



Social Capital
A review of the literature

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This literature review is a product of a research project being carried out on social capital in the Socio-Economics Inequalities Branch at the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The overall aim of the research is to examine and develop a framework for the measurement and analysis of social capital (appendix 1).
- There are many definitions attached to the concept which leads to confusion about what constitutes "social capital". There is some consensus within the social sciences towards a definition that emphasises the role of networks and civic norms.
- The key indicators of social capital include social relations, formal and informal social networks, group membership, trust, reciprocity and civic engagement. Social capital is generally understood as the property of the group rather than the property of the individual.
- Important distinctions are made between bonding, bridging and linking social capital. The political scientist Robert Putnam in his comprehensive state based study, *Bowling Alone* (2000), is most commonly associated with the analysis and measurement of social capital.
- Social capital is not a panacea, it has a "downside" hence more of it is not necessarily better. It is considered to deplete if not maintained.
- The decline in social capital in America recorded by Putnam is not mirrored in the United Kingdom (UK). Some civic organisations have declined (e.g. membership of the Women's Institute) but other forms of engagement are rising, particularly single issue groups.
- The majority of research studies to date have been secondary analysis of existing data sources although more dedicated surveys are being developed.
- Much of the research is carried out in America and the concept has tended to be exported wholesale to the UK which ignores the cultural context of its conceptualisation. Caution needs to be applied in comparisons where the cultural context of social capital is ignored.

- This review has identified 13 Government surveys (appendix 2) with social capital elements attached although, currently, there is no national benchmark for social capital.
- Although social capital is generally perceived as a community characteristic, it is usually measured by asking questions of individuals and aggregating their replies. This is considered problematic because collective social capital can not simply be the sum of individual social capital.
- It is suggested that there is a need to measure the quality of social capital, not merely the quantity.
- Social capital has a well established relationship with the outcomes policy makers are concerned with, namely: economic growth, social inclusion, improved health and more effective government.
- Some consider social capital a convenient justification for a retreat from expensive welfare spending.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This literature review is a product of a research project being carried out on social capital in the Socio-Economics Inequalities Branch at the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The aim of this research is to examine and develop an overall framework for the measurement and analysis of social capital. The specific objectives, including plans for analysis, are located in appendix 1.

Social capital in the UK is firmly established in the political lexicon and has generated a lot of interest within Government research, statistics and policy areas. The ONS, Home Office, Department of Health and Department for Education and Skills (DfES) are all carrying out research to measure and analyse the impact of various aspects of social capital. The ONSs work on the Household Satellite Account is measuring unpaid work and voluntary activity, the General Household Survey (GHS) in 2000/2001 included a social capital module for the Health Development Agency (HDA), and the UK Time Use Survey (2000) enables co-presence analysis. The Department of Health has included a module of social capital questions on the Health Survey for England (2000), DfES has included social capital questions on the National Adult Learning Survey (2001) and the Home Office has commissioned a dedicated survey on citizenship (2001). Outside Government there are several established research programmes in health, civic participation and democracy.

There are many possible approaches to defining social capital much to the exasperation of anyone trying to research it. However there is some consensus within the social sciences towards a definition that emphasises the role of networks and civic norms (Healy, 2001). Social capital is generally perceived to be a private and public good (Putnam, 2000) because, through its creation as a by-product of social relations, it benefits both the creator and bystander. It is a classic public good because of its non-exclusivity - its benefits cannot be restricted and hence are available to all members of a community indiscriminately (Woolcock, 2001).

This report is divided into four sections which represent the themes that emerged in the process of the review. The first outlines the plethora of definitions which surround the concept of "social capital". It will trace the conceptual history of social capital and review the main theoretical developments drawing on Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988, 1990), Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000), Fukuyama (1995, 2000), Portes (1998), Halpern (1999, 2001) and Woolcock (2001). It will explain the differences between bridging, bonding and linking social capital, how social capital

compares with other forms of capital, consider the criticisms of the concept and outline why social capital has gained popularity now. The second section focuses on the measurement of social capital, illustrating the difference between conceptual and compositional effects, examining what constitutes social capital indices and suggesting a framework for social capital measurement. The third reviews the research evidence which associates social capital with areas of major policy concern; health, the economy, crime and education and deals with the policy implications of social capital, addressing the question of "so what?".

2.0 DEFINITIONS

2.1 What is Social Capital?

There are many definitions attached to the concept which leads to justifiable confusion about what constitutes "social capital". This has been exacerbated by the different words used to refer to the term. These range from social energy, community spirit, social bonds, civic virtue, community networks, social ozone, extended friendships, community life, social resources, informal and formal networks, good neighbourliness and social glue. Within these there are different conceptualisations depending on the theoretical background which contribute to conceptual confusion. This has not hampered production of academic papers however. Before 1981, the number of journal articles listing social capital as a key word totalled 20, between 1991 and 1995 this has risen to 109, and between 1996 and March 1999 the total was 1003 (Baum, 2000).

Coming to a consensus concerning social capital would help in its measurement and application in a policy context. Social capital is an attractive idea and its putative positive outcomes are often considered intuitive. However, because it is hard to encapsulate in a single sentence, and because its measurement continues to defy simple quantification, debates regarding its conceptualisation continue. In addition, the lack of conceptual clarity has contributed to over-versatility. Woolcock suggests that the concept of social capital "...risks trying to explain too much with too little [and] is being adopted indiscriminately, adapted uncritically, and applied imprecisely..." (Lynch *et al.* 2000:404).

However, research undoubtedly correlates high social capital, in the form of social trust and associational networks, with a multiplicity of desirable policy outcomes. Putnam (2000:23) argues that social capital has "forceful, even quantifiable effects on many different aspects of our lives" and it is more than "warm, cuddly feelings or frissons of community pride". These quantifiable

effects include lower crime rates (Halpern 1999, Putnam 2000), better health (Wilkinson, 1996), improved longevity (Putnam, 2000) better educational achievement (Coleman, 1988), greater levels of income equality (Wilkinson 1996, Kawachi *et al.* 1997), improved child welfare and lower rates of child abuse (Cote and Healy, 2001), less corrupt and more effective government (Putnam, 1995) and enhanced economic achievement through increased trust and lower transaction costs (Fukuyama, 1995). The cumulative effect of this research indicates that the well connected are more likely to be "housed, healthy, hired and happy" (Woolcock, 2001:12).

2.2 Human and Cultural Capital

The concept of human and physical capital is now well established. The concepts of social and cultural capital however are less well defined. Social capital is generally considered an attribute of communities, whereas human capital is considered an attribute of individuals and comprises a stock of skills, qualifications and knowledge. Cultural capital has been considered an aspect of human capital, something that an individual can accumulate over time through talent, skills, training and exposure to cultural activity (Matarasso, 1999). However Gould (2001) considers cultural capital as a form of social capital, meaning that when a community gathers to share culturally, (through celebrations, rites and intercultural dialogue), it is enhancing its relationships, partnerships and networks (social capital). In *Bowling Alone* Putnam (2000:19) also notes that human capital refers to individuals whereas, for him, social capital refers to connections among individuals and the social networks and the norms of reciprocity that arise from them.

Coleman suggests that, like other forms of capital, social capital is productive but it can be depleted if it is not renewed. In addition, Putnam also suggests that the more people work together the more social capital is produced and the less people work together the more community stocks of social capital will deplete (Cooper *et al.* 1999). Healy (2001) also argues that we need to protect the "social ozone" and devise strategies for its maintenance and renewal.

2.3 Theoretical Development

Portes (1998) suggests that the concept behind social capital is nothing new in sociological terms. He points to the work of Durkheim and his emphasis on being connected in a community as an "antidote to anomie and self destruction". More recently the value of social capital was identified by Bourdieu (1986) and given a clear theoretical framework by Coleman (1988, 1990) who was

the first to subject the concept to empirical scrutiny and develop ways of operationalising it for research purposes (Baron *et al.* 2000:8). However it is now most commonly associated with Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) who successfully exported the concept out of academia and into a wider media.

Davies (2001) considers there to be two theoretical models underpinning the concept which embrace a neo-Marxist and a neo-Liberalist perspective. The former, she suggests, is typified by Bourdieu, the latter by Putnam. A neo-Marxist approach places greater emphasis on access to resources and issues of power in society. Baum (2000) suggests that Bourdieu emphasised the role played by different forms of capital in the reproduction of unequal power relations. Coleman (1988, 1990) however takes rational action as a starting point and suggests that:

"Social capital is defined by its function, it is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman 1990:302).

According to Coleman, social capital can take on three forms; firstly obligations and expectations which depend on the trustworthiness of the social environment, secondly the capacity of information to flow through the social structure in order to provide a basis for action and thirdly the presence of norms accompanied by effective sanctions.

