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DEVELOPING A MODEL FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL INCLUSION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN REGIONAL AUSTRALIA

ABSTRACT. This paper reviews the literature on social inclusion and social capital to develop a framework to guide the selection of items and measures for the forthcoming SA Department of Human Services Survey of Social Inclusion to be held in the region of Northern Adelaide in South Australia. Northern Adelaide is a region with areas of high socio-economic disadvantage, characterized by high unemployment and poverty. Survey respondents' perceptions of social inclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide will be examined by developing indices, which address the theoretical schema discussed in this paper. Epistemological differences between seminal theorists on social inclusion and social capital suggest the development of a broad suite of indices is required to enable the collection of data of interest to researchers from differing theoretical perspectives. Data collected in the survey will be mapped using Geographic Information System (GIS) technologies against locations within Northern Adelaide and in relation to existing Australian Bureau of Statistics, Commonwealth and State Government databases on age, gender, relative socio-economic disadvantage and other variables.

KEY WORDS: Australia, GIS, indices, poverty, region, social capital, social exclusion, social inclusion, survey, theoretical framework

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the development of indices for the measurement of perceptions of social inclusion and social capital for the Australian project "A model for the measurement of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide", which is funded by a South Australian Department of Human Services Large Grant.

As part of our project we are developing a framework within which to situate indicators of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital. This framework is intended to inform the development

of a cohort survey of social inclusion to be held in the Northern Adelaide region of South Australia in 2005. The survey instrument will include indicators of social inclusion and social capital, which will be cross-referenced to key socio- economic indicators in Northern Adelaide using Geographic Information System (GIS) technologies.

Northern Adelaide incorporates the cities of Gawler, Playford and Salisbury and surrounding districts. The region has a mixed economy of semi-rural industries, such as market gardening and wine making in the Gawler area and automobile manufacturing and heavy industry in the Playford and Salisbury areas. Northern Adelaide is a region with areas of high socio-economic disadvantage, characterised by high unemployment and poverty. A significant proportion of the region's population is reliant on welfare transfers from the Australian Commonwealth Government and State Government agencies.

Northern Adelaide will be the target for a significant inflow of funds from the Australian Commonwealth Government and the South Australian Government over the next five years as part of regional development initiatives. The forthcoming Survey of Social Inclusion in Northern Adelaide is intended to be a pilot project to establish an instrument and a database to collect and manage time series data from future surveys to be held at regular intervals, which will enable policy planners to track the impact of State and Commonwealth social inclusion and social capital initiatives on the region over the next five years and in the long term. The model is intended to be robust enough to be used, with modification, for research in other regions.

The current debates on social inclusion and social capital in Australia take place in the context of the social and economic uncertainty arising from the opening of the Australia economy to the global economy in the 1980s and 1990s. The Australian economy was deregulated in the 1980s and 1990s by former Labour Governments and by the current Liberal / National Government. Tariffs on imports of imported goods, including automobiles, were cut, government owned industries privatized, financial services deregulated and the labour market partially deregulated. The Australian Commonwealth Government is continuing to pursue an agenda of economic deregulation and at the time of writing is in the process of ratifying a Free Trade Agreement with the USA similar to the North American Free

Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The economy of regions reliant on manufacturing goods for local markets like Northern Adelaide have been negatively affected by these changes, triggering concern among policy planners about rising social distress.

The debates on social exclusion and social capital in Australia have common roots in the work of the classic sociologists and political economists Durkheim, Marx and Weber who were themselves attempting to explain the anomie and alienation arising from the transformation of largely rural communities in Europe and the America's into urbanized, modern industrial societies.

Latter scholars like Bourdieu, Levitas, Reich, Coleman, Putnam, Young and Portes have expanded and critiqued Marxian, Weberian and Durkheimian conceptions of social inclusion and social capital to add rich, new understandings.

Our project will extend scholarly understanding of these concepts by developing indices to measure respondents perceptions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital in relation to other spatial, socio-economic and behavioural variables for the forthcoming Social Inclusion Survey in Northern Adelaide.

The use of perceptual measures will enable us to:

- Provide direct measures of an individual's assessment of a given phenomena;
- Provide data along a single dimension like "trust in others" that objective measures like the number of community clubs per 100,000 cannot;
- Facilitate the identification of problems that merit special attention and social action in regard to both particular aspects of life and particular sub-groups of the population (Davis and Fine-Davis, 1991).

The indices our project will produce will provide the basis for an instrument to measure survey respondents' perceptions of social inclusion, exclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide. The data obtained from these indices will be mapped against structural indicators of socio-economic disadvantage provided by other data sources (e.g., Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Commonwealth, State and Local Government data sets) using GIS technologies. The data obtained will also be triangulated with data

collected for our project through focus groups with survey respondents, interviews with key informants and participant observation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Inclusion and Social Exclusion

The concept of social inclusion emerged in the context of the European social policy debates of the late 1980s in reference to overcoming the issue of social exclusion. The European Commission first made reference to the term "social exclusion" in its third pan–European poverty programme issued in 1988. In this discourse poverty was no longer to be seen just as economic deprivation but part of a pattern of social disadvantage, which was termed "social exclusion". The latter term had its origins in Durkheimian notions of social solidarity (Levitas, 1996).

