' - Age

Expected counts = 78% ≥1.5	None	0-1 p.w.	≥1 p.w.	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	72%	9%	19%	P=0.047
Over 35 years of age	51%	31%	18%	

Table 100: 'Number of Cultural Engagements' - Ethnicity and Gender

Expected counts = 89% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Men – Pākehā	85%	15%	P=0.033
Men – Non-Pākehā	69%	31%	
Women – Pākehā	54%	46%	
Women – Non-Pākehā	76%	24%	

Table 101: 'Number of Religious Engagements' - Age and Gender

Expected counts = 75% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Men - under 35 years of age	100%	0%	P=0.029
Men - between 35-60 years	77%	23%	
Men - over years of age	94%	6%	
Women - under 35 years of age	92%	5%	
Women - between 35-60 years	84%	16%	
Women - over years of age	58%	42%	

Table 102: 'Number of Community Engagements' - Age

Expected counts = 78% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	93%	7%	P=0.047
Over 35 years of age	64%	36%	

Table 103: 'Number of Political Engagements' - Ethnicity

Expected counts = 67% ≥1.5	None	Some	Chi-sq
Pakeha	92%	8%	P=0.018
Non-pakeha	100%	0%	

Table 104: 'Range of Local Services' - Gender

Expected counts = 78% ≥1.5	Some	Most	All	Chi-sq
Men	15%	73%	12%	P=0.005
Women	8%	55%	37%	

Table 105: 'Range of Local Services' - Age

Expected counts = 78% ≥1.5	Some	Most	All	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	12%	74%	14%	P=0.040
Between 35 and 60 years	7%	64%	29%	
Over 60 years of age	15%	45%	40%	

Table 106: ‘Provisioning of Local Services’ - Gender

Expected counts = 70% ≥1.5	Fairly	Reason.^a	Very	Chi-sq
Men	23%	70%	7%	P=0.016
Women	8%	74%	18%	

^a ‘Reason.’ is abbreviated for ‘reasonably’ in Table 106 to Table 115.

Table 107: ‘Shared Ideas/Goals with Local Officers’ - Ethnicity and Gender

Expected counts = 70% ≥1.5	Different	Fairly	S/same	Chi-sq
Men – Pākehā	8%	44%	48%	P=0.016
Men – Non-Pākehā	38%	31%	31%	
Women – Pākehā	7%	36%	57%	
Women – Non-Pākehā	0%	12%	88%	

Table 108: ‘Local Officers Trusted’ - Age and Gender

Expected counts = 70% ≥1.5	Not/Fairl	Reason.	Very	Chi-sq
Men - under 35 years of age	39%	61%	0%	P=0.008
Men - between 35-60 years	36%	55%	9%	
Men - over years of age	0%	80%	20%	
Women - under 35 years of age	0%	75%	25%	
Women - between 35-60 years	6%	75%	19%	
Women - over years of age	9%	70%	22%	

Table 109: ‘Provisioning of National Services’ - Ethnicity and Gender

Expected counts = 70% ≥1.5	Not	Fairly	Reason.	Chi-sq
Men – Pākehā	7%	50%	43%	P=0.024
Men – Non-Pākehā	9%	37%	34%	
Women – Pākehā	6%	89%	6%	
Women – Non-Pākehā	12%	48%	41%	

Table 110: ‘Shared Ideas/Goals with National Officers’ - Age, Ethnicity, Gender

Expected counts = 74% ≥1.5	Different	Fair	S/same	Chi-sq
Men <35yrs – Pākehā	7%	50%	43%	P=0.007
Men <35yrs – Non-Pākehā	75%	0%	25%	
Men - 35-60 years – Pākehā	17%	50%	33%	
Men - 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	30%	60%	10%	
Men >60yrs – Pākehā	0%	64%	36%	
Men >60yrs – Non-Pākehā	0%	0%	100%	
Women <35yrs – Pākehā	19%	50%	31%	
Women <35yrs – Non-Pākehā	14%	43%	43%	
Women - 35-60 years – Pākehā	7%	44%	48%	
Women - 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	13%	0%	88%	
Women >60yrs – Pākehā	14%	24%	62%	
Women >60yrs – Non-Pākehā	0%	50%	50%	

Table 111: ‘National Officers Trusted’ - Gender

Expected counts = 89% ≥1.5	None/fair	Reason.	Chi-sq
Men	30%	70%	P=0.057
Women	30%	70%	

Table 112: ‘Shared Ideas/Goals with Local Polity’ - Age, Ethnicity, Gender

Expected counts = 89% ≥1.5	Diff/fair	S/same	Chi-sq
Men <35yrs – Pākehā	60%	40%	P=0.023
Men <35yrs – Non-Pākehā	100%	0%	
Men - 35-60 years – Pākehā	58%	42%	
Men - 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	80%	20%	
Men >60yrs – Pākehā	64%	36%	
Men >60yrs – Non-Pākehā	0%	100%	
Women <35yrs – Pākehā	53%	47%	
Women <35yrs – Non-Pākehā	21%	79%	
Women - 35-60 years – Pākehā	59%	41%	
Women - 35-60 years – Non-Pākehā	38%	63%	
Women >60yrs – Pākehā	32%	68%	
Women >60yrs – Non-Pākehā	50%	50%	

Table 113: 'Local Polity Trusted' - Gender

Expected counts = 92% ≥1.5	Not/fair	Rn.^a/very	Chi-sq
Men	36%	64%	P=0.026
Women	26%	74%	

^a 'Rn.' is abbreviated for 'reasonably' in Table 113 to Table 115.