Fukuyama (1995) is most well known for his integration of social capital and trust and from working within an economic framework, rather than a sociological one like Coleman or a political science perspective like Putnam. Passey (2000) suggests that Fukuyama attempted to compare the relative economic performance of different nations and cultures on the basis of differing levels of trust. It is this level of trust inherent in a given society that conditions its prosperity and degree of democracy, as well as its ability to compete economically.

The World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have also considered the definition of social capital. The OECD defines social capital as "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups" (Cote and Healy, 2001:41). The World Bank is more expansive and suggests:

"Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions...Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together."

The World Bank comments on the difference between a narrow and broad definition. The former is perceived as a set of horizontal associations between people, consisting of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on community productivity and well-being. The latter accounts for both the positive and negative aspects by including vertical associations between people e.g. in the work place.

However, by far the most well know theorist within the social capital paradigm is Putnam. He, along with Woolcock (2001), are considered to offer the most succinct definition of social capital. They share a "lean and mean" approach which focuses on social networks. Another difference between Putnam and his predecessors is that, whereas Coleman and Bourdieu consider social capital an attribute of the individual, Putnam has developed it as an attribute of communities. Putnam defines social capital thus: "...networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Baron *et al.* 2000). Woolcock (2001) suggests that a virtue of adopting a relatively narrow and agreed upon definition is that it encourages supporters and sceptics to adhere to the same rules. In addition, he considers it important for any definition of social capital to focus on its sources rather than consequences. i.e. on what social capital is rather than what it does.

Putnam started his social capital career analysing local government in Italy. Halpern (1999) suggests that *Making Democracy Work* firmly located Putnam on the social capital map by identifying the "vibrancy of associational life" as a critical component in effective local government. He found that areas with low social capital (measured by the aforementioned associational life and level of trust) were ruled by the most unsuccessful governments and demonstrated greater inefficiency and corruption. However areas with high levels of social trust were ruled by successful regional governments. His work in Italy led onto work in America in 1995 on the "strange disappearance" of social capital.

In *Bowling Alone* Putnam (2000) extensively documents the decline of Americans participation in politics, civic groups, religious organisations, trade unions and professional organisations, as well as in informal socialising. He uses the emotive image of a once highly associational activity (bowling) which used to be organised in leagues being reduced to Americans bowling alone.

Putnam (2000) argues that active membership in community groups is decreasing, and those that are joining in are not joining the kinds of organisations that matter in the creation and maintenance of social capital. He also indicates that joining groups has positive social outcomes and that the generation of key joiners is dying off. He found there to be a cohort effect where older people belong to more organisations than younger people, and suggests that attention should focus on when they were young, as an indication of their propensity to participate in their communities.

One of the contentious issues in *Bowling Alone* is that Putnam cites television as the main culprit in the decline of social capital. In the 1950s, 10% of homes in America had a television set but by 1959 over 90% had television sets, and were busily watching them, hence leaving less time to socialise. Other explanatory factors included, firstly money (changing roles of women), secondly greater mobility (reduces local ties), thirdly the diminished ability of people with busy lives to come together and fourthly generation changes in values and behaviour related to civic engagement.

Halpern's (1999) conceptualisation adds a further dimension to the social capital debate. He includes networks and norms but emphasises the role of sanctions in social capital. He proposes a "virtuous Catherine wheel" of social capital, with internalised values at the hub (e.g. social trust), mediating causal variables at its rim (e.g. vibrant community) and policy outcomes as the sparks that fly off (e.g. low crime).

2.4 Relations of trust

Trust looms large in the debate about social capital. Some consider trust as an outcome of social capital (Woolcock, 2001), others view it as a component of the shared values which constitute social capital, whereas some consider it to be both (Cote and Healy, 2001). Pretty and Ward (2001) suggests that trust is reinforced by sanctions which may be applied to those who flout social norms or fail in their social responsibilities.

There are often considered to be two types of trust. Firstly, that which we have in individuals we know and secondly, that which we have in individuals we do not know. In Putnam's terms this is thick and thin trust whereby thick is seen as a property of intimate social networks and thin as generalised trust in other community members. Sixsmith *et al.* (2001) found that trust was more

dynamic than this dichotomy implies and challenge what they view as Putnam's unitary notion of trust, as their research reveals trust to be more multi-dimensional.

Fukuyama (2000:4) takes up this notion but refers to a "radius of trust". By this he means a circle of people among whom co-operative norms operate. Fukuyama suggests that in many Latin American societies, a narrow radius of trust produces a two-tier moral system, with good behaviour reserved for family and personal friends, and a lower standard of behaviour in the public sphere. He argues that this serves as a cultural foundation for corruption.

2.5 Bridging, bonding and linking social capital

The most common distinction established when discussing social capital is between bridging, bonding and linking. Putnam suggests that bonding social capital is good for "getting by" and bridging is crucial for "getting ahead". He differentiates between bridging and bonding by suggesting that "...bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological super glue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD 40..." (Putnam 2000:19).

Bonding (exclusive) social capital refers to relations amongst relatively homogenous groups such as family members and close friends and is similar to the notion of strong ties. Putnam (2000) lists examples of bonding social capital as being ethnic fraternal organisations and church based women's reading groups. Bridging (inclusive) social capital refers to relations with distant friends, associates and colleagues. Putnam (2000) lists examples of these as being civil rights movements and ecumenical religious organisations. These ties tend to be weaker and more diverse but more important in "getting ahead". Putnam's idea of bridging social capital is not new. Granovetter's (1973) *The Strength of Weak Ties* also suggests that weak ties were an important resource in making possible mobility opportunities.

Linking social capital refers to relations between individuals and groups in different social strata in a hierarchy where power, social status and wealth are accessed by different groups (Cote and Healy, 2001:42). Woolcock (2001) extends this to include the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community.

One adverse effect of strong bonding social capital is that it may serve to exclude and, Elliot (2001) suggests, create a context for the growth of reactionary ideology such as sectarianism. This

constitutes what has been termed the "dark" or downside of the concept and is one of the many criticisms of Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital in particular.

2.6 Criticisms of the Concept

This section deals with the criticism of the concept and also specific criticisms of Putnam's conceptualisation. Woolcock (2001) suggest that the backlash against social capital is not surprising given its substantial and rapid rise in popularity. Critics, he notes, argue that social capital is nothing new, that it the latest buzz word meaning all things to all people, it lacks empirical specificity, and it neglects considerations of power (2.3 theoretical development). It has aroused suspicion because of the huge range of social issues on which it has been used. The concept has tended to be exported wholesale from America to the UK which ignores the cultural context of its conceptualisation for the vast majority of research studies. In addition, Davies (2001) suggests that the concept has been heavily criticised for being gender blind and ethnocentric. Finally, Sixsmith *et al.* (2001) suggest that much of the existing work has been based on secondary analyses of datasets not primarily established for social capital. However the Social Capital Benchmark Survey is a dedicated social capital survey based in America (appendix 3).

One of the criticisms of Putnam's early work is that social capital was assumed to be a societal good whereas there are well documented examples of its downside. Halpern (1999) suggests that organised crime or gangs involve a social network which entails shared norms but they do not constitute a societal good. Portes (1998) lists the downside of social capital as the exclusion of outsiders, restriction on individual freedom and a downward levelling of norms. By the latter, he means situations in which group solidarity is cemented by a common experience of adversity and opposition to mainstream society. The resulting downward levelling of norms operate to keep numbers of a downtrodden group in place, and force the more ambitious to escape from it. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam does acknowledge the tyranny of social capital, of not wanting to participate and join in. He also acknowledges that America in the 1950s was considered very rigid and racist and that changes in the 1960s allowed greater life style diversity.

Other criticisms of Putnam's work focus on the lack of theoretical specificity in the link between associational life, high social trust and better government. In addition, the methodology has been criticised in that he merely measured changing patterns, not decreasing patterns, of memberships. Therefore, the decline in bowling league membership has been taken up by increased membership

in self-help organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymous. Another example is the importance Putnam attached to the decline in main-stream church going (Wills, 2000). During this time there has been a substantial growth in evangelical and para-churches. Between 1980 and 1995 membership of the Episcopal Churches declined by 26% but Pentecostal membership grew by 469%, Jehovah's Witness by 285% and Baptists by 73%. Hence there are new kinds of participation in society, rather than less participation. In response, Putnam suggests that the new organisations may require less active participation and are qualitatively different from bowling leagues. The ties are to common symbols, common leaders and perhaps to common ideals but not to one another.

2.7 Why Now

Social capital has gained popularity now partly because of the oratory skills and obvious passion of Putnam. He has translated much of the theoretical debate into language which a wider audience can understand. In addition, Hunt (2001) suggests that Putnam's genius was to correlate levels of social capital with traditional public policy concerns over crime, health and education and seemingly provide an agenda for discussion and possible solution. For Lemann (1996) there are other reasons, namely that social capital chimes with the personal circumstances of a small but politically significant segment of the population, that we live in cycles and what we are seeing is another turn of the wheel and finally it is an attempt to re-introduce the social dimension into capitalism (Baron *et al.* 2000:12).