In France in particular, the social exclusion debate was based on a perceived social need for "cohesion" and the duty of "solidarity" in a Durkheimian sense (Levitas, 1996, 1998). The emerging social exclusion paradigm required the reassimilation of those who had deviated from the social norm in some way.

The concept of social exclusion entered British public policy debates somewhat later under Tony Blair's post-1997 New Labour governments, which sought to substitute Labour's traditional concern with addressing poverty and inequality with policies to tackle social exclusion. Previous Labour Governments in Britain had pursued policies based on an understanding of poverty as multi-faceted, involving income, housing and health and driven by the processes of an economy based on capital accumulation. This understanding required the redistribution of resources from the well off to the poor to address poverty. But Levitas (1998) suggests "New Labour" under Blair understands social disadvantage as a process of moral hazard, which removes the necessity for a commitment to redistributive justice. As Levitas puts it, under New Labour:

Exclusion is understood as the breakdown of the structural, cultural and moral ties which bind the individual to society, and family instability is a key concern' (Levitas, 1998, p. 21).

The European social exclusion discourse had parallels in the USA in the latter part of the twentieth century. Part of the project of the so called "New Right" of the 1980s was propagating the thesis of a moral underclass to explain the persistence of poverty despite the "unleashing of market forces" under the stewardship of President Reagan. Reagan discontinued many of the relatively modest US welfare programs instituted in the 1960s by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The New Right represented welfare recipients as suffering from a "culture of dependency" that they needed to be weaned off. For example, Murray (1984, p. 23) refers to a malaise among the poor "whose values are contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods" expressed through their rejection of work and family ethics. In this sense the New Right reframed the issue of poverty as a cultural phenomenon rather than one of structural inequality.

The New Right fell from power in the US with the arrival of the Clintonian Democrats in the White House in 1994. Clinton's first Labour Secretary was his friend from his student days at Oxford, the sociologist Robert Reich. Reich's (1992) best known book *The work of nations*, is a social integrationist tome, which expressed concern at the development of exclusive closed neighbourhoods in wealthy American suburbs on one hand and the disintegration of poverty blighted inner cities on the other. While ostensibly rejecting the moral underclass thesis, the Clintonian Democrats retained the cultural focus on welfare dependency articulated by the New Right. Clinton famously vowed to "end welfare as we know it" by aggressively winding back welfare rolls and encouraging people on welfare to take any work that was available.

Thinkers like Reich (1992), Kumar (1995), Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and Bell (1973) argued the period after 1970 was signified by the arrival of a post-structural, post-industrial informational society, which made the class divisions of the industrial era (which needed to be addressed by redistributive policies) obsolete. This position is perhaps best captured by the German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1992) who argues a new "risk society" has emerged from a "surge of individualization" in which "people will be set free from the social forms of industrial society".

The work of Beck (1992), Reich (1992) and similar conceptual frameworks are associated with the so-called "Third way" between

Left and Right discussed by Giddens (1999). Giddens (1999) in particular critiqued the Right's concept of an underclass but accepted the notion that people in social distress faced the moral hazard of welfare dependency. The work of Levitas (1998) and Silver (1994) suggest these changing discourses on social justice and social exclusion can be conceived of as three distinct typologies.

The first typology is a redistributive, egalitarian discourse based on social rights and citizenship and firmly associated with the social policies pursued by most Western countries prior to the 1980s. It positions social exclusion as the result of the domination of power by certain privileged groups in society who because of their power enjoy a disproportionate share of the national wealth. For social exclusion to be reduced it is necessary for the state to intervene to redistribute wealth from the privileged groups to the less privileged, usually through the formal institutions of a welfare state.

The second typology of social exclusion is based on the New Right's moralistic view of an underclass that is culturally distinct from the societal mainstream and heavily dependant on welfare. In this typology the underclass have embraced values of "shirking" and "bludging" as a natural consequence of their own rationality. That is, if people are offered welfare benefits for not having work they will make a rational choice to not take work. In this discourse, their predicament is essentially seen as caused by their own actions. State intervention might be directed to preventing other groups from joining the "underclass" but since it is assumed that the condition of the underclass is largely their own fault there is little imperative to direct resources to alleviate their distress.

The third typology is the social integrationist perspective, which currently dominates European Union debates on social exclusion, including those emanating from Britain under the stewardship of Tony Blair, and is increasingly evident in policy debates in Canada and in the Australian Government's embrace of "mutual obligation" social policies. The social integrationist perspective is informed by the concept of social solidarity that can be traced back to the work of Emile Durkheim.