Table 114: 'Local Polity Trusted' - Age

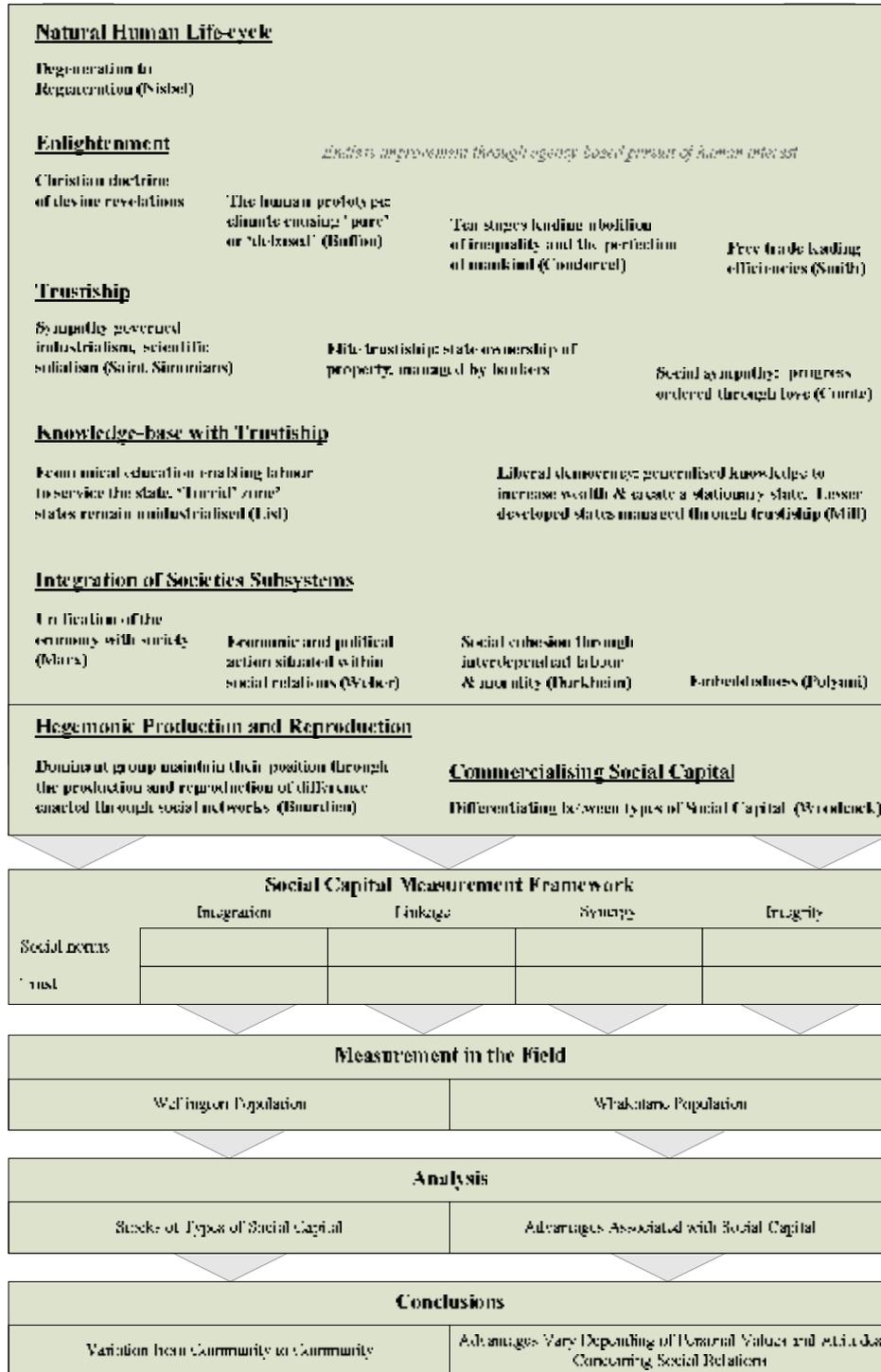
Expected counts = 92% ≥1.5	Not/fair	Rn./very	Chi-sq
Under 35 years of age	40%	60%	P=0.011
Between 35 and 60 years	41%	59%	
Over 60 years of age	15%	85%	

Table 115: 'Local Polity Trusted' - Gender

Expected counts = 92% ≥1.5	Not/fair	Rn.very	Chi-sq
Men	36%	64%	P=0.026
Women	26%	74%	

APPENDIX EIGHT

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION



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