Inextricably linked to defining social capital is the measurement of the concept and it is to this issue the review now turns.

3.0 MEASUREMENT

The main conclusion of the first section is that social capital is defined in numerous ways and this makes it hard to measure. This section explores further the measurement of social capital and the methodological issues which characterise the debate. One facet of this is the fact that much of the research is based on secondary analysis of existing data sources. This section will also examine what has been included in indices of social capital, discuss a framework for its measurement and introduce the matrix of survey questions with social capital elements, compiled by ONS for this project.

3.1 Methodological debates

Despite some ambiguity social capital is generally understood as the property of the group rather than the property of the individual. Hence the most common measures of social capital examine participation, e.g. membership of voluntary organisations, churches or political parties (Schuller, 2001). Cote and Healy (2001) suggest that measures of social capital should be as comprehensive as possible in their coverage of key dimensions (networks, values and norms) and should be balanced between the attitudinal/subjective and the behavioural. Such measures should be related to the cultural context in which the behaviour or attitudes are being measured. The cultural specificity of social capital was also raised by Robinson (1997) in his work on social capital from a Maori perspective. In this he highlights that the Maori concept of social capital stresses the importance of extended family relationships, as these relations are the basis of all other relationships. This has implications for international measures of social capital.

Social trust has been used in many studies as a means of approximating levels of social capital. Halpern (1999) suggests that there is a need for a simple, "quick and dirty" measure and this can be solved in the systematic measuring of social trust. He considers it easy to measure, and to be associated with more policy-relevant outcomes than traditional measures of voluntary activity and association membership. The World Values Survey asked questions on trust in 1981, 1991 and 1996 and there are tables comparing recorded trust in different countries. Cote and Healy (2001:44) note that in 1995-6, the OECD country with the highest percentage of respondents reporting that "most people can be trusted" was Norway (65.3%) while Turkey had the lowest percentage (6.5%) (the United Kingdom was 31%). One of the issues with this research, however, is how respondents in different contexts define trust. Indeed there is not universal agreement concerning trust as an adequate proxy for measuring aspects of social capital. Baron *et al.* (2000:26) suggest that the practice of using single questions about trust and linking them to broad measures of a nation's economic performance is an example of poor social capital measurement.

Another methodological issue is that, although social capital is generally perceived as a community characteristic, it is usually measured by asking questions of individuals and aggregating their replies. Portes and Landolt (1996) suggest that collective social capital can not simply be the sum of individual social capital. Baron *et al.* (2000:28) also make the point that social capital has been aggregated up across different levels and that the validity of social capital depends on its contextualisation. They go on to suggest that grossing up the number of people

who belong to organisations indicates little about the strength of social capital if it is not accompanied by information on what people do as members.

Another aspect of this is the difference between compositional (individual) and contextual (place) measurement. Green *et al.* (2000) question whether a survey of individuals can properly distinguish between the collective characteristics of a neighbourhood and those of the individual. Taking the example of trust, they question whether trust should be measured as an individual characteristic (influenced by age and gender perhaps) which is taken from place to place as people move, or whether it is induced by the physical and social environment of a neighbourhood.

3.2 Framework for the measurement of social capital

Various measures have been used by Coleman (1988), Hall (1999) and Putnam (2000) to measure social capital. Coleman's development of social capital indicators for children's educational attainment included personal, family and community dimensions. Measures of personal and family resources include the following: socio-economic status, ethnicity, number of siblings, number of residential moves, whether or not mother worked before children started school, the mother's expectation of children's level of educational attainment, the level of communication between children and parents about personal matters, and whether or not both parents were present in household (Elliot, 2001:26).

Hall (1999) focuses on networks of sociability, both formal and informal, and on the norms of social trust widely associated with such networks. He suggests that, although problems of measurement necessitate an emphasis on voluntary associations, trends in other forms of sociability should be considered, including participation in charities and informal relations with neighbours and friends. He suggests that the main reasons why the UK has not followed America's decline in social capital are the educational revolution, the post war transformation in social structure and the emphasis put on government's policy towards the delivery of social services, in particular, the use of non-profit association and volunteer labour. The research of Johnson and Jowell (1999) also indicates that there has not been the same deterioration of social capital in the UK as in America.

Putnam's measure of how well the new regional government performed in Italy is an index based on a dozen different factors including the government's effectiveness in providing a wide range of services (housing, day care, family health clinics), their responsiveness to postal and telephone

enquiries, and the quality of their legislative records. To measure people's involvement in public life, Putnam developed an index of the strength of civic community based on the percentage of the population voting in referenda, newspaper readership, and the number of associations for voluntary, cultural and sporting activities per head of the population (Wilkinson, 1996:119). In *Bowling Alone* Putnam's measures are based on a composite index representing participation in a range of civic and political activities. The summary index is the average of the standardised scores of 14 component measures. These 14 indicators of formal and informal community networks and social trust are sufficiently interrelated to tap a single underlying dimension (Elliot, 2001:28).

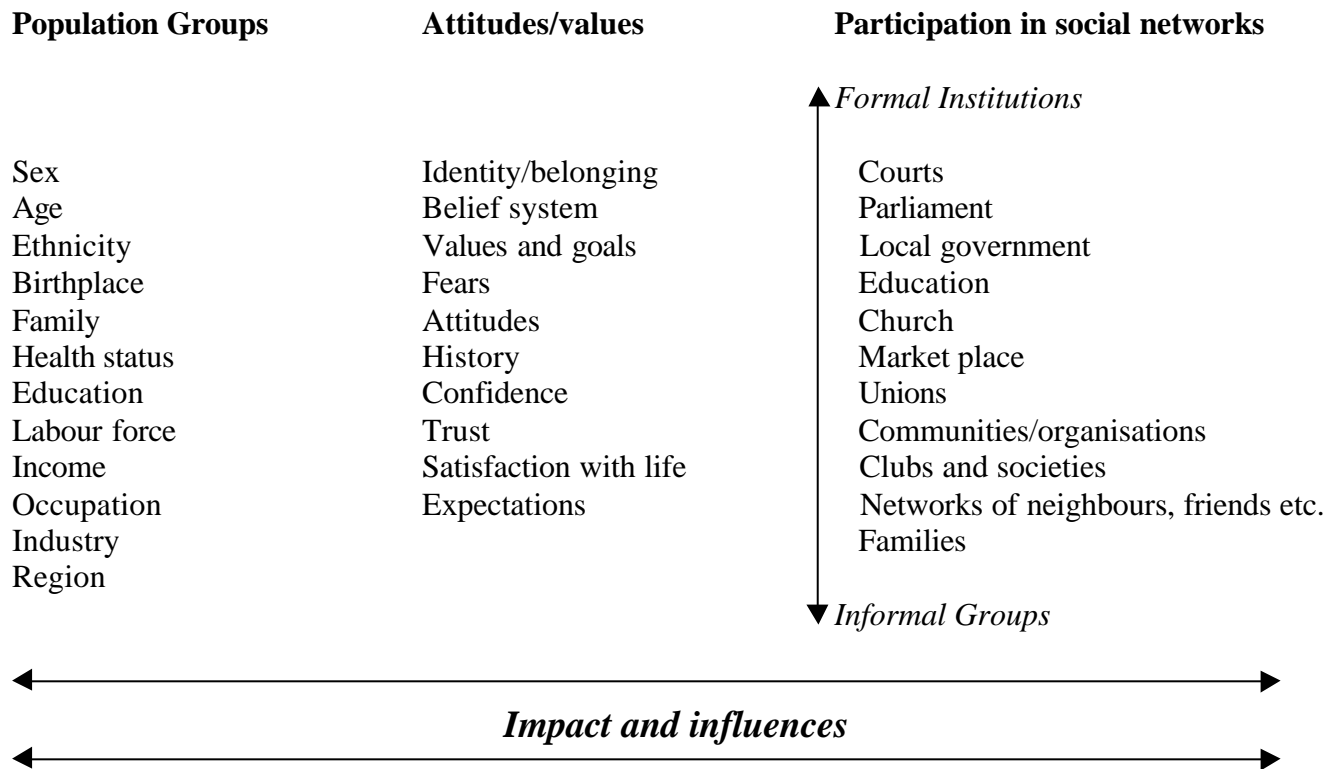
Table 1 Putnam's Components of a Social Capital Index ¹

Components of a comprehensive Social Capital Index	Correlation with Index
Measures of Community Organisational Life	
Serves on a committee of local organisation in the last year	0.88
Served as office of some club or organisation in the last year	0.83
Civic and social organisations per 1000 population	0.78
Mean number of club meetings attended in last year	0.78
Mean number of group memberships	0.74
Measures of engagements in public affairs	
Turnout presidential election, 1998 and 1992	0.84
Attended public meeting on town or school affairs in last year	0.77
Measure of community volunteerism	
Number of non-profit organisation per 1000	0.82
Mean number of times worked on community project in last year	0.65
Mean number of times did volunteer work in last year	0.66
Measures of informal sociability	
Agree that " I spend a lot of time visiting friends"	0.73
Mean number of times entertained at home in the last year	0.67
Measure of trust	
Agree that "Most people can be trusted"	0.92
Agree that " Most people are honest"	0.84

Statistics New Zealand suggest that adequate measurement of social capital would involve three types of measurement - population data, attitudinal data and participation data. They suggest attitudinal data is required because if the concept relies on the fact that people share common goals and norms, measurement needs to determine whether this is the case and what the norms are. This means asking people about their sense of identity, sense of belonging, belief systems and ideologies. Data on participation in social networks is needed to compare what is done and who does it. In addition, Spellerberg (1997) suggests, one would need to measure a variety of institutions from the formal (courts) to the informal (families). The following is a proposed framework for the measurement of social capital (Spellerberg, 1997:50).