Durkheim's interest in social solidarity like that of Marx and Weber's was a response to the alienating or anomic effects of the transformation of the small agrarian communities of post-industrial European countries into urban, industrialized societies. According to

Durkheim, the disintegration of society into atomized units is pre-
vented only by social solidarity arising from shared beliefs, that is, a
core belief in certain "truths". Society is conceptualized as an
organism whose systems represent functions necessary for social
equilibrium, or the stable reproduction of the organism. Social
reproduction takes place because people consent to follow social rules
anchored in perceived truths. These truths are revitalized and sanc-
tified in industrial societies through rituals associated with religion,
membership of associations, clubs and unions, the formalities of paid
work and the education and qualifications necessary to enter pro-
fessions and occupations. Organic solidarity is held to arise from
democratic and rational participation in social groups. Without the
bonds of solidarity and the meaningfulness provided by ritual, indi-
viduals lapse into "anomie" a condition characterized by the rejec-
tion of society and aggressive anti-social behaviour (Durkheim in
Giddens, 1971).

The work of Max Weber offers similar insights to those of Durk-
heim on social solidarity. Weber argues that particular forms of social
interaction designed to arouse emotions operate to create strongly
held beliefs and a sense of solidarity within the community constituted
by participation in regular events (Weber in Collins, 1974). Weber
focuses on the emotional effect that results from interacting with
others, the focusing of attention on a common object, and the coor-
dination of common actions or gestures. According to Weber, the
creation of emotional solidarity does not lessen conflict as Durkheim
believed, but is one of the main weapons used in conflict. Emotional
rituals can be used for domination within a group or organization.
These rituals can be a means by which alliances are formed in struggles
against other groups. Moreover they can be used to impose a hier-
archy of status prestige in which some groups dominate others by
providing an ideal to emulate under inferior conditions, which the
"others" find impossible to achieve.

Patterns of domination arising from the manipulation of emo-
tional solidarity can be mapped as various forms of community
stratification. Caste, ethnic group, educational–cultural group, or
class "respectability" lines and even football hooligans are all forms
of stratified solidarities, depending on varying distributions of the
resources for emotional production, according to Weber (in Collins
1974, pp. 56–61). Weber's thinking on emotional solidarity is

reflected in Jock Young's recent work on social exclusion and its relationship to "Third Way" political discourses of the kind pursued by Tony Blair and Bill Clinton.

Jock Young (1999a) suggests Durkheimian thinking heavily influences "Third Way", "civil society" debates, which Levitas (1998) characterises as social integrationist discourses. Young (1999a) contends that in late-modern multicultural societies governed by political parties committed to the "Third Way" and "mutual obligation" principles, multiple points of identity are of necessity celebrated, consumed and valued, but societal relationships and especially inter-community relationships, are not. Social integrationists display an intolerance of "difficult people and dangerous classes" (Young 1999b, p. 390). Prior to the emergence of the social integrationist discourse in public policy the focus was on what to do about re-calcitrant groups (i.e., the working class, the poor and minorities), which were not seen as dangerous per se, but in need of redistributive assistance to overcome socio-economic disadvantage, or simply to be ignored by those who subscribed to the moral underclass thesis. The social integrationist debate, Young (1999b) suggests, is about defining difficult individuals and dangerous classes, (e.g., young homeless people, the unemployed, militant workers, sole parents and criminals) who are to be treated as exceptional social problems, which must be addressed. Little or no attention is paid to the root causes of social problems because this might require questioning the functioning of capitalism. Instead the new, insecure economy provides a source of anxiety, which leads to patterns of blame as scapegoats are sought for the new social uncertainties. Deviance occurs not because of material inequalities but because of a lack of culture. For social integrationists, the capitalist system itself is basically just; and problem individuals and classes are cultural misfits rather than products of the system. In the social integrationist project, deviant individuals and dangerous classes should be reformed by instilling social responsibility into them to minimize their potential to become disaffected.

Young (1999b) argues that the social integrationist project fails to address the roots of social exclusion. Young (1999b) points to Merton's thesis that social problems occur where there is both *cultural exclusion and structural exclusion.* That is, in contexts such as Western societies (e.g., Australia) in which people living in poverty without the material resources to escape from their situation are bombarded with

messages through the media and the education system, which tell them that they live in a meritocracy where anyone can achieve what they want simply by trying. This is a process of relative deprivation whereby the poor come to see themselves as materially deprived in relation to the society of which they are a part. Such relative deprivation causes social exclusion through a subjective experience of inequality and unfairness as materially deprived people seek to obtain the unobtainable. Young (1999b, p. 401) argues

The rise of an exclusive society involves the unraveling of labor markets and the rise of widespread individualism concerned with identity and self-actualisation. Role making rather than role taking becomes top of the agenda… the culture of [social exclusion] is closely linked with that of the outside world, is dynamic, is propelled by the contradictions of opportunities and ideals, of economic citizenship denied and social acceptance blocked.

In Young's (1999b) thesis, social exclusion cannot be understood by any of the three discourses on social exclusion that have dominated public policy in recent years. Rather social exclusion is a cultural phenomenon arising from dialectic relationships between identity and social acceptance and the contradiction of a supposed meritocracy in which the poor lack the material means to meet the aspirations they are encouraged to embrace.

Young (1999b) illustrates his argument with reference to Nightingale's (1993) study of the alienation of youth in the black ghetto of Philadelphia. Nightingale's work was paradoxically a study of the degree of inclusion of the same black youth in American culture. Poor, urban American children in Philadelphia watch television and attend cinemas for many more hours than affluent kids, according to Nightingale (1993). They are fully aware of the symbols of American affluence but cannot attain them except through anti-social behaviour. In consequence, black youth select and exaggerated aspects of American culture to suit their circumstances, and in Young's (1999b) interpretation establish a linked but different subculture from this process. That is, in response to their alienation the black youth of the Philadelphia ghetto form themselves into a dangerous class in relation to the mainstream, the signifiers of which are a threatening and aggressive identity.

But while the currently dominant social integration discourse might have a focus on reforming difficult individuals and dangerous

classes this was not the project of Durkheim. The latter saw social stratification and inequality as natural results of society, which he conceived of as organic, or akin to a human body. Durkheim argued that some parts of the body took priority over others but were nonetheless inter-related and dependent on each other.

Even where society relies most completely upon the division of labor, it does not become a jumble of juxtaposed atoms, between which it can establish only external, transient contacts. Rather the members are united by ties which extend deeper and far beyond the short moments during which the exchange is made. Each of the functions that they exercise is, in a fixed way, dependent upon others, and with them forms a solidary system (Durkheim, 1933, p. 226)

Durkheim argued that solidarity came in two forms, which he called *mechanical* and *organic* solidarity.

He understood *mechanical solidarity* to be a source of social cohesion based upon the likeness and similarities among individuals in a society, and largely dependent on common rituals and routines (Durkheim, 1933).

Durkheim understood *organic solidarity* to be a form of social inclusion, or the dependence individuals in more advanced societies have on each other. According to Durkheim, in advanced societies individuals may perform different tasks and often have different values and interests, but the order and survival of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specific task (Durkheim, 1933).

Durkheim associated mechanical solidarity with small, autonomous "primitive communities" of the pre-industrial era where everybody new everyone else and shared common rituals and routines. He associated organic solidarity with advanced, modern industrial societies. In this sense, Durkheim considered social solidarity to be associated with social progress.

As an empirical social scientist Durkheim believed the development of reliable indicators of mechanical and organic solidarity could be used to suggest how inclusive a given society was and hence its relative well-being (Durkheim, 1933).

Social Capital

The concept of social capital has a utility that fits well with debates on social cohesion, social exclusion and social inclusion. Social

capital has been described as "the glue than binds society together" (Serageldin, 1996, p. 196). Similarly, the functionalist sociologist James Coleman (1988, p. 387) argues that the social capital of the community

resides in the functional community, the actual social relationships that exist among parents, in the closure exhibited by the structure of relations, and in the parent's relations with the institutions of the community.

Harvard political scientists Robert Putnam et al. (1993, p. 35) define social capital as "a set of horizontal associations among those who have an affect on a community, and these can take the form of networks of civic engagement" and "features of social organizations such as networks, norms and truths that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". According to Putnam these networks lay the groundwork for reciprocity, solidarity and participation, which in turn reinforce sentiments of trust in communities and the effectiveness of communications between individuals and organizations.

Putnam's definition of social capital is based on a model of society built on participation and trust in a wide range of civic institutions and associations, which he argues are the building blocks of social capital. Kawachi and Berkmann (2000), argue that high stocks of social capital also lead to socially inclusive and cohesive societies. Moreover, socially cohesive societies high in social capital are more likely to achieve the twin virtues of sustainable economies and human development, according to Stanley (1997).

However, studies that conflate the outcomes acquired with social capital itself tend to lapse into tautology, according to Portes (1998). Portes points to Bourdieu's work on social capital as an example of a study that clearly separates the resources acquired from social capital from the concept itself.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist produced a series of studies that argued social capital was not only dynamic and creative but a structured phenomenon. Publishing in French his work was not accessible to English speaking audiences until translations appeared in the 1980s (Schuller et al., 2000).

Bourdieu draws on Marx's discussions of aggregate social capital in *Capital* (Volume 2) to loosely define social capital as the aggregate of the resources of institutionalized relationships between groups and classes:

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 248)

Bourdieu understands social capital to be a process of deliberately constructing sociability in order to acquire the benefits of being part of a group. That is, social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies, which are grounded in the institutionalization of group relations. The latter are useable as a source of other benefits. Bourdieu (1985) suggests social capital is comprised of two elements:

1. The social relationship that enables individuals to gain access to resources possessed by their associates.
2. The amount and quality of those resources.

It is the association between these two elements and accumulated human capital that gives access to economic resources. Through social capital actors can gain access to loans, investment tips, protected markets etc. and can increase their cultural capital through contacts with experts, or can join institutions that can bestow valuable credentials (e.g., business clubs, associations, unions, etc.). However, Bourdieu (1985) is clear that acquiring social capital requires a deliberate investment in both economic and cultural resources. Individuals without the initial resources to make this investment might have difficulty building social capital.