¹ To note, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey now has data on its website for researchers to access. The web address, along with other social capital related web address can be found in appendix 3.

Table 2 Proposed framework for the measurement of social capital



Green *et al.* (2000) in their study of social capital, health and the economy in South Yorkshire communities developed an empowerment index based on residents degree of control over decisions and also a trust index. Their questionnaire has eight sections:

1. Neighbourhood context e.g. how likely is it that residents going to stay in the area
2. Network geography e.g. asking how many people residents knew in the neighbourhood
3. Reciprocal help and trust e.g. extent to which residents ask favours from a neighbour
4. Trust, both in the system as well as personal trust
5. Civic engagement and efficacy e.g. being informed about local affairs
6. Health e.g. amount of long standing limiting illness
7. Life style e.g. diet and smoking habits
8. Economy e.g. labour market status questions (Green *et al.* 2000:10)

3.3 ONS Survey matrix

Another output of the project plan (appendix 1) is an analysis of surveys containing questions with social capital elements. This is presented in the form of a matrix (appendix 2). All relevant government surveys are included, together with major non-governmental surveys (n=18). Following a typology devised by Blaxter *et al.* (2001) survey questions have been thematically

grouped. Each theme illustrates a particular facet of social capital and contains between eight to twelve indicators. The five themes are:

- Participation, social engagement, commitment
- Control, self-efficacy
- Perception of community level structures or characteristics
- Social interaction, social networks, social support
- Trust, reciprocity, social cohesion

This survey matrix builds on one devised for the General Household Survey (Coulthard *et al.* 2001) and includes the following surveys:

- British Crime Survey
- British Election Study
- British Household Panel Survey
- British Social Attitudes
- Citizen Audit Questionnaire
- Communal Establishments Survey (pilot)
- English Longitudinal Study of Ageing
- English House Condition Survey
- General Household Survey
- Health Education Monitoring Survey
- Health and Lifestyles Survey
- Health Survey for England
- Home Office Citizenship Survey
- National Adult Learning Survey
- Scottish Household Survey
- Survey of English Housing
- Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey
- UK Time Use Survey

Despite concerns over its measurement, there are many research projects aimed at analysing the impact of social capital on the well-being of the nation. These studies, along with the policy implications, are the focus of the final section.

4.0 RESEARCH STUDIES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This section deals briefly with the research studies and the policy implications of social capital. It is divided into two parts covering the main areas of policy interest, namely crime and the economy, health, education and civic participation, followed by the policy implications.

4.1 Crime and the Economy

Evidence indicates (Cote and Healy, 2001, Green *et al.* 2000, Halpern, 1999, Sampson *et al.* 1997) that high social capital is associated with lower crime rates. Cote and Healy (2001:54), drawing on research carried out in America, illustrate that communities characterised by anonymity and limited acquaintance, unsupervised teenage peer groups and low levels of civic

participation face an increased risk of crime and violence (Sampson *et al.* 1997). The study used survey data for Chicago neighbourhoods to show that mutual trust and neighbourly altruism were key factors in explaining inter-neighbourhood differences in crime rates. The authors suggest that the causal mechanism may be "collective-efficacy", that is, the ability of the community to control the precursors of crime, levels of trust, respect and self-esteem within and between community members (Halpern, 2001:237). They suggest that collective efficacy acted to reduce crime, not because it made residents more likely to intervene in serious crime, but because it made them more likely to intervene in its precursors, such as discouraging the gathering of teenage gangs or drug taking (Halpern, 2001).

Green *et al.* (2000) in their study of social capital and health in South Yorkshire confirmed that community safety is a big issue for their respondents. One traditional solution to these fears is to "target harden" which results in more locks, more gates and more walls being built. However a complementary strategy, they suggest, would be to increase levels of social capital, especially trust, because their survey demonstrates that higher levels of trust are associated with lower fears for safety.

Halpern (1999) illustrates that social capital has been shown to have a significantly positive association with economic growth. Nations with high social capital, as measured by trust between strangers in the World Values Survey, tend to be wealthier nations (as measured by GDP per capita). He suggests that (1999:13) social capital reduces transaction costs and that trust, reputation and informal sanctions take the place of contracts, the legal system and formal sanctions. Fukuyama (2000) also notes that it is cheaper to have informal bonds and that the economic function of social capital is to reduce transaction costs.

4.2 Health

There is a considerable amount of research being carried out on the relationship between health and social capital. The connections between the two are the most well documented (Cooper *et al.* 1999, Blaxter *et al.* 2001, Coulthard *et al.* 2001, Sixsmith *et al.* 2001, Campbell *et al.* 1999, Campbell, 2000, Whitehead and Diderichsen, 2001). Halpern (1999:22) suggest that social capital may act to buffer the effects of social stress and that its presence might generate a sense of well-being and belonging. One of the biggest research projects looking at health and social capital is being carried out at ONS, funded by the Health Development Agency (HDA). The General Household Survey (appendix 2) has a social capital module which investigates five areas of social

capital. Three relate to the local community (views about the local area, civic engagement, reciprocity and local trust); and two relate to the individuals themselves (social networks and social support) (Coulthard *et al.* 2001). The module is one of many research projects being funded by the HDA under their social capital programme. This programme covers a broad range of quantitative and qualitative research projects all focusing on health and social capital (appendix 3).

4.3 Education and Civic Participation

Both Putnam (2000) and Halpern (1999) identified education as a key to the creation of social capital and greater educational achievement as an important outcome. The National Adult Literacy Survey (appendix 2) has collected information about respondents' leisure activities and the extent to which they were involved in a variety of voluntary and community activities. The purpose of this is to look at whether learning is positively associated with involvement in the community. In addition, the Wider Benefits of Learning Programme at the Institute of Education has a programme of research dedicated to examining the benefits of learning. They contend that values and attitudes formed through learning are likely to have important effects in adult life in terms of civic participation.

Civic participation is highly correlated with political engagement (van Deth, 2001). The Economic and Social Research Council explores this idea further under its Community and Participation theme. This research programme includes projects on, for example, the Dynamics of Attitudes Towards Democracy and Participation in Contemporary Britain (appendix 3). This aims to analyse the inter-relationships between political participation, public satisfaction with the institution and practices of the British political system. There is also a Citizen Audit for Britain (appendix 2) which is a large scale survey investigating the extent and types of individual participation, levels of trust among individuals and levels of individual identification with different communities.

4.4 Policy Implications

After reviewing the definition, measurement and research studies of social capital, one inevitably arrives at the "so what" question. How does the evidence translate into policies which can make a difference? Woolcock suggests the policy response should not be a call for more choirs. Indeed he emphasises that social capital is not a panacea, and more of it is not necessarily better (Woolcock, 2001:15). However, social capital has a well established relationship with the outcomes policy

makers are concerned with e.g. economic growth, social exclusion, better health and well being (Halpern, 1999). Cote and Healy (2001) suggest that specific types of social capital (e.g. bridging, bonding, linking) can be important for policies aimed at minimising social exclusion, particularly bridging social capital. That said, however, social capital has been considered a convenient justification for a retreat from expensive welfare spending (Campbell, 2000:184).

The policy responses so far have focused on civic regeneration, volunteering and community self help (e.g. Home Office, Policy Action Team 9 Report, 1999). The aim is to build social capital by strengthening local community networks. The Time Bank initiative, supported in part by the Home Office, is an attempt to promote communities self help through mutual volunteering. In the UK, Time Banks have been declared exempt from tax and welfare benefit consideration. This favourable policy and funding environment gives this community currency model an opportunity to improve on previous experience with other social economy schemes. The kinds of services exchanged in a Time Bank include - gardening, companionship, help with shopping, computer tuition and literacy skills (Seyfang, 2001:7). In addition, the Community Empowerment Fund in the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit at the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions aims to support community and voluntary sectors involved in Local Strategic Partnerships. Cote and Healy (2001) point to policies introduced in Northern Ireland which aim to build bridges through community involvement in the Ulster's People's College. This helps community workers become more effective in their work.