In a similar sense, Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002, p. 10–11) suggest there are two types of social capital, structural and cognitive.

Structural social capital facilitates information sharing, and collective action and decision making through *established roles, social networks and other social structures supplemented by rules, procedures, and precedents*. As such, it is a relatively objective and externally observable construct. Cognitive social capital refers to *shared norms, values, trust, attitudes, and beliefs*. It is therefore a more subjective and intangible concept.

Grootaert and van Bastelaer's (2002) two forms of social capital can be, but are not always, complementary. For example, cooperation between neighbours can be based on a personal cognitive bond that may not be reflected in a formal structural arrangement. Similarly, the existence of a community association does not necessarily signify strong personal connections among its members, either because

participation in its activities is not voluntary or because its existence has outlasted the external factor that led to its creation. Social interaction can thereby become social capital through the persistence of its effects at both the cognitive and structural level.

Portes (1998) also points to the importance of distinguishing between the recipients of social capital and the donors. That is, what are the motivations of those donors that are willing to bring the recipients into their circle and confer their social capital upon them? Drawing on Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1985), Portes (1998, p. 7) suggests these motivations may be conceptualized as a "consummatory vs. instrumental" dichotomy.

Consummatory motivations for extending social capital to others may include a desire to follow internalized norms such as paying fines on time or obeying traffic rules. These norms are appropriable by others and allow holders of such social capital to undertake activities such as extending loans without fear of default and letting their kids to play in the street without concern.

Social capital donors' instrumental motivations might include an expectation that they will be repaid in full in future for offering privileged access to resources, that is to say, the recipients of the donor's largesse will be obliged to repay the debt (Portes, 1998).

Portes also points to the motivations implicit in Marx's analysis of the formation of class consciousness, that is the process by which individual workers with common interests come to consider themselves as a class that can act together in their common interests.

Indeed Marx devotes part three of *Capital* (Volume 2) to his conception of aggregate social capital. For Marx aggregate social capital is the whole process of socialization of capitalist production, it is capital itself that becomes uncovered, at a certain level of its development, as social power and involves the production and reproduction of classes:

If we study the annual function of social capital...it must become apparent how the process of reproduction of the social capital takes place, what characteristics distinguish this process of reproduction from the process of reproduction of an individual capital, and what characteristics are common to both. The annual product includes those portions of the social product which replace capital, namely social reproduction, as well as those which go to the consumption-fund, those which are consumed by labourers and capitalists, hence both productive and individual consumption. It comprises also the reproduction (i.e., maintenance) of the capitalist

class and the working-class, and thus the reproduction of the capitalist character of the entire process of production (Marx/Engels Capital Vol II, Chpt 20, M/E Archive, 2004).

Marx sees capital as a social relation, which leads to the formation of social classes and social power. He explains the emergence of a class of capitalists in relation to social capital as the process by which individual capitalists come to realize that they have collective social wealth with other capitalists in the form of social capital, which gives them power.

capital becomes conscious of itself as a *social power* in which every capitalist participates proportionally to his share in the total social capital (Marx, 1957, p. 191)

A similar process applies to the formation of "social labour", according to Marx. In Marx's view, by being thrown together in a common situation, workers learn to identify with each other and support each other's initiatives. These can mean taking collective action at a social rather than at a communal level out of a sense of solidarity with social labour, for example, when workers are willing to strike or withdraw their labour in solidarity with workers in different industries, communities or even countries out of a shared sense of solidarity with their struggle. By this process, Marx argues, the working class evolves from "a class in itself" to a "class for itself" by becoming conscious of the social power of collective action. Nevertheless the source of the social capital of a class might be bounded by the limits of their community and is referred to as "bounded solidarity". For example, solidarity might be bounded by having a common trade, an industrial location or living in a working community.

   Identification with one's own group or community can be a powerful motivational force. While communities can use bounded solidarity as a weapon to wield against social injustice as discussed by Marx, it can also be used to exclude others or establish dominance over other groups as Weber suggested. For example, Waldinger (1995) discusses the control Italian, Irish and Polish migrant groups have gained over the construction trades in New York and the control exercised over key sectors of the economy of Miami by the Cuban community. These forms of control might be considered the "dark side" of bounded solidarity.

Like Marxian bounded solidarity, Durkheim's conception of social solidarity discussed earlier as a source of social inclusion, can also be considered to be a source of social capital. The motivation of the donors are instrumental in this conception but the expectation of repayment is not based on knowledge of the recipient but on the basis that both the donor and recipient of social capital are located within a common social structure. The collective structure as such acts as a guarantor that a debt of social capital will be repaid.

Social capital as social solidarity underpins the practices of the Grameen Bank of India, which lends small amounts of money to female members of poor households. Rankin (2002) suggests that the Grameen Bank is effectively lending against the women's social capital in the knowledge that community sanctions and ostracism would apply to women who did not repay the loan, a practice of enforceable trust. Social capital has its "dark side" as does bounded solidarity.