This review has outlined the main issues surrounding the definition, measurement, evidence and policy implications of social capital. It has been prepared as a background document for a cross-departmental social capital workshop to be held on November 16th 2001. This will bring together the majority of Government departments to create and maintain bridging social capital and be a forum for discussion on the definition and measurement of the concept. From this workshop decisions will be made concerning the statistical measurement of social capital for the UK. ONS is also participating with the OECD on a measurement seminar, planned for 2002, to take these discussions and outcomes to an international level. For further information about any of the issues raised in this review, please e mail social.capital@ons.gov.uk.

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APPENDIX ONE: ONS SOCIAL CAPITAL PROJECT PLAN

Social Capital Project

July 2001

Introduction

Social capital is becoming increasingly important within Government in many research, statistical and policy areas. There are several established research programmes in health, crime and civic participation which have focused, for example, on the levels of trust, reciprocity and social cohesion within society. Discussions with departments have suggested that social capital is an area where ONS can take a lead in bringing together the disparate pieces of research and statistics that currently exist across Government. By gathering together key interested parties, we hope to pave the way for a more consistent approach to understanding social capital in the future.

Background

Social capital has become a topic of interest in a large number of policy areas. Definitions vary but it is often understood to be a social resource which is created through formal and informal relationships between people within a community. It describes the social environment that people live in, and is the collective resources to which individuals, families, neighbourhoods and communities have access. The World Bank (1999) defines it thus:

"Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence show that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions [that] underpin a society - it is the glue that holds them together"

The most commonly used definition originates from Robert Putnam and he defines it as the:

"features of social life - networks, norms , and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. Social capital, in short, refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust" (Putnam, 1995, pp 664-5).

Within Government, the Home Office, Department of Health and the Social Exclusion Unit have all expressed interest in projects aimed to define, measure and analyse the impact of social capital. Work on related topics has already begun at ONS - the Household Satellite Accounts is attempting to measure unpaid work and formal voluntary work, and the General Household Survey has included questions on aspects of social capital (for the Health Development Agency). The Home Office has commissioned a survey on citizenship which covers race equality, voluntary and community activities, human rights, parenting and regulation.

Outside Government, social capital has been the focus of a comprehensive programme of research. There is a large ESRC funded programme of research which covers a range of health related topics. There is also a focus on the economy and community participation e.g. the Sheffield based research on social capital, health and economy in South Yorkshire Coalfield communities (Green at al. 2000). The Social Action Research Project (SARP) is tackling inequalities in health through increasing community capacity for collective action. Issues around the measurement of social capital and whether it is an area or individual measure have also been the focus of academic attention. Finally, there has been research on the policy implications of social capital and also attitudinal analysis using comparative data from the International Social Survey Programme.

Project Aim

In 2001/2002 we plan to examine and develop an overall framework for the measurement and analysis of social capital.

Project Objectives

- To define the broad concept of "social capital" used across Government
- To analyse how the differing concepts are being used across Government and in the academic community, and agree statistical definitions for National Statistics
- To produce first data analysis for Government on the basis of the definition
- To establish and maintain a network of people working on social capital by liaison within and outside Government
- To identify future data requirements and possible data sources

Current Project Outputs

- A network across Government and the academic community of people working on social capital
- A literature review on the definition and measurement of social capital
- A review of the variety of surveys measuring various aspects of social capital
- A workshop in the Autumn 2001 - to propose next steps/options
- A plan of analysis and dissemination of the General Household Survey/British Household Panel Survey/Time Use Survey and other survey sources
- Recommendations for future analysis and dissemination

Later the work is likely to include the development of harmonised concepts and measures of social capital and its components; further analysis on volunteering - including both the characteristics of volunteers/non-volunteers and the measurement of social networks.

The key issues for ONS are to co-ordinate work on social capital and, in collaboration with colleagues, identify gaps in the literature/existing research programme and, where possible, fill those gaps by independent statistical analysis.

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APPENDIX TWO: MATRIX OF UNITED KINGDOM SURVEYS WITH A SOCIAL CAPITAL ELEMENT

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October 2001

Introduction and background

Increasingly, information on various aspects of social capital is being collected in government surveys, and surveys conducted by others, across a range of subject areas. This appendix provides a summary of the key aspects of surveys conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) where the information collected includes some aspects of social capital. All relevant government surveys that have been identified are included, together with some major non-governmental surveys.

This appendix also summarises the relevant questions asked in each survey, grouping the questions together into different facets of social capital, and showing which facets these surveys include or do not include. The results are presented in tabular (matrix) form for ease of reference and comparison. This builds on the health matrix devised for the General Household Survey (Coulthard, *et al.* 2001:19). The matrix, which can be found in section B, is intended to be indicative but not exhaustive.

The main body of this appendix is divided into two sections:

- A list of surveys that have a social capital facet;
- A common matrix of survey questions;

Although the analysis presented mainly focuses on government surveys, there have been several other studies and surveys conducted in the UK (and abroad in the case of the Citizen Audit, for example) where information has been collected on facets of social capital.

The surveys

Eighteen large surveys have been identified as including some measurement of social capital. These are:

- British Crime Survey
- British Election Study
- British Household Panel Survey
- British Social Attitudes Survey
- Citizen Audit Questionnaire
- Communal Establishments Survey (pilot)
- English Longitudinal Study of Ageing
- English House Condition Survey
- General Household Survey
- Health Education Monitoring Survey
- Health and Lifestyles Survey
- Health Survey for England
- Home Office Citizenship Survey
- National Adult Learning Survey
- Scottish Household Survey
- Survey of English Housing
- Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey
- UK Time Use Survey

A. Information about the surveys

The surveys are described below along with information on the effective sample size (includes non-respondents but excludes ineligible households), coverage (geographical), response rate, fieldwork dates, and lead government department. An indication of the particular slant that the survey had on social capital is also offered along with an indication of the current status of the survey/project. A web reference point is also included wherever possible.

1. British Crime Survey (BCS)

The British Crime Survey is an important source of information about levels of crime and public attitudes to crime. Interviews used to be carried out with households every two years (23,000 interviews in 2000). From January 2001, the BCS became a continuous annual survey, with a target of 40,000 interviews per annum, including a 3,000 ethnic boost. Interim findings from 2001 data were released on 25th October. A large number of reports are produced on, for example, crime experienced by households, on fear of crime, and drug use.

Type of respondent: Adults (aged 16 and over) in private households

Coverage: England and Wales

Effective sample size: 26,000 addresses

Response rate: 74 per cent

Fieldwork: January to July 2000

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Fear of crime, perceptions of neighbourhood

Lead department: Home Office

Status: Continuous

For more information on the BCS visit <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/bcs1.html>

2. British Election Study (BES) 2001/02

The British Election Study (BES) has been conducted at every General Election since 1964. The BES covers the following main subject areas: political preferences and values; economic perceptions; social attitudes; dispositions to engage in different forms of political activity; and individual and household socio-demographic characteristics. The survey comprises four components, including a face-to-face survey conducted immediately prior to the 2001 General Election. Information conveyed here, and in the matrix, pertains to this component only.

Type of respondent: Adults aged 18 and over

Coverage: Great Britain

Effective sample size: 3,000 addresses (component one)

Response rate: 70 per cent (post election sample provisional estimate)

Social capital slant: Political citizenship, civic engagement

Lead organisation: University of Essex and Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC)

Status: Reports on 2001 data are being drafted

For more information on the British Election Study visit <http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes/>

3. British Household Panel Survey (BHPS)

This longitudinal panel study follows all the members of 5,500 households, first interviewed in 1991, and at annual intervals thereafter. The BHPS provides a means of exploring how individuals experience change in different domains of their lives, including work, income, health, socio-economic values, housing, and domestic household organisation, as well as the way these domains relate to one another, the interactions between household members, and the processes of household formation and dissolution. Information in the matrix pertains to questions asked in mainstage wave 9 (2000).

Type of respondent: All adults in households (a supplementary youth interview was added in wave four)

Coverage: Great Britain

Effective sample size: 5,000 households (plus booster sample of 1500 respondent households for Scotland and Wales in wave nine)

Response rate: 97.1% of those respondents interviewed at every wave of the survey being re-interviewed at Wave 9

Sampling frame: Postal Addresses in 1991, members of initial wave households followed in subsequent waves.

Social capital slant: Neighbourhoods, reciprocity, participation

Lead organisation: Institute for Social and Economic Research at Essex.

Status: Annual, data for wave 10 will become available in December 2001.

For additional information and documentation on the British Household Panel Survey visit <http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps/index.php>

4. British Social Attitudes (BSA) Survey 2000

The British Social Attitudes (BSA) Survey series is designed to measure long-term trends in attitudes towards social, political, economic and moral issues, complementing larger government surveys which tend to concentrate on factual or behavioural data. The survey focuses mainly on people's attitudes, but also collects details of their behaviour patterns, household circumstances and work. BSA has been conducted annually since 1983. A specific module on social capital was included on the 2000 questionnaire. A self completion questionnaire also accompanies each survey, although questions from this have not been included here.

Type of respondent: One adult (aged 18 or over) per household

Coverage: Great Britain

Effective sample size: 5,400 addresses

Response rate: 58 per cent (1998)

Latest year for which data available: 2000 report due to be published on 26th November 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Trust, confidence in political structures, participation, support networks

Lead organisation: National Centre for Social Research

Status: Annual

No web reference available.

5. Citizen Audit Questionnaire (CAQ) 2001

Funded under the ESRC Democracy and Participation Programme, a team of academics at the University of Sheffield have developed a Citizen Audit Questionnaire (CAQ) and interview. The survey investigates a variety of questions including: the extent and types of individual participation, defined to include all types of voluntary activity; levels of trust among individuals; levels of individual identification with, and integration in, different communities; levels of individual expectation of, and obligation to, the state. In order to be able to make comparisons with other European countries, the audit will be linked with a European network for the study of citizenship, involvement and democracy. Fieldwork for the Citizen Audit (first wave) took place between September 2000 and May 2001. The questionnaire has a much shorter list of questions than the interview but both follow similar themes. Both instruments are included in the matrix.

Type of respondent: Adults aged 18 over in private households

Coverage: Great Britain

Achieved sample size: 3,500 interviews; 10,000 postal questionnaires

Response rate: 62 per cent (interview); 45 per cent (postal questionnaire)

Fieldwork: September–December 2000 (interview); January–May 2001 (postal questionnaire)

Sampling frame: PAF (Interviews); 1999 electoral register (postal questionnaire)

Social capital slant: Attachment to local area, satisfaction, trust, participation

Lead body: Funded by ESRC, developed by University of Sheffield

Status: A second wave of interviews is in the field between September and November 2001

A summary of the Citizen Audit Questionnaire project can be viewed at
<http://www.essex.ac.uk/democracy/Projects/Proj18.htm>

6. Communal Establishments Survey (CES) 2000 (pilot)

Between 1998 and 2000 the Office for National Statistics carried out a pilot survey of people living in communal establishments (an establishment providing managed residential accommodation). The main reason for the survey was to test the effect of this relatively minor section of the population on larger survey estimates. The main fieldwork for the pilot study was September to December 2000. Communal establishments were sampled from the Labour Force Survey non-respondents who were discarded because they were institutions.

Type of respondent: Adults aged 16 and over resident in a communal establishment

Coverage: Great Britain

Effective sample size: 230 establishments

Achieved sample size: 707 individuals

Response rate: 62 per cent of establishments; 82 per cent of selected residents

Fieldwork: March 1998 – August 2000 (including pre-pilot and supplementary sample)

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Victimisation

Lead department: Office for National Statistics and (the old) Department for Education and Employment

Status: No known plans for a further survey

No web reference available

7. English House Condition Survey (EHCS) 1996

The English House Condition Survey (EHCS) is run by the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions every five years. It aims to provide information on the changing condition and composition of the housing stock and the characteristics of the households living in different types of housing in England. Results from the next EHCS will be published towards the end of 2002. The Scottish House Condition Survey (SHCS) has been conducted on two occasions to date, in 1991 and 1996, and asks similar questions to the EHCS.

Type of respondent: Any one householder

Coverage: England

Effective sample size: 27,200 addresses

Response rate: 49 per cent

Latest available data: 1996

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Neighbourhood and the local environment

Lead department: Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions

Status: Quinquennial

For more information on the EHCS visit:

<http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/research/ehcs/index.htm>

8. English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA)

Several academic institutions are presently developing the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA). ELSA is part funded by UK government departments. This interdisciplinary study will provide data on the relationship between health, economic position and quality of life as people age, tracking people aged 50 and over through their retirement. The survey will cover a broad set of questions including health, disability, healthy life expectancy; the relationship between economic position and health; the determinants of economic position in older age; the timing and circumstances of retirement and post-retirement labour market activity; the nature of social networks, support and participation; household and family structure and the transfer of resources. There is also a self-competition supplementary questionnaire. Fieldwork for ELSA (first wave) is planned for early 2002.

Type of respondent: Adults aged 50 or over, drawn from the Health Survey for England (see below)

Coverage: England

Estimated achieved sample size: 13,000 respondents

Response rate: not yet known

Fieldwork: begins early 2002 for five years

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Participation, socialisation, feelings about the neighbourhood

Lead department: Funding from US National Institute on Ageing and eight UK government departments

Status: Planning and development stages

More details about ELSA can be found at <http://www.ifs.org.uk/elsa/index.shtml>

9. General Household Survey module 2000/01

The General Household Survey (GHS) is a large continuous survey of people living in private households in Great Britain. It contains a wide range of questions on, for example, aspects of society, household formation and lifestyles. A module of questions were developed for the GHS in 2000/01 and commissioned by the Health Development Agency to investigate the links between social capital and health.

Type of respondent: All adults (aged 16 and above) in private households

Coverage: Great Britain

Effective sample size: 11,000 households

Response rate: 72 per cent

Fieldwork: April 2000-March 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Views about local area, reciprocity, trust, social networks and support

Lead organisation: Health Development Authority commissioned this module

Status: The General Household Survey is continuous

For more information on the General Household Survey visit:

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/themes/compendia_reference/surveys/survey_of_ghs.asp

A guide to development of the module is available to download on

<http://www.hda-online.org.uk/downloads/pdfs/peoplesperceptions.pdf>

10. Health and Lifestyles Survey (HALS) 1991/2

The Health and Lifestyles Survey (HALS) was commissioned by the Health Promotion Research Trust (which has now disbanded). The 1991/2 survey was a follow-up the initial Health and Lifestyle survey of 1984/85, which examined the relationships of lifestyle, health-related behaviour and social circumstances to the physical and mental health of people in Great Britain. The 1991/92 survey also monitored the health consequence of changes in lifestyle, social conditions and health-awareness publicity in the intervening years.

Type of respondent: Adults 25+ who participated in the 1984/85 survey (then aged 18+)

Coverage: Great Britain

Achieved sample size: 5,352

Response rate: 60.6% of original effective interviews from 1984/85

Fieldwork: Autumn 1991 to late summer 1992

Method: In-home face to face structured interview. Nurse visit for measurements

/sample. Self-completion booklet left by nurse, assessing personality and psychiatric status. This was mailed back.

Lead organisation: The Health Promotion Research Trust

Social capital slant: Neighbourhood characteristics in relation to risk on health, support networks

Status: No known plans for further surveys

No web reference available

11. Health Education Monitoring Survey (HEMS)

The Health Education Monitoring Survey (HEMS) is designed to measure a range of health promotion indicators relevant to adults in private households in England. The 1998 HEMS questionnaire was developed to continue this monitoring role and additionally to investigate the links between social inequality, social capital and health and health-related behaviours.

Type of respondent: One adult aged 16 and above in household

Coverage: England

Effective sample size: 8,000 households

Response rate: 71 per cent

Fieldwork: May and June 1998

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Local neighbourhood characteristics, social support, local involvement

Lead organisation: Health Education Authority (HEA)

Status: Ad hoc

For additional information on HEMS visit

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/themes/health_care/surveys/survey_of_hems.asp

12. Health Survey for England, 2000 (HSE)

The Health Survey for England (HSE) is a series of annual surveys about the health of people in England. The HSE contains a 'core' set of questions which are repeated each year, covering certain key health indicators such as blood pressure, height and weight, smoking, drinking and general health. Each survey year has one or more modules on subjects of special interest. In 2000, the survey's special module was on social capital and exclusion.

Type of respondent: Adults (16 and over) for specialised modules

Coverage: England

Effective sample size: 12,250 addresses

Response rate: 69 per cent

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Neighbourhood characteristics and services, trust and reciprocity, informal social networks, participation

Lead department: Department for Health

Status: Continuous; a shortened version of the social capital module has also been placed on the 2001 survey starting mid-year)

For more information on the HSE visit <http://www.doh.gov.uk/public/hthsurep.htm>

13. Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001

The Home Office Citizenship Survey is a new survey with a nationally representative sample of 10,000 adults in England and Wales and an ethnic boost sample of 5,000 (using focused enumeration and over sampling). Questionnaire topics include volunteering and community activities, race equality, family issues and attitudes to regulations on licensing and gambling.