Epistemological Differences Between Social Capital Theory and Social Inclusion

Concepts of social inclusion and social capital have emerged from differing epistemological positions, primarily from those associated with functionalism and conflict theory, but address similar phenomena.

For example, Putnam (2000) distinguishes between "bonding" and "bridging" forms of social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the links between like-minded people and therefore reinforces homogeneity. It has analogies with Marxian/Weberian notions of bounded solidarity and Durkheimian mechanical solidarity. Emotional solidarity from processes of relative deprivation may also be a source of community solidarity and social capital, albeit as a source of social exclusion rather than inclusion and might be considered a source of "dark side" social capital. For Putnam, bridging social capital refers to the building of connections between diverse, heterogeneous groups and has obvious similarities to the formation of organic solidarity and may be seen as a source of aggregate social capital. Furthermore Putnam (2000) argues that bridging social capital is often fragile but is likely to create social inclusion. In this sense, bridging social capital

might be seen as a source of social cohesion in the Durkheimian sense.

If Putnam's notions of social capital are set beside other explanations of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital then two relatively distinct categories of concepts can be discerned (Figure 1).

Category A concepts are concerned with understanding the relationships which bring communities together. Category B concepts are about understanding inter-community relationships and how aggregate societies form.

These categories in effect can be positioned on inter-related horizontal and vertical axes as illustrated in Figure 2.

Mechanical solidarity, bonding social capital, bounded solidarity and emotional solidarity lie on the horizontal axis. These are notions which concern the formation of communities of interest, which while not narrowly exclusive have boundaries, within which the commu-

Category A – community formation	Category B – social formation
Mechanical solidarity Social cohesion based upon the likeness and similarities among individuals in a society, and largely dependent on common rituals and routines	**Organic solidarity** Social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals in more advanced society have on each other. Though individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interests, the order and survival of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specific task
Bounded solidarity Processes that facilitate the reciprocation of aid and produce norms that work towards the communal good.	**Aggregate social capital** The aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition
Bonding social capital Bonding networks that connect people who are similar and sustain particularised (in-group) reciprocity.	**Bridging social capital** Bridging networks that connect individuals who are diverse and sustain generalized reciprocity.
Emotional solidarity Can bind groups together through the emotional bonds forged by collective activities but can lead to social exclusion through a subjective experience of inequality and unfairness as materially deprived people seek to obtain the unobtainable.	

Figure 1. Conceptual categories.

Social Inclusion   **Social capital**

Society

Organic solidarity   *Aggregate social capital*
Social cohesion   *Bridging social capital*

Mechanical solidarity   *Bonding social capital*

Community

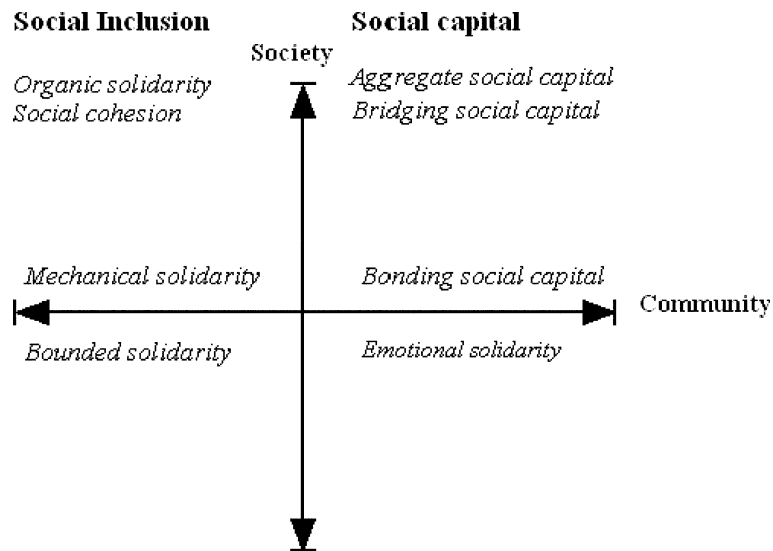*Bounded solidarity*   *Emotional solidarity*

Figure 2. Vertical-horizontal axis of social inclusion and social capital.

nities seek solidarity in order to forward their common interests or pursue shared aspirations and lifestyles. For example, in the Marxian concept of bounded solidarity, working class communities are not gender specific and can incorporate diverse ethnic groups, Indigenous people, unemployed people and better paid workers who are brought together by a shared relationship to the owners of capital.

Putnam's bridging social capital, Bourdieu/Marx's concepts of aggregate social capital and Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity lie on the vertical axis. These abstractions relate to societal relationships and inter-community relationships, and the structure of complex societies. They are not bounded by communities of interest but may be confined to the borders of the nation state or increasingly by supranational forms of regulation such as the European Union.

The relationship between the horizontal and vertical axes of social inclusion and social capital and associated concepts are illustrated in Figure 2.

Whilst these concepts may be aligned together on vertical and horizontal axes there remain epistemological differences.