Type of respondent: All adults (aged 16 and above) in private households

Coverage: England and Wales

Effective sample size: 10,000 individuals (with 5,000 ethnic minority boost)

Response rate: 70 per cent (main sample); approximately 60 per cent (ethnic minority boost)

Fieldwork: March 2001-September 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Active communities, citizenship, formal and informal volunteering

Lead department: Home Office

Status: Repeat survey planned in 2003

No web reference available

14. National Adult Learning Survey (NALS)

The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) commissioned a National Adult Learning Survey (NALS) earlier in 2001. NALS collects information about respondents' past and present participation in various forms of learning, including job related, non-job related, taught and non-taught learning. The survey also aimed to identify the extent to which people were taking part in different types of learning (both vocational and non-vocational), the costs of doing such learning, people's reasons for doing some learning, problems experienced, perceived benefits of learning and barriers towards taking part in learning. Fieldwork and development has been undertaken by the National Centre for Social Research. The report of findings from the last survey, taken in 1997, is available. Findings from the latest survey become available later this Autumn.

Type of respondent: Adults (16 and above) in households

Coverage: England and Wales

Estimated achieved sample size: 6,500 individuals

Response rate: 63 per cent

Fieldwork: January - May 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Lead department: Department for Education and Skills

Survey status: Ad hoc

Social capital slant: Participation, social engagement

2001 report will be available 10th December at <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research/query.cfm?cat=3>

15. Scottish Household Survey (SHS)

The Scottish Household Survey (SHS) is a major cross-sectional survey, commissioned by the Scottish Executive to provide reliable and up-to-date information on the composition, characteristics and behaviour of Scottish households. Data from the first two years of the survey, covering 1999 and 2000, are now available. The topics covered in the published report include: who we are (household composition), where we live (housing, neighbourhoods), what we do

(economic activity, training), how we live (household resources, health and care) and our communities (volunteering, community involvement)

Type of respondent: Adults aged 16 and over households

Coverage: Scotland

Effective sample size: 46,000 households (over two years)

Response rate: 66 per cent (over two years)

Fieldwork: February 1999 – December 2000

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Aspects of local neighbourhood, dealing with local authority, local participation.

Lead department: Scottish Executive

Status: Continuous

More information on the SHS can be downloaded at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/shs>

16. Survey of English Housing (SEH)

The Survey of English Housing (SEH) is a continuous survey, which has been running since 1993. It collects a wide range of information on households, their housing and their attitudes to housing through face-to-face interviews. The SEH compliments the English House Condition Survey (see before) which together provide many of the key statistics that inform housing policy in England. Preliminary findings are available for 2000/01 results but the main report will not be available until the end of 2001. Questions on local voluntary activity were included in 1999/2000 but were omitted in 2000/01 (they are not included in the matrix).

Type of respondent: Head of household or spouse/partner

Coverage: England

Effective sample size: 25,500 households (1999/2000)

Response rate: 72 per cent (1999/2000)

Latest data available: 2000/01

Fieldwork: April 2000 – March 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Local area satisfaction

Lead department: Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions

Status: Continuous

For more information, visit <http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/research/seh/index.htm>

17. Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) of Britain survey 1999

The Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) survey was developed by a consortium of academic researchers, with fieldwork and advice undertaken by ONS. It employs a variety of measures of poverty (in addition to income) including the lack of socially perceived 'necessities'. The method used in the project builds on the Breadline Britain Surveys of 1983 and 1990. It used three sets of data from surveys carried out by Social Survey Division of ONS: First, the General Household Survey (GHS) for 1998-9 provided data on the socio-economic circumstances of the respondents, including their incomes; Second, the ONS Omnibus Survey in June 1999 included questions designed to establish from a sample of the general population what items and activities they consider to be necessities; Third, a follow-up survey of a sub-sample of respondents (weighted

towards those with lower incomes) to the 1998-9 GHS were interviewed in September/October 1999 to establish how many lacked items identified as necessities and also to collect other information on poverty and social exclusion. It is questions on this latter instrument that are referred to below and in the survey matrix.

Type of respondent: Follow-up sub sample of respondents to the 1998/99 GHS (see above)

Coverage: Great Britain

Estimated achieved sample size: 2,400 individuals

Response rate: 63 per cent

Fieldwork: September – October 1999

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File

Social capital slant: Views of poverty, social networks, views of the neighbourhood

Lead organisation/department: Four universities, ONS, Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Status: No known plans for a repeat

Further details can be found at <http://www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/pse/>

18. UK Time Use Survey (TUS) 2000

Time use surveys (TUS) record the amount and distribution of time people spend on particular activities. The core of the new UK TUS survey, funded by several government departments and the ESRC, is a self-completion diary. In the diary, respondents are asked to record their time use in ten minute time slots, recording both their main and secondary activities, as well as where they were and who they were with at the time. It will be possible to derive whether activities were completed in the presence of someone else from the diary. The survey also collects contextual information on the individual (via questionnaire) and the household (household questionnaire completed by one responsible adult in each sampled address).

Type of respondent: Adults aged 16 and above in household, also a child questionnaire/diary

Coverage: United Kingdom

Effective sample size: 10,600 households (around 24,400 individuals aged 8 or over)

Response rate: 65 per cent (household target); 85 per cent (individual target); 55 per cent (net diary target)

Fieldwork: June 2000 – August 2001

Sampling frame: Postcode Address File (in Great Britain)

Social capital slant: Volunteering, caring for others, social activities

Lead department: ONS is managing the contract on behalf of a number of Government Departments and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Status: No known plans for a repeat

For additional information and documentation on the UK Time Use Survey visit http://www.statistics.gov.uk/themes/social_finances/timeusesurvey/default.asp

B. The survey matrix

The following pages illustrate which themes are measured in each of the surveys identified in the preceding section. The themes have been organised into five groupings which have between eight and twelve indicators within each. The five themes are:

- Participation, social engagement, commitment
- Control, self-efficacy
- Perception of community level structures or characteristics
- Social interaction, social networks, social support
- Trust, reciprocity, social cohesion

The typology is adapted from the summary of concepts identified by Blaxter, *et al.* (2001), in their report 'Measuring Social Capital: Qualitative Study of How Older People Relate Social Capital to Health, funded by the Health Development Agency. The approach adopted is similar to that used in the health matrix devised for the General Household Survey (Coulthard *et al.* 2001:19).

In brief, no individual theme dominates the list of surveys. The least common theme was control and self-efficacy (for instance, perceived control over community affairs, perceived rights and responsibilities of citizens). Only nine of the eighteen surveys measure some of the factors associated with this theme.

Theme	Measurement	BCS	BES	BHPS	BSA	CAQ	CES	ELSA	EHCS	GHS
Participation, social engagement, commitment	Participation or involvement in local groups (A)	○1	○3	●	●	●		●		●
	Perceived barriers to involvement in local groups									
	Level/intensity of involvement in local groups (B)	○1				●				
	Participation in voluntary schemes connected with work									
	Political activity or voting		●		●	●		●		
	Membership of clubs/groups eg. RSPCA, WWF.			●	●	●		●		
	Taking positive action about a local issue	●	○3			●				●
	Religious activity			●		●				
	Completed or received a practical favour						●			●
	Provide regular service, help or care for others			●		●		●		
Familiarity with neighbourhood (C)						○12		●		●
Control, self-efficacy	Perceived control over community affairs					●				●
	Perceived control over own health			○5						
	Perceived control which organisations have									
	Satisfaction with amount of control over life			○6						
	Perceived rights and responsibilities of citizens	○1	●			●				
	Perceived influence over political decisions		●			●				
	Perceived satisfaction with life			○6		●		○6		
Measures of psychological control or empowerment							○6			
Perception of community level structures or characteristics	Satisfaction/enjoyment of living in local area	●		●		○12			●	●
	Degree to which societal-level variables are seen as relevant to health									
	Rating of local noise problems (D)	●							●	●
	Rating of cleanliness, graffiti, vandalism	●		○7						●
	Rating of area resources and services (leisure activities, rubbish collection)	●				●				●
	Rating of health services	●				●				●
	Rating of socio-economic inequality	○2	○4							
	Rating of education services	●				●				●
	Perceptions of crime, safety, victimisation	●		○7						●
	Availability of good local transport							○8		●
Feeling of safety in the neighbourhood	●					●	●		●	
Rating of facilities for children			●						●	

● Topic area is covered in survey; ○ The survey covers a similar topic, but the questions asked are different.

Theme	Measurement	BCS	BES	BHPS	BSA	CAQ	CES	ELSA	EHCS	GHS
Social interaction, social networks, social support	Proximity of friends/relatives					●		○6		●
	Contact with friends/family/neighbours: quality or frequency			●			●	○6		●
	Perceived barriers to contact with friends/relatives									
	Has someone to rely upon outside of household (E)			●	●			●		●
	Received practical help/advice for bringing up children									
	Depth of socialisation networks (F)			●						●
	Depth of socialisation networks, specifically leisure (G)	○9				●		●		
	Perceived norms of social support (H)	●			●	●		●		●
Social relations at work					●					
Trust, reciprocity, social cohesion	Satisfaction with level of information about local area issues									●
	Length of residence in area/neighbourhood	●		○14	●	●	○14		○14	●
	Confidence in institutions and public services		○10			●				
	Trust in other people	●	●		●	●		●		●
	Perceived fairness of life, including discrimination (I)		○11		●					
	Trust in political structures		○10		●	●				
	Social trust (J)				●					
	Perception of shared values, reliability (K)	●			●	●				

- Topic area is covered in survey
- The survey covers a similar topic, but the questions asked are different.

Theme	Measurement	HEMS	HALS	HSE	HOCS	NALS	PSE	SHS	SEH	TUS
Participation, social engagement, commitment	Participation or involvement in local groups (A)	●		●	●	●	●	●		●
	Perceived barriers to involvement in local groups				●					
	Level/intensity of involvement in local groups (B)				●					●
	Participation in voluntary schemes connected with work				●					
	Membership of clubs/groups eg. RSPCA, WWF						●	○16		
	Political activity or voting				●		●			
	Taking positive action about a local issue				●	●	●	○17		
	Participation in religious activity	●		●		●	●			●
	Completed or received a practical favour					●				
	Provide regular service, help or care for others				●			●		●
Familiarity with neighbourhood (C)				●						
Control, self-efficacy	Perceived control over community affairs	●			●					
	Perceived control over own health	●					○13			
	Perceived control which organisation have									
	Satisfaction with amount of control over life	●					○15			
	Perceived rights and responsibilities of citizens				●					
	Perceived influence over political decisions				●					
	Perceived satisfaction with life						●			
Measures of psychological control or empowerment						●				
Perception of community level structures or characteristics	Satisfaction/enjoyment of living in local area	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	
	Degree to which societal-level variables are seen as relevant to health	●	●				●			
	Rating of local noise problems (D)		●	●			●	●		
	Rating of cleanliness, graffiti, vandalism		●	●			●	●		
	Rating of area resources and services (leisure activities, rubbish collection)	●	●	●			●	●	●	
	Rating of health services						●		●	
	Rating of socio-economic inequality						●		○13	
	Rating of education services							●	●	
	Rating of crime, safety, victimisation						●	●	●	
	Availability of good local transport	●	●	●			●	●	●	
	Feeling of safety in the neighbourhood	●		●	●		●			
Rating of facilities for children	●		●				●			

● Topic area is covered in survey; ○ The survey covers a similar topic, but the questions asked are different.

Theme	Measurement	HEMS	HALS	HSE	HOCS	NALS	PSE	SHS	SEH	TUS
Social interaction, social networks, social support	Proximity of friends/relatives		●		●		●			
	Contact with friends/family/neighbours: quality or frequency	●	●	●	●		●			○20
	Perceived barriers to contact with friends/relatives						●			
	Has someone to rely upon outside of household (E)	●			●		●			
	Received practical help/advice for bringing up children				●					
	Depth of socialisation networks (F)	●	●		●		●			○20
	Depth of socialisation networks, specifically leisure (G)				●		○19			
	Perceived norms of social support (H)	●	●	●						
	Social relations at work						●			
Trust , reciprocity, social cohesion	Satisfaction with level of information about local area issues				○18					
	Length of residence in area/neighbourhood		●	●	●				○14	
	Confidence in institutions and public services				●					
	Trust in other people			●	●					
	Perceived fairness of life, including discrimination (I)				●		○15			
	Trust in political structures				●					
	Social trust (J)									
Perception of shared values, reliability (K)				●						

- Topic area is covered in survey
- The survey covers a similar topic, but the questions asked are different.

Notes

- ₁ Available only on 2000 follow up questionnaire
- ₂ Which of the following social issues are the biggest problem in your area: unemployment, crime, drug misuse, poverty
- ₃ Asks if respondent thinks participation is likely “in next few years”
- ₄ Perception of whether economic circumstances have improved/declined in last 12 months
- ₅ Perceptions of own health and effect on a range of everyday activities
- ₆ Included on confidential, self-completion questionnaire, but not individual questionnaire
- ₇ Included on household questionnaire, but not individual questionnaire
- ₈ Reasons for not using local public transport
- ₉ How many times in the past month did you visit a pub, winebar, or nightclub in the evening?
- ₁₀ Asks about ‘respect’ not ‘trust’
- ₁₁ In a political context
- ₁₂ Feeling of ‘attachment’ to neighbourhood
- ₁₃ Perception of job opportunities in the area
- ₁₄ Asks when did you start living/when did acquire present accommodation
- ₁₅ In relation to poverty/social exclusion
- ₁₆ Voting in a *local* government election
- ₁₇ Contacted local councillor about an enquiry or problem
- ₁₈ Read *local* newspaper and listen to *local* radio
- ₁₉ Asks respondent whether they perceive it to be a necessity or not
- ₂₀ Diary instrument asks about co-presence, from which contact with friends/family/neighbours could be derived

Types of questions

- A. Includes voluntary organisations, community groups and self help associations
- B. Type of voluntary activity undertaken (raising money, committee work) or number of hours undertaken (intensity)
- C. Who you say that you know most people in your neighbourhood? Do you feel part of this neighbourhood?
- D. Level of noise pollution from streets and/or noisy neighbours
- E. Who could you ask for help in the following situations (need a lift, financial difficulties, personal crises)
- F. Which of these activities have you done in the past 2 weeks: visited friends/relatives, spoke to relatives on the ‘phone, been visited
- G. How often do you go out socially with friends or neighbours to the pub, restaurant or cinema?
- H. Would you say that most of the time people are helpful or look out for themselves?
- I. Suppose two people – one white, one black – appear in court, charged with a crime. What would be the chances of each one being found guilty?
- J. How willing or otherwise would you be to ask strangers for help – requesting directions in a strange town or asking a stranger to split a £5 note.
- K. Suppose you lost your wallet. How likely is it that it would be returned to you with nothing missing?

APPENDIX THREE: SELECTED LIST OF SOCIAL CAPITAL WEB SITES

Office for National Statistics	http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital
Better Together	http://www.bettertogether.org/
Bowling Alone	http://www.bowlingalone.com/
British Crime Survey	http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/bcs1.html
British Election Study	http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes/
British Household Panel Survey	http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps/index.php
Citizen Audit	http://www.essex.ac.uk/democracy/Projects/Proj18.htm
Countryside Commission	http://www.countryside.gov.uk
David Blunkett	http://www.davidblunkett.org.uk
Department for Education and Skills	http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research/query.cfm?cat=3
Department of Health	http://www.doh.gov.uk/pdfs/healthrptsocialcapital.pdf
English House Conditions Survey	http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/research/ehcs/index.htm
English Longitudinal Study of Ageing	http://www.ifs.org.uk/elsa/index.shtml
ESRC Community and Participation theme	http://www.essex.ac.uk/democracy
Euresco Conference	http://www.ex.ac.uk/shipss/politics/research/socialcapital/links.htm
European Science Foundation	http://www.esf.org/
European Values Survey	http://www.gen.kub.nl/~fsw_2/evs/info.htm
Health Development Agency (GHS Social capital module)	http://www.hda-online.org.uk/downloads/pdfs/peoplesperceptions.pdf
Health Education Monitoring Survey	http://statistics.gov.uk/themes/health_care/surveys/survey_of_hems.asp
Health Survey for England	http://www.doh.gov.uk/public/hthsurep.htm
Institute for Volunteering Research	http://www.ivr.org.uk
International Monetary Fund	http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/seminar

International Social Science Programme	http://www.issp.org/
National Adult Learning Survey	http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research.query.cfm?cat=3
National Centre for Social Research	http://www.natcen.ac.uk/index.htm
National Centre Voluntary Organisations	http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/main/about/info/RVS7.html
New Economics Foundation	http://www.neweconomics.org
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	http://www.oecd.org
Paul Bullen - Management Alternatives	http://www.mapl.com.au/A13.htm
Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain	http://www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/pse/
Saguaro seminar	http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/saguaro/
Scottish Household Survey	http://www.scotland.gov.uk/shs
Strathclyde University	http://www.socialcapital.strath.ac.uk/
Survey of English Housing	http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/research/she/index.htm
Time Banks UK	http://www.timebanks.co.uk/
Time Use Study	http://www.statistics.gov.uk/themes/social_finances/timeuse_survey
World Bank	http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/index.htm
World Values Survey	http://wvs.isr.umich.edu/