Putnam (2000) makes it clear that he does not consider bridging capital to require any common ideology but nevertheless locates the

concept firmly within the bounds of Western and American society, the latter of which he clearly believes to be a meritocracy. Social capital is a bridge on the road to success, or ladders of opportunity that can enrich the poor.

In contrast, Durkheim's notion of organic solidarity requires a belief in shared truths and social understandings. Durkheim understood society to function like the human body, whereby all parts are inter-related and work together but some parts have priority over others, in the sense that the brain is more important than a toe to the survival of the body. He accepted stratification and inequality as natural characteristics of a modern, industrial society.

Marxian concepts of aggregate social capital relate to the formation of classes. These abstractions represent the aggregate sums of the social capital of separate classes, social capital and social labour, which retain contradictory interests, the conflict between which shapes the nature of society, according to Marx and Bourdieu. Bourdieu takes this argument a step further by separating the forms of capital acquired by social relationships, which become aggregate capital, and focuses on the quality of the forms of capital as bearing on its use-value.

There are also epistemological differences between Putnam's notion of bonding social capital and Marxian bounded solidarity. Bonding social capital as understood by Putnam, does not require a shared ideology among its donors and recipients. For example, bonding social capital can be formed by the trust that arises from a neighbour watching another neighbour's house when that person is away from home to make sure it is not broken into, or minding a neighbour's child. These actions can be driven by humanity, sympathy or altruism. Whereas Marxian notions of bounded solidarity concern a class of actors moving from being a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" and thereby require a consciousness of being part of a group with shared interests and wishing to forward those interests.

Durkheim's notion of mechanical solidarity like Putnam's concept of bonding social capital, and Weber's notion of emotional solidarity concerns the social cohesion that arises between similar individuals from shared activities, although Durkheim associates mechanical solidarity with pre-industrial agrarian communities where centuries of traditions and rituals produce a mechanical solidarity. Whereas

Putnam associates bonding social capital with activities that occur daily in modern American neighbourhoods, such as child minding, car-pooling or even email exchanges on a topic of interest. Whereas Durkheim and Putman see the emotional solidarity produced by these activities as mostly benign, Weber suggests the dark side of solidarity. Ethnic tensions, football hooliganism, political factionalism and racism might also be the products of emotional solidarity born from taking part in collective activities.

So while these concepts are abstractions which forward our understanding of the processes of social inclusion and social capital by which communities and societies are formed, they retain epistemological differences, which suggest a unitary understanding of social inclusion or social capital for the purposes of measurement is likely to be difficult to achieve.

Nevertheless, following Neuman (2003, p. 53) we might be able to extend our knowledge of these concepts by testing them empirically in relation to each other and to the research questions in the forthcoming survey of social inclusion in Northern Adelaide to suggest which concepts, or relational concepts, best explain the phenomena we are observing, at least in terms of perceptions of social capital and social inclusion.

The survey instrument will therefore include indices for each concept, which can be developed from responses to related sets of questions. Once the survey data is processed the indices can be examined in relation to the research questions.

The purpose of the indices will be to provide an instrument to measure survey respondents perceptions of social inclusion, exclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide in the forms discussed above. Data from these indices can then be mapped using GIS technologies against structural indicators provided by other data sources (e.g., ABS, Commonwealth, State and Local Government data sets). The data obtained will also be considered in relation to other data collected for this study through focus groups with survey respondents, interviews with key informants and participant observation.

In reference to the discussion of theoretical conceptions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital, Bourdieu's (1985) analysis of social capital suggests the nature of the social relationship in social capital mediates how access to resources occurs. The frequency of receipt or the amount of social capital that is received and

who the donor is, can be seen as a measure of mechanical solidarity if social capital building events (i.e., child minding, emotional support, material support) are regularly performed among groups of people who share familial, ethnic, gender or class ties.

It is therefore important to have some measure of the identity of the donor of social capital and the amount of social capital received.

The quality of the social capital received relates it its use-value. That is, are the donors of social capital likely to give capital that might translate into benefits for the recipient from bonding social capital to bridging social capital and thereby facilitate upward social mobility and a sense of organic solidarity. By inquiring into the socio-economic status of the donor of social capital, their relationship to the recipient and the amount of social capital given we can gather data that can help us consider the quality of the social capital that is received.

Social Relationship Index (and the Amount and Quality of Social Capital Received)

1. Access to emotional support – through leisure activities and other forms of relaxation:
      a) The emotional support received,
      b) How often is the emotional support received,
      c) Identity of the person donating support,
      d) Relationship of donor to recipient of support,
      e) Socio-economic status of the donor of emotional support.

2. Access to rational support – through advice, help with important life decisions, mentoring

      a) The rational support received,
      b) How often is the rational support received,
      c) Identity of the person donating rational support,
      d) Relationship to recipient of donor of rational support,
      e) Socio-economic status of the donor of rational support.

3. Access to material support – through assistance with specific physical assistance, e.g., child minding, home care, helping find work, housing, transport etc.

a) The rational material received,
b) How often is the material support received,
c) Identity of the person donating material support,
d) Relationship to recipient of material support,
e) Socio-economic status of the donor of material support.

The social relationship index will collect data on the relationship of recipients of social capital to their donors. By collecting information on how often material support is received, and on the identity and the socio-economic status of the social capital donor we will have an indicator, or at least a suggestion of the quantity and quality of the social capital the respondent might receive from his/her donor.

A measure of how individuals see themselves in relationship to others in the community and what binds those relationships might be operationalized by an index of bounded solidarity. Portes (1998) suggests bounded solidarity is identified by community feeling and "zeal" for ones group, which promotes strong relationships and relational embeddedness.

A comprehensive review of the literature on bounded solidarity and relational embeddedness by Singh (2001), proposes that this concept can be measured by the extent of reciprocal exchanges people engage in. The extent of exchanges or "tie strength" can be measured by amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services exchanged. Singh (2001, p. 9) proposes measuring:

1. Frequency of exchanges,
2. Multiplexity of exchanges,
3. Trust,
4. Identification with the community.

An index of bounded solidarity would tap the groups, organizations, networks, associations to which the respondent belongs. This would include either formally organized groups or groups of people who get together regularly to do an activity or talk about things, that is to say a community of interest. An index for our project might include the following items.

Solidarity Index

1. How many communities of interest does the respondent belong too?

2. Which community of interest is the most important to the respondent?
3. How often does the respondent meet with the community of interest or its members?
4. An estimate of the range of contacts established,
5. The homogeneity of the community of interest,
6. Respondent indentification with the community of interest,
8. Trust in others in the community of interest.

This index will give an indication of the relation of respondents to group membership and its composition, the frequency and multiplexity of exchanges, feelings of trust and identification with a community of interest.

The social relationship and solidarity indices will primarily tap horizontal or community level social capital and social inclusion. As discussed earlier there is also a vertical or societal dimension to the debates over social inclusion and social capital.

Inclusion Index

In the Durkheimian sense social inclusion is also about organic solidarity and social cohesion whereas in the Marxian/Weberian/Bourdieuan sense social inclusion relates to identification with a class, which is generally oppositional to another class. An index of cohesion/conflict for our survey will ask questions that address:

1. Community togetherness and closeness,
2. Differences in characteristics between living in the same community in terms of wealth, income, class, social status, ethnic background, gender, religion, political beliefs and age,
3. Whether differences are perceived to cause problems.

When aggregated with additional questions on the background, demography, and socio-economic status of the respondents these three indexes will provide a tool for measuring the horizontal and vertical dimensions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital. The tool will be used to address the research questions that were discussed earlier and others that will arise in the course of the research. Through the application of factor analysis and other appropriate statistical tests we can examine the significance and

contribution of each index to each other. We will then translate these indexes into numeric and graphic models that measure social inclusion in Northern Adelaide towards building a generalized model of social inclusion, which will specify the interaction and relationship of the indexes to each other. The model should be flexible enough to be used, with modification, in other regions.

Our survey instrument will include questions on spatial location, age, gender, income status and other socio-economic variables which will allow us to

- Examine the indices against varying geographic locations within Northern Adelaide and in relation to age, gender, socio-economic status and other variables.
- Use GIS technologies to map respondent perceptions of social inclusion and social capital against Commonwealth, State and Local Government data on socio-economic disadvantage for the Northern Adelaide region.

If, as planned, we map the responses to the indices against the mass of existing data on social disadvantage in Northern Adelaide using GIS technologies the survey instrument does not have to have detailed questions on social disadvantage. This is an important methodological consideration in that funding for the project will only allow a maximum of 40 questions to be asked in a CATI telephone survey. A shorter survey instrument will have the added advantage of facilitating a high response rate.

SUMMARY

This paper has reviewed the literature on concepts of social inclusion and social capital towards the development of a framework to guide the selection of indicators for a forthcoming Survey of Social Inclusion in the region of Northern Adelaide in 2005.

A review of the literature by the major theorists on social capital and social inclusion suggests seven key concepts of social inclusion and social capital comprising mechanical solidarity; organic solidarity; bounded solidarity; emotional solidarity; bonding social capital, bridging social capital and aggregate social capital.

The development of indices for the forthcoming Survey of Social Inclusion in Northern Adelaide, which address these key concepts, will enable us to measure the impact of social change in the region on the respondents' perceptions of social capital and social inclusion.

The survey instrument will include a method of identifying spatial location, age, gender, income status and other socio-economic variables. This will enable us to examine the indices against geographic locations within Northern Adelaide and in relation to age, gender, socio-economic status and other variables. Using GIS technologies, we will be able to map respondents perceptions of social inclusion and social capital over areas of the Northern Adelaide region which have populations with varying age, gender and socio-economic profiles and against Commonwealth, State and Local Government data on social disadvantage.

The research questions and additional questions will be addressed by triangulating data from the survey results with interview, focus group and participant observation data to further knowledge of how processes of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital are related and operate in an area of high socio-economic disadvantage.

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